

**AN ASSESSMENT OF THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL IN
MAINTENANCE OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY**

BY

FREDRICK OCHIENG (C50/80932/2012)

**Research Project Paper Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement for the
Award of a Master of Arts Degree in International Relations, Department of
Political Science and Public Administration, University of Nairobi.**

2014

DECLARATION

I declare that this is my original work and has not been previously published or submitted elsewhere for award of a degree. I also declare that this contains no material written or published by other people except where due reference is made and author duly acknowledged .

Sign.....Date.....

FREDRICK OCHIENG (C50/80932/2012)

CANDIDATE

This research project has been submitted for examination with my approval as the supervisor

Sign.....Date.....

FRED JONYO

SUPERVISOR

DEDICATION

To my parents Joseph and Rosemary Agolla for their steadfast support in the course of my education.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My sincere gratitude to all those who made the preparation of this research project possible. I am truly indebted to my supervisor Dr Fred Jonyo for his critic and patience as he read several manuscript version of this project. I am also very grateful to the Department of Political Science for offering me a scholarship for my course, lecturers and staff for their continued support throughout the period of my study. Thank you for your valuable advice and guidance in the course of my study.

Special thanks to Mrs. Lillian Aduol and Purity Kairuthi (The Chairman's Secretary), Colins Siwa (Registry Clerk) and Mr. Clement Ongeru (The Departmental Librarian) for giving me assistance and facilitating access to the departmental Library. I am also indebted to my classmates Sharon Musee, Laureen Wesonga, Kachuol Piok Mabil, Lavender Ortega and Mirriam Nthenge for their constant support and moral encouragement even during the most difficult circumstances.

Finally I want to appreciate the support of my family members and friends for their support throughout my study. Despite the contribution, support and critic by the aforementioned, this study remains personal work and any limitations herein are my own and cannot be attributed to any of them.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION	ii
DEDICATION	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS	v
LIST OF FIGURES.....	viii
ABSTRACT.....	ix
ABBREVIATIONS.....	x
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Background to the Study.....	1
1.2 Statement of Research Problem.....	4
1.3 Research Question	5
1.4 Research Objective	5
1.5 Justification of the Study.....	6
1.6 Scope and Limitation of the Study	7
1.7 Definition of Concepts.....	7
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW	9
2.0 Introduction	9
2.1 Understanding the UNSC and the Rationale of the Veto Power.....	9
2.2 Perspectives on UNSC Role in maintenance of international peace over time	13
2.3 Conceptual Framework.....	17
2.4 Research Hypothesis.....	19
2.5 Research Methodology	19
CHAPTER THREE: UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL ROLE IN PEACE KEEPING OPERATIONS.....	22
3.0 Introduction	22
3.1 Assessing the UNSC Role in Maintenance of International Peace during the Cold War Era.....	24

3.2 Assessing the UNSC Role in Maintenance of International Peace after the Cold War Years	27
3.3 Emerging Threats to International Peace and Security and UN Response: Interventions under the Responsibility to Protect (R2P).	33

CHAPTER FOUR: CHALLENGES ASSOCIATED WITH THE VETO POWER IN MAINTENANCE OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY..... 37

4.0 Introduction	37
4.1 Challenges of the Veto Power and the Inability of the Council to act in Syria	40
4.2 Unilateral Approach in Protecting National Interests of the P5 and How It Undermines the UN Collective Security Regime	43
4.3 The Security Council, NATO and the Kosovo Crisis in 1999	46

CHAPTER FIVE: THE PLACE FOR REFORM IN IMPROVING THE EFFICACY OF THE UNSC 49

5.0 Introduction	49
5.1 The Quest for Reform of the United Nations Security Council	49
5.2 Perspectives on the Viability of the Reform Proposals in Improving the Efficiency of the UNSC	52
5.3 The Utility of the Veto Model in the Changing International Politics	57

CHAPTER SIX: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS 61

6.1 Overall Assessment on the UNSC in International Peace and Security	61
6.2 The Veto and its Impact on Efficacy of UNSC.....	63
6.3 Recommendations.....	64

REFERENCES66

LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1: UN Peacekeeping Operations during the Cold War Years	27
Table 3.2: UN Peacekeeping Operations after the Cold War Years	31

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2.1 Conceptual framework.....	19
Figure 4.1: Use of the veto from 1946-2012.....	39
Figure 5.1: Budget Contributions to UN by Member States	59

ABSTRACT

The main objective of the study was to assess the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) role in maintenance of International Peace and Security. Specifically the study sought to examine the rationale of the veto power model in changing world politics and the limitations associated with the same. The central argument of the study is that whereas there are challenges inherent in the UNSC, it has to a large extent played a critical role in maintenance of international peace and security. Secondly, whereas there is continued criticism leveled against the council in regards to its efficiency in maintenance of international peace and security, the international system under which the UNSC operate is characterized by its own challenges especially independent states and thus the UNSC is a medium that only moderates behavior of states but cannot at all times operate flawlessly. The study concludes that whereas there have been challenges in some cases, the UNSC has to a large extent executed its mandate in maintenance of international peace and security and thus the argument that it is completely irrelevant does not hold. However it is correct to point out that national interests of the P5 remains a challenge to the efficiency of the council and thus continued efforts at making the council more effective are necessary.

ABBREVIATIONS

UN	-	United Nations
WWI	-	World War I
WWII	-	World War II
UNSC	-	United Nations Security Council
UNGOMAP	-	UN Good Offices Mission in Afghanistan and Pakistan
UNIMOG	-	UN Iran-Iraq Observer Group
UNTAG	-	UN Transition Assistance Group in Namibia
US	-	United States of America
NATO	-	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
G4	-	Group of Four
P5	-	Permanent Five
UNTSO	-	United Nations Truce Supervision Organization
UNEF	-	United Nations Emergency Force
UNMOVIC	-	United Nations Monitoring Verification and Inspection Commission
UNMISS	-	United Nations Peacekeeping Mission in South Sudan
UNOCI	-	United Nations Peacekeeping Mission in Cote De Ivoire

UNIMIL	-	United Nations Mission in Liberia
MINUSTAH	-	United Nations Stabilizing Force in Haiti
UNAMID	-	United Nations Hybrid Operations in Darfur
MONUSCO	-	United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in Democratic Republic of Congo
UNU	-	United Nations University
UNGOMAP	-	United Nations Good Offices Mission in Afghanistan and Pakistan
UNIIMOG	-	United Nations Iran-Iraq observer Group
UNTAG	-	United Nations Transition Assistance Group in Namibia
ICISS	-	International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty
UNPREDEP	-	United Nations Preventive Deployment Force

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

The United Nations (UN) Organization founded in 1945 is the largest and oldest inter governmental institution globally. It was intended to be an avenue for collective security to member states in maintaining international peace and security. The formation of the organization came at the end of WW II and the failure of the League of Nations. Influential and major world powers did not play a key role in maintenance of international peace and security through the League of Nations (Nicholas, 1975). The UN thus became the second major intergovernmental organization in the world charged with maintenance of international peace and security and fostering international cooperation. The major UN organs include: the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council, the Secretariat, the Trusteeship, the International Court of Justice and most critical in regards to international peace and security the Security Council (Hiscocks, 1973).

The United Nations Security Council (UNSC) was created under the UN Charter as the international watchdog in maintenance of peace and security (Vincente, 2013). Article 23 of the UN Charter initially provided for a total of 11 members of the council, five of whom were to be permanent and six to be non- permanent. The non -permanent members of the council are elected by the General Assembly considering their the role and ability in maintenance of international peace and security and geographical representation.(Charter of the Uited Nations Organisation, 1945).The 1965 reform of the council introduced an additional four non permanent members to the council increasing

the total membership of the council to 15 (Weiss, 2003).The UNSC currently comprises five permanent (P5) members who wield Veto Power namely the United States of America (US), Britain, France, the People's Republic of China and Russia. It also includes ten non-permanent members elected for a term of two years (Bennett, 1977, United Nations Security Council, 2013).

The non-permanent members are elected based on geographical representation; two from Asia, three from Africa, two from Latin America and the Caribbean, two from Western Europe and one from Eastern Europe. They hold their seats for a period of two years and cannot be re-elected immediately after serving their terms. Any action taken by the UNSC has to receive nine votes, but substantive matters as opposed to procedural matters have to pass without a permanent member exercising the veto. An abstention by any permanent member does not constitute a veto (Cox, 2009).Chapter five, Article 24 of the UN Charter primarily gives the mandate to maintenance of peace and security to the UNSC and as such any decision in that respect represents and is binding to the entire UN organization (Charter of the United Nations Organization, 1945, United Nations Security Council, 2013).

The core of the UNSC model lay in the great power consensus between the permanent members of and the significance of that unity to maintenance of peace and security. The Veto power model confer on the P5 members of the Security Council the right to obstruct through a single vote any resolution it deems not appropriate to maintenance of international peace and security. The application of the veto actor model was founded on the premise of the utility of power and its application to international politics. At inception theP5 had significant resources to contribute economically and

militarily to maintenance of international peace and security. The founders also wanted to avoid making the same mistakes that the League of Nations had made-not recognizing power and its application to international politics (*real politik*). The nature of the P5 thus reflected their power both economically, militarily and spheres of influence in the world (McDonald and Patrick, 2010; Mahmood, 2013; Okhovat, 2012; Mingst, 2004).

The permanent members of the Security Council at inception were arguably the most powerful military states at the time of formation of the UN (Weiss, Forsythe, Coate and Kate-Pease, 2007). Before WWII the US had adopted an isolationist policy, preferring to stay above the fray of whatever was happening in Europe and other parts of the world; however the events of Pearl Harbor and subsequent participation to end WW II changed its involvement in world politics. It came out of the war as a strong economy compared to other countries and was at the fore front of disbursing aid to countries in Europe who's economies were sinking from the weight of economic slump in the period after the war. Its military power was dominant and it played a key and central role in the formation and running of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).The US played a key role in the initial period of talks held at Dumbarton Oaks and would together with China, the Soviet Union, Britain and France impose the Veto and permanent membership to the council (Gordon 2003).

Britain had a vast network of colonies abroad; it was part of the allied group that fought against the aggressors of WWII. Its interests was thus wide and investments far reaching, its economy may have not been as strong compared to the US but her input both economic and military was crucial to the UN, so was France, the People's Republic of China and Russia in deterring aggression from states such as Germany and Japan. The

structure of the UNSC was never put to debate and member states had no option but to accept this structure as had been outlined by the P5 (Hiscocks, 1973). The charter does not explicitly mention the veto, except to affirm that any substantive matters brought before the UNSC can only be passed by an affirmative votes of nine members including by concurring votes of the permanent members of the UNSC (Article 27 of the United Nations Organization Charter, 1945).

1.2 Statement of Research Problem.

The UNSC and the veto power model have generated a lot of debate especially in terms of its utility amidst changes in world politics. Opponents argue that the organ has become illegitimate because it does not represent the geographical outlook of member states and is continuously becoming an impediment in maintenance of international peace and security (McDonald and Patrick, 2010; Bertrand, 1996). A significant criticism has been centered on the application of the veto to block resolutions that have the potential to affect the national interests of the member states. Critics of the UNSC thus argue that its veto power model is hindering efforts at maintenance of international peace and security. Much of the emphasis is pointed at failures in Rwanda (1994), Balkans (1999), and Iraq (2003), the Israel-Palestine conflict and Georgia (2008) among others. In the inability of the UNSC to deal with the crisis in Syria has been pointed as testament to its failure to execute its role accordingly.

As Berdal (2003) argues while the UN and in extension the UNSC would appear ineffective if judged by failures in specific cases such as Iraq (2003) and Syria among others, assessing effectiveness in relation to an unattainable ideal and a misplaced notion

of what ought to be is erroneous. Critics have also considerably only pointed to the cases of failure while ignoring instances where the UNSC has executed its mandate.

In the ongoing debate about the efficacy and utility of the UNSC in maintenance of international peace and security, the protagonists for change have in the process forgotten to examine the rationale for the veto power model of the security council and the operations of the UNSC amidst the challenges mentioned in maintenance of peace and security. In as far as changes within the international system is concerned, it is important to point out that the manner of engagements between actors have remained consistent, power is still central to understanding politics. It is against this background that the study seeks to assess the role of UNSC in maintenance of international peace and security.

1.3 Research Question

- 1) To what extent has the UNSC played its role in maintenance of international peace and security?
- 2) To what extent has the veto power model influenced the operation of the UNSC in maintenance of international peace and security?

1.4 Research Objective

Overall objective

The overall objective of the study is to examine the extent to which UNSC has executed its mandate in maintenance of international peace and security.

Specific objectives

- 1) To examine the rationale of the veto power model in maintenance of international peace and security.
- 2) To explain the prospects and limitations associated with the veto power model in maintaining international peace and security.

1.5 Justification of the Study

International peace and security remains an important feature of international politics. After the atrocities of WWI and WWII, there have been consistent efforts aimed at ensuring that the world does not experience a similar tragedy. Since the end of the WWII much of international conflicts have been dominated by intra-state wars that have the propensity to spill over into regional conflicts and ultimately pose serious risks to international peace and security. In that respect the world through the UN mandated the UNSC to maintain international peace and security. It is crucial to assess the performance of the UNSC amidst changing time in international politics and whether the world can rely on the UNSC now and in the future to effectively discharge its mandate in maintaining international peace and security.

