

POST-GLOBALIZATION AND SECURITY COUNCIL REFORM

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Abstract

The Change in the new world order after the fall of the Berlin Wall brought a debate in the international arena with regard to the request made by some states related to the reform of the Security Council of the United Nations Organization. The reasons for this request came as a result of serious geopolitical changes, the world economic globalization and risks of new threats of the new world order. Reform is a complex and extremely difficult and requires a serious commitment of the United Nations Organization. Since the UN was established, the number of its members from 50 today is currently 192. This quantitative growth is influenced by two main factors: creation of new independent nation-state (In 70s); the fall of empire and the end of the Cold War and the dissolution of the federal states in Eastern Europe including the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Czechoslovakia and the former Yugoslav Federation. Adding members to this Organization is not associated with the reform of its internal, which has raised on the international desk debate about reforming international United Nations Organization. On the basis of the United Nation Charter that we change the Security Council should have an amendment which: first, required support from two thirds of majority of the Parliamentary Assembly of the United Nations Organization or otherwise 128 UN members, second, this amendment must be ratified by two thirds of the General Assembly and by all permanent members of the organization. But what is the attitude of some countries in connection with this application? This broad and complex debate sets UN's reform in the context of global developments and not just in a narrow context of an international organization.

Keywords: *Post-Globalization, Reforms, Security, UN, international*

United Nations since it's established and during the period of existence is facing of the international crisis both in the political, military and economic. A variety of factors such as: the end of the Cold War and the changing world order, geopolitical changes, economic and technological globalization, the development of new states and threats being made to the new order, has raised before international the need of changing the United Nation and the Security Council.

If we refer the creation history of the United Nation it was born after the end of World War II to build peace and international security, development of friendly relations between states, achievement of cooperation in solving problems of economic, social, cultural and international humanitarian¹.

Security Council as the main body of the United Nations first was established by the permanent five countries (U.S, Britain, Russia, China, France), gradually the number of not member-states increased for reason of the creation new nation-states from the collapse of empires during the '70, but and the end of Cold War brought the disintegration of states in Eastern Europe and the Balkans.

Nowday the role of the Security Council in United Nation in management international crisis have been seen as ineffective. The fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of the Soviet Union opened a new era in international relations which were characterized by new challenges of ecological risk, new wars, aggression of capitalism, all these phenomene have to do with the accelerate of globalization.

Post-Globalization and the development of new world order have created on society's uncertainty and threat to the peace of nations. In the presence of globalization every identity feels threat for existence. Opportunities to discuss reform of the Security Council have shown international changes such as the terrorist attack on the Twin Towers in September 2001, which appears new international actors and tested that post-globalization is the engine of a world that is increasingly interdependent and require a strengthening of global governance starting from the United Nations and the Security Council.

Terrorist acts of the new order have troubled world making less secure but all above they are challenging with their competition the United Nations. In the strategic concept² of NATO, terrorism has been seen as a new threat in the era of post-Cold War. International entities are always increasingly in the adoption a number of actions in this object.

Conflicts between states, during the last decade have begun to escalate tensions between them, except conflicts in the Middle East refer to the most recent case of Russia it Ukraine, where for the first time the Security Council is in a situation of "crippling" without precedent because a permanent member states of her which has signed the UN Charter for peace and secure, intentionally violating these fundamental principles restoring instability and uncertainty, but all above making inefficient role of the Security Council.

Poverty, disease and environment, factor of post-globalization, are determined by the Security Council as the most destroying problems for international security. About nuclear and biological weapons, exists the risk that states disrupted agreements between them and the spreading of weapons of mass destruction (although the Convention for the destruction of weapons provides their elimination by 2012)³. Poverty, unemployment, lack of food and housing particularly critical situation is in Africa, and the United Nations has an indifference to solving

¹ Charter of the United Nation, chapter I.

² Strategic concept is the most important document of the organization, describing the challenges, risks, facing NATO and the strategies to be used to increase the efficiency of activity in these areas. See the official text drafted by leaders in April 24, 1999

³ <http://www.albaniapress.com/lajme/9546/-OKB-Sfidat-Rrreziqet-dhe-Kercenimet-e-Sigurise.html>, 08.08.2009

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these problems. The current global crisis we look in between north which is developed and underdeveloped south in the lacked of raw materials and energy sources. If not ensure a sustainable balance between them, then for the world would be a difficult an environment safe.

For more than two decades of international arenas including the debate about the reform which should have Security Council of United Nation.

NAM (Non-Aligned Countries Movement) calls for reform of the UN Security Council. These countries saw the Security Council protects the interests of states with veto power, demanded that countries with developing economies, or not many developed to given their more opportunities at the UN. At the request of these countries, the countries of Asian should have a permanent member of the Security Council, as this would close and their voice. According to the rapport of Chile President to the UN, he stresses that increasing the number of members in the Security Council and the elimination of the privilege to veto would be more effective in preventing many crimes committed against humanity by the UN Security Council today has failed to prevent⁴.

