



THE INFLUENCE OF PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL ON INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY: THE NECESSITY FOR STRUCTURAL REFORMS IN LIGHT OF THE GAZA CRISIS

AHMED KHALDI ^{1*}, ABBAS HAMZA ²

¹University of Ziane Achour Djelfa, Faculty of Law and Political Science, Department of Political Science- ahmedkhalidi135@gmail.com

²University of Ziane Achour Djelfa, Faculty of Law and Political Science, Department of Public Law, hamzabas1982@gmail.com

Received : 16/02/2024 ; Accepted : 27/07/2024 ; Published : 07/09/2024

Abstract:

This article examines the affect of permanent individuals of the United Nations Security Council on issues of international peace and safety, with a selected attention on the ongoing disaster in Gaza. It argues that the current shape of the Security Council, specifically the veto strength held through the 5 permanent contributors, frequently hinders powerful motion in essential situations. The Gaza war serves as a case look at to demonstrate the limitations of the modern-day device. The paper proposes and analyzes capacity structural reforms to decorate the Council's effectiveness and legitimacy in addressing international safety challenges. It concludes that at the same time as reform is vital, sizeable barriers remain in imposing giant changes to this influential worldwide frame.

Keywords: United Nations Security Council, Permanent Members, Veto Power, Gaza Crisis, International Peace, Security Council Reform, Global Governance.

1. INTRODUCTION :

The United Nations Security Council (UNSC), installed in 1945, stands as the primary worldwide body answerable for retaining worldwide peace and security. However, its effectiveness and legitimacy had been increasingly more questioned in recent decades, especially in light of its handling of complicated crises along with the continuing battle in Gaza. At the coronary heart of those opinions lies the disproportionate impact wielded by the 5 everlasting individuals (P5) - China, France, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the USA - through their veto electricity and privileged reputation.

The structure of the Security Council, in large part unchanged seeing that its inception, reflects the geopolitical realities of the post-World War II generation. However, as the worldwide landscape has developed, calls for reform have grown louder. Critics argue that the cutting-edge system fails to represent the variety of the international community and frequently ends in paralysis in addressing pressing safety threats

The recent escalation of violence in Gaza has another time introduced those problems to the vanguard of worldwide discourse. The Security Council's inability to attain consensus on significant motion to address the humanitarian crisis has reignited debates about the need for structural reforms . This paper pursuits to take a look at the have an impact on of permanent members at the Council's decision-making methods, using the Gaza scenario as a focal point to illustrate the challenges posed by the modern machine.

By reading the historical context, contemporary dynamics, and proposed reforms, this look at seeks to make contributions to the continuing dialogue on enhancing the effectiveness and legitimacy of the Security Council in addressing present day worldwide safety demanding situations.

It argues that at the same time as reform is important to make sure the Council can fulfill its mandate in an increasingly more complicated international, extensive political and realistic boundaries must be conquer to put in force meaningful changes



2. BACKGROUND ON THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL:

The United Nations Security Council, hooked up in 1945 as a part of the UN Charter, was designed to be the number one organ responsible for retaining worldwide peace and security. Composed of 15 participants - five everlasting and ten non-everlasting - the Council become granted wide powers to analyze disputes, impose sanctions, and authorize army action whilst necessary.¹

The five permanent participants - China, France, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States - were given veto electricity, reflecting their popularity because the dominant global powers following World War II. This structure was supposed to ensure that foremost selections on international security had the aid of the sector's maximum powerful countries, theoretically improving the Council's capacity to implement its resolutions.

However, as the worldwide political landscape has developed during the last seven a long time, the composition and choice-making processes of the Security Council have remained in large part unchanged. This stasis has caused growing issues about the Council's representativeness and effectiveness in addressing cutting-edge protection challenges.