The research study therefore delves into this important concept in the world with the aim of generating new knowledge. The findings of the research will have implications at both policy and academic level. At policy level it would help widen discourse on the UNSC veto power model in maintenance of peace and security and how to improve the efficiency of the UNSC. At academic level it will add to existing literature on the UNSC.

1.6 Scope and Limitation of the Study

The study focuses on the UNSC veto power model and its role in maintenance of international peace and security. The study did not limit itself to a particular period but instead approached the issue from a general overview of events that have called into action the UNSC. The major challenge to the study was access to key informant interviewees. The study thus relied on existing documented literature and recorded interviews of key policy makers, scholars and world leaders regarding the UNSC role in maintenance of international peace and security. There was also a lot of material regarding UNSC and its role in maintenance of international peace and security and as such analyzing the large volume of data was a major challenge.

1.7 Definition of Concepts

1.7.1 Veto Power Model.

This veto power model of the UNSC is a special privilege conferred on the P5 members of the Security Council by virtue of their power, influence and ability to take action and support efforts at maintenance of international peace and security. The veto power allows the P5 members of the Security Council the right to block any substantive resolution brought before the council that they feel is not in the best interest of international peace and security through a single vote. Chapter V Article 23 names five states as permanent members of the Security Council and under Article 27 accords these states powers over substantive matters brought before the council.

“Decisions of the Security Council on all other matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of seven members including the concurring votes of the permanent from voting”.

(Article 27 of UN Charter)

In that respect therefore it is not possible to pass any substantive resolution in the council if any of the P5 votes against any such resolution. Any action therefore in regards to international peace and security must be supported by the P5.

1.7.2 International Peace and Security

This denotes the absence of aggression from one state towards another and a situation of harmony and co-existence between states in the world. Its absence of war or conflict between states. It is a situation where states opt for peaceful approach to settling disputes and avoid aggressive behavior or coerce other states. The primary provision for the maintenance of international peace and security is made by Chapter VII of the UN Charter, comprising articles 39-51. Where a threat to or violation of the peace is anticipated or claimed to have occurred article 39 requires the Security Council to determine whether this is in fact the case. There have been debates on what constitutes a threat to international peace and security. Initially the concept was limited to inter-State, aggression but later practice suggests that some internal use of force might fall within this category, at least where it threatens regional destabilization, as for example in Kosovo in 1999. It has also been expanded to include humanitarian violations.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This section reviews relevant literature thematically organized around UNSC veto power and international peace and security. International peace and security has dominated discourse of international politics since the end of WWII. Indeed the formation of the UN was an attempt by the great powers to establish a working system that could guarantee international peace and security in the entire world. The failure of the League of Nations was a learning lesson to the world after WWII.

The formation of the UN was grounded on the belief that a collective approach to security was attainable and the most viable option in maintenance of peace and security. This in itself precluded intra state conflicts that would dominate conflicts in the future. Most scholars agree that the cold war era greatly curtailed the ability of the UNSC role in maintenance of international peace and security. However much of the Literature condemn the council as having failed in its primary role to maintenance of international peace and security citing cases such as Rwanda, Somalia and Iraq in 2003.

2.1 Understanding the UNSC and the Rationale of the Veto Power

Gordon (2003) portends that the formation of the UN and the development of its Charter can be traced to the weeks of deliberation by the US, Britain, Soviet Union and China at Dumbarton Oaks in the US .These events set the precedence for the application of *Real Politik* in the structure of the organization. In other words, the draft was nothing

less than principles of power politics and not any other considerations in international politics. According to the author the intention of the delegates was to form an international organization that they could dominate and have major control of in as far as international engagements are concerned. The UN and by extension the Security Council is thus an avenue for the P5 to defend their security and protect their national interests. While the argument that national interests of the P5 was a key ingredient in the formation of the UN and adoption of the Veto power model is to some extent accurate, the assumption that the whole effort towards the formation of the UN and establishment of the UNSC has nothing good for the other members of the UN does not hold given the various engagements the UN has conducted through the UNSC mandate. These include peace keeping missions in the Balkans, Africa, Middle East and Asia (Weiss et al, 2007). It is also naïve to ignore the power realities that played a role with a view to preventing an outbreak of another World War. According to Shaw (1997) the realities of power in the international system by 1945 was the overriding factor that determined and ultimately played a role in the establishment of the UNSC and adoption of the Veto power model. This is reflected in Article 27 of the UN charter.

In the assertions of the United Nations University (UNU) (1995) the UN was born out of the League of Nations-the first major international organization that attempted to establish a collective approach to security. The UN Charter being an improvement of the League of Nations and whereas the UNSC is bestowed upon immense power in as far as maintenance of international peace and security is concerned, this does not negate the equality of members as represented by one state one vote in the UN General Assembly. While this is true in principle, it is correct to point out that the UNSC still has

overwhelming authority to veto resolutions put forth by the General Assembly as they are not binding decisions to the Security Council.

Price and Zacher (2004) in appreciating the utility of the UNSC and the Veto power model points to the founders of the UN recognition of the role of great military powers in future maintenance of peace and security. This is further reinforced by the belief that decisions of the council would only be effective if they were not opposed by one or more great powers. Also if the organization took any action against any of the great powers they could very well distance themselves from the organization and ultimately leave it. Price and Zacher (2004) reinforces the argument put forth by Shaw (1997) and the recognition of the veto power model in the structure of the UNSC. The limitation in this argument is that the international system has changed and so are power realities. The research study thus seeks to delve deeper in examining the rationale of the veto power model and its application to the contemporary international politics.

Meisler (1995) provides a different perspective in the Veto power concept. In the authors contention, the genesis of the Veto starting from the original talks in Dumbarton Oaks represented not the number of states that would ultimately form membership of the organization, but rather the power dynamics of the US, Soviet Union, Britain and China and how that power would ultimately be the major determinant in the operation of the organization. The ideas of the four plus France added to the equation later on was later imposed on the other member states that would later take part in the San Francisco talks. In short the UN was to be an avenue through which the major powers would police the world. The Veto power model did not go down well with the less powerful states but they none the less accepted it. In truth they had little say on the issue as the decision had

already been made by the US, the major protagonist of the organization. The author however is silent on the implications of the Veto power to maintenance of international peace and security. The research study intends to go further to examine the utility of the veto power model in the contemporary international system.

Darren (2003) argues that the United Nations is far from ideal as it is founded by the most powerful nations. This renders it largely reliant upon those countries. The power held by the Security Council is a matter of serious concern with regard to the UN structure. The five leading nations victorious in the WWII have considerable power. Anyone of the P5 members can veto a decision made by the other members of the council therefore rendering it null and void. The Security Council is also empowered to determine whether or not the UN should intervene in a particular situation. Darren's argument suggests that the power held by the UNSC does not augur well for the structure of the organization but does not look at the rationale for the formation of UNSC, the veto power model and its utility in maintenance of international peace and security.

Kochler (1995) has criticised the veto power model for undermining equality of states and giving undue power to a select few states, some of whom have over the years lost the political and military might to deserve such privileges. The author views the power of the P5 to determine substantive issues from procedural issues as further reinforcing undue advantage over other states. This in his contention is a threat to the legitimacy of the UN. It further hinders the ability of the UN to establish an efficient system for collective security. As a result the author suggests that the best approach to international peace and security would be among other changes to abolish the veto power model of the UNSC. The author further suggest a regional system of representation

within the UNSC. The author however does not give an analysis of the implication of such changes taking into consideration the rationale for the application of the veto power model.

According to Van Dyke (1966) whereas the UN Charter permits implementation of collective security, the application of the veto makes such an activity most unlikely. The author argues that only in circumstances where the P5 are not affected by the issue in question can states expect action from the UNSC.

2.2 Perspectives on UNSC Role in maintenance of international peace over time

Malone (2004) contends that the original concept behind the UNSC was the prevention of a third world war. As the cold war kicked in, much of the UNSC role shifted to prevention of regional intra-state or superpower proxy wars in many areas of the world. In this respect the UNSC performed modestly in as far as peace keeping was involved. The Cold war era also witnessed substantial application of the veto-193 to be precise compared to 12 between 1990-2003. The establishment of peacekeeping mission from 1988-1989 in Iran and Afghanistan further reinforced UN role in peacekeeping. The author however does not make an assessment of the extent to which the UNSC has played its role in international peace and security.

Hikaru (2005) contends that the inability of the UNSC to deter the unilateral action by the US in Iraq in 2003 and the limited role characterized by failure in Rwanda, Bosnia and Kosovo conflicts significantly undermine the role of UNSC in international peace and security. However the organization still attract significant amount of support and is a viable option in effecting collective security. This can be attributed to the

decision by the US to seek authorization for armed force against Iraq in 2003 before opting for unilateral action. The author however does not offer insights on how to make the council more effective.

Hannay (2009) explores the role of the UNSC from 1989-2009. In his contention the ineffectiveness of the UNSC far outweighs any form of successes within this period. The author has used a descriptive analysis to look at UNSC failures in Bosnia, Somalia, Yugoslavia and Rwanda. Other failures include the inability to prevent unilateral decision of the US to invade Iraq in 2003 and NATO air strikes in Kosovo in 1999. While the author admits expanded peace keeping roles in areas such as Eritrea-Ethiopia border, Sierra Leone, Liberia and Burundi, the author argues that the UN lost the opportunity to make the UNSC effective in maintenance of international peace and security. The author however fails to acknowledge that there has been no outbreak of a world war and the many peace keeping roles of the UNSC from Palestine in 1948, Suez in 1956, Korea 1950 and Congo in 1962.

Weiss, Forsythe, Coate and Kate Pease (2007) have offered a descriptive role of the UNSC in international peace and security from the cold war era to the post cold war era. The authors contend that the rivalry between the US and the USSR greatly hindered the ability of the council in maintenance of international peace and security. This led to an expanded approach to peace and security and the birth of the UNSC. The authors offer an insight into the emergence of peace keeping role of the UN starting with Palestine in 1948, Korea 1950, Congo 1962 and the Suez in 1956. The UN over time expanded peace keeping operations to stabilise areas that were conflict ridden and posed threat to international peace and security. The UN Good Offices Mission in Afghanistan and

Pakistan (UNGOMAP), the UN Iran-Iraq Observer Group (UNIIMOG) and the UN Transition Assistance Group in Namibia (UNTAG) are some of the peace keeping missions that the UNSC authorised to stabilise conflict areas and maintain international peace and security. In respect to peace keeping missions there have been challenges for instance the Congo debacle where the UN was seen to take sides with the central government, the Rwanda conflict where UN minimal response led to the murder of thousands in the Rwanda genocide. The authors have also briefly covered the issue of the reform of the UNSC in an effort to make it more effective, with reference to the 2004 report of the High Level Panel proposed changes to the UNSC. The author has however not covered the rationale of the veto power model or how the UNSC can be transformed to improve efficiency.

One of the most dominant issue in international politics for decades has been the Israel and Palestine conflict. Bozorgmheri and Khani (2012) see the failure to settle the conflict as a direct result of the failure and inefficiency of the security council coupled with the national interest of the US. They argue that the Veto Power Model has been a stumbling block in passing any resolution against Israel. The authors point to the US consistent application of the veto against UNSC resolutions aimed at forcing Israel to make concession regarding her role in the conflict. As of 2009 the US had blocked through the veto 225 resolutions regarding the Palestine issue. The authors however only covered the Palestine conflict in making an assessment of the UNSC and the Veto power model. This in itself is limiting for an indepth understanding of the study.

Ametowoyona (2008) in studying the UNSC and the Rwanda genocide of 1994 finds the council as ineffective in humanitarian intervention, an expanded role of

international peace and security. The author argues that due to national interests of states in the UNSC, specifically France, the council was unable to respond in time to save thousands of Rwandese from the genocide. Lack of political will, national interests, lack of a standby force and dependence on troop donation are some of the reasons cited by the author on the failure of UNSC. The author has extensively pointed to the veto power model and deadlock in the council as the major impediments in maintenance of international peace and security. The author has suggested extensive reform to the council, encouraging new voting methods that reflect democratic principles and limiting the application of the veto. The study intends to go further and examine implications of such proposals to maintenance of international peace and security.

Malone and Chitalkar (2013) argue that the UNSC is vulnerable to dynamics of international politics especially relations among the P5 at any given time. This in itself therefore limits the efficacy of the organisation in respect to maintenance of international peace and security. The authors' argument is centered on the inability of the UNSC to act in the Balkans, Somalia and Rwanda where the UN role was lacking amidst conflict. They contend that the only case that the UNSC was successful in mobilising international support and unanimity of the security council was in 1991 in the Iraq–Kuwait conflict. The authors point to 2003 invasion of Iraq as testament to the inability of the council to maintain international peace and security. The authors have not factored in the various aspects of peace keeping activities conducted by the UN over time. Neither have they provided tangible options to the UNSC in international peace and security.

Literature Gap

While the UN and in extension the UNSC would appear to be ineffective if judged on failures in select cases, assessing effectiveness in relation to an unattainable ideal seem unfair and misplaced. The UNSC exist in a framework of independent states in an anarchic international system and whereas in principle it is expected that it would in itself successfully execute its mandate in regard to maintenance of international peace and security it will suffer from inadequacies related to the context in which it operates.

In conclusion, from the available literature much of the emphasis has been on a select few cases as a basis to offer judgement on the security council. But the ever expanding role of peacekeeping as mandated by the security council does not feature much. The study attempts to go deeper in analysing the mandate of the UNSC to consider peacekeeping role as authorised by the council. Most of the literature available use select cases to draw assumptions and conclusions most of which dismiss the council as having failed to execute its mandate in maintenance of international peace and security. The study will examine authorised action by the Security Council vis-a-vi case that no action has been taken.

