

Balancing the Veto Power: Prospects and Possibilities of Pakistan's Inclusion in Security Council as a Permanent Member

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ABSTRACT

The United Nations Security Council (UNSC) is a key organ of the UN body and has been under the spotlight due to the issues of reforms and expansion. Currently, the UN Security Council is composed of five permanent members and ten non-permanent member selected, for two years term, in two groups. Permanent members of UNSC are United States, France, Britain, China and Russia. Democratic credentials of the UNSC have always been questioned due to the unfair and boundless authorities of the five permanent members with the veto power.

Pakistan has been reiterating its concerns about the issues time and again in the UN forum and has persistently laid emphasis in its stance that UNSC must have equitable and fair reforms, so that this UN component becomes more democratic to meet the aspirations of all the member states effectively.

United Nations Security Council (UNSC) needs reforms to become more efficient and neutral in functioning and legitimacy for today's changing global geopolitical dynamics. The purpose of this research is to spotlight the facts and rationale behind the necessity to reform the UNSC and the change within it by increase in permanent members.

Key Words: **United Nations Security Council (UNSC), India, Pakistan, Group of 4(G-4), Permanent Member, UN Security Council, Equitable and Effective Reform.**

Introduction

After World War II, the United States and the Soviet Union became superpowers. and the United Nations (UN) became the agency dealing with issues related to international peace and stability. The United Nations Security Council (UNSC) is established under the UN Charter and has the power to settle issues. The UN Security Council gives five members permanent membership and veto power. This allows them to influence and dominate the rest of the world community. Many UN

member states are influenced by the dominance of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council. For this reason there are always calls for UN Security Council reforms. Because it is believed that the five permanent members will use their veto power in their favour.

Amongst many other countries, Pakistan has always been advocating actively for reforming the structure of the UNSC and desiring itself to become a permanent member of the UNSC.

The debate to reform the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) dates back from the day of its formation. The basic desired reforms by most nations are; taking away the veto power of permanent members and the inclusion of new permanent and non-permanent members in the organization. The current structure of the UNSC does not represent majority of the world population. The authoritative structure of the organization revolves around the world powers of the Second World War era. Nations like Germany and Japan have already outclassed the economic and political clout of these powers, but they still cannot get any authority and power in the UN Security Council. The five permanent members do not want to expand the power of veto to other UN member states and are also not imminent to the suggestion of increasing the number of permanent members. A large group of UN member countries demand the reforms and expansion of the UNSC on a proportionate and equitable basis. A number of proposals have been suggested for structural reforms in the UNSC organization, but no development has been made till today due to use of veto power of its permanent members against any form of authoritative reforms. Inability of UNSC in reforming itself has extremely harmed the credibility and the rationale behind the creation of the organization. It is therefore inevitable to reform the organization in line with the reasonable aspirations of the member states and on the basis of impartial and equitable representation.

The United States of America had proposed a certain criterion to reform UNCS. This approach called for prospective members of the UN to be eligible for UNSC's permanent membership on the basis of the population, economic competence, democratic credentials, and military capability and among others, human rights and financial contributions to the UN as a whole, as well as UN peacekeeping endeavours. Former US presidents, George W. Bush and Barack Obama wanted India to be included in the UNSC but Pakistan has always opposed such a move because of gross human rights violations committed by India in occupied Jammu and Kashmir. However, Pakistan has always been willing for the permanent membership of UNSC for itself and also wants more non-permanent members, with better credentials, giving more representation to other regions. By this, the UN Security Council would become more democratic in outlook.

The primary cause for the UN Security Council's failure to safeguard international peace is the misuse of the veto power by UNSC permanent members, e.g. Russia and US veto on various resolutions regarding Kashmir and Palestine etc. Likewise, during the Cold War, veto was used by the big powers against

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Pakistan for advancing their interests, e.g. the Soviet Union.

On a numerous occasions Pakistan has outlined its perspective, which calls for equal representation and is also reflected in the stance adopted by many other states, supportive of opposition to any kind of reforms in The UNSC which would undermine smaller states. The main blemish in the UNSC's distribution of power is the inequitable distribution of permanent seats, as well as the under representation of most of the world's population. A lack of transparency has made UNSC futile during serious crises and the failure to act in times of conflict has been a major factor, reflecting an ineffective organ of the UN. In regard to the proposal for expansion with regards to permanent membership, Pakistan has reiterated that, "the principles of sovereign equality of states demands equal opportunity for all states to seek membership of the council."