In 1997, former President of the General Assembly of the UN, Malaysian Ambassador Razali Ismail⁵, proposed a plan that included in the debate 165 UN members, that contains: The creation of five new members in the Security Council which 2 from industrialized countries, and one for each region, Africa, Asia and Latin America sin the Caribbean, a total of four additions. Also each regional group had proposed the two permanent seats with no rotation. Eastern Europe also foreseen for additional two non-permanent seats. Western Europe will proceed to hold two non-permanent seats. According to Razal's Plan new permanent members would not have veto power.

Razal's Plan made Security Council with 9 permanent members and 15 non-permanent members, so it increase from 15 to 24. Razal's Plan did not vote at all, because the U.S. opposes the expansion of the UN Security Council's.

In 2004, UN Secretary General Kofi Annan proposed Reform in a High Level Panel which have been analyzed global threats and institutional reforms to respond. The panel's report was presented by title A More Secure World Our Shared Responsibility), decembre 2004⁶.

Panel proposed to expand the Security Council with nine new members, based on two alternatives: Model A and Model B.

- Model A foresaw six new permanent members and two new non-permanent members (namely Africa will have two permanent seats).
- Model B provided only one new non-permanent member. While proposed the term rotation of 2 years to 4 years to 8 non-permanent members of the middle states. Thay proposed for the merger of Western and Eastern Europe after the fall of the Berlin Wall,

⁴ <http://albanian.irib.ir/samiti-i-vendeve-te-paangazhuara/item/138518-k%C3%ABrkesa-t%C3%AB-reja-p%C3%ABr-reforma-n%C3%AB-okb> (04.10.2013).

⁵ Razali Plan, UNGA, 1997, <http://www.olivialau.org/papers/unreform.pdf>

⁶ High-Level Panel Proposal by SG of UN, K. Annan December 2004

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which reduce the chances for all European countries to be elected to UN Security Council.

Although the General Secretary proposed that to reach the decision at the UN Security Council, Summit failed to realize this proposal. Kofi Annan has used harsh words in the bad functioning of the United Nations, according to him it should be reorganized unimagined way before, he repeat that "If we will be a useful tool should fully adapt to the circumstances of XXI century"⁷

Intergovernmental debate about the reform of the Security Council for its expansion justified because it needs to make it more representative of the international community in general and more legitimate in the eyes of the world⁸. Also the addition of permanent members will lead to the weakening of the privileged status of permanent members and a change in the balance of power in the Council.

In connection with the debate on UN Reform, we have different attitudes and interests of member states.

So the first proposal comes from the G-4 countries Germany, Japan, India, Brazil where each intends to take a permanent place, together with these states also permanent members from Africa, six of these without a veto. The proposal also seeks four non-permanent countries bringing the Security Council to 25 seats. This proposal was supported by Great Britain and France, United States and Russia neutral but was opposed by China⁹.

The second proposal, coming from 53 countries of the African Union (African Union). These countries nominate 26 members of the Security Council, with five non permanent members and requires veto power for new permanent members.

A third proposal is initiated by United for Consensus (UFC) which propose to 10 non permanent members of the UN Security Council, these can be re-elected. The biggest supporters are Argentina, Canada, Italy, Mexico, Pakistan, South Korea, Spain and Turkey¹⁰.

About the requirement that states submit, the strong attitude comes from the USA. It requires that reform not only include the Security Council, but on the whole United Nation, this aims to achieve increasing efficiency, democracy, transparency in decision-making procedures. It is against the expansion of the Security Council and against the granting of the right of veto-s. With the emergence against expansion to Council seems the U.S. instead of its mission which has always been the approach of nations, in this case have priority national interests above global.

According to the UN expert Alfred de Zayas¹¹ "if it wasn't the UN, it would be a question that will exist or not humanity today". In connection with the conflicts in the region, he said that

⁷ Annan Kofi, In larger freedom: Toward Development, security and human rights for all, Assemblea Generale delle Nazioni Unite, 21 marzo 1005.

⁸ High level panel on threats, challenges and change, A more secure world; our shared responsibility, UN Doc, A/59, 565,2 Dicembre 2004 pg 60

⁹ Reform of United Nations Security Council- The German Position, The Federal Foreign Office, Homepage German Foreign Policy/Global Cooperation/German Policy in UN/ Reform if the UN/Security Council, October, 10, 2005.

¹⁰ <http://www.goodreads.com/shelf/show/united-nations>

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the role of the UN in conflict hearth has been efficient and productive, suffice it to mention the case of the destruction of Yugoslavia, UN participation in Kosovo immediately after the war and until today.

“The United Nations is to record all the focus on the hypocrisy lies”

United Nations have failed and not lose time with institutional reforms, as they will never be adopted and that will not change any letter of substance. In matters of peace and security, UN body is useless and even harmful, it didn't work because it is an organization that has betrayed the spirit of its founders, who rejected the principles enshrined in the founding Charter. This is the statement that Christian Rocca makes in his book *The collapse of the United Nations and the idea of an alliance of democracies* scary¹².