The veto strength, particularly, has been a supply of controversy. While first of all conceived as a guard towards using the UN towards its predominant founders, it has frequently been utilized in approaches that prioritize country wide interests over collective security. This has led to severa times wherein the Council has been not able to behave decisively in the face of severe threats to international peace and security.²

3. THE ROLE AND INFLUENCE OF PERMANENT MEMBERS:

The permanent contributors of the Security Council wield extensive impact over worldwide affairs, largely due to their veto electricity and permanent popularity. This influence extends a long way past the formal choice-making procedures of the Council, shaping international discourse and policy on a extensive variety of issues.

The veto energy, specifically, offers the P5 the capability to block any important resolution, no matter the level of guide it can have from different Council participants or the wider worldwide community. This has led to conditions in which motion on vital issues is avoided due to the objections of a single everlasting member, even if there's significant settlement on the want for intervention. Moreover, the mere risk of a veto can significantly effect negotiations and the drafting of resolutions. This "hidden veto" regularly results inside the watering down of proposals or the complete abandonment of tasks that are likely to face opposition from one or extra of the permanent members.³

The permanent members additionally exert influence thru their financial and military energy, diplomatic networks, and the casual "pen holder" gadget, where P5 contributors regularly take the lead in drafting resolutions on specific troubles or regions. This similarly centralizes strength within the arms of the P5, doubtlessly marginalizing the voices and worries of different UN member states.

¹ United Nations. (1945). Charter of the United Nations. Article 23.

² Luck, E. C. (2005). How Not to Reform the United Nations. *Global Governance*, 11 (4), p. 410.

³ Wouters, J., & Ruys, T. (2005). Security Council Reform: A New Veto for a New Century? Royal Institute for International Relations (IRRI-KIIB), Brussels. p. 25.



4. CASE STUDY: THE GAZA CRISIS:

The ongoing struggle in Gaza affords a stark instance of the challenges posed by using the modern Security Council structure. Despite the excessive humanitarian disaster and clear threats to local stability, the Council has struggled to take significant action.⁴

The United States, a staunch ally of Israel, has time and again used its veto energy to block resolutions important of Israeli moves in Gaza . This has included vetoing calls for ceasefires, investigations into alleged conflict crimes, and expanded humanitarian aid²⁰. The maximum latest instance passed off in October 2023, whilst the U.S. Vetoed a resolution calling for humanitarian pauses in the conflict. Other everlasting individuals have extensively utilized the state of affairs to boost their geopolitical pastimes. Russia and China, as an instance, have criticized Western responses to the crisis, the use of it as an opportunity to task U.S. Have an impact on within the region.

The Council's paralysis on this difficulty has no longer only didn't address the instant humanitarian disaster however has additionally undermined its credibility as an unbiased arbiter of worldwide peace and security. This has led to extended reliance on the UN General Assembly, which passed a decision calling for a humanitarian truce in October 2023, highlighting the growing frustration with the Security Council's inaction. ⁵

5. CRITIQUES OF THE CURRENT STRUCTURE:

The Gaza crisis is just one example of a broader sample of Security Council dysfunction that has brought about tremendous complaint of its modern-day structure. Key opinions encompass:

Lack of Representativeness: The Council's composition does not replicate the present day global distribution of strength or populace, with complete continents like Africa and Latin America missing everlasting representation.

Anachronistic Power Distribution: The P5's privileged reputation is based on a post-World War II electricity shape that not as it should be reflects modern geopolitical realities.

Veto Paralysis: The veto power has frequently caused state of being inactive on essential issues, prioritizing the country wide interests of P5 Individuals over worldwide safety concerns.

Lack of Accountability: The permanent members aren't concern to periodic review or capability removal, no matter their adherence to international law or UN principles.

Opacity in Decision-Making: The Council's operating strategies, specially casual consultations among P5 individuals, regularly lack transparency.