2.3 Conceptual Framework

The United Nations Organization was formed primarily to provide an avenue for collective security, foster cooperation among states. The organization set rules of behavior to regulate actions of states and guarantee international peace and security in the international system. To do that states have to abide by rules, regulations and norms of the organization in order to prevent war in the world.

At the heart of the UN collective security system is the UNSC. It is within this body that is charged with maintenance of international peace and security (UN Charter Article 24). Reinforcing this mandate are two principles that undergird the mandate of the UNSC: first is the ban on individual use of force by states except for self defense and only in the face of imminent attack and two it's the responsibility of the council to determine if there is a threat to international peace and security, and therefore authorize collective action to restore and uphold international peace and security.

Article 42 of the UN Charter clearly states that in order to ensure prompt and effective actions by the United Nations, the organizations members confer primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security as outline in Article 24, and in so doing accept and carry out its decisions in accordance with the UN charter. However as outlined in Article 27, action by the council can only be taken without a negative vote by the P5, veto bearing members. It means therefore that UN actions in regards to maintenance of international peace and security depend entirely on the Security Council. As such if the council fails to play its role in the same then the UN is handicapped in as far as maintenance of international peace and security is concerned.

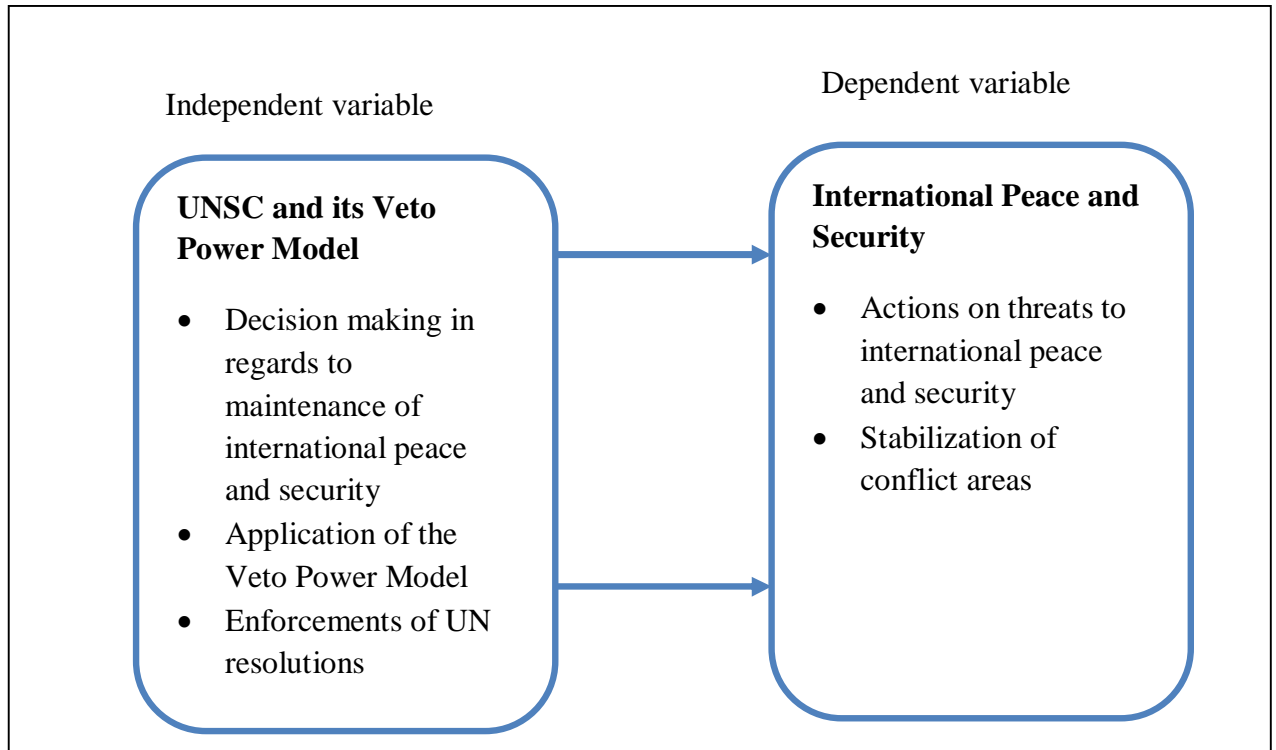


Figure 2.1 Conceptual framework

2.4 Research Hypothesis

1. The veto power model enhances UN operations in maintenance of international peace and security.
2. Enforcing UN resolutions in maintenance of international peace and security relies on the veto power model.

2.5 Research Methodology

The study relied extensively on documentary sources of data. These were documents regarding the operations of the UNSC, academic literature and other existing data on UNSC role in maintenance of international peace and security. The choice of secondary data was informed by the availability of literature on the role of UNSC in maintenance of international peace and security and also because of the challenge of

accessing informant interviews in Kenya. Additional data was collected from reported interviews on print and electronic media available online both in video and print format. Libraries and organizational websites provided access to the data.

The study targeted institutions that could provide information on UNSC role in maintenance of international peace and security. These included United Nations Office for Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, Global Policy Forum, United Nations Department of Peace Keeping Operations, United Nations News Center, United Nations University, Reform the UN organization, United Nations Security Council, International Media Organizations including Aljazeera, CNN and BBC. The study made use of past and present information on world events regarding international peace and security that range from UN interventions in maintenance of peace and security, international conflicts both intrastate and interstate and other events that have a direct correlation to international peace and security. The study also targeted research publications, academic journals and books that have covered UNSC and international peace and security.

The data collected was subjected to content analysis guided by research objectives. This was done by grouping them in to thematic areas. The major thematic areas include: utility of the veto power model, interventions authorized by the Security Council since inception and application of the veto power by the P5. The study then classified the data into groups each corresponding with the research objective. Their methodology was analyzed in order to establish patterns, similarities and differences before conclusions were drawn from the data. The outcomes of content analysis were used to produce descriptive analysis for the study.

2.5.6 Chapter outline

The study is organized in to five chapters. Chapter One lays the foundation for this study by focusing on the background, the problem statement, objective of the study, justification of the study, research hypotheses, and scope, limitations and delimitations of the study, conceptual framework and definition of terms. Chapter Two reviews the available literature pertaining to the UNSC and the veto power model in maintenance of international peace and security and the methodology of the study. Chapter three focuses on actions by the UNSC in maintenance of international peace and security. Chapter Four focuses on reform agenda of the UNSC in an effort to improve its efficiency. The chapter will focus on the different reform proposals, their viability, utility and implication to the UNSC and maintenance of international peace and security. Chapter Five will focus on the summary, conclusions and recommendations of the study.

CHAPTER THREE

UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL ROLE IN PEACE KEEPING

OPERATIONS

3.0 Introduction

Article 39 under Chapter VII of the UN Charter gives the Security Council primary mandate for the maintenance of international peace and security. In fulfilling this mandate, the Council can establish a UN peacekeeping operation or enforce peace in areas of conflict. UN peacekeeping operations are deployed on the basis of mandates from the UNSC. Their tasks differ from situation to situation, depending on the nature of the conflict and the specific challenges it presents. Although each UN peacekeeping operation is different, there is a considerable degree of consistency in the types of mandated tasks assigned by the Security Council. Depending on their mandate, peacekeeping operations may be deployed to prevent the outbreak of conflict or the spill-over of conflict across borders, stabilize conflict situations after a ceasefire, to create an environment for the parties to reach a lasting peace agreement, assist in implementing comprehensive peace agreements, lead states or territories through a transition to stable government, based on democratic principles, good governance and economic development

Peacekeeping mandate is also expanded to play roles related to peace building. The argument being that peace building is a critical aspect of peacekeeping. This includes disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants into society in order to limit access to arms that is a major catalyst to conflict and war. Disarmament also

includes elimination of land mine that greatly undermines human life in post conflict areas. Security sector reform and other rule of law-related activities, protection and promotion of human rights, electoral assistance, support for the restoration and extension of state authority and promotion of social and economic recovery are the other areas under the expanded mandate of peacekeeping.

The UNSC is synonymous with the permanent members of the council and the veto power model. The importance of the P5 and their veto power indeed at times diminishes the role and operations of the other non permanent members of the council. In reality the operations of the UN in regards to maintenance of international peace and security are dependent on the council. It remains a matter of record that during the cold war era the Council was greatly hampered in its operations. This is attributed to the cold war rivalry between the Soviet Union and the US and the great power antagonism that in most cases found its way into decision making at the council (Malone, 1997).

Irrespective of challenges in building consensus in the council there have been a growing number of resolutions on peace keeping adopted. The United Nations through the UNSC expanded its mandate in regard to maintenance of international peace and security to embrace peacekeeping mission. This followed increased cases of intra and interstate conflicts in the world. The role of the UN peacekeeping increased exponentially over time and especially with an increase in international conflicts.

These peacekeeping operations can be classified into four categories: observer groups to supervise cease-fires and truce lines, military forces interposed between armies and used to patrol frontiers, military forces with the mandate to curtail military conflict

by all necessary means and to assist in maintaining international order and military presence to prevent the expansion of communal conflict. The UNSC has also settled political disputes that had the potential to lead to war in Indonesia, Iran, Suez, to name a few (Palmer and Perkins, 2010). From 1990-1998, the council authorized 31 peacekeeping missions and adopted 145 resolutions under chapter VII of the UN Charter which is binding to all member states. In contrast only 15 peace keeping missions were authorized and 22 resolutions adopted before 1990 (Global Policy Forum, 2014).

3.1 Assessing the UNSC Role in Maintenance of International Peace during the Cold War Era

The UN with authorization from the Security Council was involved in four major international peace and security crises. These included Palestine (1948), Korea (1950), Suez 1956 and Congo in 1962. After Israel declared independence in 1948, war broke out between Israel and her neighbors Jordan, Egypt, Lebanon and Syria (Weiss et al, 2007). The Security Council acting within its mandate and under Article VII ordered for a cease-fire then created an observer team, the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) to supervise the ceasefire (Security Council Resolution 29, 1948).

In 1950 the Security Council authorized action to repel armed attack and restore peace and security during the Korean War between North and South Korea. After World War II North Korea became allied to the Soviet Union while South Korea was allied to the US. Forces from North Korea attacked South Korea. The security council passed a resolution declaring that North Korea had committed a breach of peace thereby legitimizing US involvement to deter North Korea forces from South Korea. The UN

General Assembly voted through the Uniting for Peace resolution to offer support for South Korea with authorization from the United Nations (Young and Kent, 2004; Nye, 2004).

However Russia was not in agreement with the rest of the UNSC members regarding military action against North Korea, in fact at the time the Soviet Union was absconding its role and position in the Security Council. The uniting for peace resolution by the UN General Assembly was used in this instance by passing the UNSC and authorizing UN action (Palmer and Perkins, 2010). The seventh Report of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace issued in July 1951 concluded that the enforcement action undertaken by the UN in Korea was historic in the sense that it was the first major collective action decision taken by a community of states to deter aggression.

In 1961 the council also adopted resolution 161 A to take all appropriate measures to prevent war in the Congo. This set the stage for the deployment of UN peacekeeping operation in the Congo. The peace keeping operations however faced serious challenges as super power rivalries manifested in the country. In response to the 1973 Arab-Israeli war, the UN created the United Nations Emergency Force II (UNEF II) with a mandate to keep the warring parties apart especially Egypt and Israel. Its mandate was renewed by the Security Council after the 1979 truce to establish a demilitarized zone and supervise other provisions of the truce.

The Security Council also acted decisively during the Iran-Iraq war in 1987- 1988 by imposing economic penalties on Iran for continuing the war. The threat of sanctions

helped force Ayatollah Khomeini to finally end the war. By the early 1990's the Council had become effective for mobilizing the world community to repel aggression and maintain peace (Chitalkar & Malone 2013). The Gulf war would provide one of the most successful stories of the UN collective security system and an exercise of the mandate of the UNSC mandate in maintenance of international peace and security.

But the cold war rivalries still played an important role in determining how effective the Security Council would operate. The Soviet Union boycotting the council in reaction to the UN recognition of Taiwan as the legitimate government of China seriously affected legitimacy of council decisions during the Korea war. An attempt by the Soviet Union to bring a resolution to recognize China in the council faced stiff opposition from the US who promised to veto such a resolution. The Soviet Union thus boycotted the UNSC in protest and in support to China who's communist ideology was more closer to the Soviet Union.

Table 3.1: UN Peacekeeping Operations during the Cold War Years

Years Active	Operation
1948-Present	United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) Jerusalem
1949-Present	United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP)
1956-1967	United Nations Emergency Force I (UNEF I, Suez Canal)
1958	United Nations Observer Group in Lebanon (UNOGIL)
1960-1964	United Nations in the Congo (ONUC)
1962-1963	United Nations Force in West Guinea (UNSF)
1963-1964	United Nations Yemen Observer Mission (UNYOM)
1964-Present	United Nations Peacekeeping Force In Cyprus (UNFICYP)
1965-1966	Mission of the Representative of the Secretary General in the Dominican Republic (DOMREP)
1973-1979	United Nations Emergency Force II (UNEF II)
1974- Present	United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF Golan Heights)
1978-Present	United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon
1988-1990	United Nations Good Offices in Afghanistan and Pakistan(UNGOMAP)
1988-1991	United Nations Iran-Iraq Military Observer Group (UNIIMOG)
1989-1990	United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG,Namibia)
1989-1991	United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM I)
1989-1992	United Nations Observer Group in Central America (ONUC)

Data courtesy of Security Council Report 2014 and Global Policy Forum 2014

3.2 Assessing the UNSC Role in Maintenance of International Peace after the Cold War Years

The end of the Cold War ushered in an era of a more proactive role by the UNSC in addressing intra-state conflict, with interventions in Haiti, Sierra Leone and Somalia. Despite the right to national sovereignty and self-determination under Article 2(7) of the Charter of the UN prohibiting the UN from intervening in matters of "domestic jurisdiction of any state", Chapter VII allows the Security Council to intervene if it sees any situation to be a 'threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression; the Security Council uses this exception to Article 2(7) in order to justify interventions that

could threaten international peace and security if they escalate beyond national borders (Greitens and Farrell, 2013).

