



Royal University of Law and Economics

Final Report on

UNITED NATIONS REFORMS (United Nations General Assembly & United Nations Security Council)

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ABSTRACT

United Nations Reforms

(United Nations General Assembly and United Nations Security Council)

By

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Over the last two decades the reformation of United Nations still on going until now. Most of the United Nations reform were focus on the reform about the United Nations General Assembly and United Nations Security Council. As a result, this thesis seeks to briefly discuss about the reformation on the General Assembly and Security Council. Moreover, this paper going to answer the question “why should reform the United Nations General Assembly and United Nations Security Council and what are the challenges of the reformation on United Nations General Assembly and United Nations Security Council?” Based on the finding sources, the paper will discuss the main purpose of the reformation United Nations General Assembly and United Nations Security Council. More importantly, there is the intended on the timeline of both General Assembly and Security Council. Regarding to the previous point, it also aims to scrutinize the position of the members of United Nations regarding to the reformation of General Assembly and Security Council. Additionally, there will talk about the challenges of reformation of General Assembly and Security Council. In the conclusion, this thesis going to conclude and analyzed the possibility and impossibility and recommendation in to order reform the UNGA and UNSC.

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AHWG: Ad Hoc Working Group

G4: India, Japan, Germany, and, Brazil.

IBSA: India, Brazil, and South Africa

INGO: International Non- Government Organization

NGO: Non- Government Organization

P5: Five Permanent members

SDGs: Sustainable Development Goals

SRSGs: Generic positions of Special Representative United Nations Secretary- General

UfC: Uniting for Consensus

UN: United Nations

UNGA: United Nations General Assembly

UNSC: United Nations Security Council

Introduction

United Nations is an intergovernmental organization established to maintain international peace and security as well as to develop good relations with each member states. However, in the last two decades there are many wars started to happen such as in Syria, Afghanistan, Iraq, etc. As a result, it is believed that is on the solution to prevent the war and stop by reform the in order to make better than before. In order to reform the United Nations all the again will need time as well as financial and also a human resource to make the better. According to the UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres on the reformation of the United Nations stated that “the proposal to reform the United Nations, there needs to improve in the following ideals such as the development system, management and improve the peace and security to the world.”¹ Since there are many things to reform the United Nations first there should reform which is essential first. The United Nations Security Council and The United Nations General Assembly should reform first and then reform another step by step.

According to the UN Reform Chronology, said that “The ideas to reform the United Nations have since the 1990s.”² On 1 June 2011 Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon appointed to reform the agenda of United Nations to improve the efficiency United Nations to the world. According to 2017 Secretarial General Assembly identifies the problem to reform UN such as slow and unresponsive service delivery, fragmented management structure, weak performance management, resourcing gaps, lacking transparency and accountability and trust deficit between member states and secretarial. That’s why the new Secretary-General Antonio Guterres future place reform of United Nations is mainly focused on the three main points are

¹ “UN Secretary-General António Guterres on the UN Reform | United to Reform.” Welcome to the United Nations, <https://reform.un.org/news/un-secretary-general-ant%C3%B3nio-guterres-un-reform>. Accessed 7 July. 2019.

² Forum, James, “*UN Reform Chronology: 1992 - Present.*” <https://www.globalpolicy.org/un-reform/general-analysis-un-reform/32384-un-reform-chronology-1992-present.html?fbclid=IwAR3GCI74PyL7Lu56M6uh3vUWQvcG8v-y-kLIW9DTvtDzH0t5DIIIB5gRxMZM>. Accessed 15 May 2019.

sustainable development, peace and security, and management. Based on the article in the Universal Right Group Title the UN Secretary-General's Reform Agenda: what is it, why is it important, what does it address, and where is the human rights pillar, said that "The Secretary-General Antonio Guterres has his clear approach about the reform of UN such as the law to prevent the conflict, conflict resolution, peace building and the long term of UN's work."³

The United Nations General Assembly is the first place that should reform. Because the General Assembly is the main policy-making of UN to make the decision in any problems. For example, the decision on the peace and security, the admission to the new member to join the UN, and provides a unique forum for multilateral discussion of international issues including peace and security. By reformation The United Nations General Assembly in the long-term process there can have the law will stronger as the result member states will obey towards the laws more? In September 2005, "The Ad Hoc Working Group on the Revitalization United Nations General Assembly started working on how to improve the GA's effectiveness and credibility."⁴

"On the other hand, in order to reform the UNSC, they should know what is doing first. As we know that the UNSC is the most powerful body in the UN. An additional, UNSC is working on maintaining international peace and security."⁵ There are five permanent members of UNSC such as China, France, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom, and the United States. These five permanent have the special power's call The Veto power. According to the Security Council Report title The Veto said that "the power or right vested in one branch of a

³ "The UN Secretary-General's Reform Agenda: What Is It, Why Is It Important, What Does It Address, and Where Is the Human Rights Pillar? - Universal Rights Group." Universal Rights Group, 31 Oct. 2017, <https://www.universal-rights.org/blog/un-secretary-generals-reform-agenda-important-address-human-rights-pillar/>. Accessed 15 May 2019.

⁴ United Nations Official Document. https://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/59/313. Accessed 7 July. 2019.

⁵ "United Nations Security Council." Welcome to the United Nations, <https://www.un.org/securitycouncil/>. Accessed 7 July. 2019.

government to cancel or postpone the decisions, enactments, etc., of another branch, especially the right of a president, governor, or other chief executive to reject bills passed by the legislature.”⁶ According to, The Global Policy Forum said that “the reformation process of UNSC is including analysis United Nations state-of-play and statements by nations and negotiating blocs.” On the other hand, before reform The Security Council there are something that should know. The positions of P5 of UNSC because when reform the UNSC there will be effect to the P5 as well as the veto power. The most essential point is to know about the financial issue they will face during the reforming The Security Council. Likewise, the challenges to reform The Security Council.

The Security Council and The General Assembly of United Nations should reform in the first and second place in order to reform all United Nations processes in the UN. Before the reform, there are many things to prepare through the proposal that The Secretary-General Antonio Guterres plan since 2017. If they are a success doing their reform on UN, the result will surprise the world. Because they can save the 60s generations from war, established the fundamental of human rights, established a condition of justice and the respect the international law also promotes social private also a better standard of life.

⁶ “The Veto : UN Security Council Working Methods : Security Council Report.” Security Council Report, 8 Mar. 2019, <https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/un-security-council-working-methods/the-veto.php>. Accessed 7 July. 2019.

Research questions

The reformation of the United Nations is very important. Because the purpose of United Nations was fitted in the past but it is not in the 21st century. So, this is the time to reform the United Nations over again in order for the United Nations to serve the world well.

The main policy-making provides by the United Nations General Assembly. However, there are some weakness of resolution and United Nations General Assembly. As a result, there are many call to reform it.

Similarly, the United Nations Security Council is the most powerful council among the sixth organs of the. There are five permanent members who have the most powerful with the Veto power in their hand. As a result, there is an unfair treatment to the other member states by this power. In order to, balance the power between the five permanent members and the other members there need to reform the United Nations Security Council.

To clarify about the reformation of United Nations General Assembly and United Nations Security Council. This thesis will provide the main questions that “why should reform the United Nations General Assembly and United Nations Security Council and what are the challenges of the reform of United Nations General Assembly and United Nations Security Council?” Furthermore, there will be the sub questions including:

1. What is the chronology timeline of reformation of both of United Nations General Assembly and United Nations Security Council?
2. What are the main reformation of United Nations General Assembly and United Nations Security Council?
3. What are the positions of United Nations state members regarding to the reformation of United Nations General Assembly and United Nations Security Council?

As a result, this thesis going to conduct all answers regarding to the questions above in each part.

Research objectives

The purpose of this research is to find the reformation on the United Nations General Assembly and United Nations Security Council. During the reformation, there will find out the:

- The chronology timeline of reformation of both the United Nations General Assembly and United Nations Security Council.
- The main reformation of United Nations General Assembly and United Nations Security Council.
- The positions of United Nations members regarding to the reformation of United Nations General Assembly and United Nations Security Council.
- The challenges of reformation United Nations General Assembly and United Nations Security Council.
- The analyze United Nations reformation of United Nations General Assembly and United Nations Security Council.
- Recommendation on the reformation of United Nations General Assembly and United Nations Security Council.

Scope and limitations

This report will focus on the reformation United Nations General Assembly and United Nations Security Council from 1993 until the present. Regarding the year of 1993, The United Nations General Assembly sets up five working groups to consider reforms in the run-up to the UN 50th Anniversary and beyond and the working group on Security Council reform continues its debates long after other groups wind up. Moreover, this paper is limited only the reformation

which is focused on two main points such as the United Nations General Assembly and United Nations Security Council not all the organ United Nations

Research methodology

Regarding to the study, this research conducted four ways to gather the document and data. First, based on the topic of research is reformation on United Nations General Assembly and United Nations Security Council, most of document, information and data were collected from the international news. Because the Reformation just happen in the last decent, so there is less book regarding this topic. Second, the document used in this research including a published book, it is less book that focuses on the topic, but there is still have the book that talk about this topic of research. Third, there are many types the gather the document, information and data there are including journals, previous research and case study that focus on the topic United Nations research. Finally, there are the gather information from the legal instrument including government statement, UN constitution, and resolutions from UNGA and UNSC.

Structure of research

This final research paper will be divided into four parts including the general overview, the reformation of UNGA, the reformation of UNSC and analyze and recommendations on reformation. Firstly, this part will provide the information UNGA which is about the United Nations, Member states, and the reformation. Secondly, it will address the reformation of UNGA. Also, main purpose, Position regarding to reformation, the Challenges, timeline of reformation on United Nations General Assembly. Thirdly, this part is going to talk about the reformation on Unites Nations Security Council, main purpose, timeline, Position regarding to reformation, and Challenges. All in all, the fourth parts will conduct the analyze and recommendation on reformation.

Literature Review

There are many articles come up on the reformation of United Nations General Assembly, according to, the article title “Reform General Assembly”⁷ by World Beyond War, the article title “Revitalization United Nations General Assembly”⁸ by Center for United Nation Reform Education, and the article title “Reform United Nations General Assembly”⁹ by Global Policy Forum, they have the similarity and the ideas on the reform of General Assembly said the same to each other that:

- The General Assembly should reform on implementation United Nations resolution.
- The role and authority of United Nations General Assembly.
- Strengthen accountability and transparency.
- Involved members with the civil society.

The idea that these articles released is really similar to each other, because they are follow up the ideas of the proposal United Nations President Kofi Annan. So, that’s why this part was combat by all of these articles.

In addition, based on the article title “Security Council Reforms”¹⁰ of Global Policy Forum, the article title “Three Necessary Reforms for UN Security Council legitimacy”¹¹ by Alex

⁷ War,World. “Reform the General Assembly-World Beyond War.” World Beyond War.<https://worldbeyondwar.org/reform-general-assembly/>. Accessed 9 Mar. 2015.

⁸ “Revitalization United Nations General Assembly.” CenterforUNReform. <http://www.centerforunreform.org/?q=node/34>. Accessed 29 May 2019.

⁹ Forum, James. Reform United Nations General Assembly. <https://www.globalpolicy.org/un-reform/un-reform-topics/reform-of-the-general-assembly.html>. Accessed 29 June 2019

¹⁰ Administrator. “Security Council Reform.” <https://www.globalpolicy.org/security-council/security-council-reform.html>. Accessed 15 May 2019.

¹¹ Damianou, Alex. “Three Reforms Necessary for UNSC Legitimacy | GRI.” Global Risk Insights, 23 Oct. 2015, <https://globalriskinsights.com/2015/10/three-necessary-reforms-for-un-security-council-legitimacy/>. Accessed 15 May 2019.

Damianou of Global Risk Insights, and article title “Security Council Reform”¹² by Center for United Nations Reforms Education they have the similarity and the ideas on the reformation Security Council said that:

- Categories of membership (permanent and non-permanent member of Security Council)
- The Veto Power
- Working methods
- Regional representation

The idea they got from the proposal United Nations President United Nations Ban Ki Moon and the decision 62/557 adopt to reform Security Council in the 62th Session of General Assembly. So, that’s why this part was combat by all of these articles.