It is true that in many cases the UN has had its failures in the operation, as for example in the case failed to prevent genocide in Rwanda and ease the massacre of Bosniak civilians which were in the hands of the Serbs, but of course this should not thicken all because it has humanitarian programs and funds that operate as well. In these sixty years has had great international crisis and Security Council has influenced in the protection of global security and peace manufacturing. They have influenced ending many regional conflicts as the solution of the Kosovo issue, the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, contribution to clearing minefields. Also after the Cold War and the dissolution of the Soviet Empire was reappear again ethnic conflict, religious clashes that included relations north-south and the challenge demanded the attention of the United Nations to resolve conflicts.

But despite undeniable achievements of the United Nations every day they need more transformations to respond better the changes in circumstances and realities of today's political. Sources of conflict and wars are still prevalent in the international arena. These conflicts need to be addressed with comprehensive attempt to respect the right of peoples to self-determination, freedom and basic human rights. This obligation falls on states but also in terms of international law falls on the United Nations.

Strong criticism not absent about reform due to the lack of effectiveness of the Security Council comes from the civil society and intergovernmental. Guarantee of peace passes in maintaining the *status quo* of the existing international order and the protection to absolute sovereignty of each member of the international community. Any threat or violation of international order will automatically bring the reaction about all states Community regardless aggressor state or national interests of each country, this meant maintaining the *status quo* and peace.

The security council has dissatisfaction and distrust of representation, states think that 15 member states are not sufficient to represent the heterogeneous interests of 193 countries that

¹¹ Alfred de Zayas, Born on May 31, 1947 in Cuba, is a historian, lawyer, writer, professor of international law recognized and author of several books, [http://albanian.irib.ir/\(04.10.2013\)](http://albanian.irib.ir/(04.10.2013))

¹² Christian Rocca, *Il fallimento delle Nazioni Unite e la formidabile idea di un'alleanza tra le democrazie*, Lindau, Torino 2005. Christian Rocca was special envoy to New York for U.S. policy and Washington's response to the islamic terrorist attack of September 11, 2001.

comprise the entirety of the United Nations, and consequently the effectiveness of this body will not be at the level of more waiting.

The effectiveness of the Security Council depends on the capacity of facilities to attract financial support, military and diplomatic to enforce its decisions. Its members have ratified the Charter and have accepted the principle that Security Council acts on behalf of the international community and have the obligation to accept and implement its decisions.

Reform is not limited to the expansion of the Council members but above all in the reform of the veto. This right, which is proposed in San Francisco by the U.S. and the Soviet Union consisted of a privilege for the birth of this organization. Since then call for the abolition of the veto is a motive news all intergovernmental debate not only because developing countries have demanded the removal of such an unfair privilege but because historically the veto right is proven as not powerful effective in blocking during the Cold War and after the post-bipolar situation is still such that.

Security Council veto is often seen as a threat to the issues discussed in the council, so it hit the functionality of the UN system. Charter states that political decisions required unanimous approval of the five permanent members, but without specifying what those decisions, by creating us the phenomenon of the double veto.

If we refer to what says the Charter's UN¹³ about amending Security Council it requires the approval and ratification of the amendment by a two thirds majority of the UN General Assembly, and what is important requires ratification by all members permanent Council of the Organization of Security. Referring to the required majority is a number of 128 members, but I think that the decisions of this nature should be taken with a broader consensus of all its members.

One important step the United Nations has done in respect of human rights with the establishment of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, December 10, 1948 as the second document important basis after adoption of the Charter of San Francisco. In preamble of this Declaration cites "*Knowing the essential dignity and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace*"

This declaration marked a revolution in international law conventions followed by other acts in respect of freedoms. Post-globalization and its developments require in order to stabilize the respect of the national, and international arenas would ensure peace and sustainable development only if it sells maintain a balance between the sovereign and the individuals within the international system of the new order.

In this regard there was often a clash of the rules the UN Charter which dates after the second world war and human rights which are struggling to gain priority over state sovereignty and individual sovereignty of member states permanent Security Council. Mention here the Kosovo scenario the intervention without authorization of UN that brought tension between these rules. The European Union has resolved the tension in favor of human rights but by forcing the

¹³ Charter of the United Nation, chapter XVIII.

principles of the UN charter. A appropriate reform that UN to improve agreements with the EU in favor of a more stable world and peaceful.

In conclusion, given the current circumstances that are involved today internationally think that reforms to expand the Security Council but above all the removal of the veto is necessary. The growth that has sustained the organization since it was established in 50 countries and today numbers 193, through this reform will help ensure a balanced state representation and participation in an appropriate and fair to all regions and countries developing. This expansion will increase the ability of all countries, but particularly to small and medium countries enterprises to serve the council.

Security Council as the highest body of the UN on issues of peace and world security needs to adopt new order with new threats to peace and security, reports the evolution of the East-West and North-South, developed countries and developing countries; evolution of the UN itself with internal problems such as efficiency, transparency, democratization and strengthening of legitimacy.

Reform should not include only the Security Council but in general all the United Nations Organization, as a result of the new world order, security challenges (hard and soft security elements), aspects of economic and social development (poverty, diseases, social scars), the problems of globalization, environmental problems, problems of democracy and human rights.

Security Council reform can not wait, the inaction of the international community in dealing with the changes are causing a decline in the importance of the Security Council and the UN as a whole.

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