Sovereignty no longer exclusively protects states from foreign intervention especially where the welfare of the citizens is at stake. In 2005 at the UN World summit member states formally accepted the responsibility of states to protect their citizens from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity. If a state fails in respect to this role then the UN has a formal responsibility to intervene on humanitarian grounds (Massingham, 2009). Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations grants special powers to the Security Council to enforce its mandate of maintaining international peace and security, such as economic sanctions, arms embargoes, financial sanctions, travel bans, and collective military actions, including the power to deploy and direct peacekeeping forces. Prior to application of this power the Security Council can attempt alternative steps under Article 34 of the UN charter. This include: calling for ceasefires, requesting discussions to resolve the issues leading to conflict, and creating investigations into disputes or situations that may disrupt international peace.

With the end of the cold war there was also hope that the gridlock that had characterized relations at the Security Council would be reduced. In truth the end of cold war has seen a significant reduction in the application of the veto power. There was enthusiasm after 1991 following unanimity towards collective action against Iraq. That year the council was united again in condemning Iraq invasion of Kuwait and ultimately authorized the use of force to get Iraqi forces outside Kuwait. The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in August 1990 led the Council to adopt a mandate authorizing the use of force by a coalition of member states. UNSC decisions during the entire Iraq-Kuwait crisis,

including measures adopted following the March 1991 end of hostilities to establish no-fly zones within Iraq and to provide humanitarian assistance to the Kurdish population, were important not only in their own right but also because they proved to be precedents in many respects. The success of the coalition's military campaign against the Saddam Hussein's regime induced an era of optimism regarding the operation of the council (Malone, 1997)

Still in Iraq the council adopted a number of resolutions key among them resolution 1051 of 1996 which set up a mechanism for Iraqi imports and exports relating to weapons of mass destruction. In 1999 the council adopted resolution 1284 creating a new inspections mechanism: the U.N. Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC) (Brown, 2003). The Iraq war presented the ideal expectations of how the council should operate in discharging its mandate in regards to maintenance of international peace and security. However the successes in Iraq were overshadowed by the conflict in Somalia with the death of US forces and a peace mission unable to support humanitarian intervention.

During this period the UNSC adopted nearly 185 resolutions regarding peacekeeping missions in conflict areas. The council also enforced sanctions against the government of Iraq in 1990, Yugoslavia in 1991, Libya in 1992, Haiti in 1993, UNITA in Angola in 1993 and Sierra Leone in October 1997. From 1990-96, the Council greatly increased resort to economic sanctions as a means to compel compliance with its decisions, sometimes accompanied by naval blockades, as was the case for Haiti, Iraq and former Yugoslavia (Greitens and Farrell, 2013).

But even with the developments and increased consensus after the cold war, the P5 still protect their own national interests and aspirations within the council. This has to some extent hindered the ability of the council to execute its mandate. Where a particular humanitarian crisis falls within the national interests of P5 member or members, they are likely to withhold their support or even threaten to veto unless their national interests are withheld. For instance, Russia and later China obstructed resolution calling for peace operations in Haiti. Russia wanted UN endorsement of its own intervention in Georgia in 1994. In the 1990s Russia was uneasy about external interference in Eastern Europe and refused to recognize any form of humanitarian intervention in the evolving crisis in Kosovo. Russia was prepared to veto any resolution of the UNSC that would authorize military intervention. It took the unilateral intervention of NATO amidst mounting humanitarian crisis acting without authorization of the council but with informal support from the UN for action (SC Res.1160, 1199 and 1203).

In recent times there have been both consensus and division. In September 2013 the UNSC unanimously adopted a binding resolution on getting rid of Syria's chemical weapons. The vote came amidst accusations from human rights groups and international agencies that work against proliferation of chemical weapons who accused Syria of using chemical weapons against its civilians. The UNSC gave the International Chemical Watchdog group the mandate to oversee the destruction of the chemical weapons (BBC News, 2013). Syria has been an divisive issue among the Security Council members and this was a rare moment when the council got rare unanimity on the issue.

Table 3.2: UN Peacekeeping Operations after the Cold War Years

Years Active	Operation
1991-1992	United Nations Advance Mission in Cambodia (UNAMIC)
1991-1995	United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL)
1991-1995	United Nations Angola Verification Mission II (UNAVEM II)
1991-Present	United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO)
1991-2003	United Nations Iraq-Kuwait Observer Mission (UNIKOM)
1992-1993	United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC)
1992-1993	United Nations Operation in Somalia I (UNOSOM I)
1992-1994	United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ)
1992-1995	United Nations Protection Force, Former Yugoslavia (UNPROFOR)
1993-1994	United Nations Mission Uganda-Rwanda (UNOMUR)
1993-1995	United Nations In Somalia II (UNOSOM II)
1993-1996	United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH)
1993-1996	United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR)
1993-1997	United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL)
1994	United Nations Aouzou Strip Observer Group (UNASOG, Chad/Libya)
1994-2000	United Nations Mission in Tajikistan (UNMOT)
1995-1996	United Nations Confidence Restoration Operation, Croatia (UNCRO)
1995-1997	United Nations Angola Verification Mission III (UNAVEM III)
1995-1999	United Nations Preventive Deployment Force, Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (UNPREDEP)
1995-2002	United Nations in Bosnia And Herzegovina (UNMIBH)
1996-1997	United Nations Support Mission in Haiti (UNSMIH)
1996-1998	United Nations Transitional Administration For Eastern Slavonia, Baranja, And Western Sirmium (UNTAES)
1996-2002	United Nations Mission of Observers in Prevlaka (UNMOP)
1997	United Nations Verification Mission in Guatemala (MINUGUA)
1997-1999	United Nations Observer Mission in Angola (MONUA)
1997	United Nations Transition Mission in Haiti (UNTMIH)
1997-2000	United Nation Civilian Police in Haiti (MIPONUH)
1998	United Nations Civilian Police Support Group (UNCPSG)
1998-2000	United Nations Mission In The Central African Republic (MINURCA)
1998-1999	United Nations Observer Mission In Sierra Leone (UNOMSIL)
1999-Present	United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK)
1999-2005	United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL)
1999-2002	United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET)
1999-2010	United Nations Organization Mission in Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC)
2000-2008	United Nations Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea (UNMEE)
2002-2005	United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (UNMISSET)

2003-Present	United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL)
2004-Present	United Operation in Cote d'Ivoire (UNOCI)
2004-Present	United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH)
2004-2006	United Nations Operation in Burundi (ONUB)
2005-2011	United Nations Mission in Sudan (UNMIS)
2006-2011	United Nations Integrated Mission in Timo-Lester (UNMIT)
2007-Present	Africa Union-United Nations Hybrid Operations in Darfur (UNAMID)
2007-2010	United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic and Chad (MINURCAT)
2010-Present	United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO)
2011-Present	United Nations Organization Interim Security Force for Abyei (UNISFA)
2011-Present	United Nations Mission in the Republic of South Sudan (UNMISS)
2012	United Nations Supervision Mission in Syria (UNSMIS)
2013-Present	United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA)
2014-Present	United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic (MINUSCA)

Data courtesy of Security Council Report 2014 and Global Policy Forum 2014

Since inception the UNSC has authorized and conducted 69 peacekeeping operations in regard to maintenance of international peace and security. Currently there are 16 active peace keeping operations authorized the council (United Nations Department of Peace Keeping Operations Report, 2014). While during the cold war years the operations were limited due to cold war rivalry, the end of the cold war has seen an increase in the number of actions taken by the council. However there have been failures in regard to maintenance of international peace and security key among them Somalia, Rwanda and the Balkan Region.

International peace has expanded so much in recent time to include protection of citizens under the responsibility to protect; a concept that was unanimously adopted by UN member states during the UN world Summit in 2005. The Security Council has branded certain violations of human rights as a threat to international peace and security.

In the next section the study looks at R2P in an expanded UN mandate in international peace and security.

3.3 Emerging Threats to International Peace and Security and UN Response: Interventions under the Responsibility to Protect (R2P).

In the wake of genocide in and the Balkans in the 1990s, there were renewed efforts to develop a framework that would facilitate protection of human rights and deal with gross violations of human rights effectively when such cases occur. In 2000 then UN secretary general cited failures for the security council to act in Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia a challenge to member states in regards to protection of civilians in conflict areas. The International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS) was the first organization to coin the expression “responsibility to protect” in response to calls by Kofi Anan to figure out the best approach to handling issues of genocide and gross violations of human rights. The commission found that whereas sovereignty gives states the control of their internal affairs within their territory, it is also expected that states protect their citizens and as such should the state in question be unwilling or unable to act then the international community must act in that respect (Massingham, 2009).

In 2004, the High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change, set up by Secretary-General Kofi Annan, endorsed the emerging norm of a responsibility to protect – often called “R2P” – stating that there is a collective international responsibility, ‘exercisable by the Security Council authorizing military intervention as a last resort, in the event of genocide and other large-scale killing, ethnic cleansing and serious violations

of humanitarian law which sovereign governments have proved powerless or unwilling to prevent.” The panel proposed basic criteria that would legitimize the authorization of the use of force by the UN Security Council, including the seriousness of the threat, the fact that it must be a last resort, and the proportionality of the response. (Report of the High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change, 2004).

In September 2005, at the United Nations World Summit, all Member States formally accepted the responsibility of each State to protect its population from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity. At the Summit, world leaders also agreed that when any State fails to meet that responsibility, all States are responsible for helping to protect people threatened with such crimes. Should peaceful means – including diplomatic, humanitarian and others - be inadequate and national authorities “manifestly fail” to protect their populations, the international community should act collectively in a “timely and decisive manner” – through the UN Security Council and in accordance with the UN Charter – on a case-by-case basis and in cooperation with regional organizations as appropriate (Global Center for the Responsibility to Protect, 2014). It was Sudan that the UNSC first applied the R2P in April 2006, in resolution 1674 on the protection of civilians in armed conflict. The Security Council referred to that resolution in August 2006, when passing resolution 1706 authorizing the deployment of UN peacekeeping troops to Darfur, Sudan. There have been other cases since then.

Following widespread and systematic attacks against the civilian population by the regime in response to protests in favor of regime change in Libya the UN Security Council, on 26 February 2011, unanimously adopted resolution 1970, making explicit reference to the responsibility to protect. The UN described the situation as dire

characterized by “the gross and systematic violation of human rights”. The Security Council demanded an end to the violence citing Libya’s responsibility to protect its citizens. It was followed by a series of international sanctions. The Council also decided to refer the situation to the International Criminal Court. In resolution 1973, adopted on 17 March 2011, the Security Council demanded an immediate ceasefire in Libya, including an end to ongoing attacks against civilians, which it said might constitute “crimes against humanity.” The Council authorized Member States to take “all necessary measures” to protect civilians under threat of attack in the country, while excluding a foreign occupation force of any form on any part of Libyan territory. A few days later, acting on the resolution, NATO planes started striking at government forces in Libya (Morris, 2013)

The UNSC also passed a resolution for military operation in Cote D Ivoire after chaos erupted following elections in 2010. Following the country's presidential election in 2010, security forces and militias loyal to former President Laurent Gbagbo attacked civilians perceived to be supporters of current President Alassane Ouattara on the basis of their ethnic affiliation. An estimated 3,000 people were killed in the post-electoral violence while Gbagbo refused to relinquish the Presidency and this crisis prompted the council to adopt resolution 1975 in March 2011 in order to take action to protect civilians. UN peace keeping mission in Cote de'Ivoire (UNOCI) was originally authorized under Resolution 1528 (2004) with the mandate to protect civilians. In 2011 the Security Council, adopted a resolution to create a UN Peacekeeping Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS), to advise and assist the government in fulfilling its responsibility to protect civilians. Following an outbreak of war between opposition and government

forces In December 2013, the Security Council reiterated its steadfast support for UNMISS and its vital mission on behalf of the international community to protect civilians in South Sudan, including foreign nationals, as well as conduct human rights monitoring and investigations, and facilitate assistance to populations in need. On 27 May the UNSC adopted Resolution 2155 extending UNMISS' civilian protection mandate until November 2014 The council stressed that it is the responsibility of the government of South Sudan to protect innocent civilians within its territory and subject to its jurisdiction, including from potential crimes against humanity and war crimes. Additionally the UNSC adopted a Presidential Statement on 8 August 2014, condemning repeated violations of the ceasefire and expressing its readiness to impose targeted sanctions against those who have undermined peace in South Sudan (Global Center for the Responsibility to Protect, 2014)

R2P remains as a viable platform in maintenance of international peace and security. It goes hand in hand with calls for the P5 to restrain from veto application especially in cases of gross violations of human rights and genocide. But it shows the evolution of maintenance of international peace and security and the role that the UNSC play in the same.