As a result, this thesis going to conduct the main purpose of reform of both UNGA and UNSC, the timeline of reformation of UNGA and UNSC, the positions of the members states regarding to the reform of UNGA and UNSC, the challenges of reformation on UNGA and UNSC and the analyze and recommendations which adding more detail the reformation of UNGA and UNSC. Moreover, this paper will include more and continue further discussion on the reformation of General Assembly and Security Council.

¹² “Security Council Reform.” CenterforUNReform. <http://www.centerforunreform.org/?q=securitycouncil>. Accessed 15 May 2019.

Chapter I: General overview

1.1 United Nations

1.1.1 History of United Nations

It is generally known that the United Nations is the world biggest intergovernmental organization which have the 193 member's states. United Nations is the intergovernmental organization which was named by United States President Franklin D. Roosevelt was first used in the Declaration by of 1 January 1942. On October 24th, 1945, which the United Nations was established in San Francisco.

Now the United Nation's headquarter is located in New York City and Antonio Guterres became the ninth Secretary-General after the leader Ban Ki-Moon.¹³

According to Art.1 in Chapter I United Nations "its purpose is to maintain international peace and security and to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of people."¹⁴

"There are six organs of United Nations:

- The General Assembly
- The Security Council
- The Economic and Social Council
- The International Court of Justice
- The Trusteeship Council

¹³ "Who Is and Has Been Secretary-General United Nations United Nations? - Ask DAG!" FAQ Actions, 27 Apr. 2018, <http://ask.un.org/faq/14625>. Accessed 15 May 2019.

¹⁴ Chapter I. Art. 1 — *Purposes and Principles*

- The Secretariat¹⁵

1.1.2 Member States of United Nations

The original members United Nations have 51 members. Nowadays, there are 193-member states United Nations. Among of these 193 states have five-member states is the permanent member of United Nations such as the United State, United Kingdom, Russian Federations, People's Republic of China and France. Furthermore, there are 10 rotating members that have two years term in the United Nations such as 2 Latin America, 2 Africa, 2 Asia, 2 Europe, and 2 the Middle East. Cambodia joined the United Nations since 14 December 1955.

1.1.3 Overview of Reformation United Nations

Since the 1950, after the United Nations establish just only five years, there have been many proposals, and discussions to reform the United Nations but there were some proposals require amendment United Nations charter. Also, there are some issues, disagreement from the United Nations, so the process of reformation United Nations is still no success. In this part raise up only main proposals of reformation from the Secretary-General of the United Nations such as His Excellency Dag Hammarskjöld, Kofi Annan, Ban Ki-Moon, and Antonio Guterres.

First of all, His Excellency Dag Hammarskjöld was the Secretary-General United Nations was the person who created the proposal of reformation United Nation. It focused on the peacekeeping and resolving a major financial crisis. But the proposal was not successful.

¹⁵ "Main Organs." 18 Nov. 2014, Welcome to the United Nations. <https://www.un.org/en/sections/about-un/main-organs/>. Accessed 15 May 2019.

Second, in 1997, Kofi Annan established the proposal that focus on management and coordination across the United Nations system, and strength human rights promotion and peacekeeping. Also, in 2002, he proposed one more proposal which focus on the enhanced coordination United Nations organizations in the United Nation System United Nation's work.¹⁶

Third, Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon proposed the idea of reformation the agenda United Nations United Nations to improve the efficiency United Nations UN to the world.¹⁷

Fourth, Secretary-General Antonio Guterres wanted to reform the United Nation. The reformation United Nation focused on the three main points are sustainable development, peace and security and management.¹⁸

Finally, even thought it had many proposals of reformation but United Nation should do first is the reform or make revitalization General Assembly and the Security Council.

To sum up, the ideas reformation of happened for long time ago. There have many proposals of reformations from His Excellency Dag Hammarskjöld, Kofi Annan, Ban Ki-Moon, and Antonio Guterres. But, the first thing that the United Nations needs to do, is the United Nations should make revitalization General Assembly and reform the Security Council. It will be the best way for making the United Nations system is more effective.

¹⁶ Forum, James. Secretary General Kofi Annan's Reform Agenda - 1997 to 2006. <https://www.globalpolicy.org/un-reform/32283-secretary-general-kofi-annans-reform-agenda-1997-to-2006.html>. Accessed 7 July. 2019.

¹⁷ Forum, James. Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon's Reform Agenda - 2007 to Present. <https://www.globalpolicy.org/un-reform/un-reform-initiatives/secretary-general-ban-kimoons-reform-agenda-2007-to-present.html>. Accessed 7 July. 2019.

¹⁸ Supra note 1.

Chapter II: The Reformation of United Nations General

Assembly

The United Nations General Assembly is one of six main organs United Nations and it has 193 Member States. UNGA is working on promoting international cooperation in the economic, social, cultural, educational, and health fields, and assisting in the realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion. “The UNGA’s functions have a discussion, supervisory, financial, and elective functions relating to any matter the UN Charter.”¹⁹Also, it discusses issues and makes recommendations on international peace and security, including development, disarmament, human rights, international law, and the peaceful arbitration of disputes between nations. In addition, it is admitting new members, selecting members United Nations Economic and Social Council, the nonpermanent members United Nations Security Council, and the Trusteeship Council, supervising the activities United Nations other UN organs, from which the Assembly receives reports, and participating in the election of judges to the International Court of Justice and the selection United Nations secretary-general. International peace and security, including development, disarmament, human rights, international law, and the peaceful arbitration of disputes between nations. In September to December and thereafter from January to August, all the Members will have a meeting in New York for the annual General Assembly session. The annual General Assembly session will debate and make decisions on issues such as peace, current issues and security and the admittance of new members. Also, the Assembly conducts informal consultations on some substantive topics that including on UN reform-related matters.

¹⁹“Functions and Powers United Nations General Assembly.” *UNITED NATIONS*, <https://www.un.org/en/ga/about/background.shtml>. Accessed 21 June 2019.

2.1 Overview and Reformation of United Nations General Assembly

According to the timeline of reformation United Nations General Assembly, “there are many proposals of reformation.”²⁰ But this part quotes only four main points of reformation. It was also related to those proposal and the idea of reformation or making revitalization the United Nations General Assembly and United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan too. After he found there are many problems in United Nations General Assembly. As the result, there are three main points United Nations reformation such as

- The implementation of resolution
- Role of United Nations General Assembly
- Strength the working methods General Assembly
- Strength transparency of General Assembly

2.2 Timeline of Reformation on United Nations General Assembly

In this part will provide the timeline of reformation on United Nations General Assembly. It focuses from 2002 to 2010.

In 2002

President United Nations Kofi Annan announced his reform on the United Nations General Assembly including enhanced coordination of the organizations in the UN system and greater focus in the UN's work. Moreover, he set out an agenda of better management and coordination across the entire UN system, as well as stronger human rights promotion and peacekeeping operations.

²⁰ Forum, James. Reform United Nations General Assembly. <https://www.globalpolicy.org/un-reform/un-reform-topics/reform-of-the-general-assembly.html>. Accessed 6 Feb. 2019.

United Nations General Assembly Reforms: The Role and Impact of Resolutions (October 26, 2003)

There are three main points that United Nations General Assembly resolution 2003 wants to reform such as Quantity, Quality, and Impact. In this report show some United Nations General Assembly's (GA) weaknesses and makes recommendations of resolutions, declining quality and a lack of follow-through. For the proposal United Nations reformation of UNGA has included implementing periodic reviews, placing a cap on reports from the Secretariat and introducing a year-round calendar to promote more effective use UNGA's time.

United Nations General Assembly Resolution 58/126 (January 06 2004)

This resolution calls for enhancing the United Nations General Assembly (GA) authority and improving its working methods. First, for the enhancing United Nation General Assembly authority which means that member states reaffirm the relevant provisions United Nations Charter United Nations. Second, for improving its working methods is to improve its efficiency and effectiveness and to make its outcomes more productive.

United Nations General Assembly President's Draft Resolution on GA Revitalization (June 2, 2005)

UNGA President Jean Ping propose the proposal that related to the proposal of reforming of UNGA of Secretary-General Kofi Annan. First, role, authority and relevance UNGA. Second, President UNGA which mean that decide to elect the President starting in 2007 no later than six months before the opening United Nations session over which he/she is to preside, so as to enable the president-elect until the beginning of his/her term of office to interact with the President in a flexible manner to be decided by the President. Third, agenda and working methods United Nations General Assembly.

The draft report and draft recommendation for elements for a draft resolution of United Nations General Assembly (May 25, 2006)

This is a report United Nations Ad Hoc Working Group on the revitalization UNGA established by UNGA resolution 59/313 of 12 September 2005 is working to decide to establish an ad hoc working group open to all Member States to identify ways to further enhance the role, authority, effectiveness, and efficiency UNGA, inter alia, by building on relevant UNGA resolutions and reviewing the agenda and working methods United Nations General Assembly.

Revitalization United Nations role and authority United Nations General Assembly and strengthening its performance (August 2, 2007)

The UNGA 61st session proposal is “first, request the Secretary-General to submit an update to his implementation report concerning resolution on the revitalization United Nations work UNGA in the particular and the present resolution at its sixtieth-second session and second, establish at its sixtieth-second session of Ah Hoc Working group on the revitalization UNGA, open to all member states to evaluate and asses the status of implementation relevant resolution.”²¹

2008 Revitalization United Nations General Assembly

According to, Lydia Swart book title “Revitalization United Nations works United Nations General Assembly said that “member state has been discuss about the revitalization of UNGA for nearly 17 years old so, this chapter follow the three separate clusters that the UNGA has been using in the discussions

- Enhancing the role and authority United Nations General Assembly.

²¹ General Assembly Official Records 61st Session.

- The role United Nations General Assembly in the election United Nations Secretary-General.
- Improving the working methods United Nations General Assembly.”²²

64th Session of United Nations General Assembly in 2009

The UNGA member states have been discussed and concern about international peace and security, the development of human rights and international law. Over all, the 64th session UNGA was talking about the effective responses to global crises: strengthening multilateralism and dialogue among civilizations for international peace, security and development.

65th Session of United Nations General Assembly in 23 September, 2010

In the 65th Session of UNGA in 2010 JOSEPH DEISS the President UNGA on the topic “Reaffirming the central role United Nations in global governance.”²³ Regarding to the topic his stated that “we must work to make UNGA strong, inclusive and open, building a strong link between States, the private sector, civil society and regional players. As well as making the strong required Member States to be decisive in pursuing reform, including revitalization UNGA, reforming the United Nations Security Council, and reviewing the operations United Nations Human Rights Council and the Peace Building Commission.”²⁴

2.3 Main Purpose of Reformation on United Nations General Assembly

There are many proposals of United Nations reform on United Nation General Assembly. So, in this thesis going to conduct the most important of the reformation of General

²²Swart Lydia, (2007) “REVITALIZATION UNITED NATIONS WORK UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY,” Centerforunreform, 21.

²³ “Joseph Deiss, President United Nations 65th Session United Nations UN General Assembly.”, UNITED NATIONS, <https://www.un.org/en/ga/president/65/>. Accessed 7 July. 2019.

²⁴ H.E. Mr. Joesph Deiss, President United Nations 65th Session United Nations UN General Assembly “Statement Summary of 65th.” General Assembly of United Nations.23 September, 2010. <https://www.un.org/en/ga/65/meetings/generaldebate/View/SpeechView/tabid/85/smld/411/ArticleID/128/refTab/224/t/President-of-the-65th-Session-of-the-UNGA/Default.html#content>. Accessed 21 June 2019.

Assembly. Because this is the most essential part and the other part also important but there need to reform these first is order to reform the other. As a result, the main purpose United Nations reforms General Assembly that include in this part such as the implementation of resolution, role of United Nations General Assembly, strength the working methods United Nations General Assembly, and Strength transparency of United Nations General Assembly.