In order to ensure equal opportunity, Pakistan is of the view of increasing permanent members of the UNSC and reiterates its stance time and again of getting permanent membership in the UNSC as the prominent Muslim country, the only atomic power in Muslim world and representative of the Muslim world. Pakistan's stance in this regard also reaffirms and reiterates its firm and principled position in getting a permanent membership being the 5th most populated atomic state, its strategic position in the region and its role in peace keeping missions of the UN and its role as decision maker in international conflicts i.e. Afghanistan issue and Yamen-Saudi war. On the other hand, Pakistan, as a part of the Uniting for Consensus group (UFC), has always called for an effective, fair and feasible reformation of the Security Council reform based on consensus among the UN members. The UFC comprises of members like Canada, Turkey, Pakistan, Italy, Argentina, South Korea, Spain, Mexico and Malta. The main aspect behind the position taken by countries with regard to the reform of the Security Council is due to the importance of this organisation in the UN system. The Security Council owes a major liability for maintaining security and peace, and this role is undertaken by it in numerous ways. That is why Pakistan is of the view that the UNSC reforms must not be detrimental to the interests of smaller states.

The focus of ongoing research on the basic question that "Why should Pakistan be given permanent veto power in the UN Security Council? It contains more questions to understand the whole phenomenon. Does this have anything to do with the criteria for becoming a permanent member of the UN Security Council with veto power? Also, Pakistan fulfils the expected criterion for a permanent seat in the UN Security Council and its influence in the world and the South Asian region.

UNSC Reforms

The Preamble to the Charter of the UN describes the nature of the UNSC and reiterates that the UNSC has been established to save the imminent generations

from war, which in the past has brought death and devastation to the world. Similarly, the United Nations is also formed to endorse faith and trust in indispensable human rights, the value of human life and to give equal rights to men and women of all nations. Besides this, the main function of the United Nations Security Council is to ensure that international law is followed by all its members along with social progress and better standards of living for all member states. In order to achieve its goals, practicing tolerance and unity, to maintain peace and security, as well as to accept and endorse ways and means to avoid armed conflicts amongst member states of UN and also to promote the development of all people in the world.

The UNSC comprises of fifteen members, out of which five members are permanent, while ten members are elected for a period of two years each. The permanent members have the power of veto, whereas each other nation in the Council has a single vote. The five permanent members (P5) are USA, UK, Russia, Republic of China and France; four of them are the victors of the Second World War. The UN Charter signed immediately after the Second World War gave a special privilege through “veto” to recognize the centrality of the P5 victor states to the UN Security Council. The non- permanent seats go around amongst all other states and are allocated to different regions of the world. Pakistan has been a non-permanent member for seven times in the UNSC.

The UNSC Charter has been reformed only three times from the time of its creation. Out of these three amendments, only one amendment changed the number of the UNSC non-permanent members and increased the number from six to ten. After 1963, no reforms have been made till date. During the Cold War era, the UN Security Council mostly proved ineffective and dormant due to the conflict between USA and USSR. In the post- Cold War era, the question of reforms was once again raised by member states of the UNSC, but it is not considered till date.

In 2005, the then Secretary-General, Kofi Annan appointed a high level panel on threats, challenges and change to look into the different aspects of the UN together with the UN Security Council. The panel suggested two models regarding the reforms of the UNSC. Model A suggested an addition to the number of permanent seats by one member and an increase of three non-permanent members. Model B suggested no change in permanent members, but to introduce a new category of eight seats for a renewable term of four years and also one additional seat with a two year term.

The use of power of veto by permanent members of UNSC has always been debatable one. The proponents of the veto power suggest that it has a balancing effect among the different power centers in the world, while the opponents are of the opinion that the veto power is always been misused by the permanent members to serve their personal interests and it is a major reason why the Security Council could not achieve its full effectiveness and power. Pakistan has recommended that the permanent members should give up their veto power in order to make the UN more democratic and truly representative body of all states

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having equal rights and importance and equitable representation. Dr. Maleeha Lodhi, Pakistan's permanent ambassador to the UN, while participating in the IGN (inter- governmental negotiations) on UN reforms in April 2019, recommended that, preferably, no country should have the power of veto in order to make UN a more democratic body. The issue of Kashmir has been enduring in the UNSC due to the use of veto by Russia in favor of Indian interests due to their alliance with India. Similarly, any resolution moved in the UN Security Council about Palestine issue and the illegal occupation of the West Bank by the Israelis is vetoed by the US in favor of its ally Israel.