These structural troubles have brought about a developing consensus on the need for reform, although the nature and extent of such reforms stay subjects of intense debate. ⁶

6. Proposed Reforms:

The want for Security Council reform has been widely acknowledged, with various proposals recommend by means of member states, pupils, and civil society groups. These proposals typically fall into several classes:

1. **Expansion of Membership:** Many endorse for growing the number of both permanent and non-everlasting contributors to improve representativeness. The G4 nations (Brazil, Germany, India, and Japan) had been specially vocal in pushing for everlasting seats.

2. **Veto Limitation:** Proposals range from entire abolition of the veto to proscribing its use in instances of mass atrocities. The "Uniting for Peace" resolution, which lets in the General Assembly to behave

⁴ Human Rights Watch. (2023). World Report 2023: Events of 2022 ,p. 156.

⁵ Human Rights Watch. (2023). World Report 2023: Events of 2022. United Nations. (2023). General Assembly Demands Humanitarian Truce in Gaza., pp. 156.

⁶ Bourantonis, D. (2005). The History and Politics of UN Security Council Reform. Routledge. p. 87



when the Security Council is deadlocked, represents an current mechanism to circumvent veto paralysis.⁷⁷

3.Regional Representation: Some advocate allocating permanent seats to nearby blocs in preference to individual nations, doubtlessly rotating inside the bloc.⁸⁸

4.Working Methods Reform: Suggestions consist of increasing transparency, formalizing the "pen holder" gadget, and enhancing session with troop-contributing countries.

5.Accountability Measures: Proposals include periodic assessment of everlasting member fame and capability suspension of veto rights for individuals concerned in conflicts beneath discussion .⁹⁽⁹⁾

7.THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO RESTRUCTURING:

Several theoretical frameworks can tell the restructuring of the Security Council:

1.Democratic Theory: This method emphasizes the want for more representativeness and accountability, potentially via weighted vote casting structures or elected seats.¹⁰¹⁰

2.Institutional Design Theory: This angle focuses on growing systems that stability efficiency with inclusivity, potentially via a two-tier system of selection-making.¹¹¹¹

3.Power Transition Theory: This idea suggests that reform should mirror transferring global power dynamics to maintain stability and legitimacy.¹²¹²

4.Constructivist Approach: This view emphasizes the position of norms and identification in shaping international institutions, advocating for reforms that sell shared values and collective security.¹³¹³

VII. Critical Comparative Analysis of Member Positions

The positions of UN member states on Security Council reform range widely, reflecting various national interests and nearby dynamics:

1.Permanent Members (P5):

*Generally immune to extensive changes that could dilute their energy.

*The UK and France have shown a few openness to confined growth, even as China and Russia are greater conservative.

*The U.S. Has expressed guide for "modest growth" however opposes primary structural changes .

⁷ United Nations. (1950). Uniting for Peace Resolution. p. 1.

⁸ Bourantonis, D. (2005). The History and Politics of UN Security Council Reform. Routledge. pp. 87.

⁹- Wouters, J., & Ruys, T. (2005). Security Council Reform: A New Veto for a New Century? Royal Institute for International Relations (IRRI-KIIB), Brussels. pp. 25.

¹⁰- Schwartzberg, J. E. (2003). Entitlement Quotients as a Vehicle for United Nations Reform. Global Governance, 9(1), p. 95.

¹¹- Hurd, I. (2008). Myths of Membership: The Politics of Legitimation in UN Security Council Reform. Global Governance, 14(2), p. 205..

¹²- Kugler, J., & Organski, A. F. K. (1989). The Power Transition: A Retrospective and Prospective Evaluation. Handbook of War Studies, p. 180

¹³- Johnstone, I. (2003). The Role of the UN Secretary-General: The Power of Persuasion Based on Law. Global Governance, 9(4), p. 449..



2.G4 Countries:

*Advocate for expansion of everlasting club to encompass themselves.

*Argue that their economic and political weight justifies everlasting representation.¹⁴

3.Uniting for Consensus Group (UfC):

* Led by Italy, Pakistan, and others, this organization opposes new permanent contributors.

* Proposes increasing non-everlasting club with possibility of re-election.