2.3.1 The Implementation of Resolution

First of all, to make the United Nations General Assembly is more effective, the United Nation General Assembly itself should strengthen the UNGA stems from the power United Nations implementation of the resolutions. United Nations General Assembly has a lot of problems and every time they always have their resolution. However, in reality, they cannot enforce the member to implement the resolution so there is a problem in order to improve the implementation of the resolutions. Moreover, the UNGA should reform on the finding the experts and national policymakers make discussion debates on critical, improving the selection process and role United Nations President UNGA, making the agreement or treaty, create sanction or enforcement. For example, after the resolution release, it should have a treaty or agreement to make the member state obey what they had already agreed. Also, if they don't obey it, it will have the sanction or enforcement on that state. To clarify this part, there will the cases study to explain more about the implementation of the resolutions.

2.3.1.1 Cases Study about the Resolution of United Nations General Assembly

This part will provide some cases study related to the resolution of United Nations General Assembly such as North Korean Resolutions and Syria Resolution. To clarity and explain more about the implementation United Nations resolutions.

North Korean Resolutions

There are many resolutions United Nations General Assembly released to stop North Korean produce weapons. However, in the end North Korean never stop produce the weapons. Even though, the United Nations put pressure or sanctions to make their country never try to produce it. But they still do it again and again. So, this shows the lack of the resolution on General Assembly that they need to reform.

Syria Resolution

There are many resolutions United Nations Syria such as 2042 (2012), 2043 (2012), 2118 (2013), 2139 (2014), 2165 (2014), 2170 (2014), 2175 (2014), 2178 (2014), 2191 (2014), 2199 (2015), 2235 (2015), and 2249 (2015) and Presidential Statements of 3 August 2011 (S/PRST/2011/16), 21 March 2012 (S/PRST/2012/6), 5 April 2012 (S/PRST/2012/10), 2 October 2013 (S/PRST/2013/15), 24 April 2015 (S/PRST/2015/10) and 17 August 2015 (S/PRST/2015/15). As what had mentioned before there are many resolutions of the Syria case like the North Korean case, but the result is the same.

Cuba Crisis Resolution

For the resolution released by the United Nation General Assembly to stop United States not put pressure and sanctions from Cuba. In the end, the United Nations never stop their actions and they tried to invaded Cuba many time, but it was fail due to the lack of the information. So, the resolution is not really useful at all.

2.3.2 Strengthen the Working Methods of United Nations General Assembly

According to the reformation United Nations working methods, there need to improve the working methods are not limited, measures the agenda, make the stronger documentation, and improve procedural matters such as dates, faster, rules of procedure, and voting. Also, improve reporting from the Secretary-General to Member States, the working methods with

coordination among state member. For example, every documentation release from UNGA should be stronger and more efficiency. Even though it need to send to UNSC, it should not use any reasons or condition to reject it. In addition, it should strengthen accountability in the working process. As a result, the UNGA needs to be more stability and improved efficiency even though it has some problems such as slow and repetitive, and many resolutions have yet to be implemented. To making the working methods are effective, there are many things need to do like what the part mentioned above.

2.3.3 Strengthen Transparency of United Nations General Assembly

This part going to talk about the strengthen transparency United Nations General Assembly. Making the strengthening transparency is more effective, UNGA should involve with the civil society. For example, it should work more with NGO and INGO to make the General Assembly more sociable. Because of reality it has have only the states work with the United Nation General Assembly. So, the purpose of strengthening the transparency makes UNGA involves with the civil society, make the Council more stable, more effective and make the resolution stronger.

2.4 Position Regarding to the Reformation of United Nations General Assembly

Regarding to, the proposal or the ideas of reforming UNGA here are many expressions and the position of United Nations members over this case. This part will be defined and show the position United Nations members such as the People's Republic of China, European Union, Belarus, Indonesia, and Pakistan on the revitalization or reformation United Nations UNGA.

2.4.1 China

His Excellency Wang Guangya is Permanent Representative the People's Republic of China had Statement in the 58th UNGA Session on Reform United Nations which is about

China was supporting a revitalized UNGA especially the main important points such as enhancing the authority and role United Nations UNGA and improving its working methods. He was also mentioned about the revitalizing UNGA will help strengthen the commitment of member States to continue multilateralism and build the authority and reliability United Nations system as a whole. Also, revitalization or reformation United Nations work United Nations UNGA will make the interests of each and every member States and on the future role United Nations. For improving the working methods United Nations General Assembly should cut down the process of checking reports and focused analysis and more operable recommendations. Moreover, after China has mentioned about the ideas that make UNGA is revitalizing, “here are some problems in the United Nations such as terrorist threats are increasing, regional conflicts, lack of solution and environmental protection on those issues.”²⁵ All of those problems still happened day by day, so to solve those problems the UN should make the revitalization of UNGA is more effectively.

2.4.2 European Union

On 28 February 2018, European Union had the Statement at the 73rd Session United Nations UNGA Ad-Hoc Working Group on United Nations work, it talked about that they strongly agreed to remain the revitalization, strengthening the role and authority United Nations UNGA, relevant resolutions and the agreed budget levels in the UN charter. Furthermore, when the UNGA revitalized, it will make UNGA solve the international problem are more effective. Also, “the European Union support the UNGA publish the draft and not to reopen previously agreed language. Moreover, they are encouraged UNGA to propose the efficient guidelines side events during the General Debate, including their number to bring order and discipline to the

²⁵ Statement by Chinese Permanent Representative Wang Guangya at the 58th General Assembly Session on Reform United Nations United Nations. <http://www.china-un.org/eng/zghlhg/zzhgg/t40042.htm>. Accessed 16 June 2019.

current overload of events.”²⁶ This statement United Nations European Union shows the strong expression United Nations European Union itself for making the UNGA is revitalization.

2.4.3 Belarus

According to, “Mr. President of Belarus had established the strong cooperation and acceptable decisions to strengthen the Organization and revitalize of UNGA. Because of Belarus believe that the UNGA is strengthening is a good way for making strengthening and reforming the United Nations too. Furthermore, Mr. President of Belarus had agreed and supported the 58 the session of the UNGA which talked about the revitalization of the UNGA. It focused on enhancing the UNGA system and improving the working methods of the UNGA.”²⁷ Also, the President of Belarus expression on the revitalization of the UNGA will face some challenges such as the way of government’s decisions are taken by state officials and the UNGA main committees’ schedule of work. The way of government’s decisions is taken by state officials rather than by elected representatives, it will make the unjustified on the UN budget and it is also the difficult way for making reformation of UNGA. Finally, the UN system should change the schedule of work of the of UNGA main committees by making schedules of work start from September to December.

2.4.4 Indonesia

On the first Meeting of General Debate Ad-Hoc Working Group on the Revitalization United Nations Work of the UNGA in New York, 20 February 2018, Her Excellency Ina H. Krisnamurthi is the Deputy Permanent Representative of Indonesia had the statement which is

²⁶ EU Statement – United Nations General Assembly: Revitalization United Nations Work United Nations GA.” *EEAS - European External Action Service - European Commission*, 13 June 2019, https://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/un-new-york/58908/eu-statement-%E2%80%93-united-nations-general-assembly-revitalization-work-ga_en.

²⁷ Revitalization United Nations Work United Nations General Assembly. Strengthening United Nations United Nations System. - Permanent Mission United Nations Republic of Belarus to the United Nations. <http://un.mfa.gov.by/by/statements/59/fb2436a71a69659b.html>. Accessed 13 June 2019.

about the Indonesia's position is really support Ad-Hoc Working Group on the Revitalization. Indonesia expressed the "ideas that the strengthening of the UNGA role is fundamentally an undertaking, which should enable it to perform its Charter mandate effectively. We must all rise to meet this challenge befittingly."²⁸ It was the reason that Indonesia itself needed to try hard for supporting the revitalization of UNGA. But in the statement Indonesia also mention the challenges United Nations revitalization of UNGA such as Non-Binding United Nations UNGA and the principles of the UN Charter and international law. For example, Non-binding of the UNGA is not the voice from the citizen, so it is not the lawful and moral. It is also the cause of reflection of international gathered on lawful and moral. In addition, the principles of the UN Charter and international law spend long time for processing, so it will be strong and powerful. But is the enforcement and it will lack of power and get judge from the world. These challenges are making the process of revitalization of UNGA slow.

2.4.5 Pakistan

On 14 March 2011, Mr. Raza Bashir Tarar, Acting Permanent Representative of Pakistan had the statement at the Meeting United Nations Ad-hoc Working Group on the work United Nations Revitalization of the UNGA in New York which was about the commitment and supporting of Pakistan to make revitalizing of the UNGA. The statement also mentioned about the expression of memberships of UNGA that they want to see the revitalization of UNGA. In addition, "Pakistan gave the recommendation on UNGA such as improving working methods, assessing the implementation of UNGA resolutions, the UNGA's role in the selection and appointment United Nations Secretary-General, improving working process between UNGA and UNSC. For example, working methods of UNGA's work should strength the

²⁸"PERMANENT MISSION UNITED NATIONS REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA TO THE UNITED NATIONS, NEW YORK." *Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia*, <https://kemlu.go.id/newyork-un/en>. Accessed 14 June 2019.

reports can save time and financial. The implementation of UNGA resolutions should raise up general issues in the Secretariat for making the discussion. Additionally, the UNGA should have the power to choose senior positions including SRSGs and high-level panels. Moreover, improving the working process between UNGA and UNSC. Finally, UNSC should report to the UNGA about their negative vote such as veto to make coordination.”²⁹

2.5 The Challenges of United Nations General Assembly reforms

United Nations General Assembly is an important organization which has the obligation to give a discussion, supervisory, financial, and elective functions relating to any matter the UN Charter and making recommendations. When the UNGA is stronger, the will be strong. To making the is more effective, it will be reform the UNGA. Reformation of UNGA is not the easy way and it will face a lot of challenges. After the proposal of reforming the UNGA, there are many challenges of reformation it such as the Financial crisis, modifications constitution of General Assembly, lack of power in United Nations General Assembly, willing of state members, and time management of reformation. Those challenges of reformation UNGA are the serious concern of its reformation. So, if those of challenges United Nations UNGA can't solves, the process United Nations General Assembly will not work.

This part going to express the challenges of reformation of United Nations General Assembly such as the Financial crisis, Modifications constitution of United Nations General Assembly, lack of power in United Nations General Assembly, willing of state members, and Length of reformation.

²⁹Pakistan Mission to United Nations, http://www.pakun.org/statements/Plenary_of_General_Assembly/2011/03142011-01.php. Accessed 14 June 2019. Accessed 21 June 2019.

2.5.1 Financial crisis of Reformation United Nations General Assembly

The financial is the important part for developing and reforming UNGA and it is also the first thing that we should think before we are doing something or reforming UNGA. The purpose of reforming or realization UNGA had been established a long time ago however why the Reformation can't work? If we look at the United Nation's plan, it didn't prepare or have the financial plan for developing or revitalization the UNGA well. So, it will face the financial crisis and the process of revitalization the UNGA will fail too. In this part will define some financial crisis of United Nations on the reformation of UNGA because United Nations financial crisis such as Alternative Financing for reforming, owes money from state members and member state cutting their donations to the UN's voluntary funds.

First of all, Alternative Financing for reforming is a serious problem for many years. According to, UNSGSA said that, “the spend much money to support the reformation which is about sustainable development, peace and security, and management and try to make the reformation of there is more efficiency.”³⁰

Second, the owes money from state members. So, it was serious that the UN faced. For example, in March 2019 the “UN owes India \$38 million, among the highest it has to pay to any country, for peacekeeping operations as of March 2019.”³¹ and according to “THEHINDU said that on General Assembly's Fifth Committee, the Secretary-General António Guterres had a speech that the United Nations owed more than \$250 million to troop- and police-contributing countries at the end of 2018 and again at the end United Nations first quarter of 2019. This debt

³⁰ UNSGSA “General Assembly Passes Resolution on Financial Inclusion for Sustainable Development.” https://www.unsgsa.org/resources/news/general-assembly-passes-resolution-financial-inclusion-susta/?fbclid=IwAR1pRQ14DifXdjm3hZZSO_YBkrGBoBU5PNaCOYXL-BsLhQVIF9xWilcoEeE. Accessed 21 June 2019.