CHAPTER FOUR

CHALLENGES ASSOCIATED WITH THE VETO POWER IN MAINTENANCE OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY

4.0 Introduction

While many consider the UN as having had considerable success in economic and social development, they argue that there have been many challenges in regards to the maintenance of international peace and security since its inception. These failures are attributed to role of Security Council in adopting resolutions aimed at maintenance of international peace and security. At the heart of this challenge is the application of the Veto Power by the permanent members of the Security Council and the lack of the great power unanimity (Bailey, 1988).

The major challenge remains the issue of power and national interest of states. The P5 its argued will always pursue their own national interests and it is likely that consensus will be hard to achieve in the face of an issue where national interest are at play. Since the introduction of the Veto Model, it is estimated that it has been used 263 times (Okhovat, 2011). From 1946-1995, there were 244 vetoes on substantive issues. In contrast from 1990-1998 only 8 application of the veto was witnessed (Global Policy Forum, 2014). It is important to note that in some cases a threat to apply the veto usually in most cases is enough to block a resolution from being tabled before the Security Council. This is due to the fact that bringing the resolution before the council is an exercise in futility. This was witnessed during the Kosovo war where Russia had promised to veto any resolution calling for military action by the UN. The same has been

witnessed in recent times in the case of Syria where China and Russia have maintained their opposition to any military action against the Assad regime.

There has been a significant reduction in the use of the veto power since the end of the cold war. As of 2012 Russia had used the veto 128 times followed by the US at 70; so far Russia has blocked 6 resolutions jointly with China. Along with its extended interest in the Balkan region, Russia vetoed a resolution on Bosnia and Herzegovina and after 2008 Russia-Georgia crisis, blocked the passage of a resolution that intended to extend the United Nations Observer Mission's mandate in Georgia and Abkhazia. Moreover, together with China, Russia obstructed the Security Council condemn human right abuses in Burma and Zimbabwe; both countries being important economic allies.

As of 2012 the China had used its Veto 9 times, together with Russia it vetoed the resolution which condemned human rights violation in Zimbabwe and Burma for her own economic interest. It also vetoed a popular decision in 1997 to authorize deployment of observers to verify the ceasefire in Guatemala and later in 1999 blocked a resolution regarding the extension of the operation of United Nations Preventive Deployment Force (UNPREDEP) in Macedonia. Reason being these two countries had close ties with Taiwan. China Continues to have a tense relation with Taiwan which it considers a territory her territory (Global Policy Forum, 2014).

Overall, the US is the second most frequent user of veto power. More importantly, in the period after the end of the Cold War, it has become the most frequent user. This country has vetoed 83 draft resolutions in the history of the UNSC, 14 of them were cast after 1991. What is telling about these veto application is that out of the 14 resolutions 13

were related to Israel. Critics argue that Israel is a proxy permanent member of the UNSC and the US will always protect Israel’s interests within the council. The US has been active in preventing the Security Council from adopting resolutions condemning Israeli settlement activities in East Jerusalem, asking for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from Gaza, calling the construction of security wall in the West Bank illegal and many other cases that involved condemnation of actions carried out by Israel. Figure 1.3 below present a detailed description of the use of the veto from 1946-2012 and the reduction of its application in recent times.

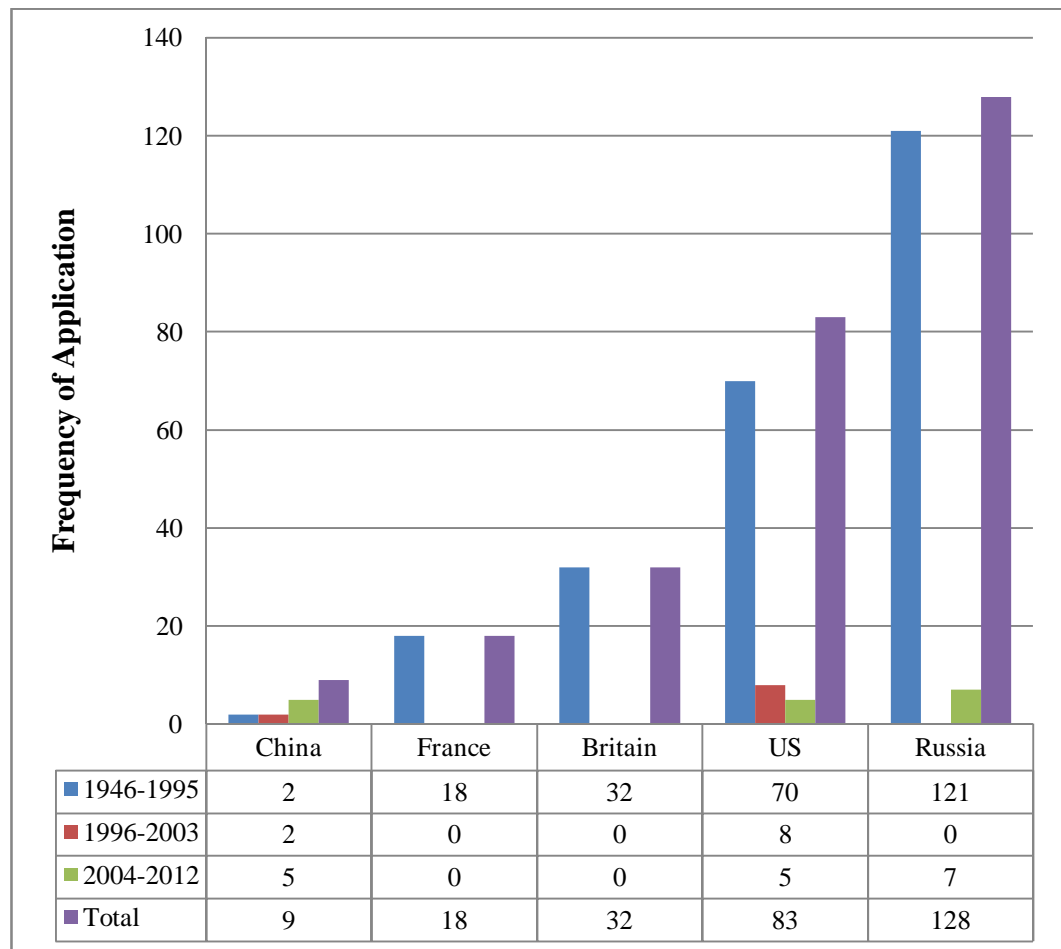


Figure 4.1: Use of the veto from 1946-2012

Source: Data courtesy of Global policy forum 2014

4.1 Challenges of the Veto Power and the Inability of the Council to act in Syria

The raging ongoing crisis in Syria demonstrates the impasse that is likely to occur with regards to lack of consensus from the veto wielding powers. The Syrian conflict emerged out of the Arab spring in the Middle East. The demonstrations against President Bashar Al Assad's government has escalated to a level that threatens the region at large, because the Assad regime became intolerant to protests and resolved to use the military force against civilians. A rebel group thus emerged and the war in Syria has since escalated. The current conflict in Syria is one the most dynamic and complex items on the Security Council's agenda. It poses a serious threat to regional stability, represents a massive and growing humanitarian crisis, and has proved to be an extremely divisive issue within the council itself (Aljazeera News, 2014).

On 3 August 2011 the Security Council first engaged the crisis with a Presidential statement expressing its concern over the "deteriorating situation in Syria" and added Syria to its regular monthly Middle East briefings on 25 August 2011 (United Nations Security Council, 2011). However, on 4 October 2011 both China and the Russian vetoed a draft resolution that included language condemning "grave and systematic human rights violations" in Syria and warnings of possible sanctions should the Syrian Government fail to "immediately stop using force against civilians. In January 2012 a draft resolution calling for the Secretary-General to appoint a UN-Arab League Joint Special Envoy for Syria was vetoed by China and Russia however similar resolution was adopted by the General Assembly on 16 February 2012. While there have been attempts by the council to mitigate the humanitarian crisis, peace enforcement through military interventions is highly unlikely given the differences and threat of the veto.

The United Nations and other Human rights watch groups estimate gross violation of human rights in the conflict in Syria. The United Nations Commission on Human Rights (UNHCR) report of 2012 indicate that, according to hospital and police reports, at least 2,131 civilians had been killed in the period from 15 March to 19 December 2011. The Government added that a total of 913 soldiers and 215 police officers (1,128 people in total) were killed during the same period. According to the Syrian government, from 23 December 2011 to 10 February 2012, a further 651 members of the army and security forces were killed and 2,292 injured. In addition, 519 unidentified bodies were found. On 15 February 2012, the government provided additional figures, according to which 2,493 civilians and 1,345 soldiers and police officers had been killed in the course of the conflict in the period from 15 March 2011 to 18 January 2012 (UNHRC, 2012). As of May 2014 the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs reported that at least 6.45 million people have been internally displaced while an estimated 150,000 had been killed (UNOCHA, 2014). While the conflict has largely remained in Syria, Turkey has been drawn in it with accusing Syria of violating its airspace and threatening retaliation against the Assad regime. An influx of refugees to neighboring countries namely Iraq, Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan is increasing day by day. It is correct to say that the conflict in Syria is a threat to international peace and security.

The inability of the Security Council to effectively deal with the Syria crisis can be attributed to the national interests of Russia and China and their use of the veto to block any such action by the Security Council. Russia has a considerable trade of arms to Syria and the government of Bashar Al Assad. In 2012, Syria was due to take delivery of Russian BUK-M2E surface to air missile systems, Pansir-S1 armored rocket complexes

and, according to some reports, Mig-29 fighter jets. Russia therefore vetoed the Security Council resolution on Syria together with the China on 19th July 2012 despite an appeal from the UN for a concerted effort that would have pressured Syria owing to sanctions and possible military intervention (UN News Center, 2012). Eleven of the members of the Security Council voted in favor of the resolution. Russia Vetoed and so did China, Pakistan and South Africa abstained from the voting process.

Any kind of sanction or military intervention would jeopardize Russia's economic interests with Syria; this would interfere with her national interest. Moreover Russia has also been having its own domestic political problems with protest for political reform and free and fair polls, in this regard Russia has been very uneasy to participate in what it considers as domestic issue of another state (Borger, 2012).

China has significant bilateral trade agreements with Syria ranging back to the 1940s. While China denies being an arms supplier to Syria, there are reports of China assisting in the development of Syrian ballistic missiles. China participates commercially in Syrian oil: the China National Petroleum Company owns part of the Al-Furat oil company, Syria's main producer. According to an article from the Jamestown Foundation, a U.S research institute, China is primarily interested in Syria as a trade hub, with its strategic location near fast-growing African and Gulf economies (Brennan, 2014; Wong, 2012).

Other than its geographic location as a terminus node on the ancient Silk Road, and hub for trade between the three continents of Africa, Asia and Europe, there are many reasons for China's interest in Syria. First, it can serve as China's gateway for

European market access in the face of increasing protectionist pressures from larger countries such as France, Germany and Great Britain within the European Union (Smith, 2012) .It would not be in the interest of China to interfere in Syria. Also China is trying to assert itself internationally and any opportunity available to undermine efforts of the US, Britain and France, the so called traditional hegemony is always a welcome.

Domestically China is also having its own political issues to deal with ranging from the push by Tibet for autonomy, the issue of Taiwan which it still consider as part of its own territory and the issue with political reforms and the ghost of Tiananmen square protests. The pro democracy protests in Hong Kong are also becoming a nightmare for China. China therefore is uneasy with the politics of external interference with the domestic issues of another state. Therefore all this is centered on the issue of interests of states and how they are using the Veto to protect their interest and in so doing limit the ability of the UN to intervene in an effort to maintain peace and security in the international system. Syria therefore points to challenges inherent in the veto power model and the efficacy of UNSC role in maintaining peace and security in the International system.

4.2 Unilateral Approach in Protecting National Interests of the P5 and How It Undermines the UN Collective Security Regime

The UN exists for a collective approach to handling security of members. In some occasions however the P5 have acted unilaterally in pursuing their national interests with the knowledge that no Security Council resolution would pass against them since they enjoy the power of the Veto. In August 2008 a five day war erupted between Russia and

Georgia over the breakaway province of Ossetia from Georgia. Georgia attacked on the night of August 7th South of Ossetia in an effort to reclaim that territory. Georgia claimed Russia was sending peace keepers to the region. During that military offensive in South Ossetia Russian peacekeepers were part of the casualties and Georgia was able to occupy some parts of South Ossetia. Russia went on the offensive against Georgia without UNSC authorization claiming that Georgia's actions were gross violation of human rights and a threat to international peace and security (Splidsboel, 2009). The might of the Russian military was able to defeat Georgian troops and Russia ended up occupying significant territories within Georgia until a ceasefire agreement which was reached on 12th August 2012 was brokered by the French President and the European Union.

For Russia strategic interests South Ossetia is seen as an ally against Western Europe and the US while Georgia through its foreign policy has developed a more friendly approach to the US and the west, something that make Russia very uneasy. Russia used unilateral approach to the protection of her own interest. At the back of this Russia probably understood its position at the UNSC and the fact that a resolution demanding its withdrawal or condemnation would never see light of day, firstly because it would veto that resolution, the fact that it has such powers in the Security Council. In this respect, the fact that Russia has the Veto power within the Security Council could have emboldened Russia in acting as it deemed fit in the protection of its national interest, this action undermines Security Council's main mandate of acting within the Councils decisions in regards to maintenance of International peace and security.