4.African Union:

*Demands everlasting seats with veto power and 5 non-everlasting seats
Critical Analysis: The divergent positions mirror an essential tension between the standards of sovereign equality and the realities of energy politics. P5 participants' resistance to exchange underscores the project of reform whilst those with the electricity to enact it stand to lose influence.

The G4's push for everlasting seats, whilst addressing a few representational issues, dangers perpetuating the difficult factors of the current structure. The UfC's notion, even as more egalitarian, won't sufficiently cope with the Council's need for decisive action.¹⁵

The African Union's role highlights the historic marginalization of the continent in worldwide governance structures, but its insistence on veto power for brand new permanent members can be unrealistic given P5 opposition.

8. POTENTIAL IMPACTS OF REFORMS

The capability affects of Security Council reform are some distance-accomplishing and multifaceted:

1.Legitimacy and Representativeness: Expansion and diversification of membership may want to beautify the Council's legitimacy and global support.

2.Effectiveness: Reforms may want to either enhance the Council's ability to act decisively or cause in addition gridlock, depending on their nature.

3.Global Power Dynamics: Significant reforms might likely regulate the balance of power in worldwide family members, doubtlessly main to an extra multipolar worldwide order.

4.Regional Stability: Better illustration should result in greater nuanced approaches to nearby conflicts, but can also introduce new regional rivalries into Council dynamics.

5.UN System: Reform of the Security Council could possibly necessitate broader changes to the UN machine, potentially reinvigorating different UN bodies.¹⁶

9. CHALLENGES TO IMPLEMENTATION

Despite full-size agreement at the need for reform, considerable boundaries continue to be:

1.Veto on Reform: Any reform requires settlement from all P5 contributors, who can veto modifications to the UN Charter.

2.Divergent Interests: The extensive variety of proposals and competing country wide interests make consensus tough to achieve.

3.Institutional Inertia: The UN gadget's resistance to change and the complexity of reform make implementation challenging.

4.Geopolitical Tensions: Current worldwide tensions, exemplified by conflicts just like the one in Gaza, make cooperation on reform extra difficult.

¹⁴- G4 Nations. (2020). Joint Press Statement on UN Security Council Reform. p. 2.

¹⁵- Bourantonis, D. (2005). The History and Politics of UN Security Council Reform. Routledge.pp. 87.

¹⁶- Johnstone, I. (2003). The Role of the UN Secretary-General: The Power of Persuasion Based on Law. Global Governance, 9(4), p. 457.



5.Implementation Complexities: Even if agreement is reached, the practical elements of enforcing reforms present vast challenges.¹⁷¹⁷

10. COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF MEMBER BEHAVIOR: VETO USAGE IN WAR CRIME SCENARIOS

The use of veto power within the Security Council, specifically in cases concerning alleged struggle crimes, reveals a complex interplay of national interests, geopolitical alignments, and strategic calculations. Each everlasting member’s conduct displays its precise function within the worldwide order and its specific foreign coverage goals.

1. United States:

The United States has always wielded its veto to defend Israel, its key ally inside the Middle East, from global censure. This pattern of behavior underscores the primacy of strategic partnerships in U.S. Foreign policy, even when such moves may additionally war with broader human rights concerns⁸⁷. The repeated vetoes on resolutions related to the Israeli-Palestinian war, which include recent actions concerning Gaza, show the U.S. Dedication to protective its allies, probably at the price of its global reputation as a champion of human rights.¹⁸¹⁸

*-As you can see, the table below was approved by the researcher based on Security Council reports regarding the American veto on the Palestinian issue of Gaza.