³¹ Trust of India, Press. “UN's Financial Crisis Real, We Need a Solution That Works, Says India.” *Business Standard*, 7 June 2019, https://www.business-standard.com/article/pti-stories/un-s-financial-crisis-real-we-need-a-solution-that-works-india-119060700268_1.html.

is likely to again exceed \$400 million at the end of June 2019, similar to the situation at the end of June 2018. Those problems were making the faced the financial issue.”³²

Third, member states United Nations UN had been cutting their donations to the UN's voluntary funds for many years. The UN always get the big amount of donations from the United States and in 2017 the UN got the contribution from the United States around \$10 billion. It might be one-fifth United Nations collective budget. So, the rate of contribution budget shows that if the member states UN contribute their financial to the UN's voluntary funds are very important. However, “President Donald J. Trump, president United Nations United State wanted to cut down his contribution budget to the UN's voluntary funds.”³³ Here is the bad example for member states to follow the United State, don't continue their donations to the UN's voluntary funds for some purpose such as own interest, global financial issue or state's economics issue.

To sum up, the financial crisis United Nations causes of three issues such as Alternative Financing for reforming, owes money from state members and member states cutting their donations to the UN's voluntary funds and it makes financial crisis United Nations reforming UNGA too. It was not just happened now, however, it was happened for long- time ago, so the process of reforming UNGA still can't work.

2.5.2 Modifications of Constitution on United Nations

The United Nations General Assembly is the policymaking if it wants to reform itself. It seems like to modify the constitution United Nations Charter. So, it is a very difficult and

³² Pti. “Amid Financial Crisis at UN, Secretary General Antonio Guterres Had Considered Selling Posh NY Official Residence.” *The Hindu*, 5 June 2019, <https://www.thehindu.com/news/international/amid-financial-crisis-at-un-secretary-general-antonio-guterres-had-considered-selling-posh-ny-official-residence/article27484504.ece>.

³³ Patrick, Stewart. “Funding the United Nations.” *Council on Foreign Relations*, 2 Apr. 2019, <https://www.cfr.org/article/funding-united-nations-what-impact-do-us-contributions-have-un-agencies-and-programs>.

impossible thing. In reality, the reformation United Nations Charter, it will have many issues such as financial crisis, state members don't agree, spend much time. Moreover, the UN chapter change or reform it will affect to the UN. If the UN has a problem, in the world will have war too. So, it is a serious problem that should be discussed. Also, the UN chapter reform is really impossible. To clarify, the reformation of UNGA could not reform because United Nations reformation, it seems like to modify the constitution United Nations Charter. According to the "UN Chapter IV: THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY. Art. 9: COMPOSITION:

1. The General Assembly shall consist of all the Members United Nations United Nations.
2. Each Member shall have not more than five representatives in the General Assembly."³⁴

2.5.3 Lack of Power in United Nations General Assembly

The power of United Nations General Assembly is the important thing that UNGA should consider. If United Nations General Assembly doesn't have enough power in their work, the working process will not work. In this part will express that UNGA is lack of power. First, General Assembly lacks of implementation on resolutions. For example, when every resolution of UNGA released, there doesn't have implement from state members.

Second, when resolutions or recommendations release, it is the important. It still need to refer to UNSC. According to Chapter IV, article 11 in section 2 said that, "The General Assembly may discuss any questions relating to the maintenance of international peace and security brought before it by any member of the, or by the Security Council, or by a state which is not a Member United Nations in accordance with Article 35, paragraph 2, and, except as provided in Article 12, may make recommendations with regard to any such questions to the

³⁴ UN Chapter IV: THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY. Art. 9: COMPOSITION:

state or states concerned or to the Security Council or to both. Any such question on which action is necessary shall be referred to the Security Council by the General Assembly either before or after discussion.”³⁵ It is also a good example that show about the powerless of UNGA.

Third, when the resolution of UNGA release, if the UNSC use the veto power to reject it. It resolution still useless or not effective.

Fourth, UNGA doesn't have power to force every state members to implement resolution that released. All in all, lack of power of UNGA is the big challenges of reformation.

2.5.4 The Willing of state members on the Reformation United Nations General Assembly

The reformation United Nations General Assembly works unless it has the supporting and the willing from state members. In fact, some state members just support the proposal of the reformation UNGA but they don't do anything. They just give the statement or expression on the reformation. For example, there are some the expression United Nations state members such as the People's Republic of China, European, Belarus, Indonesia, and Pakistan on the revitalization or reformation of the UNGA. Those expression of those state are just supporting part but it can't make the reformation is more effective. Unless the state members have the willing to practice it. To sum up, the willing of state members is the important thing that make the process of reformation United Nation General Assembly work.

2.5.5 Length of Reformation

The process of reformation United Nations General Assembly might spend a lot of time to do it. So, time of reformation is the important thing to consider before reformation UNGA is happened. This part of the thesis will find out the time reformation of UNGA.

³⁵“Chapter IV.” Welcome to the United Nations, 17 June 2015, <https://www.un.org/en/sections/un-charter/chapter-iv/index.html>.

First, the resolution of reformation UNGA released, there are not implementation from state members. if state members don't do it, the process of reformation doesn't work. Also, making the reformation UNGA is strength need to spend much time.

Second, there are a lot of working process in the UN and UNGA. So, there are many working steps need to do before the resolution release. For example, the resolution of revitalization of UNGA itself, it spent much time to do. Also, it is hardly to process or amend. Third, when there are many resolutions, it needs time to choose rather which resolutions fit the case well. So, the UNGA should think about the time of reformation United Nations resolutions in order to improve the working methods the General Assembly.

To summarize, time of reformation on UNGA is the long period, so it will cause the process of reformation UNGA.

Chapter III: The Reformation of United Nations Security Council

The United Nations Security Council is one of the most powerful body among sixth organs of United Nations. The responsibility of UNSC is to maintenance the international peace and security and promoting for respect for human rights. There are 15 Members, and one vote for each. There are five permanent members (China, France, Russian Federation, the United Kingdom, and the United States) and ten non-permanent members elected for two-year terms by the UNGA (Five from African and Asian States, One from Eastern European States Two from Latin American States, Two from Western European and other States). Under the Charter United Nations said that “all Member States are obligated to comply with Council decisions.”³⁶ The UNSC takes the lead in determining the existence of a threat to the peace or act of aggression. It calls upon the parties to a dispute to settle it by peaceful means and recommends methods of adjustment or terms of settlement. In some cases, the Security Council can resort to imposing sanctions or even authorize the use of force to maintain or restore international peace and security. According to, the Chapter VII. Art 41 of Chapter side that The UNSC may decide what measures not involving the use of armed force are to be employed to give effect to its decisions, and it may call upon the members of the UN to apply such measures. These may include complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio, and other means of communication, and the severance of diplomatic relations. That is call sanction is to put pressure on a State to comply with the objectives set by the UNSC without resorting to the use of force if they are not obey the Chapter in the UN especially in the UNSC.

³⁶ UN Chapter V: Security Council. Art 24: Functions and power.

3.1 Overview and Reformation of United Nations Security Council

The call to reform UNSC have been for two decades. The reformation of UNSC is from 1965 until present. Luckily, the reformation of United Nations Security Council in the 1965 was success for an increase in the non-permanent membership from six to ten members in UNSC. From 1965, there are many resolutions to adopt in the session of UNGA in order to reform the Security Council such as in 1992 until now. According to the resolution adopted in 3 Dec, 1993 by the UNGA in the 48th had three key points are

- “1. Decide to establish open-ended Working Group to consider all aspects United Nations question of increase in the membership United Nations UNSC.
2. Requests the Open-ended Working Group to submit a report on the progress of its work to the UNGA before the end of its forty eighth session
3. Decides to include in the provisional agenda of its forty ninth session an item entitled Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership United Nations UNSC and related matters.”³⁷

Until now, there are many updates United Nations reforms of the UNSC. As conforming to MARÍA FERNANDA ESPINOSA GARCÉS (Ecuador), President of the General Assembly, said at Seventy-Third Session in opening remarks “the increased membership in the Security Council has been on the Assembly’s agenda for two decades.”³⁸ By now the world is need to update of change their style of management so reform Security Council is the right way to do. According to the decision 62/557 adopt to reform Security Council in the 62th Session of UNGA, there are five keys to reform Security Council “categories of membership, the question of the veto held by the five permanent members, regional representation, the size of an enlarged Council and its working methods, and the Security Council-General Assembly relationship.”³⁹

³⁷ “United Nations Official Document.” https://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/48/49/ADD.1. Accessed 22 June 2019.

³⁸ “Member States Call for Removing Veto Power, Expanding Security Council to Include New Permanent Seats, as General Assembly Debates Reform Plans for 15-Member Organ | Meetings Coverage and Press Releases.” United Nations, 20 Nov. 2018, <https://www.un.org/press/en/2018/ga12091.doc.htm>. Accessed 22 June 2019.

³⁹ Ibid, United Nations Official Document.

3.2 Timeline of Reformation on United Nations Security Council

There are many updated about the reformation United Nations Security Council for the last two decades until now. As the result, this part will conduct the timeline of reformation on Security Council from 1993 until 2018.

1993

The result in the resolution A/RES/48/26 of 3 December 1993 United Nations decision in 48th session of UNGA is to establishing the Open Ended Working Group in order to work on the “to consider all aspects of the question of increase in the membership United Nations UNSC, and other matters related to the UNSC, Requests the Open-ended Working Group to submit a report on the progress of its work to the UNGA before the end of its forty-eighth session, Decides to include in the provisional agenda of its forty-ninth session an item entitled Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership United Nations UNSC and related matters.”⁴⁰

1996

The US releases a statement that regarding to the reformation of UNSC said that “Germany and Japan should be added to the Council as permanent members, up to three more seats should be added to allow representation from various regions, consideration should be given to allowing non-permanent members to serve more than one consecutive term, the size United Nations Security Council should not exceed twenty members, Council procedures should be reviewed to ensure greater transparency and a flow of information to the overall UN

⁴⁰ Elect the Council. “Establishment of the Working Group – Elect The Council.” Elect The Council, Accessed 23 June 2019. <https://electthecouncil.org/timeline-post/establishment-of-the-working-group/>. Accessed 23 June 2019.

membership and the powers of the current permanent members of the Council must be preserved.”⁴¹

1997

In 1997, the Razali Ismael of Malaysia, Chairman of the Open-Ended Working Group propose the proposal of Razali on the Group on the Question of Equitable Representation on and Increase in the Membership of the UNSC. This proposal was including the called for adding five permanent and four non-permanent seats and it did not include extension of veto power to new seats.

1998

The resolution A/RES/53/30 in 1 December 1998 adopt by the General Assembly under the article title “Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership United Nations Security Council and related matters.” In this resolution said that “Mindful of Chapter XVIII of the Charter United Nations and the importance of reaching general agreement as referred to in resolution 48/26 of 3 December 1993, determines not to adopt any resolution or decision on the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the UNSC and related matters, without the affirmative vote of at least two thirds United Nations Members United Nations UNGA.”⁴²

1999

In 1999, Russia released a statement to support UNSC expansion by A. Granovsky, Deputy Permanent Representative of the Russian Federation to the UN at the meeting United Nations Open-ended Working Group on equitable representation on and expansion United

⁴¹Administrator. US State Dept. Views on Reform Measures. Accessed 23 June 2019. <https://www.globalpolicy.org/security-council/security-council-reform/32923-us-state-dept-views-on-reform-measures.html>. Accessed 23 June 2019.

⁴²53th Session Resolution A/RES/53/30 Adopt by the General Assembly in 1 December, 1998. “Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters.”