The same can be said of the US unilateral approach to the war in Iraq in 2003. After an unsuccessful attempt to convince the Security Council to authorize military

action against Iraq claiming that President Saddam Hussein was manufacturing Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD), the US decided to build a coalition of likeminded states with Britain and Australia for an attack in Iraq. It was a war that was not sanctioned by the Security Council. It greatly undermined the UN, and eventually left the UN with the responsibility of helping with humanitarian support after the war. In the end no WMD's were found in Iraq but the damage done was massive and it all came down to the UN cleaning up the mess through reconstruction efforts in rebuilding Iraq, resettlement of refugees who were displaced as a result of the war. The power of the US within the UN, its economic might and its budget allocation for the United Nations Organization, the Power of the veto all gave it the impetus to go unilateral in Iraq (Malone and Chitalkar, 2013; Berdal, 2003).

The US has also conducted considerable military intervention in South America. In 1966, President Lyndon Johnson sent troops to the Dominican Republic. In 1973 President Richard Nixon sent covert troops into Chile and overthrew the government of Salvador Allende and replaced him with General Augusto Pinochet. In 1983, it led operation urgent fury in Granada as a response to the coup in Venezuela claiming protection of its own national interest, subsequently it invaded Panama in 1989. All these without the authority of the UNSC (Young and Kent, 2004).

When it comes to Israel, the US has always vetoed any resolution that it perceives to be against its interest in as far as its relationship with Israel is concerned; on 18th February 2011, it Vetoed a UN resolution condemning all Israeli settlements established in occupied Palestinian territory since 1967 as illegal, saying that while it agreed that the settlements are illegitimate the resolution harmed chances for peace talks. Fourteen out of

the fifteen members of the Security Council, that includes the four permanent members of the Security Council voted in favor of the resolution. The resolution which was co sponsored by more than 120 member countries sought to put pressure on both sides to stick to the road map for peace and limiting continued Israel settlement in the West Bank area. The US would always Veto resolutions which are not in Israel's favor and that this is one of the impediments in the Israeli Palestine peace effort (UN News Center, 2011).

When it comes to the issue of Iran, division among the Veto powers has literally stalled efforts at finding a lasting solution, while Britain, France and the US have continuously called for tougher sanctions against Iran and a more proactive approach, China and Russia have always maintained their position that non interference should be maintained although they stress their position that Iran should not be allowed to acquire nuclear arms, they remain reluctant to support Security Council resolutions that they perceive as positions taken by the US which could lead to military intervention. While China and Russia supported a resolution requiring Iran to halt efforts at acquiring nuclear weapons it is very unlikely that the Security Council will ever agree on a resolution that proposes extreme measures of enforcement that could include military action.

4.3 The Security Council, NATO and the Kosovo Crisis in 1999

The conflict started in Kosovo, a province in Serbia with a large ethnic Albanian Muslim population. An independent movement had been gaining momentum since 1995 following the death of Yugoslavia communist leader Josip Broz Tito in 1980, in 1997 the situation deteriorated as an armed group of insurgents calling themselves the Kosovo Liberation Army began attacks on Serbian security forces within Kosovo

promoting retaliatory attacks ordered by the then Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic. As the escalation continued, American and European diplomats continued to monitor the situation carefully as human rights conditions continued to deteriorate in the province. The Clinton administration decided to act fearing the situation could even deteriorate further. After negotiations and sanctions against Serbia failed to make an impact, the US and NATO began a bombing campaign of Serbia for 78 days in the spring of 1999 (Roberts, 1999).

During the entire course of the conflict Russia threatened that it would veto any resolution that would call for military intervention in Serbia, this was for the protection of Yugoslavia President Slobodan Milosevic. Caught in a quagmire and realizing that getting a successful vote for a resolution would be impossible, the security council went only as far as passing resolution 1199 which called for a halt to gross violation of human rights, it went as far as stating that if these conditions were not met then the Security Council would consider further additional measures in an effort to restore peace and stability in the region (UNSC, 1998). In that respect therefore the council did not therefore authorize any country or organization to use force or military intervention in the region. NATO however went ahead and launched a military offensive against Milosevic and the Serbian army. Russia had promised to veto any resolution to calling for military intervention. The UN was helpless caught between two competing forces with national interests at play within the Security Council.

In conclusion there have been evident challenges in maintenance of international peace and security by the UNSC especially in areas where the P5 do not agree and consensus is not reached. Syria being the most recent add up to cases of Iraq in 2003 and

Georgia in 2008. Most recently the role of Russia in the Crimea region has also come under scrutiny. In the argument for efficiency in the UN, there have been proposals for UNSC reform in order to usher in a new dispensation with several groups proposing different reform ideas. In the next section the study attempts to analyze the different reform proposals, their utility and what they portend to UNSC and maintenance of international peace and security.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE PLACE FOR REFORM IN IMPROVING THE EFFICACY OF THE UNSC

5.0 Introduction

So far the study has examined the extent to which the UNSC has played its role in maintenance of international peace and security, in that respect the study has found significant successes and a number of failures. In lieu of challenges to maintenance of peace and security by the UNSC, critics have continuously called for changes to the composition and working, methods of the Security Council. The calls for changes are the driving point of the reform agenda with different groups proposing specific changes. In this section the study looks at the reform agenda, its utility and whether the different proposals can improve the efficiency of the Security Council.

5.1 The Quest for Reform of the United Nations Security Council

In 1980 representatives from Africa, Asia and Latin America proposed changing the composition of the Security Council from 15 to 21 members. All the new members being non-permanent and rotating between the three regional groups. It was seen as cumbersome and complicated (Blum, 2005). Two aspects of reform exist in this framework, either a quantitative reform structure where states are offered representation to provide a geographical representation and make the council appear more democratic or qualitative reform where actual reform process yield substantive results in terms of the efficacy of the council.

In 1995 the nonaligned movement of the United Nations put forth a proposal that would offer benefits to both the industrialized and developing states. Called the *two plus three* plan it proposed five new permanent and six new non-permanent members putting the total number of members of the council to 26. Germany and Japan in this framework were seen as deserving two permanent memberships while Asia, Africa and Latin America were to constitute the plus three equations and would each receive a permanent seat. (Bourantonis, 2004). However lack of disagreement on Veto rights coupled with a feeling of diluting the council all but ensured the failure of the non-aligned movement proposals to materialize.

In 2004 the United Nations launched a report by the High Level Panel on threats, challenges and change titled *A more secure world: Our shared responsibility*. Key among its recommendation and specific to the security council was the need for the council to have greater credibility, legitimacy and representation as it adapts to the continued changes in the international system since its inception. At the heart of the recommendation was that those states with significant financial, military and diplomatic contribution to international peace and security be considered for permanent and more prominent voice on the council (United Nations High Level Panel on Threats, 2004). The reforms agenda would also consider fair representation but at the same time avoid impairing the effectiveness of the council. In this respect two models were provided for consideration.

Model A would provide six new permanent seats with no veto and three new two year term non-permanent members distributed regionally as follows: Africa two new permanent seats and 4 non-permanent seats totaling six, Asia and Pacific, 2 new

permanent seats and three non-permanent seats, Europe 1 new permanent member and two non-permanent members and Europe 1 new permanent member and four non-permanent members (Davis, 2010).

Model B would provide for no new permanent members of the council but instead create a new category of eight for year renewable posts and one two year non-permanent (nonrenewable) divided among the regional areas as follows: Africa two four year renewable seats and four two year nonrenewable seats, Asia and Pacific two four year renewable seats and three two year nonrenewable seats, Europe two four year renewable seats and one two year nonrenewable seat, Americas two four year renewable seats and three two year nonrenewable seats. In all these frameworks the veto remains unchanged. This contrast the major contention in Security Council reform which has always been the veto actor model.

There have been other attempts to introduce reforms to the United Nations Security Council. In 2005 and 2011 the G4 comprising of Germany, Japan, India and Brazil made efforts at reforming the Security Council and gaining permanent membership of the Security Council (Gowan, 2013). The resolution put forth by the G4 proposed reform in regards to size of the council, veto and working methods. In their proposal the G4 proposed an increase of the Security Council membership from 15 to 25 with the addition of six permanent and four non-permanent members. The proposed geographical representation would see in regards to permanent membership two for Asia and Africa each and one for Western Europe, Latin America and the Caribbean. In the non-permanent category one each for Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean and Eastern Europe. In regard to the application of the Veto power, they propose that the new

permanent members be granted veto power similar to the current permanent members (Mahmood, 2013).

In 2008 the Open Ended Working Group was mandated by the United Nations General Assembly to begin intergovernmental discussion on the best way to reform the Security Council. To date not much success has been achieved from these negotiations (Rodriguez, 2012). The push for the reform agenda continues and several working groups commissioned by the secretary general and other groups within the organization are involved in this agenda. However there seems to be no substantive hope that there will be any change soon in the Security Council.

5.2 Perspectives on the Viability of the Reform Proposals in Improving the Efficiency of the UNSC

In response to the various reform proposals on the Security Council, several scholars have weighed to analyze their utility to the council. Cox (2011) perspective starts by an appreciation that nearly all the proposals for reform revolve around increased membership, elimination or limitation of the veto. While some of these ideas cannot help the Security Council, not all of them are inappropriate as they have the ability to improve the council. However there are certain realities that must be put into context: that the charter of the U.N never intended the council to be representative; rather it is based on the great power consensus that protects the liberal democratic body of the organization.

Therefore geographical representation may not increase efficacy of the council and thus render the argument of the African proposal moot; secondly if the major problem of the Security Council is gridlock then increasing membership is not a solution.

Consensus when more member states are pushing for their interests is therefore difficult and this in itself renders the argument for more member states with veto invalid. There is also no guarantee that new member states will bring in new perspectives. Finally the veto power is not truly a power granted by the charter but rather the charters recognition of the fact of power. If major powers are stripped of the veto there is a real possibility that this could result in their withdrawal or limited role within the UN.

In his study on the reform agenda of the Security Council Weiss (2009) sought to respond to the question: whether changing the membership or procedures of the Security Council could improve its credibility. As with many other authors writing about Security Council reform the author covers the different sets of propositions all which are centered on increasing members to the Security Council and changing the application of the veto. The author however raises fundamental issues in regards to the Security Council and lessons to learn from the failure of the League of Nations which played a key role to the structure and operation of the council. The author also points to unanimity from members' rhetorical call for increased members to the council to introduce a semblance of equality yet no progress has been achieved. The only significant reform in 1965 that saw the membership of the council increased from 11 to 15 and the required majority from 7-9 votes. The veto and the P-5 were left intact.

Weiss (2009) goes further to point to contradictions regarding the reform agenda especially in terms of representation. His argument for instance regarding the changing nature of economic and military dominance, an argument which Germany and Japan have continuously put forth yet Italy is not put in the same level. He contends that it would make more sense if the European Union is represented as a bloc as opposed to individual

states membership. The author goes further and dismisses increased membership which in his contention would not increase effectiveness of the council. According to the author military power still outweighs economic power in the international system.

The UN may be a world organization but states such as the US have global reach and power. In conclusion Weiss argues that in the contemporary international system, the security council should retain as specified in the UN charter the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security ,it also must retain the same permanent members with the veto model kept intact. The best approach is to find ways of encouraging the US to moderate her powers and adopt a more multilateral approach to international peace and security. Changing the composition of the council would not in any case overcome its core weakness –the veto and almost total reliance upon US military power. The Security Council remains the first port of call for authorizing the use of military force.

Sawar (2011) provides another perspective in analyzing the utility of the reform agenda. The author analyses each proposal drawing conclusion whether the reform proposal is of any merit. Starting with the issue of enlargement proposal, the author argues that if the council is not efficient with its current size, there is no guarantee that increasing the size will by any means improve its efficiency. If collectively 15 states cannot agree on action towards security then it is more likely that increasing the membership of the council is likely to increase the gridlock. In regards to the veto power model the author argues that it would be better to increase the ability of council members to make independent decisions without coercion from any of the permanent or non permanent members. With respect to enlargement of the council by regional

representation, the author posits that states represent national interests and not regional interests. Finally regarding the G4 proposals Sawar (2011) argues that the UN Charter maintains that membership to the Security Council is cognizant to a state's ability to defend international peace and security not its position as a regional leader. While Germany is both economically strong and makes large contribution to the Security Council, its case is weakened by the fact that Europe is already over represented in the council. India is an emerging economy yet it still has issues regarding its relations with Pakistan, How then can a state that has not managed to secure peace with its neighbors be given the veto power. Japan's economic power is unquestionable yet it depends militarily on the US and finally Brazil makes little contribution to the UN budget and peace keeping force.

Davis (2010) offers another perspective regarding the reform of the UNSC. The author starts by looking at the attitudes of the P-5 towards the reform agenda. In his contention both France and Britain have in the past provided a favorable response to enlarging the council. In fact Britain in the past has in theory endorsed the G4 proposal. However the other three permanent members –the US, Russia and China have greeted any proposal geared towards council enlargement with outright hostility. According to the author extensive military and economic consideration surpasses the argument for a democratic representation and enlarging the council would just be the same as creating a mini general assembly. The argument for greater representation in the council is therefore naive and impractical. The current permanent five are in the council because of their overwhelming interest in maintaining the current world order and to guarantee international peace and security. Davis further argues that regional powers with higher

states sit on the council more frequently than developing states without a stake. Enlarging the council using the G4 proposal would limit the ability of the council to make swift decisions.

Davis has also raised certain propositions that can be used instead of reforming the council. Whereas legitimacy for instance should be a priority to the council there are better ways of legitimizing the council. He contends that there is need to ensure independent nature of council decision free from coercion or bribery of the non permanent members of the Security Council. An institutional safeguard should be put in place to ensure that aid is consistent throughout a non permanent members' time on the council. The permanent members should reiterate the use of force as a last resort. This will go a long way in regaining some level of trust from other members of the UN (Davis, 2010).