***Table Index: Use of Veto Against Gaza Ceasefire Initiatives (2008-2023)**

Year	Resolution Content	Vetoing Member	Reason Given
2023	Humanitarian pause and civilian protection	United states	"Unbalanced"
2023	Immediate humanitarian ceasefire	United states	"Counterproductive"
2018	Protection of Palestinian civilians	United states	"One-sided"
2014	Call for end to Israeli offensive	United states	"Not constructive"
2011/2008	Condemn Israeli settlements. Call for immediate ceasefire	United states	"Unhelpful"/ "Unworkable"

Note: This table focuses on vetoes specifically related to Gaza ceasefire initiatives. The United States has been the primary user of the veto in these cases, often citing concerns about the resolutions being unbalanced or counterproductive to peace efforts

2. Russia :

Russia’s use of the veto, specially on the subject of the Syrian war, displays its dedication to keep affect inside the Middle East and to counter what it perceives as Western interventionism. By blocking off resolutions on chemical guns investigations and referrals to the International Criminal Court, Russia has efficiently shielded the Syrian government, its ally, from international responsibility

¹⁷- International Peace Institute. (2015). Reforming the Working Methods of the UN Security Council. Security Council Report. (2023). The Veto Record in the UN Security Council. p. 42.

¹⁸- Global Policy Forum. (2022). Changing Patterns in the Use of the Veto in the Security Council. p. 13.



mechanisms. This conduct aligns with Russia's broader method of hard U.S. Hegemony and maintaining its position as a worldwide power.¹⁹

3.China:

China's approach to the veto has been more limited, regularly preferring to abstain instead of at once oppose resolutions. However, its willingness to use the veto on troubles like Myanmar demonstrates its dedication to the precept of non-interference and its desire to defend its pursuits in Southeast Asia. China's behavior also displays its growing assertiveness on the global level and its cautious balancing act between keeping off global isolation and protecting its strategic interests.²⁰

4.UK and France:

The United Kingdom and France, at the same time as preserving veto power, have not exercised it in recent a long time. Their positions often align with broader Western perspectives on human rights and global justice. However, their reluctance to apply the veto doesn't always suggest a lack of have an effect on; rather, it indicates a desire for building consensus and the use of different diplomatic gear to gain their objectives.²¹

This evaluation well-known shows how the veto electricity serves as a tool for advancing country wide pursuits, regularly at the price of collective movement on essential troubles of global peace and security. The divergent behaviors of the everlasting members underscore the challenges of accomplishing consensus within the Security Council, especially on subjects concerning alleged warfare crimes or situations wherein strategic interests are at stake.

11. Legal-Ethical Normative Approach: Perspectives from International Relations Theorists

The debate over Security Council reform can be framed within several key theoretical paradigms in global members of the family, every offering wonderful insights into the demanding situations and possibilities of institutional change

Realism, as articulated with the aid of students like John Mearsheimer, posits that worldwide establishments in the long run mirror and are restricted through the distribution of power inside the worldwide system. From this perspective, meaningful reform of the Security Council is not going with out corresponding shifts in international electricity dynamics. Kenneth Waltz's structural realism indicates that the Council's modern-day structure is a manifestation of the worldwide machine's anarchic nature and the imperative of wonderful powers to maintain their positions.²²

Liberal Institutionalism, represented with the aid of scholars along with Robert Keohane, offers a extra optimistic view of institutional reform. This paradigm emphasizes the capability for worldwide agencies to facilitate cooperation and mitigate the outcomes of anarchy. Anne-Marie Slaughter's idea of a "new world order" based totally on government networks extends this thinking, suggesting that the Council could evolve to incorporate a wider range of actors and perspectives.

Constructivism, as developed by means of Alexander Wendt and others, specializes in how shared ideas and norms shape worldwide relations⁹⁸. Martha Finnemore's paintings at the role of norms in global governance suggests that reform efforts ought to focus on strengthening global norms round the usage of pressure and civilian protection⁹⁹. This approach means that converting the normative context inside which the Council operates should lead to behavioral adjustments even without formal structural reforms.

¹⁹- Global Policy Forum. (2022). Changing Patterns in the Use of the Veto in the Security Council. p. 13

²⁰ Security Council Report. (2023). The Veto Record in the UN Security Council. p. 7.