Nations UNSC said that “an important factor for the enhancement United Nations Security Council's efficiency is to ensure its more balanced and representative make-up, finding a truly viable formula of UNSC enlargement which is based on the broadest possible agreement, including support on the part of all five permanent members United Nations Security Council is to serve this purpose.”⁴³

2000

The resolution adopted by the UNGA in A/55/L.2 was Adopts the Declaration's call UN Millennium Declaration. According to this declaration was conduct eight parts such as “values and principles, peace security and disarmament, development and poverty eradication, protecting our common environment, human rights, democracy and good governance, protecting the vulnerable, meeting the special needs of Africa and Strengthening the United Nations.”⁴⁴

2001

The documents developments in 2001 on Report of the Open-ended Working Group on the Question of Equitable Representation on and Increase in the Membership United Nations Security Council and Other Matters related to the Security Council of the procedure and working methods of the UNSC, which aimed to promote transparency, openness and efficiency of the Security Council.

2004

In 2004, the United Nations Secretary Kofi Annan defined agenda distributes the report from the High-level Panel on threats challenges and change under title “a more secure world

⁴³Administrator. Russian Deputy Granovsky Favors Enlargement. Accessed 23 June 2019.

<https://www.globalpolicy.org/security-council/security-council-reform/32892.html?itemid=915>. Accessed 23 June 2019.

⁴⁴“The Millennium Development Goals.” A/Res/55/2. Accessed 23 June 2019.

<https://www.un.org/millennium/declaration/ares552e.htm>. Accessed 23 June 2019.

shared responsibility” in preparation for the 2005 World Summit. On UNSC reforms it proposes two models’ A & B. Model A calls for creating six new permanent members, plus three new non-permanent members for a total of 24 seats in the council. Model B calls for creating eight new seats in a new class of members, who would serve for four years, subject to renewal, plus one non-permanent seat, also for a total of 24. Under both models, Africa, Asia and Pacific, Europe, and the Americas each have 6 seats in UNSC.

2005

By the preparation of the Secretary Kofi Annan there is a 2005 World Summit, draft resolutions had been produced. According to the World Summit Outcome Document under Section V is Strengthening the United Nations said that:

- We reaffirm that Member States have conferred on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, acting on their behalf, as provided for by the Charter.
- We support early reform of the United Nations Security Council - an essential element of our overall effort to reform the United Nations in order to make it more broadly representative, efficient and transparent and thus to further enhance its effectiveness and the legitimacy and implementation of its decisions. We commit ourselves to continuing our efforts to achieve a decision to this end and request the General Assembly to review progress on the reform set out above by the end of 2005.
- We recommend that the Security Council continue to adapt its working methods so as to increase the involvement of States not members United Nations Council in its work, as appropriate, enhance its accountability to the membership and increase the transparency of its work.⁴⁵

2006

There is a proposal set by the President of UNSC, he conduct his proposal to “enhance the efficiency and transparency United Nations Council’s work, as well as interaction and

⁴⁵ 60th Session Resolution A/RES/60/1 adopt by the United Nation General Assembly in 24 October, 2005. “2005 World Summit Outcome.” Accessed 23 June 2019.

President Statement. United Nations Security Council. S/2006/507. “Note by the President of Security Council.” https://www.globalpolicy.org/images/pdfs/SC_Presidential_Statement_July_19_2006.pdf. Accessed 23 June 2019

dialogue with non-Council members, the note contained a list United Nations recent practices and newly agreed measures, which will serve as guidance for the Council's work."

2007

According to the report of the Open-ended Working Group (A/61/47) excerpt "Decides that the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the UNSC and other matters related to the UNSC should be considered during the sixty-second session of the UNGA so that further concrete results may be achieved, including through intergovernmental negotiations, building on the progress achieved so far particularly at the sixty-first session, as well as the positions of and proposals made by Member States."⁴⁶

2008

According to the decision 62/557 adopt to reform UNSC in the 62th Session of General Assembly, there are five keys to reform UNSC "categories of membership, the question United Nations veto held by the five permanent members, regional representation, the size of an enlarged Council and its working methods, and the Security Council-General Assembly relationship."⁴⁷

2009

France give their statement to support the reformation of UNSC by Ambassador Jean-Maurice Ripert stated to the UNGA. According to France statement, conduct the supported two points United Nations reform there are "categories of members, permanent and non-permanent and support the option of an intermediate reform that would temporarily provide for seats with

⁴⁶ UN General Assembly - Report of the Security Council; Question of Equitable Representation on and Increase in the Membership of the Security Council and Related Matters: Joint Debate.

<https://www.un.org/en/ga/62/plenary/screport/bkg.shtml>. Accessed 23 June 2019.

⁴⁷ Supra note 30.

terms longer than two years and immediately renewable.”⁴⁸ Which mean that France would support granting the G4 and Africa permanent membership and the British-French proposal of intermediate reform which would last 15 to 20 years that would provide seats with immediately renewable terms longer than two years.

2010

The UK and France voice support for granting permanent membership to the G4 and African representation among the permanent members. In addition, to advocating for a pragmatic intermediate reform to break the deadlock, which would entail the creation of a new category of membership in which states could serve for terms longer than two years and would be eligible for permanent membership. Moreover, UK and France reaffirm would support to the two countries for the candidacy of Brazil, Germany, India and Japan for a new permanent members seats of Security Council.

2011

In 2011, the UNSC suggested for consideration to measures on working methods suggested of the UNSC. The following measures are suggested for consideration by the Security Council are relationship with the UNGA and other principal organs, effectiveness of decisions, subsidiary bodies, operations mandated and missions carried out by the UNSC, governance and accountability, appointment United Nations Secretary-General and use United Nations Veto.

2012

The S5 (Costa Rica, Jordan, Liechtenstein, Singapore and Switzerland) submitted a draft resolution on working methods under the agenda item dealing with follow-up to the

⁴⁸General Assembly Meeting. “Security Council Reform: Categories of Membership - Statement by H.E. Mr. Jean-Maurice Ripert, Permanent Representative of France to the United Nations.” <https://www.globalpolicy.org/security-council/security-council-reform/50116-general-assembly-meeting-on-security-council-reform-categories-of-membership-statement-by-he-mr-jean-maurice-riperet-permanent-representative-of-france-to-the-united-nations.html?itemid=915>. Accessed 23 June 2019.

outcome United Nations Millennium Summit. The draft said that it is good to take actions would be better prepared, better understood, politically better supported and thus better implemented.

2013-2014

President of UNGA John Ashe created an Advisory Group which produced a concise text. However, it was not accepted as a new negotiation text by Africa. The Uniting for Consensus and some permanent members ostensibly for reasons related to process rather than substance. On expansion and the question of the veto the following options were listed:

- Enlargement in both existing categories, permanent and non-permanent.
- New category of seats of (x) years to be converted into permanent seats as well as enlargement in the non-permanent category.
- New category of (8-12) years that are immediately renewable without prejudice to the possibility of enlargement with non-permanent seats.
- New category of seats of (3-5) years and enlargement with non-permanent seats.
- Enlargement in the non-permanent category only, with or without the possibility of immediate re-election.⁴⁹

2015

On the 14th of September 2015 the UNGA adopted the decision 69/650 in which Member States decided to immediately continue the Intergovernmental Negotiations on UNSC reform during the 70th session United Nations UNGA “building on the informal meetings held during its sixty-ninth session, as well as the positions of proposals made by Member States reflected in the text and its annex circulated by the President United Nations UNGA in his letter dated 31 July 2015”.

2016

According to the letter from the President of the UNGA on circulating elements of convergence on two of the five key issues on Security Council reform, namely “the relationship

⁴⁹“Timeline of UN Security Council Reform (1992 - 2015).” CenterforUNReform. <http://centerforunreform.org/?q=node/732>. Accessed 25 June 2019.

between the Council and the UNGA and size of an enlarged UNSC and working methods United Nations Council.”⁵⁰

2017

President H.E. Miroslav Lajčák appoints H.E. Mr. Kaha Innadze, Permanent Representative of Georgia, and H.E. Mrs. Lana Zaki Nusseibeh, Permanent Representative United Nations United Arab Emirates, as Co-Chairs of the IGN. According to his statement said that “I now have the honor to inform you that I have appointed H.E. Mr. Kaha Innadze, Permanent Representative of Georgia, and H.E. Mrs. Lana Zaki Nusseibeh, Permanent Representative United Nations United Arab Emirates, as Co-Chairs of the Intergovernmental Negotiations.”⁵¹

2018

IBSA (India, Brazil, and South Africa) dialogue Forum Ministers call for UNSC reform. The Ministers was including through the expansion of its membership in both permanent and non-permanent categories, in order to ensure adequate representation of developing countries. They affirmed that such a reformation is critical for the Council to be able to adequately respond to global challenges. They expressed full support for each other’s candidatures for permanent seats in a reformed and enlarged UNSC. The Ministers welcomed the reformation proposals of UN Secretary General and encouraged him to address the need for reform in other areas, including ensuring adequate geographical representation in the Secretariat, especially at higher

⁵⁰ The President of General Assembly. “Elements of convergence on two of the five key issues of Security Council reform, namely the relationship between the Council and the General Assembly and size of an enlarged Security Council and working methods of the Council.” 12 July, 2016. 2-3.

⁵¹ The President of General Assembly, “UNGA President appoints new Co-Chairs of the IGN.” 30 Oct, 2017. <https://www.un.org/pga/72/wp-content/uploads/sites/51/2017/10/Co-chairs-Intergovernmental-negotiations-on-Security-Council-reform.pdf>. Accessed 25 June 2019.

levels, reviewing the funding and backstopping arrangements for special political missions, and strengthening the role of regional commissions.

3.3 Main Purpose of Reformation on United Nations Security Council

According to the proposal of the President Ban Ki Moon and the timeline above, there are propose many proposals to reform UNSC. As a result, this thesis conducts the main reformation of UNSC from the proposal of President Ban Ki Moon and the other discussion that also mentioned in the timeline is including “the expansion of membership United Nations Security Council.”⁵² Moreover, the expansion of membership of Security Council going to divided into two such as expansion the permanent members and expansion the non-permanent members of Security Council.

3.3.1 The Expansion of Membership on United Nations Security Council

In December 2004, the Secretary General's Kofi Annan, proposed two models for enlargement, which both suggest expanding the Council to 24 members. Model A proposes adding six new permanent seats, with no veto, and three new two-year term elected seats. Model B creates a new category of eight seats, renewable every four years, and one new two-year nonrenewable seat.

Based on the timelines of the reformation of Security Council, the proposal United Nations reform on the expansion the members of United Nations Security Council are add the permanent and non-permanent members in the Security Council from 15 members to 24 members. Thus, this part going to divided into two points such as expansion permanent members and expansion non-permanent members.

⁵²Forum, James. Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon's Reform Agenda - 2007 to Present. <https://www.globalpolicy.org/un-reform/un-reform-initiatives/secretary-general-ban-kimoons-reform-agenda-2007-to-present.html>. Accessed 7 July 2019.

3.3.1.1 Expansion of Permanent Members

In the United Nations Security Council, the P5 is most 5 powerful with the Veto, so every country always wants to be like. As a result, there are many countries want to became a permanent member of UNSC. The main reformation of the expansion of members of United Nations Security Council on the permanent member seat are The Group of 4-G4 (Brazil, Germany, India and Japan) proposes an increased number of permanent members United Nations Council. It supports an extended SC of 25 members, among them 6 new permanent members (G4 members and 2 African states) and 4 newly elected and Africa country also demands no less than two permanent seats, including the veto power, if it remains, and five non-permanent seats of UNSC. Also, African countries have also expressed the need for permanent African representation in the Council to bring an end to the hegemony of northern industrialized nations in the powerful UN organ. According to the U.S Department of State said that “US suggest the category to become the permanent members have include economic size, population, military capacity, commitment to democracy and human rights, and financial and peacekeeping contributions would ensure the council is more reflective United Nations contemporary geopolitical reality, giving the G4 and regional heavyweights a presence today while leaving the door open to emerging nations in the future.”⁵³ So, if some of the country have the category like US suggested they can become the permanent member of Security Council.