Mahmood (2013) contends that since inception, the UN has been viewed in two perspectives, one is the liberal perspective that view the organization as an embodiment of collective security while on the other hand are realists who see the security council as a forum where great powers settle their differences, protect their national interests thus providing an avenue to deter an outbreak WW III. The author further contends that the veto has been a contentious issue and the P5 are not entirely receptive to the reform agenda.

Macdonald and Patrick (2010) in their research on UNSC enlargement and U.S interests, begin by dismissing the rational for reform agenda founded on the premise that the UNSC is continuously becoming illegitimate as it does not reflect geographical

representation. The authors point to the charter that does not consider representation on the Security Council. They however admit that it is in US national interests for reform of the council as long as the US plays a key role in initiating any reform and that any reform be in tandem with US national interests.

In conclusion the reform agenda provides a platform to address some of the inefficiencies associated with the council. However most of the reform premise undermines the very foundation of the UNSC. Most scholars agree that the most important issue in any Security Council reform remain efficiency, not geographical representation or democratic nature of the council. In fact there exists no guarantee that adding permanent members will eliminate the gridlock in the council. The UNSC remains to a large extent an avenue for great powers to check themselves. It's a loose concert who primary goal is to prevent conflict between the major powers in the international system. It is also an avenue where the world powers restrain each other and slows down potential escalating conflict as occurred during the Cuban missile crisis.

5.3 The Utility of the Veto Model in the Changing International Politics

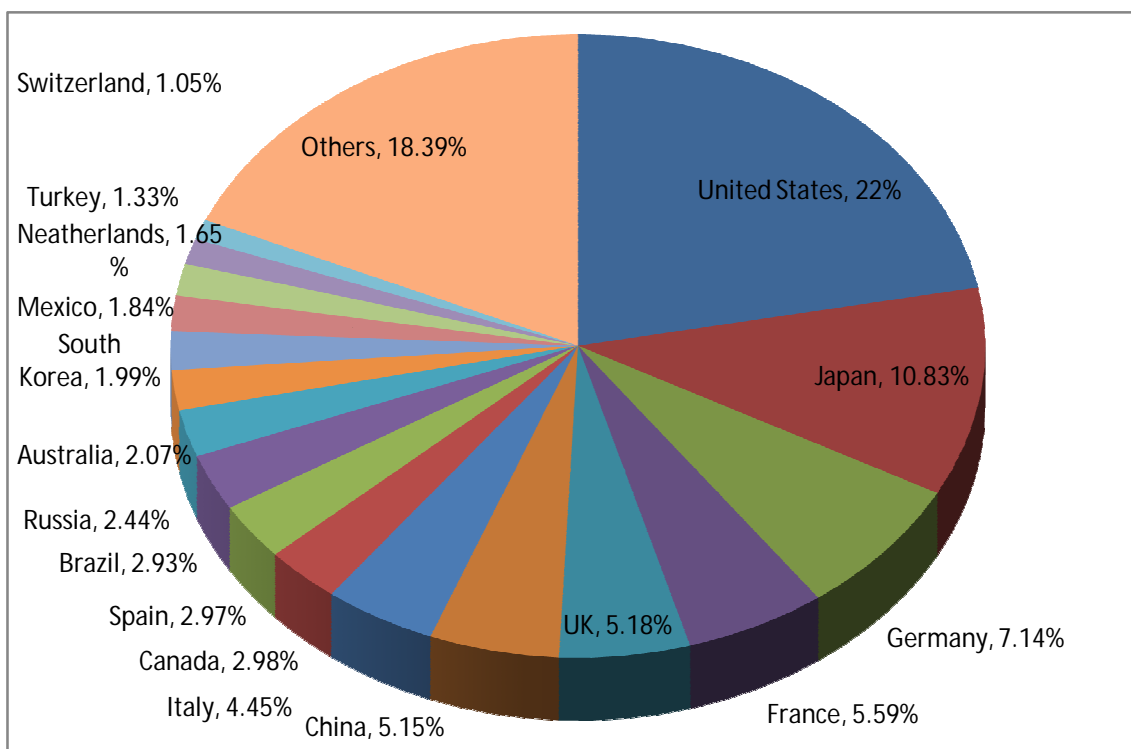
The UNSC is at the heart of international collective security arrangement. It is in this organ that the mandate for maintenance of international peace and security is placed. The veto power model of the council to a large extent means that the non permanent members role in decision making is highly constrained while the P5 have considerable clout given the fact that through a single vote they can obstruct any resolution passed by the council. In short no decision can be made without consensus between the P5 (UN Charter: Article27).

The fact of the matter is that there is considerable opposition to the model in the current international system. With changing patterns in international politics there are those who have argued that the changes in the contemporary international system demand changes to the council with specific accusation against the veto power model. There are arguments that the veto power model negates the spirit of the UN, is undemocratic and risks undermining the legitimacy of the organization. Those who claim to the argument of the legitimacy risk point to the councils inability to constrain great powers especially in unilateral action as witnessed in Iraq in 2003, Georgia in 2008 by the US and Russia respectively (Morris and Wheeler, 2007). They argue that any action by the council that cannot be socially recognized as rightful cannot be considered as legitimate. While in recent years the permanent members have shown restraint in using the veto, Opponents argue that this is not a guarantee that the same will continue in the future. Moreover, the simple threat to use the veto has been shown to strongly affect the final outcome of Security Council resolutions.

Proponents argue that those who hold the veto power still contribute highly to the budget and general operations of the UN in as far as maintenance of international peace and security are concerned. The five permanent members of the Security council contribute nearly 40 % of the UN budget (Global Policy forum, 2014). In 2013 for instance the US contribution to the budget of the UN was at 22% followed by Japan which is an ally of the US at 10%. Proponents again point to the Charter and the ability to contribute to maintenance of international peace and Security. Lessons from the League of Nations points to the failure to acknowledge the necessity of power and its application to international politics. There are also those who have argued that the UNSC represent in

itself. As Bosco (2009) argues the UNSC primary goal is to avoid conflict between the P5 members of the Security Council. That it is a loose concert based on consensus to mitigate the potential for conflict between the P5 judging from their international clout and power. It is a platform for the P5 to retrain each other. The Security Council cannot solve all problems of the world but remains critical and valuable in mitigating conflicts.

Figure 5.1: Budget Contributions to UN by Member States



Source: Data Courtesy of Global Policy Forum 2014

Berdal (2003) argues that while the UN and extension the Security Council would appear ineffective if judged by its failure in specific cases such as Iraq, assessing ineffectiveness in relation to unattainable ideal and misplaced notion of what might have been tells us very little about the Councils utility in the maintenance of international peace and security. The council will continue to face a challenge where consensus is not

possible but that by itself does not negate its utility in as far as its role in maintenance of international peace and security is concerned. There are those who have argued that because it is unlikely to change the Veto power model as it is currently, it would be more realistic to find ways of improving its processes in handling issues. Carne Ross, a former British diplomat to the UN for instance has argued that it would be appropriate to invite parties to ongoing disputes to UNSC deliberations in order to get a better picture before decisions are made (Aljazeera, 2014). There are also calls to limit veto application in cases of genocide. During the UN annual meeting in New York this year, more than a dozen heads of states called on the UNSC to limit the application of the veto especially in cases of genocide regardless of national interests at play (ABC News, 2014). While both France and Britain were of favorable opinion to the proposal, Russia openly disagreed arguing that the veto protects the UNSC from dubious undertaking while the US and China were non committal on the issue.

Opinion is divided on the UNSC and its veto power model, in international discussions its either you support or oppose and in most cases there is no middle ground. There are those who have argued that international order changes and has changed and only those who hold the power in the UNSC that is the P5 don't recognize that change and see the international order as static. But fact of the matter is the great powers would not have joined or initiated the founding of the UN without incorporation of the veto into the charter (Kochler, 1991). The P5 are unlikely to forgo their veto power since it was a compromise to avoid the failure of the League of Nations. The veto power represents the middle ground between unanimity and an assured role of the P5 within the organization (Fisher, 2008).

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The study sought to examine the extent to which the UNSC has executed its mandate in maintenance of international peace and security. The study also examined the rationale of the veto in the contemporary international system. This Chapter provides the summary and recommendation regarding the study.

6.1 Overall Assessment on the UNSC in International Peace and Security

Since inception the UNSC has authorized 67 peacekeeping missions in an effort to maintain international security, deter conflicts from spiraling out of control and in the process prevent escalation as efforts are put in place to find a long lasting solution. Currently the UN has 17 active peacekeeping operations in conflict areas in the world under different mandates. These include the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL), United Nations Operations in Cote de Ivoire (UNOCI), United Nations Stabilizing Force in Haiti (MINUSTAH), Africa Union-United Nations Hybrid Operations in Darfur (UNAMID), United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUSCO), United Nations Interim Security Force for Abyei (UNISFA), United Nations Mission in the Republic of South Sudan (UNMISS), United Nations Multi-Dimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA), United Nations Multi-Dimensional Integrated stabilization Mission in Central African Republic (MINUCSA), United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK), United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) Jerusalem, United Nations Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNGOMIP), United Nations

Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP), United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF) Golan Heights and the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon.

While the UN may have not definitively settled some international conflicts that it has intervened in, this does not in any way amount to utter failure. The organization has relieved tensions in many crucial situations and thus eliminating the potential for escalation of such conflicts. It is a difficult task to fully settle international disputes but they can be compromised or postponed to allow sanity to prevail with the passage of time that can reduce their explosive nature. The UN has diffused such conflicts through peacekeeping as mandated by the UNSC. These are conflicts that have the propensity to escalate to a level that could portend serious implications to international peace and security. While it is true that there have been failures in maintenance of international peace and security, it would be unfair to wholesomely shift blame to the UNSC and condemn the organization without considering the context in which the UN operate. The roots of these failures lie deeply embedded in, nationalism, sovereignty of independent actors and the perversions inherent in the human race.

The UN operates in an international system of sovereign entities and in some instances even intervention becomes a moral and ethical issue. For instance the UN dilemma in intervention in Darfur without the consent of the government of Sudan. It took intensive international diplomacy and mediation before Sudan gave consent for military intervention on humanitarian grounds. War and conflicts has become a pervasive feature of the world and not even the UNSC has the power to absolutely eradicate the two in the world. The nature of the international system and international politics is anarchy and expecting such a system not to be characterized by war and conflict is naive. The UN

currently provides the best avenue for maintenance of international peace and security but not organization can guarantee a perfect system without conflict. The best to expect would be an environment through which conflicts can be mitigated. In some cases success will not be fast coming and criticism will continue.

6.2 The Veto and its Impact on Efficacy of UNSC

The veto power has been cited by critics of the UNSC as a major impediment in maintenance of international peace and security. The UNSC was theater of grid-lock during the cold war. Regardless there were a few peacekeeping operations that were conducted .After the end of the cold war there has been a significant reduction of the veto power application by the P5 and the council has passed many resolutions in regards to maintenance of international peace and security. However there areas still instances where the veto power has hindered action in regards to the maintenance of international peace and security is concerned. In the immediate period the ability of the council to deal within the Syria crisis comes to mind and critics have used this to argue in favor of drastic changes to the council.

While opinion is divided on the issue, it's looking more and more like the veto power is there to stay. While a section of the P5 members are receptive to the idea of increasing members to the council, some are not willing to entertain the idea that they will lose their ability to determine the operation of the organization. The US ,Russia and China stand out as openly hostile to the idea of elimination of the veto power as that is what forms the basis of foundation of the organization. None of the reform agenda seem

to have any meaningful prospect. It will also require the support of the P5 to support any meaningful reform to the council. That in itself seems highly unlikely.

There are those who have argued that the veto power and the council is an avenue to restrain great power and that without it the very UN body may not exist. The P5 with the exception of Japan and Germany still play a critical role in terms of operational and financial support to the UN. Regardless of one's position fact remains that the UNSC and its veto power model may be here to stay for a while. It may be more prudent to suggest ways of making the council more efficient as it is. There have been calls for the limitation of the veto in cases of genocide. Switzerland for instance has suggested a more stringent manner of application where future use of the veto is justified in writing to limit arbitrary application. The world may have changed over time, but the dynamics remain the same. Power is still central to engagements and international organization strength reflects the power and strength of the member states. But all is not lost; the recent resolution passed to rid Syria of chemicals weapons is pointers that there can be consensus within the council even when national interests are at play. The UN has supported the current multilateral action against the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS). This is a sign that sometimes action can occur outside the UN with support from a wide variety of states.