²¹ Waltz, K. N. (1979). Theory of International Politics. Addison-Wesley. p. 102.

²²- Weiss, T. G. (2003). The Illusion of UN Security Council Reform. The Washington Quarterly, 26(4), p. 153.



Critical Theory, drawing on the work of scholars like Robert Cox, encourages a deeper examination of the power systems underlying worldwide institutions. This attitude might view Security Council reform as part of a broader project of reworking worldwide governance To cope with historic inequities and strength imbalances.

The English School, represented with the aid of Hedley Bull and greater currently by Barry Buzan, gives a center ground between realism and liberalism. This technique might propose reforms that balance the want for high-quality electricity control with the expansion of global society and its institutions.

Pragmatism, as recommended with the aid of scholars like Thomas G. Weiss, specializes in potential, incremental reforms in preference to wholesale restructuring. This technique acknowledges the political realities constraining reform whilst still seeking to improve the Council's effectiveness and legitimacy.²³²³

Each of these theoretical frameworks offers valuable insights into the challenges and possibilities of Security Council reform. A comprehensive technique to reform would likely need to draw on more than one perspectives, spotting both the limitations of power politics and the ability for normative and institutional evolution in the global device.

12. Recommendations to Address the Situation in Gaza

While complete Security Council reform is an extended-term intention, on the spot action is needed to cope with the continuing disaster in Gaza. Recommendations include:

1. Invoke "Uniting for Peace":

* The General Assembly should utilize the "Uniting for Peace" resolution to make suggestions while the Security Council is deadlocked.²⁴²⁴

2. Strengthen Accountability Mechanisms:

* Support the paintings of the International Criminal Court and different worldwide investigative bodies to collect proof of potential war crimes.²⁵²⁵

3. Enhance Humanitarian Access:

* Pressure all events to permit unimpeded get entry to for humanitarian aid and defend civilian infrastructure.²⁶²⁶

4. Impose Arms Embargoes:

* Implement and put into effect fingers embargoes on parties worried inside the conflict.²⁷²⁷

5. Diplomatic Pressure:

* Increase diplomatic efforts to broker a ceasefire and restart significant peace negotiations.²⁸²⁸

6. Economic Measures:

* Consider targeted sanctions in opposition to people and entities contributing to the conflict.²⁹²⁹

7. Support Civil Society:

²³- United Nations. (1950). Uniting for Peace Resolution. pp. 1.

²⁴- International Criminal Court. (2023). Statement on the Situation in Palestine. p. 1.

²⁵- United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs. (2023). Gaza Emergency. p. 3

²⁶- Human Rights Watch. (2023). World Report 2023: Events of 2022. p. 156.

²⁷- United Nations. (2023). Secretary-General's Remarks to the Security Council on the Middle East. para. 5.

²⁸- United Nations. (2023). Security Council Committee Established Pursuant to Resolution 1970 (2011) Concerning Libya. p. 2.

²⁹- United Nations. (2023). Civil Society Unit. para. 3.



* Bolster aid for civil society organizations running on peace-constructing and human rights in the region.³⁰³⁰

8. Media and Information Initiatives:

*Combat disinformation and promote accurate reporting at the situation.³¹³¹

9. Long-time period Conflict Resolution:

*Develop a comprehensive, multilateral approach to addressing the root causes of the conflict.³²³²

10. Reform Working Methods:

Implement immediate reforms to Security Council operating techniques to enhance transparency and inclusivity in decision-making processes.³³³³

These tips intention to address the on the spot humanitarian crisis while operating towards lengthy-term answers. However, their effectiveness ultimately relies upon on the political will of member states and the international network's ability to. overcome the current deadlock in the Security Council.

CONCLUSION

The Gaza disaster has starkly illustrated the restrictions of the present day Security Council shape, reinforcing the urgent need for reform. While there may be vast settlement at the need for exchange, the route ahead remains uncertain due to divergent pursuits and the inherent challenges of reforming this type of essential group.