3.3.1.2 Expansion of Non-Permanent Members

The part will do to enlargement of the council should serve to improve the representation of underrepresented and unrepresented regions and groups. Moreover, there are should have

⁵³U.S. Priorities for a Stronger, More Effective United Nations. <https://2001-2009.state.gov/r/pa/scp/2005/52982.htm>. Accessed 7 July. 2019.

the fair and equitable geographical distribution in an expanded council's membership. Due to attention has to be paid to the equipment representation including of developing counties and small countries. Africa should might be equitably represented in a representation in a reform Security Council. According to the United Nations Office Document written about the question "what might be the appropriate ratio between the number of UNSC member and UNGA member? What might be the appropriate ratio between the number of Security Council non-permanent member and number of regional group? And the last question is how to reflect the increasing role of regional group and regional organization in International Relations, particularly in the field of peace and security?"⁵⁴So, there are needed a depth discussion in order to clarify these questions pertaining to cross regional representation in an enlarged Security Council. Similarly, to statement that released by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania title Reform of the UN Security Council stated that "The Group Uniting for Consensus" (UFC) lead by Italy, Argentina, Pakistan, Mexico supports an extended Council of 25 members, with the addition at the level of non-permanent members and the introduction of a new category of members, the semi-permanent members."⁵⁵ Finally, the developing countries or the poor country should be represent in the council more, in order to have the fair decision on the resolution.

3.4 The Position of the Members state of United Nations Regard to the Reformation of United Nations Security Council

Regarding to, the proposal or the ideas of reforming UNSC there are many expressions and the position of UN members over the case. This part will be defined and show the position

⁵⁴ Ibid

⁵⁵ "Reform United Nations UN Security Council." Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romanis, <https://www.mae.ro/en/node/16885>. Accessed 7 July. 2019.

of the UN members of the Five Permanent members of UNSC and some country in the Asia, ASEAN, Europeans Union, Africa country, and Middle East.

The People Republic of China

At the 71st Session of the UNGA, the People's Republic of China had Position Paper which focus about the expression and reaction of China itself on the reformation of UNSC “China is strongly supporting the reformation of the UNSC and support the process of UN for doing the reformation too. Also, china had mentioned the expression that the reform of UNSC may give the chance for developing countries increase their voice in the international affairs. For example, they will have more power to show their expression or idea during the debate or meeting of the UNSC. Furthermore, the process of reformation should have security, development and human rights in order to making interests of developing countries. In addition, China showed the expression that china itself will work with member states and ensure the reform of United Nations Security Council.”⁵⁶ This expression of China is the important point to make the UNSC

The United Kingdom and France

The expression and reaction of the United Kingdom and France on the reformation of UNSC. According to the position of the United Kingdom and France on the reformation of UNSC said that, “The United Kingdom and France supported an expansion the permanent and the non- permanent categories of the member such as Brazil, Germany, India Japan for a new permanent seat in the Security Council. Furthermore, the new categories United Nations seat should have a long mandate than the member currently elected and the re-new should convert the new member seat into the permanent seat.”⁵⁷ The United Kingdom and France will work

⁵⁶ “Position Paper United Nations People’s Republic of China.” the 71st Session United Nations United Nations General Assembly. <http://www.china-un.org/eng/hyyfy/t1396325.htm>. Accessed 24 June 2019.

⁵⁷ UK/France position on Reform the United Nation Security Council. Accessed 24 June 2019.

with the member states and have negotiation for the reformation. That expression is a positive expression that makes the reformation of UNSC is effective.

Russia Federation

Russia had the expression on the reformation of the UNSC which about the reformation of the UNSC underrepresent of the developing regions United Nations world such as Asia, Africa and Latin America. According to His Excellency Sergey Lavrov is the Russian foreign minister had speech on in the “International Cooperation in a Troubled World” conference in Vietnamese city of Ho Chi Minh, said that, “up to a third of the UNSC is represented by the EU countries. So, he doesn’t think that the inclusion of the Countries United Nations historical West will add to this structure, the diversity that we want to see there.”⁵⁸ This Russia’s expression shows the position of Russia doesn’t support the reformation of UNSC.

The United States

The United States has the expression on the reformation of the UNSC which about the supporting a modest expansion of Council in permanent and non-permanent categories and doesn’t support the changing to the use of the veto. According to United Nation Press on the seventy-third session United Nations General Assembly, the representative of the United States said that “the United States is not really supports the expansion of the Council in permanent and non-permanent categories. Also, the representative said that the new permanent members should choose the person who has enough ability to the maintenance of international peace and security. For example, the UNSC should choose the person who had the capacity to solve problems such as international peace and security. Moreover, the United States doesn’t agree

⁵⁸ Russia Calls for Reforming UN Security Council. <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/europe/russia-calls-for-reforming-un-security-council/1402592>. Accessed 26 June 2019.

that UNSC should reform or change the use of veto power.”⁵⁹When the UNSC change the use of veto power the United States will lose the power that the United States itself use to have.

Asia

Democratic People’s Republic of Korean

According to Mr. KIM SONG the representation of Democratic People’s Republic of Korea said in the United Nations press title Member States Call for Removing Veto Power, Expanding Security Council to Include New Permanent Seats, as General Assembly Debates Reform Plans for 15-Member Organ stated that “Council reform is at the heart of broader reform efforts. The Council must work to secure international peace and security and build peace. Reformation of the Council must be grounded on the principles of international justice, impartiality and democracy and must ensure full representative of members of the Non-Aligned Movement.”⁶⁰

Mongolia

Based on Mr. SUKHBOLD SUKHEE representative of Mongolia said from the United Nations press title Member States Call for Removing Veto Power, Expanding Security Council to Include New Permanent Seats, as General Assembly Debates Reform Plans for 15-Member Organ stated that “We must commence text-based negotiations instead of convening unproductive circular discussions on the reformation of Security Council. Also, Mongolia maintains the need to expand permanent and non-permanent membership in a way that reflects contemporary realities. And the veto must be abolished.”⁶¹

⁵⁹ “Member States Call for Removing Veto Power, Expanding Security Council to Include New Permanent Seats, as General Assembly Debates Reform Plans for 15-Member Organ | Meetings Coverage and Press Releases.” United Nations, 20 Nov. 2018, <https://www.un.org/press/en/2018/ga12091.doc.htm>. Accessed 26 June 2019.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid.

ASEAN

Indonesia

The representative of Indonesia, Mr. DIAN TRIANSYAH DJANI said in the United Nations press title Member States Call for Removing Veto Power, Expanding Security Council to Include New Permanent Seats, as General Assembly Debates Reform Plans for 15-Member Organ stated that “Security Council has failed to uphold international humanitarian law, human rights law and the Charter United Nations principles on numerous occasions. He urged comprehensive reform of that organ to make it effective, accountable, democratic and equitably representative. While his delegation supports abolishing veto rights, he said it also welcomes steps that will regulate veto use, expressing support for initiatives on veto refrain in situations of massive crimes.”⁶²

Malaysia

The representative of Malaysia, Mr. KENNEDY MAYONG ONON said in the United Nations press title Member States Call for Removing Veto Power, Expanding Security Council to Include New Permanent Seats, as General Assembly Debates Reform Plans for 15-Member Organ stated that “Council reform must address the organ’s working methods and the expansion of its membership to make it legitimate, representative and democratic. Malaysia supports the expansion of both categories of membership, he said, noting that an increase in non-permanent members will increase the frequency with which Member States can serve in the organ.”⁶³

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Ibid.

Europeans Union

Italy

The representative of Italy, Mr. MARIA ANGELA ZAPPIA speaking on behalf United Nations Uniting for Consensus Group in the United Nations press title Member States Call for Removing Veto Power, Expanding Security Council to Include New Permanent Seats, as General Assembly Debates Reform Plans for 15-Member Organ stated that “the intergovernmental negotiations have been open, inclusive and transparent. Discussions identified the following convergences among Member States: support for an increase in non-permanent seats; expansion of seats favoring underrepresented regions; and limiting or abolishing veto power. Deliberations influence the Council’s current working methods, making it more transparent, open and informative.”⁶⁴

Slovakia

According to the representative of Slovakia, Mr. MICHAL MLYNÁR, in Group in the United Nations press title Member States Call for Removing Veto Power, Expanding Security Council to Include New Permanent Seats, as General Assembly Debates Reform Plans for 15-Member Organ stated that “Slovakia want to emphasized a need to commit to multilateralism at a time when international peace and security is confronted by new and complex challenges. Moreover, Slovakia supports expanding permanent and non-permanent Council membership, respecting geographical balance, with a total of no more than 25 Council members, including an additional non-permanent seat for the Group of Eastern European States. More attention should go towards ensuring Africa is more widely represented, including in the permanent member category.”⁶⁵

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

Africa Country

Algeria

The representative of Algeria, Mr. ASSIA JAZAIRY released statement in the United Nations press title Member States Call for Removing Veto Power, Expanding Security Council to Include New Permanent Seats, as General Assembly Debates Reform Plans for 15-Member Organ stated that “associating himself (Algeria) with the African Group and the Arab Group, reiterated the continent’s common position that it should be represented in both categories United Nations Security Council. Algeria support the veto should be extended to all new permanent members unless it is abolished.”⁶⁶

Sudan

The representative of Sudan, Mr. MAGDI AHMED MOFADAL ELNOUR released statement in the United Nations press title Member States Call for Removing Veto Power, Expanding Security Council to Include New Permanent Seats, as General Assembly Debates Reform Plans for 15-Member Organ stated that “reform United Nations Council is an essential element of overall reform efforts. The credibility and image United Nations relies on efforts to make the Council more representative and capable of addressing emerging global challenges. Also, the Council’s work must meet the needs of developing States.”⁶⁷

Middle East Country

Iran

The representative of Iran, Mr. ESHAGH AL HABIB released statement in the press title Member States Call for Removing Veto Power, Expanding Security Council to Include New Permanent Seats, as General Assembly Debates Reform Plans for 15-Member Organ

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

stated that “there is noting that the complexity and sensitivity of Security Council reform should not justify a delay in the process, called for progress on matters such as the size and composition United Nations body, its accountability and veto power. The Council must become more democratic, representative and effective. The Council’s failure to adequately improve its working methods has resulted in a trust deficit and the loss of legitimacy of its decisions, including with respect to the use of sanctions in cases where no action was necessary.”⁶⁸

Turkey

The representative of Turkey, Mr. FERIDUN HADI SINIRLIOĞLU released statement in the United Nations press title Member States Call for Removing Veto Power, Expanding Security Council to Include New Permanent Seats, as General Assembly Debates Reform Plans for 15-Member Organ said that “Reform efforts must be undertaken through consensus so as not to create a static body. The reformation process is hampered by the insistence on an increase in the number of permanent seats. He added, the veto power only serves the national interests United Nations States that hold it. The Council will be more representative and responsive if reformation increases the number of elected seats and the possibility of all Member States to serve in the organ. The Council will be more accountable if the performance of members is subjected to periodic elections.”⁶⁹

3.5 Challenges of Reformation on United Nations Security Council

The United Nations Security Council reform has proven to be one of the most difficult challenges of the United Nations in the last decades. The proposal and the discussion to reform the UNSC have many problems. So, here is here is the question what is the challenges of the reform of UNSC? Regarding to the proposal and discussion of the President Ban Ki Moon and

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

resolutions adopt the very session of UNGA on the reform of UNSC. This thesis conducts the challenges of reformation Security Council including modifications of constitution of Security Council, the Veto power, the recruitment of category of members regarding to the Security Council, Hard to find the country that has the category like US suggest, more member will seek for the permanent member seats, financial issues and the challenge of United Nations Working Methods on the reformation.

3.5.1 The Modifications of Constitution on United Nations Security Council

The reformation of United Nations Security Council is possible if the constitutions of Security Council can be change. First of all, in order to reform the United Nations Security Council, the first thing to do is to modification the constitution of United Nations Security Council, but it seem like it is impossible to do it. Because reversal the constitution is the biggest challenge of reform the United Nations Security Council. Moreover, there are many Chapter in the Security Council constitution, so the members need to verify it again in order to reform the Council over again.