The UNSC has many flaws in its structure, the primary dread being the inequitable distribution of the permanent seats. This set up of permanent members does not represent a geographical distribution, religious representation, nor does it represent the economic prowess of the P5 states. Currently, Japan is the second highest contributor to the UN in terms of finances, but still it is not a permanent seat holder in the UNSC. The validation behind bestowing the power of veto upon the P5 states seems to be diminishing due to the rise of several other power centers throughout the world. In this regard, the claim to a permanent seat from Germany, Japan, Pakistan, India and Brazil is stronger than ever. The P5 states have never clearly elaborated their position on the expansion of the UNSC. The power of veto is a forceful weapon available with these states which they could use to safeguard their interests so P5 would not like to dilute the amount of influence they have.

The second major flaw is the under-representation of most of the world's populace in the Security Council. Presently, the allotment of seats is on the basis of geographical pattern, but there are some areas where the majority population of the world resides, for instance, Asia is home to 60% of the world's population, but does not have enough representation in UNSC.

The Different Models of UNSC Reforms

The high level panel set up by the then Secretary-General Kofi Annan made recommendations proposing that those states which financially, militarily and politically contribute the most of the UN should be given increased involvement in the decision making process. The High Level Panel recommended two models:

Model A

This model proposed to increase the number of the members of UNSC to 24. It anticipated six additional seats in the permanent category and three extra seats in the non-permanent category. The six additional permanent members were projected not to have the power of veto.

Model B

This model also proposed an increase in the number of member states to 24 but it did not propose new permanent seats. It recommended eight additional seats with four-year renewable terms.

The Group of Four

The Group of Four (G4) consists of Germany, Japan, India and Brazil. These G4 have wished to have permanent seats in the UN Security Council without the power of veto and propose to increase the number of UNSC member states to 25. Their claim to get permanent membership in UNSC is based on the High level Council's suggestion that is; the greatest contributors in UN should have an increased involvement in the UN Security Council.

The greatest rival of the G4 is the UFC which proposes the expansion of the UNSC based on democratic principles. Pakistan steadfastly opposes the inclusion of India, although it does not oppose the inclusion of Japan, Brazil and Germany.

UFC

The UFC generally known as the "Coffee Club" is a group of countries led by Italy and who oppose the extension of the permanent seats in the UNSC. It was formed by Italy, Pakistan, Egypt and Mexico, but later on, many other states joined them and now there are 77 countries in the UFC. The UFC proposed the following two models:

The Green Model

The green model proposes raise in the number of non- permanent seats to 20 and all the seats will be renewable.

The Blue Model

The Blue model advocates a new non-permanent category having tenure of three to four years. It also proposes to add two more seats to the non-permanent category.

The Panama Proposal

The Panama proposal proposes increasing the number of total seats to 21. This gives one seat to Latin America and the Caribbean, one to the Western Europe and other groups, and two each for Africa and Asia, proposes a five-year term for each member. If a state is successful in becoming a non-permanent four times frequently, it will be entitled to become a permanent member without a veto.

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Need for Expansion of the UNSC

Every agency or organization must periodically make adjustments to reflect the changing nature of responsibilities. The United Nations Security Council, a major international body, is no exception. Reform efforts began shortly after the establishment of the UN Security Council, when it was established. Differences arose over composition and decentralization, as well as over the powers and privileges of permanent and temporary members. Once the United Nations was established, many states considered permanent membership undemocratic and divisive.

The idea of stability with veto power is inconsistent with the current idea of equality between states. In addition, the rise of states and the decline of some of the existing P5s have strengthened the reform and expansion of the UNSC. Four Key Areas of UNSC Expansion: Regional Representation The size of the Council in relation to the overall membership of the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA), inequalities among UNSC members, and the hospitality of States in... Resolution - production process. UNSC, which provides the largest amount of financial and military funding to the United Nations. for these reasons There is consensus among all Member States on the reforms of the UNSC and, in particular, on the expansion of the UNSC.

The current composition of the UNSC General Assembly completely ignores Muslims, who make up more than 25% of the world's population. Even the majority of people in more than 50 countries around the world. But they are not equally represented on the UN Security Council. There are no Muslim countries in P5. He called for reforms in the UNSC to ensure representation of countries, equally on the basis of population.