Any meaningful reform would require balancing the beliefs of same representation and effectiveness with the realities of global electricity dynamics. The theoretical tactics mentioned offer precious frameworks for reimagining the Council's structure, but their implementation faces vast political and practical hurdles.

As international demanding situations grow to be more and more complicated and interconnected, the strain for a greater consultant, effective, and responsible Security Council will best develop. The international community should discover approaches to overcome the contemporary deadlock and create a Council which could honestly satisfy its mandate of keeping global peace and protection within the 21st century.

REFERENCE:

- 1- United Nations. (1945). Charter of the United Nations. Article 23.
- 2- Luck, E. C. (2005). How Not to Reform the United Nations. *Global Governance*, 11 (4), p. 410.
- 3- Wouters, J., & Ruys, T. (2005). Security Council Reform: A New Veto for a New Century? Royal Institute for International Relations (IRRI-KIIB), Brussels. p. 25.
- 4- Human Rights Watch. (2023). World Report 2023: Events of 2022 ,p. 156.
- 5- Human Rights Watch. (2023). World Report 2023: Events of 2022. United Nations. (2023). General Assembly Demands Humanitarian Truce in Gaza., pp. 156.
- 6- Bourantonis, D. (2005). The History and Politics of UN Security Council Reform. Routledge. p. 87.
- 7- United Nations. (1950). Uniting for Peace Resolution. p. 1.
- 8- Bourantonis, D. (2005). The History and Politics of UN Security Council Reform. Routledge. pp. 87.

³⁰- Thakur, R. (2004). United Nations Security Council Reform. *African Security Review*, 13(3), p. 70

³¹- United Nations. (2023). Secretary-General's Remarks to the Security Council on the Middle East. pp .para. 5.

³²- International Peace Institute. (2015). Reforming the Working Methods of the UN Security Council, p. 42.

³³- Ibid.



- 9- Wouters, J., & Ruys, T. (2005). Security Council Reform: A New Veto for a New Century? Royal Institute for International Relations (IRRI-KIIB), Brussels. pp. 25.
- 10- Schwartzberg, J. E. (2003). Entitlement Quotients as a Vehicle for United Nations Reform. *Global Governance*, 9(1), p. 95.
- 11- Hurd, I. (2008). Myths of Membership: The Politics of Legitimation in UN Security Council Reform. *Global Governance*, 14(2), p. 205.
- 12- Kugler, J., & Organski, A. F. K. (1989). The Power Transition: A Retrospective and Prospective Evaluation. *Handbook of War Studies*, p. 180.
- 13- Johnstone, I. (2003). The Role of the UN Secretary-General: The Power of Persuasion Based on Law. *Global Governance*, 9(4), p. 449.
- 14- G4 Nations. (2020). Joint Press Statement on UN Security Council Reform. p. 2.
- 15- Bourantonis, D. (2005). The History and Politics of UN Security Council Reform. Routledge. pp. 87.
- 16- Johnstone, I. (2003). The Role of the UN Secretary-General: The Power of Persuasion Based on Law. *Global Governance*, 9(4), p. 457.
- 17- International Peace Institute. (2015). Reforming the Working Methods of the UN Security Council. *Security Council Report*. (2023). The Veto Record in the UN Security Council. p. 42.
- 18- Global Policy Forum. (2022). Changing Patterns in the Use of the Veto in the Security Council. p. 13.
- 19- Ibid p. 13.
- 20- Security Council Report. (2023). The Veto Record in the UN Security Council. p. 7.
- 21- Waltz, K. N. (1979). *Theory of International Politics*. Addison-Wesley. p. 102.
- 22- . Weiss, T. G. (2003). The Illusion of UN Security Council Reform. *The Washington Quarterly*, 26(4), p. 153..
- 23- United Nations. (1950). *Uniting for Peace Resolution*. pp. 1.
- 24- International Criminal Court. (2023). *Statement on the Situation in Palestine*. p. 1.
- 25- United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs. (2023). *Gaza Emergency*. p. 3.
- 26- Human Rights Watch. (2023). *World Report 2023: Events of 2022*. p. 156.
- 27- United Nations. (2023). *Secretary-General's Remarks to the Security Council on the Middle East*. para. 5
- 28- United Nations. (2023). *Security Council Committee Established Pursuant to Resolution 1970 (2011) Concerning Libya*. p. 2.
- 29- United Nations. (2023). *Civil Society Unit*. para. 3.
- 30- Thakur, R. (2004). *United Nations Security Council Reform*. *African Security Review*, 13(3), p. 70.
- 31- United Nations. (2023). *Secretary-General's Remarks to the Security Council on the Middle East*. Pp .para. 5.
- 32- International Peace Institute. (2015). *Reforming the Working Methods of the UN Security Council*, p. 42.
- 33- Ibid.