3.5.2 The Veto Power

The challenge of the Veto power is the element part of the reforms United Nations Security Council. There is more deep discussion needed in order to show of how the impact of the Veto power effect the work on the enlarged of Security Council. There were mentioned in the Intergovernmental Negotiations, 71st Session of General Assembly and the previous Intergovernmental Negotiations by member state of Security Council to question the Veto power if the new permanent member may approve there will:

- The Veto might be expanded to all permanent
- New permanent member might not benefit from the Veto, which will be kept only by the current P5

- The Veto might be extended to new permanent member after a reviewing period.
- Progressive restraint/abolition of Veto
- Voluntarily refrain from the use United Nations Veto in case of mass atrocity crime.⁷⁰

In addition, if the permanent members have been recruited, there are going to have some challenges on the Veto power on the following:

- The resolutions will take long time to consider, because there are too many permanent members to make the decision on the case.
- According to the statement that mentioned by the Security Council member in the Intergovernmental Negotiations, 71st Session of General Assembly and the previous Intergovernmental Negotiations said that the new permanent member was have the benefit from the Veto power only the p5 have, so it is not fair to them. Because they are also the permanent member of Security Council and why the P5 have and they are not?
- Even though the new permanent member does not have the benefit from the Veto why they want to become the permanent members?

These are the challenges United Nations Veto power, after the Security Council recruit more members.

3.5.3 The Recruitment of Category of members regarding to the Security Council

According to the U.S Department of State said that “US suggest the category to become the permanent members have include economic size, population, military capacity, commitment to democracy and human rights, and financial and peacekeeping contributions would ensure the council is more reflective United Nations contemporary geopolitical reality,

⁷⁰ Supra note 28.

giving the G4 and regional heavyweights a presence today while leaving the door open to emerging nations in the future.”⁷¹ So, if the country have this categories, they can become the permanent like the P5 nowadays.

3.5.4 Hard to find the country that have the categories like US Suggested

The recruitments to be the permanent members of United Nations Security Council that was mentioned by US that including economic size, population, military capacity, commitment to democracy and human rights, and financial and peacekeeping contributions would ensure the council is more reflective of the contemporary geopolitical reality. Thus, it is really hard to find the country that suit with these categories.

3.5.5 More Member will seek for the Permanent Member Seats

According to part 3.5.3, if more member of the United Nations become the member of United Nations Security Council, more member will seek of it, especially, the permanent member’s seats in the Security Council. For example, if the G4 and Africa become the permanent members of Security Council, the other countries will ask for it like the powerful countries including Spain, Argentina, Portugal, Egypt and more. So, it is the problem to reform the council, if more members going to seek of the permanent seats.

3.5.6 The Financial Issues

There are many problems with the budget of the UN funding with many countries. For example, US is the largest funder of the general UN system, but in 2017 the new President of US Donald Trump had plan to cut the budget of the UN. According to Xinhuanet said that, “US is threatens to cut the budget of the peace keeping in the 2019 saying its contribution is not a charity.” According to the UN Secretary General Antonio Guterres said in his report on

⁷¹ U.S. Priorities for a Stronger, More Effective United Nations. <https://2001-2009.state.gov/r/pa/scp/2005/52982.htm>. Accessed 7 July. 2019.

improving the financial situation of the UN released in April “The UN owes India \$38 million, among the highest it has to pay to any country for peacekeeping operations.”⁷² So, this is the financial problems of the General Assembly, it is really hart to do the reformation of United Nations General Assembly, because there are many problems with the financial.

3.5.7 The Challenge of United Nations Working Method on the Reformation

There are many debated to reform United Nations working methods. During, the decision to define the best working method of the UNSC, there need to spend much time to do it. So, there need to managed time well in order to reform UNSC in a right way.

⁷² “U.S. Threatens to Cut Its Contribution to UN Peacekeeping Budget.” Xinhuanet. 10 Nov. 2018, http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2018-11/10/c_137596902.htm. Accessed 16 June 2019.

Chapter IV: Analyze and Recommendation on the Reformation of United Nations General Assembly and United Nations Security Council

After the research on the main purpose United Nations reforms of both UNGA and UNSA, the chronology timeline of UNGA and UNSC, the positions regarding to the reformation of them, the challenges, and many proposals that this thesis had mentioned. As a result, this part going through the analyze United Nations reformations of both General Assembly and Security Council. Moreover, this part going to conduct one more part on the recommendations on the reformation of General Assembly and Security Council.

4.1 Analyze on the Reformation of United Nations General Assembly and United Nations Security Council

In this part United Nations thesis will analyze the reformation of United Nations General Assembly and United Nations Security Council which is about the possible and impossible of it. And it will show why the reformations of UNGA and UNSC cannot reform? Also, why it can reform?

4.1.1 The Analyze of Reformation on the United Nations General Assembly

This part will provide the possibility of reformations United Nations General Assembly. There are many reasons for the United Nations General Assembly can be reform. On the following there are the analyze United Nations reformations of United Nations General Assembly.

The Modifications of the Constitutions of United Nations General Assembly

For this part, the problems are only that, the member's states want United Nations General Assembly to be social, by civil society and NOG. The Question is that "if that no modifications United Nations constitution how can the General Assembly can reform?" Every question always has their answers as well as this question too. To answer this question, all the just suggest to septate the legal instrument such as resolutions, convention and treaty and more the new resolutions on the Chapter or the Article to the United Nations Constitutions on the adding member of the civil society such as INGO and NGO, so there can make the General Assembly more sociable already. As a result, by the solution all the members can reform the General Assembly.

The Financial Issues

According to the challenges United Nations reforms on the General Assembly, because of it has their other plans on the SDGs, and had the problems on the financial including the Member States want to cut down the contribute money to the. To solve these problems, the members in the General Assembly has 193 members. As a result, if everyone has to contribute on the reformation of General Assembly, the reformation will happen in the future if the all of the members in General Assembly have their willing on the reformation

The Idea of the Reformation on the General Assembly

The reformations United Nations General Assembly seem like possible than reform United Nations Security Council. In the General Assembly is not complexities like the Security Council, so is it more possible to reform then Security Council. As a result, because of the United Nations General Assembly seem not sensitive like the Security Council, so it is going happen on the reformations of United Nations General Assembly. We think because, it is does

not the power of the state members, or not affect much to state company like UNSC, so the reform of UNGA will possible.

State Benefits

According to the main reformation United Nations General Assembly on this thesis, the reformations only gives the benefits to the states members not the others. For example, the reformation on the length of UNGA, the time to do the resolutions as well as the time that releases United Nations resolution going to save time more than before.

The majority support of the Member states on the Reformation of United Nations General Assembly

According to the position regarding to reform of United Nations General Assembly, there are many states support the reformation of United Nations General Assembly. On the following there are the statement on the support to reform the General Assembly for example Statement by H.E. Mr. Koro Bessho Permanent Representative of Japan⁷³, Singapore associates statement delivered by Algeria⁷⁴, and Philippine Statement made by H.E. TEODORO L. LOCSIN Jr Permanent Representative missions.⁷⁵

⁷³ Statement by H.E. Ambassador Koro Bessho, Permanent Representative of Japan to the United Nations, at the Ad Hoc Working Group United Nations Revitalization United Nations Work United Nations General Assembly : Permanent Mission of Japan to the United Nations. 20 Feb. 2018, https://www.un.emb-japan.go.jp/itpr_en/bessho022018.html. Accessed 16 June 2019.

⁷⁴“Statements Delivered at High-Level Segment of COP 18 / CMP 8 | CCNUCC.” Logo. Accessed 16 June 2019. <https://unfccc.int/process/conferences/pastconferences/doha-climate-change-conference-november-2012/statements-and-resources/statements-delivered-at-high-level-segment-of-cop-18--cmp-8>. Accessed 16 June 2019.

⁷⁵ Statement by H.E. TEODORO L. LOCSIN, Jr., Permanent Representative Philippine Permanent iVIission to the United Nations. At the Ad Hoc Working Group United Nations Revitalization United Nations Work United Nations General Assembly : Permanent Mission of Philippine to the United Nations. 20 February 2018. <http://statements.unmeetings.org/media2/18271581/philippines.pdf>. Accessed 16 June 2019.

To give more Power to United Nations General Assembly

The reform United Nations General Assembly is to give more power to it, so it is not affect to the other country that can make it cannot reform. By giving more power to the General Assembly, it does not mean that there need to force all the members' states do all the resolutions. But to give more power to the United Nations General Assembly mean, the United Nations General Assembly have their own decision on the cases that their do the resolutions for, get the powerful for making its decision or resolution, the resolutions will effective than before. So, when it has power, state member will obey it resolution or its declaration.

The Vote of the Members in order to reformation on United Nations General Assembly

According to the Chapter IV of General Assembly everyone has one vote and everyone have the same rights, so they have their rights on the vote to reform the General Assembly. So, if all members' states have their willingness to reform there will have a way to reform and will possible. Because in there everyone has the same rights, so if their want to reform there will happen. There is a possibility that many counties will vote to support if the reformation request the majority vote from the member's states.

4.1.2The Analyze of Reformation on the United Nations Security Council

This part will provide the impossibility of reformations United Nations Security Council. There are a number of reasons that lead to a lower chance for UNSC reforms. On the following there are the analyze United Nations reformations of United Nations Security Council.

The Modifications of Constitutions on United Nations Security Council

It seems like impossible to reform the Security Council, because there need to revise the constitutions. It is not easy the reformation United Nations General Assembly all at. There are many chapters and articles in the constitutions of the Security Council, so it is not easy to reform the United Nations Security Council. According to the Chapter V of the United Nations there are tens articles about the Security Council and the Security Council have their other constitutions outside the United Nations. As a result, it is seeming to impossible to reform Security Council.

The Veto Power

Most of the member in the UN want to become the permanent member of the UNSC, because they want to use the Veto power. According to the Nikki Haley, the US ambassador to the UN said in the DW News “if your country wants to become the permanent member of the UNSC that your country need to not to touch the veto.”⁷⁶ Based on the, Intergovernmental Negotiations, 71st Session of UNGA and the previous Intergovernmental Negotiations, there were mentioned by member state to question the Veto power if the new permanent member may approve there will:

- The Veto might be expanded to all permanent
- New permanent member might not benefit from the Veto, which will be kept only by the current P5
- The Veto might be extended to new permanent member after a reviewing period.
- Progressive restraint/abolition of Veto
- Voluntarily refrain from the use United Nations Veto in case of mass atrocity crime.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ Mazumdaru, Srinivas. Deutsche Welle, “Will the UN Security Council ever be reformed?” 20.10.2017. DW News. Accessed 7 May 2019. <https://www.dw.com/en/will-the-un-security-council-ever-be-reformed/a-41045697>. Accessed 16 June 2019.

⁷⁷ Supra note30.

So, this is really impossible for member want to reform the UNSC because they want to join the UNSC as well as to use the Veto power. However, if the Council reform like this seek like the reform is like not reform, and no one want to reform it at all.

Complexities on the Reformation on United Nations Security Council

The reformation of the UNSC seem to complexities. Moreover, there are many arguments on the reformation on the Council too. And it seen like the complexities and the argument will not going to stop that soon, so the reformation of UNSC seeks to have a long way to reform. Here there are some examples of questions of Complexities on the reformation of United Nation Security Council

- Would the enlargement of the United Nations Security Council that include countries like G4 and others will make the Council improve the body's ability to act effectively and ensure peace and security in the world or not?
- When there are another group of the permanent member in the Council, will it increase the council's legitimacy or undercut accountability by reinforcing privilege of it member?

Finally, as what we have mentioned there are many complexities and argument of the reform, so it is seem like to reform the Security Council is impossible to reform.

No Agreement on the Reformation of United Nations Security Council

There are many arguments that there is no justification for the UNSC reforms. In a theory, there is need an agreement in order to reform the UNSC. However, the reformation of the UNSC from the last two decades until now still no the specific agreements on the reformation. Everyone in the Council just going a conversation and a proposal as well as the agenda, but not an agreement to do the reformation. Moreover, the lack of the agreement was

come from the P5 because it could erode their coveted special status in the preeminent international institution as well as in the Council.