Some of the facts and factors pushing for change in United Nations Security Council at World Stage from 1945- 2020 are listed below:

Influential Facts and Factors	1945	2020
Number of Independent states	More than 50 in numbers	More than 190 in numbers
World Interdependence	Militarily Interdependence	Economic Interdependence
Concept of Power	Hard	Soft
Criteria for selecting permanent members of UNSC	The successor of World War II	Still under discussion / Not yet agreed on any specific criteria
States desire for permanent membership	In pursuit of Peace	In pursuit of Power
Reason behind creating the UN and its UNSC	To bring peace to the world	Need to get revive to bring peace to the world

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World communication	World community have Divergent nature of the relationship	The world community is following the path of a Convergent relationship
Regional Representation in UNSC	Not all world regions equally represented	All world regions need to get full representation in UNSC
World Order	Bilateral	Multilateral

The most predictable criteria for having a permanent membership in UNSC, based on a few sets of principles following the current world scenario and the nature of the relationship, the states are following about the ground realities of today need to focus on the following prerequisites.

Prerequisite	Principles to Follow
Huge Democracy	In term of a strong democratic system
Human rights contributor	In term of human right activist and contributor
Huge and potential economy	In term of strong economic status
Huge population	In term of representing a huge number of the World's population
Potential military capacity	In term of having up to date and well equipped Armed forces
Powerful country	In term of having a soft power practical image and status
Peace-loving and undisputed country	In term of having no dispute and nonviolent behavior with other states
Equal regional representation	Countries must represent various regions of the world equally
Contribution to the United Nations	In term of finance and multiple aid needed for human rights
Geographical background	In term of holding a strong and important geographical location
Friendly relations with the rest of the World	In term of enjoying pleasant and responsible behavior
Peaceful neighbor	In term of the passive and submissive bond
Influential regional representation	In term of the significant and central representative
Independent and undisputed Country	In term of having a sovereign status with undisputed nature
Contribution to world's peace keeping and proliferation	In term of playing a key role regarding peace keeping and nonproliferation
Representation of Muslim World	In term of representing a large number of Muslim community of the world

Pakistan is a big country and has remained relatively democratic and contributing to the UN peacemaking efforts in the world since its independence in 1947. It has contributed a large troop commitment toward the United Nation's

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peace efforts in the world. Pakistan has provided leaders for both civilian and military leadership to the United Nation. Pakistan has been on the frontline in war against terrorism and suffered loss of billions of dollars in its economic growth and more than 70,000 casualties due to terrorist attacks. Pakistan has contributed, by all means whether economical or military, much more than any other country in the world for peacemaking process in Afghanistan. Pakistan, being the only Muslim Atomic power, has leading role in OIC and has been contributing greatly in resolving conflicts of Muslim countries within Muslim world and also with other non-Muslim states. Pakistan is the greatest supporter and contributor to the United Nation's peacemaking process. Pakistan has always been of the view to resolve its issue with neighbouring countries especially India as per UN resolutions and has always respected greatly to the UN resolutions and regulations. Pakistan, as a key regional Atomic power and representative of the Muslim world, deserves the permanent membership of the UNSC and must continue to work closely with members of the UFC group to argue in favour of increase of permanent and non-permanent membership of the UNSC to improve its role in world's socioeconomic development.

Pakistan's entry into the UNSC permanent members club would greatly benefit its peacemaking efforts and will definitely help in resolving its issues with its neighbouring countries. Pakistan, as permanent member of UNSC, will pursue the resolution of conflicts of the Muslim countries.

Conclusion

Although most UN member states have agreed on the reform and expansion of the UN Security Council, the expansion of the UN Security Council appears to be one of the most contentious issues in the reform process. The P5 countries are against any kind of expansion that would affect their exclusive power and sovereignty. Permanent members have historically rejected all attempts to preserve and protect their particular discourses and privileges of such reforms. Much of the failure of the UN Security Council is disagreements among P5 members, not broad representation.

Contemporary Challenges Changes are needed in the structure of the United Nations in general and the structure of the UN Security Council in particular. Due to its effective performance and influential representation in the world system, today many countries including Pakistan want to change the composition of the UN Security Council based on its strong economic, military and political position. And Pakistan, which wants to become a permanent member, needs different platforms for this purpose. Diplomatic facilitation and support for the permanent members of the UN Security Council. For this purpose, Pakistan follows various military and economic agreements, build strong relationships with them.

The economy of any country is considered the backbone of any country and

provides solid grounds for survival internationally. If Pakistan is going to have a permanent status, then obviously it would have to improve the socio-economic ties with the P5.

It can be said that the potential and prospects for noteworthy reform seem far away as amendments to UN Charter require a confirmatory vote and domestic endorsement by the two third majorities in the UN. This obviously involves and includes the entire Security Council's permanent members, which seems like a distant dream as the permanent members would not like to support any measures that might curb their own influence in the global body.

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