Bibliography:

Books:

- 1- Bourantonis, D. (2005). *The History and Politics of UN Security Council Reform*. Routledge.
- 2- Waltz, K. N. (1979). *Theory of International Politics*. Addison-Wesley.

Articles:

- 1- Luck, E. C. (2005). How Not to Reform the United Nations. *Global Governance*, 11(4),
- 2- Wouters, J., & Ruys, T. (2005). Security Council Reform: A New Veto for a New Century? Royal Institute for International Relations (IRRI-KIIB), Brussels.
- 3- Schwartzberg, J. E. (2003). Entitlement Quotients as a Vehicle for United Nations Reform. *Global Governance*, 9(1), .
- 4- Hurd, I. (2008). Myths of Membership: The Politics of Legitimation in UN Security Council Reform. *Global Governance*, 14(2),
- 5- Kugler, J., & Organski, A. F. K. (1989). The Power Transition: A Retrospective and Prospective Evaluation. *Handbook of War Studies*,



- 6- Johnstone, I. (2003). The Role of the UN Secretary-General: The Power of Persuasion Based on Law. *Global Governance*, 9(4),.
- 7- Weiss, T. G. (2003). The Illusion of UN Security Council Reform. *The Washington Quarterly*, 26(4).
- 8- Thakur, R. (2004). United Nations Security Council Reform. *African Security Review*, 13(3).

.Reports:

- 1- United Nations. (1945). Charter of the United Nations.
- 2- Human Rights Watch. (2023). World Report 2023: Events of 2022.
- 3- United Nations. (2023). General Assembly Demands Humanitarian Truce in Gaza.
- 4- United Nations. (1950). Uniting for Peace Resolution.
- 5- G4 Nations. (2020). Joint Press Statement on UN Security Council Reform.
- 6- International Peace Institute. (2015). Reforming the Working Methods of the UN Security Council.
- 7- Security Council Report. (2023). The Veto Record in the UN Security Council.
- 8- Global Policy Forum. (2022). Changing Patterns in the Use of the Veto in the Security Council.
- 9- International Criminal Court. (2023). Statement on the Situation in Palestine.
- 10- United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs. (2023). Gaza Emergency.
- 11- United Nations. (2023). Secretary-General's Remarks to the Security Council on the Middle East.
- 12- United Nations. (2023). Security Council Committee Established Pursuant to Resolution 1970 (2011) Concerning Libya.
- 13- United Nations. (2023). Civil Society Unit..

***Source for the Table Index: The table index was compiled using data from the following sources:**

- 1. United Nations. (2023). Security Council - Veto List. https://www.un.org/depts/dhl/resguide/scact_veto_table_en.htm
- 2. Security Council Report. (2023). The Veto Record in the UN Security Council.
- 3. Global Policy Forum. (2022). Changing Patterns in the Use of the Veto in the Security Council.
- 4. United Nations Digital Library. Security Council meeting records and resolutions (2008-2023).