6.3 Recommendations

The UNSC remains the primary organ mandated to maintain international peace and security. As such it's the first port of call whenever there is an international phenomenon with the potential to breach peace in order to take the necessary response. The study has established that the council while has had considerable successes has had failures largely

due to national interests. Regardless of the challenges inherent in the UNSC it still remains as the most realistic chance for a collective security approach. The UN can never be able to solve all the problems of the valuable but it still remains a critical organization to the world. The study thus recommends the following:

- The council should consider incorporating parties to a dispute to deliberations before a decision is made. The current arrangement denies parties to a dispute the opportunity to present their point to the council. This would go a long way in improving deliberation before a vote is taken as the council will have the opportunity to talk to the parties directly.
- Member states should continue putting pressure on the P5 to restrain the application of the veto especially in cases of gross violations of human rights and genocide. Mobilising international community in times of crisis can itself serve to discourage the application of the veto. This has been seen in the passing of the resolution to rid Syria of chemical weapons.
- Member states can also explore mechanisms outside the UN for instance through regional organizations. States have the ability to use regional organization if all efforts from the UN fail. Regional organizations have a huge potential in terms of mitigating conflicts within specific regions.
- Finally the reform agenda should be geared more towards improving the Council's efficiency. Currently most of the reform proposals are geared on representation to make the council more democratic. This in itself does not guarantee efficiency and consensus in decision making

REFERENCES

Books

- Bailey, S. (1988). *The Procedure of the United Nations Security Council*: Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Baylis, J., Smith, S., & Owens, P. (2011). *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*. (5th Ed.). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bennet, A. L. (1977). *International Organizations: Principles and Issues*: New Jersey: Prentice Hall.
- Bertrand, M. (1996). The Historical Development of Efforts to Reform the UN. In A. Roberts & B. Kingsbury (Eds.), *United Nations, Divided worlds, The UN's Role in International Relations* (pp 420-436). Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Bosco, D. (2009). *Five to Rule them All: The UN Security Council and the Making of the Modern World*: Oxford University Press: Oxford New York.
- Darren, J. O. (2003). *Human Rights: An Introduction*. Harlow, Pearson Education Limited.
- Gordon, P. L. (2003). *The Evolution of International Human Rights*. (2nded). Pennsylvania, University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Greitens, S. C & Farrell, T. (2013). Humanitarian Intervention and Peace Operations. In J. Baylis., J. Wirtz, & S C.Gray, *Strategy in the Contemporary World: An Introduction to Strategic Studies* (pp. 173-194). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hiscocks, R. (1973). *The Security Council*. London: Longman publishers.
- Howard, P. & Palmer, N. (2001). *International Relations*. New Delhi: CBS Publishers.

- Kugel, A. (2009). *Reform of the Security Council: A New Approach*. New York: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung
- Lieber, J. R. (2001). *No Common Power* (4thed.). New Jersey: Prentice Hall
- Malone, D. (2004). *The UN Security Council: From the Cold War to the 21st Century*. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc.
- Meisler, S. (1995) *The First Fifty Years*. New York, The Atlantic Monthly Press.
- Mingst, A.K. (2004). *Essentials of International Relations* (3rd ed.). New York: W.W Norton & Company.
- Nicholas, G. H. (1975). *The United Nations as a Political Institution*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Nye, J. (2004). *Understanding International Conflicts, An Introduction to Theory and History* (6th eds.). New York, Pearson Education.
- Price, M. R., & Zacher, M. W. (2004). *The United Nations and Global Security*. New York, Macmillan.
- Russet, B., & Starr, H. (1995). *World Politics: The Menu for Choice* (5thed.). New York: W.H Freeman and Company.
- Shaw, M. N. (1997). *International Law* (4thed.). UK, University Press Cambridge.
- Vincente, A. R. (2013). *United Nations Security Council Reform: The Question of the Veto Power*. UNITAR, 19-38.
- Weiss, G. T., Forsythe, P., Coate, R., & Pease, K. (2007). *The United Nations and Changing World Politics* (5thed.). Colorado: West view Press.
- Williams, P., Goldstein, M. D., & Shafritz, M. J. (2006). *Classic Readings and Contemporary Debates in International Relations* (3rded.). Canada: Clark Baxter.

Wirtz, J. (2000). *Strategy in the Contemporary World*. California: The Institute for Joint Warfare Analysis: Naval Post Graduate School.

Young, J.W & Kent, J. (2004). *International Relations Since 1995: A Global History*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Journals and Reports

"The Voting Procedure in the United Nations Security Council," in: Hans Kochler, *Democracy and the International Rule of Law. Propositions for an Alternative World Order. Selected Papers Published on the Occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the United Nations*. Vienna and New York: Springer, 1995, pp. 85-116, ISBN 3-211-82764-1.

Berdal, M. (2003). "The UN Security Council: Ineffective but Indispensable," *Survival*, Vol. 45, No. 2, pp. 10-11 and 21-23.

Blum, Y. (2005). Proposals for UN Security Council Reform. *The American Journal of International Law* , 632-649.

Bourantonis, D. & Panagiotou, A. (2004). Russia's attitude towards the reform of the United Nations Security Council. *Journal of Communist Studies and Transitional Politics* , 79-102.

Bozorgmehri, M., & Khani, A.M. (2011). Palestinian Issue and the Security Council of UN: Use of Veto Prevents Establishment of International peace. *Geo-Politics Quarterly*, 78-99.

Brown, M. A. (2003). *The United Nations Security Council – Its Role in the Iraq Crisis: A Brief Overview*. Washington DC: CRS Report for Congress.

Cox, B. (2009). United Nations Security Council Reform: Collected proposals and possible consequences. *South Carolina Journal of Law and Business*, 89-128.

- Davis, R. (2010). An unrealistic proposal: An argument against the enlargement of the United Nations Security Council. *International Affairs Review*, 19-38.
- Fisher, E. (2008). United Nations Security Council (UNSC) Reform and International Political Decision Making: A Theoretical Approximation. *Revista Panamena De Politica*.
- Glennon, M .J. (2003) "Why the Security Council Failed," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 82, No. 3 pp. 23-24.
- Kochler, H. (1991). The Voting Procedure in UNSC. *Studies in International Relations*.
- Luck, C. E. (2005). Rediscovering the Security Council: The High-Level Panel and beyond. *Reforming the United Nations for Peace and Security: Proceedings of a Workshop to Analyze the Report of the High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges, and Change* (pp.126-152). New Haven, Connecticut: Yale Center for the Study of Globalization.
- Mahmood, F. (2013). Power versus the sovereign equality of states: The veto, the P-5 and United Nations Security Council reform. *Journal for International Affairs: Center for Strategic Research*, 117-136.
- Malone, M., & Chitalkar, P. (2013). *The UN Security Council and Iraq: UN Working Papers*
- Massingham, E. (2009). Military Intervention for Humanitarian Purposes: Does the Responsibility to protect doctrine advance the legality of the use of force for humanitarian ends? *International Review of the Red Cross*.
- Morris, J. & Wheeler, J.M.(2007).The Security Council's Crisis of Legitimacy and the Use of Force: *International Politics* ,44, 214–231.
- Morris, J. (2013). Libya and Syria: R2P and the Specter of the Swinging Pendulum. *International Affairs*.

Okhovat, S. (2012). *The United Nations Security Council: It's Veto Power and it's Reform*. Sydney: CPACS.

Report on the High-level Panel on threats, challenges and change. (2004). UNGA 59th Session. Resolution A/59/565 (2 December 2004). New York: United Nations.

Roberts, A. (1999). NATO's "Humanitarian War over Kosovo". *Survival*, 102-123.

Sawar, N. (2011). Expansion of the United Nations Security Council. *Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad*, 257-278.

UN Security Council, *Presidential Statement [Middle East] (S/PRST/2011/16)*, t 2011; UN Security Council, *Summary Record of the 6602nd meeting (S/P.V. 6602)*, 2011.

United Nations Human Rights Council Report to the Security Council-February 2012

Voeten, E. (2001). Outside Options and the Logic of Security Council Action. *American Political Science Review*, 845-858.

Weiss, G. T. (2003). The Illusion of UN Security Council reform. *The Washington Quarterly*, 147-161.

Online Sources

ABC News. (2014). *Security Council Urged to Spare Veto in Atrocities*. Retrieved October 4 from <http://abcnews.go.com/US/wireStory/security-council-urged-spare-veto-atrocities-25768952>

Ametowoyona, A. A. (2008). *The Power politics the United Nations Security Council and Human Rights Violations: A case study of the 1994 Rwanda Genocide*. Unpublished Master's Thesis, Makerere University, Uganda. Retrieved June 10, 2014 from <http://hdl.handle.net/10570/2212>

Aljazeera. (2013). *Inside Story: UN Security Council: A relic of the past?* Retrieved January 5 2014 from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SULrKVZ8xWc>

- Aljazeera. (2014). *Inside story: United Nations, Time for Reform?* Retrieved October 3 2014 from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1Ywr4_Sg0qg.
- Aljazeera (2014). *Syria's Conflict: Three Years On*. Retrieved October 4 from <http://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/insidesyria/2014/03/syria-conflict-three-years-2014315134035659865.html> on 10th October 2014.
- BBC News. (2013). *Syria Chemical Weapons: UN Adopts Binding Resolution*. *BBC News* [Web Site. Retrieved June 4 2014 from <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-24308763>.
- Borger, J. (2012). *Syria Crisis Widens Fault Lines at Divided UN*. *The Guardian*. Retrieved August 1 2013 from: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/sep/24/syria-widens-faultlines-divided-un>.
- Brennan, H. (2013, August 9). *China Syria Connection*. Retrieved October 9, 2014, from *The National Interest*: <http://nationalinterest.org/commentary/chinas-syria-connection-8859>.
- Center for International Policy Studies. (2013). *The United Nations Security Council: Challenges and opportunities*. Retrieved September 22 2014 from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Qn8gLd0jMpE>.
- Global Policy Forum, (2014). <https://www.globalpolicy.org/security-council.html>
- Global Center for the Responsibility to Protect (2014, September 15). *Global Center for the Responsibility to Protect*. Retrieved September 31, 2014, from *Publications*: <http://www.globalr2p.org/publications/331>.
- Gowan, R. (2013). *Diplomatic Fallout: The Fading Dream of UN Security Council reform*. Retrieved March 10 2013 from <http://www.worldpoliticsreview.com/articles/12759/diplomatic-fallout-the-fading-dream-of-u-n-security-council-reform>

- Malone, D. (1997). *The UN Security Council in the Post-Cold War World: 1987-1997*. Security Dialogue, 28 (4): 393-408. Retrieved July 27 2013 from: http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1276096
- McDonald, K., & Patrick, S. (2010). *UN Security Council Enlargement and U.S. Interests*. Retrieved March 16 2014 from http://i.cfr.org/content/publications/attachments/UNSC_CSR59.pdf.
- Patrick, M. S. (2012). *UN Security Council Reform, Is it Time?* Retrieved September 13 2014 from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=25nHLC6UbD8>
- Report of the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs 2014 <http://syria.unocha.org/>
- Rodriguez, M. (2010), *A dissertation presented to the Faculty of Arts in the University of Malta for the degree of Master of contemporary diplomacy*, Retrieved March 4 2013 from <http://www.diplomacy.edu/sites/default/files/30112010150816%20Rodriguez%20%28Library%29.pdf>
- Smith, B. (2012). UK Relations with Russia: Library of the House of Commons, United Kingdom, International Affairs and Defense Section, Retrieved September 23 2013 from www.parliament.uk%2Fbriefingpapers%2FSN06449.pdf&ei=VE8NVMaRD8emPY6ygPgP&usg=AFQjCNHgX3qv5EM-fYOcyhjr_qUWzqL9g&sig2=SjKvcyC-IW8VARoUIUAIJQ&bvm=bv.74649129,d.ZWU
- Splidsboel, F. (2009). *Russian Power and the South Ossetia Conflict: Royal Danish Defense College Royal, Copenhagen* Retrieved September 14 2013 from http://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=0CB8QFjAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fforsvaret.dk%2FFAK%2FPublikationer%2FBriefs%2FDocuments%2FRussian%2520power%2520and%2520the%2520South%2520Ossetian%2520conflict.pdf&ei=PFINVLXjFsX6PI3_gPAC&usg=AFQjC

NEAE0b_sGJat2ggPPUs0QGqAILlw&sig2=7vIzwqkooU3dyYdoI_zJw&bvm=bv.74649129,d.ZWU

Slaughter, A. M. (2003). "Accused of Irrelevance and Deeply Divided over Iraq, the United Nations Has Never Mattered More," Washington Post, March 2, 2003. Retrieved September 14 2014 from <https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&cad=rja&uact=8&ved=0CB8QFjAA&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.princeton.edu%2F~slaughtr%2FCommentary%2FAccusedIrrelevance.pdf&ei=JI02VP7oE8WsPOWmgLgM&usg=AFQjCNECKmcTobORaloQ65rWlzR7UvLFDQ&sig2=xCqWoE7nQ8UtgIj19g4geQ&bvm=bv.76943099,d.ZWU>

United Nations News Center, (2012). Security Council fails to adopt resolution on Syria Retrieved May 3 2013 from <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=42513&Cr=Syria&Cr1=#.UI4pV1FROkg>

United Nations News Center, (2011).United States Vetoes Security Council Resolution on Israeli Settlements, Retrieved September30 2013 from <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=37572#.UI5LjVFROkg>

United Nations Security Council, *Resolution 1199 (1998)*, created 23 September 1998, United Nations Website. Retrieved June 4 2014 from <http://www.un.org/peace/kosovo/98sc1199.htm>

United Nations University (2013). *United Nations Security Council: Its legitimacy and effectiveness*. Retrieved September 10 2014 from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=B5_19-qSUCA

United Nations Security Council. (2013). Functions and Powers. *United Nations Security Council* Web Site. Retrieved July192013 from: <http://www.un.org/en/sc/about/functions.shtml>.

United Nations Security Council. (2013). Current Members. *United Nations Security Council* Web Site Retrieved July 19 2013 from:
<http://www.un.org/en/sc/members/>.

Wong, N. (2012, July 25). *China's Veto on Syria: What interests are at play*. Retrieved October 9, 2014, from Open Democracy:
<https://www.opendemocracy.net/nicholas-wong/china%E2%80%99s-veto-on-syria-what-interests-are-at-play>