The member in the P5 does not want to reform the United Nations Security Council

According to the challenges and the positions regarding to the reformation of United Nations Security Council Most of the P5 does not want to reform the Security Council at all. Because when it reforms it is going to effect to Veto power sooner or later, so most of the P5 afraid that they will lose their power or the Veto power to the other, so they do not want to reform the Security Council at all.

4.2The Recommendation on the Reformation of United Nations General Assembly and United Nations Security Council

According to there the main purpose of reformation of both of UNGA and UNSC, the chronology timeline of UNGA and UNSC, the positions regarding to the reformation of UNGA and UNSC and the challenges of reformation UNGA and UNSC. Also, this part come up with the recommendations of UNGA and UNSC reform. But everything that had mentioned above are not serious problems because it still has solutions. In this part will provide the recommendations that make the UNGA and UNSC reforms work or success.

4.2.1 Recommendation on United Nations General Assembly

In this part will give some recommendations on reformation of United Nations General Assembly such as cooperation and the willing of state member, and give more power to UNGA.

The Cooperation and Willingness of State members

The Cooperation of state member is also important to make the reformation work. So, the state members have cooperation together for making the reformation. For example, both of

powerful countries and weak countries should open mind to implement the reformation together. Also, they should work together by trying to persuade which countries don't the practice the reformation. In addition, can release the statement together to support the reformation and contribute the financial to support it too. Furthermore, member states should try to raise up about problems, resolutions, recommendation the reformation in every session of UNGA. It is alert state members to stay focus on it. In addition, the willing of state member is also essential. If all United Nations state members have willing to reformation, the reformation will success. Also, they should have a commitment to do the reformation. For example, they try to involve with every action or process United Nations reformation and keeping their support on it.

Give more Power to United Nations General Assembly

Fourth, give more power to the United Nations General Assembly. So, UNGA will have the power to make a decision, recommendation, and resolutions. For example, UNGA has more authority for making every decision to solve problems than before. Furthermore, it has power to force or sanction the countries don't obey the resolution or proposal of UNGA.

4.2.2 Recommendation on United Nations Security Council

In this part will raise up some recommendations on reformation of United Nations Security Council such as reduce the requirement Category of members, the veto power in United Nations Security Council and The Cooperation of State members.

Reduce the Requirement Category of members in United Nations Security Council

First of all, it should reduce the requirement Category of members in United Nations Security Council. It will help UNSC get more membership, because United Nations Requirement Category has many difficult things. In addition, most of state members can't

complete it. If the UNSC or United State reduces those requirement, there will have many state members can apply it.

The Veto Power of United Nations Security Council

In reality the veto power of United Nations Security Council cannot limited. So, in order to reform the 5P should not use their veto power a lot. They should cut down the veto power on the reformation, seriously solution or resolution that give them back the benefit for every state member. So, if they don't use the veto power in the reformation, it will be success.

The Cooperation of State members

In order to make the reformation of Security Council happen, all the members should cooperate to make the reformations of Security Council possible. Moreover, member in the Security Council is only 15, so it is easy to cooperate in order to reform it. All the members states in the council should think about the world more than the state interest, so the reformation going to work by that.

Conclusion

The reformations of United Nations which focused only two main reformations on the reform such as the United Nations General Assembly and United Nations Security Council.

Since there are many proposals of reformation of United Nations General Assembly but in this thesis focused only some main point which is related to those proposal and the Secretary-General Kofi Annan proposal. Those main point of reformation are the implementation of resolution, role of United Nations General Assembly, strength the working methods General Assembly, strength transparency of United Nations General Assembly

Second, the United Nations Security the reformation of the Security Council has been for two decades. It started from 1965 until the present. In addition, the reformation of the Security Council in 1965 was a success for an increase in the non-permanent membership from six to ten members in the Security Council. From 1965, there are many resolutions to adopt in the session of UNGA in order to reform the Security Council such as in 1992 until now. According to the proposal of President Ban Ki-Moon and the other discussion that include such as Expansion of membership of UNSC which is about the expansion the permanent members and expansion the non-permanent member.

After the proposal of reformation United Nation General Assembly and United Nation Security Council released, there are many challenges. In addition, in UNGA has many challenges such as Financial crisis, modification of constitution on United Nations, lack of power in United Nations General Assembly, willing of state members, and Length of reformation. Moreover, in UNSC has many challenges such as modifications of constitution on Security Council, the Veto power, the recruitment of category on members of Security Council, more member will seek for the permanent member seats, financial issues, the challenge

of United Nation Security Council working method on the reformation. Those challenges made the process of reformation can't work.

To sum up, the thesis mainly focuses only two main reformation of United Nation General Assembly and United Nation Security Council. There are many challenges from the last decade until now. And the proposal and process of reformation two main organization still the concern for the next generation.

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CHAPTERS OF UNITED NATIONS

CHAPTER IV: THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Article 9: COMPOSITION

1. The General Assembly shall consist of all the Members of the United Nations.
2. Each Member shall have not more than five representatives in the General Assembly.

Article 10: FUNCTIONS and POWERS

The General Assembly may discuss any questions or any matters within the scope of the present Charter or relating to the powers and functions of any organs provided for in the present Charter, and, except as provided in Article 12, may make recommendations to the Members of the United Nations or to the Security Council or to both on any such questions or matters.

Article 11

1. The General Assembly may consider the general principles of co-operation in the maintenance of international peace and security, including the principles governing disarmament and the regulation of armaments, and may make recommendations with regard to such principles to the Members or to the Security Council or to both.
2. The General Assembly may discuss any questions relating to the maintenance of international peace and security brought before it by any Member of the United Nations, or by the Security Council, or by a state which is not a Member of the United Nations in accordance with Article 35, paragraph 2, and, except as provided in Article 12, may make recommendations with regard to any such questions to the state or states concerned or to the Security Council or to both. Any such question on which action is necessary shall be referred to the Security Council by the General Assembly either before or after discussion.

3. The General Assembly may call the attention of the Security Council to situations which are likely to endanger international peace and security.
4. The powers of the General Assembly set forth in this Article shall not limit the general scope of Article 10.

Article 12

1. While the Security Council is exercising in respect of any dispute or situation the functions assigned to it in the present Charter, the General Assembly shall not make any recommendation with regard to that dispute or situation unless the Security Council so requests.
2. The Secretary-General, with the consent of the Security Council, shall notify the General Assembly at each session of any matters relative to the maintenance of international peace and security which are being dealt with by the Security Council and shall similarly notify the General Assembly, or the Members of the United Nations if the General Assembly is not in session, immediately the Security Council ceases to deal with such matters.

Article 13

1. The General Assembly shall initiate studies and make recommendations for the purpose of:
 - a. Promoting international co-operation in the political field and encouraging the progressive development of international law and its codification;
 - b. Promoting international co-operation in the economic, social, cultural, educational, and health fields, and assisting in the realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.

2. The further responsibilities, functions and powers of the General Assembly with respect to matters mentioned in paragraph 1 (b) above are set forth in Chapters IX and X.

Article 14

Subject to the provisions of Article 12, the General Assembly may recommend measures for the peaceful adjustment of any situation, regardless of origin, which it deems likely to impair the general welfare or friendly relations among nations, including situations resulting from a violation of the provisions of the present Charter setting forth the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations.

Article 15

1. The General Assembly shall receive and consider annual and special reports from the Security Council; these reports shall include an account of the measures that the Security Council has decided upon or taken to maintain international peace and security.
2. The General Assembly shall receive and consider reports from the other organs of the United Nations.

Article 16

The General Assembly shall perform such functions with respect to the international trusteeship system as are assigned to it under Chapters XII and XIII, including the approval of the trusteeship agreements for areas not designated as strategic.

Article 17

1. The General Assembly shall consider and approve the budget of the Organization.
2. The expenses of the Organization shall be borne by the Members as apportioned by the General Assembly.
3. The General Assembly shall consider and approve any financial and budgetary arrangements with specialized agencies referred to in Article 57 and shall examine the

administrative budgets of such specialized agencies with a view to making recommendations to the agencies concerned.

Article 18: VOTING

1. Each member of the General Assembly shall have one vote.
2. Decisions of the General Assembly on important questions shall be made by a two-thirds majority of the members present and voting. These questions shall include: recommendations with respect to the maintenance of international peace and security, the election of the non-permanent members of the Security Council, the election of the members of the Economic and Social Council, the election of members of the Trusteeship Council in accordance with paragraph 1 (c) of Article 86, the admission of new Members to the United Nations, the suspension of the rights and privileges of membership, the expulsion of Members, questions relating to the operation of the trusteeship system, and budgetary questions.
3. Decisions on other questions, including the determination of additional categories of questions to be decided by a two-thirds majority, shall be made by a majority of the members present and voting.

Article 19

A Member of the United Nations which is in arrears in the payment of its financial contributions to the Organization shall have no vote in the General Assembly if the amount of its arrears equals or exceeds the amount of the contributions due from it for the preceding two full years. The General Assembly may, nevertheless, permit such a Member to vote if it is satisfied that the failure to pay is due to conditions beyond the control of the Members.

Article 20: PROCEDURE

The General Assembly shall meet in regular annual sessions and in such special sessions as occasion may require. Special sessions shall be convoked by the Secretary-General at the request of the Security Council or of a majority of the Members of the United Nations.

Article 21

The General Assembly shall adopt its own rules of procedure. It shall elect its President for each session.

Article 22

The General Assembly may establish such subsidiary organs as it deems necessary for the performance of its functions.

CHAPTER V: THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Article 23: COMPOSITION

1. The Security Council shall consist of fifteen Members of the United Nations. The Republic of China, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America shall be permanent members of the Security Council. The General Assembly shall elect ten other Members of the United Nations to be non-permanent members of the Security Council, due regard being specially paid, in the first instance to the contribution of Members of the United Nations to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the Organization, and also to equitable geographical distribution.
2. The non-permanent members of the Security Council shall be elected for a term of two years. In the first election of the non-permanent members after the increase of the membership of the Security Council from eleven to fifteen, two of the four additional

members shall be chosen for a term of one year. A retiring member shall not be eligible for immediate re-election.

3. Each member of the Security Council shall have one representative.

Article 24: FUNCTIONS and POWERS

1. In order to ensure prompt and effective action by the United Nations, its Members confer on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and agree that in carrying out its duties under this responsibility the Security Council acts on their behalf.
2. In discharging these duties, the Security Council shall act in accordance with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations. The specific powers granted to the Security Council for the discharge of these duties are laid down in Chapters VI, VII, VIII, and XII.
3. The Security Council shall submit annual and, when necessary, special reports to the General.

Article 25

The Members of the United Nations agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council in accordance with the present Charter.

Article 26

In order to promote the establishment and maintenance of international peace and security with the least diversion for armaments of the world's human and economic resources, the Security Council shall be responsible for formulating, with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee referred to in Article 47, plans to be submitted to the Members of the United Nations for the establishment of a system for the regulation of armaments. Assembly for its consideration.

Article 27: VOTING

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

Article 28: PROCEDURE

1. The Security Council shall be so organized as to be able to function continuously. Each member of the Security Council shall for this purpose be represented at all times at the seat of the Organization.
2. The Security Council shall hold periodic meetings at which each of its members may, if it so desires, be represented by a member of the government or by some other specially designated representative.
3. The Security Council may hold meetings at such places other than the seat of the Organization as in its judgment will best facilitate its work.

Article 29

The Security Council may establish such subsidiary organs as it deems necessary for the performance of its functions.

Article 30

The Security Council shall adopt its own rules of procedure, including the method of selecting its President.

Article 31

Any Member of the United Nations which is not a member of the Security Council may participate, without vote, in the discussion of any question brought before the Security Council whenever the latter considers that the interests of that Member are specially affected.

Article 32

Any Member of the United Nations which is not a member of the Security Council or any state which is not a Member of the United Nations, if it is a party to a dispute under consideration by the Security Council, shall be invited to participate, without vote, in the discussion relating to the dispute. The Security Council shall lay down such conditions as it deems just for the participation of a state which is not a Member of the United Nations.