70th anniversary of United Nations: from bureaucracy labyrinth and double standards to the necessity of reform

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1. Introduction

2015 marks the global celebration of the 70th anniversary of the United Nations, which is the most representative forum for discussions among the states on the issues of international concerns and the main international institution which occupies a central place in the system of international organizations.

In response to the horrors of Nazism the United Nations Organization was founded in 1945 upon the initiative of the victorious powers of the international peace and security, are to achieve international cooperation, development and human rights, as laid down in article 1 of the UN Charter.

The Unites Nations also plays a crucial role in the contemporary international development and its Charter is a foundation of modern international law, a kind of universally accepted code of conduct of states and their relationships.

It commits the organization to, among other things, "promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom", to "reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small" and to "save succeeding generations from the scourge of war".

As the supranational and intergovernmental institution, the UN has proud pages of achievements in its history, such as protecting global health, aiding refugees, preventing wars, empowerment women activity, advance international law and safeguard the environment.

The UN also helps people survive wars and rebuild their lives and normal social activities after the violence has ended. It also calls those responsible for war to account. So, in the mid of 1990th in order to bring individuals to criminal liability the International Criminal Tribunal for the prosecution of persons responsible for serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in the territory of the former Yugoslavia and the International Criminal Tribunal for the prosecution of persons responsible for genocide and other serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in the territory of Rwanda and Rwandan citizens responsible for

genocide and other international crimes, committed in the territory of neighboring states were established by the UN Security Council.

The fact that in order to justify the decision about creating this international courts the UN Security Council referred to the Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, dedicated to the action with respect to threats to the peace, breaches of the peace, and acts of aggression was very remarkable.

Yes, the UN has produced major successes over its 70 years—and major failures. One of the main reasons for the lack of effectiveness of the Organization lies in its inability and unwillingness in some cases to ensure the implementation of its resolutions. While the UN Security Council is endowed with sufficient powers necessary for the proper execution of its resolutions by the member states of the UN, unfortunately sometimes it does not execute its resolutions or properly follow the application of the requirements of its verdicts.

International political commentators often use the word "relic" of the UN, laying in the use of this term has two main ideas: the first implies the absence of activity, the second – worship, despite the fact that the organization is more like a relic of the past.

The adaptation of the UN to a dramatic shift in the international political landscape becomes demand of the time. The conceptual questions such as what should be the priorities of the Organization in modern era, of which its functions can be delegated to regional organizations or coalitions of states, what are the conditions and limits of the UN intervention in the internal affairs of sovereign states, what should be the core activities of the UN that should receive a significant proportion of the regular funding of the UN, what are the incentives of governments dealing with UN, as well as how to combine the principle of universality with a special status of the permanent members of the UN Security Council, etc. become relevant today.

The UN urgently needs to be reformed. For a number of years now, there have been calls for the UN to be modified, modernized, and reformed. The five Permanent Members of the SC have resisted these calls.

2. Bureaucratic labyrinth in UN system

As the UN celebrated its 70th anniversary, those imperfections – and how the UN addresses them – have come to the fore as the organization struggles to define its role in the 21st century. In its 70 years the UN is still estimated as the great hope for the future of the mankind. But at the same time, it has infuriated with its numbing bureaucracy, its institutional cover-ups of corruption and the undemocratic politics of its Security Council.

The UN has some fundamental strengths and weakness that handicap getting things done. It has a unique convening power. Its legitimacy comes from the fact that every country is a member and feels it has a voice. But that`s the trouble, too[1].

Tensions between western governments, which see the UN as bloated and inefficient, and developing countries, which regard it as undemocratic and dominated by the rich, have rippled across the international organization as ballooning costs drive the push for reform.

Even accounting for inflation, annual UN expenditure is 40 times higher than it was in the early 1950s. The organization now encompasses 17 specialized agencies, 14 funds and a secretariat with 17 departments employing 41,000 people.

A decade ago, the UN launched its most enduring report into reform. A panel – co-chaired by the prime ministers of Mozambique, Norway and Pakistan, and including the then British chancellor, Gordon Brown – wrote a devastating document. It ticked off criticisms which said the UN was badly failing those it was supposed to help. Its work on development was described as "often fragmented and weak"; its governance was called "inefficient and ineffective".

The report said the UN's taste for setting goals at the expense of delivering results failed the poorest and most vulnerable. It also criticized a system of funding for many UN programmes in which officials had to beg for money from governments year after year, making it difficult to plan.

"Cooperation between organizations has been hindered by competition for funding, mission creep and by outdated business practices," it said. "In some sectors, such as water and energy, more than 20 UN agencies are active and compete for limited resources without a clear collaborative framework. More than 30 UN agencies and programmes have a stake in environmental management."

The reform report noted that about one-third of the UN operations in 60 countries had a budget of less than $2m per agency, which meant that they could do little more than afford the cost of running the office.

The report proposed extensive changes to promote greater collaboration and efficiency under a programme called Delivering as One. This included myriad UN agencies in a single country coming under

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[1] The UN is under-funded, bureaucratic labyrinth – and a force for good in the world // The Telegraph. URL: http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/11699243/The-UN-is-an-under-funded-bureaucratic-labyrinth-and-a-force-for-good-in-the-world.html

the authority of one official, and working more closely with the governments of those countries, which often had no idea what the UN was doing[2].

UN SC Ban Ki-moon told the Guardian that rapid change was happening and that Delivering as One was at the heart of it. "The United Nations of today is hugely different from the United Nations 70 years ago, and therefore it is very important the United Nations changes and adapts itself to changing circumstances," he said. "It's been changing, very drastically now. I have seen this kind of duplication between and among United Nations agencies, for example water issues. Delivering as One, working as one, in the United Nations, that's the main motor of my administration and I have been engaging with all different agencies and funds and programmes so that we can Deliver as One."

The executive director of the reform report was Adnan Amin, a Kenyan development economist who was head of the Chief Executives Board for Coordination, which represents all UN programmes as well as associated organisations such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. He said the changes proposed in the report were "fundamentally good ideas" but had not had the impact its authors had hoped for.

Amin declared the UN had set itself yet more goals but failed to heed the report's warning about lack of results. "What we have now is another multiplication of targets and goals which are an extraordinarily comprehensive assessment of what's needed to be done but there's no operational clarity around them. Who's going to do it? Who's going to monitor it? Who's accountable for it? The goals themselves are pretty impressive but it doesn't say anything to the UN about what they should be doing," he said.

"We still have a lot of fragmentation. There are about 1,200 country offices of the UN around the world. There are 100 countries with more than 10 UN country offices in each country. You have country offices with a budget of eight or nine million [dollars] and a staff of five people. Half the money goes for the operational expenses of the office, leaving what is actually a minuscule amount of money for programming or key activities. In the context of what's happening today, a few million is not going to make any difference[3]."

The obstacles on reform come from different directions. Some UN agencies resist it. But the bigger obstacle to reform perhaps comes from the UN members states themselves, especially from permanent members of UN Security Council. The fact that G5 countries of UN Security Council blocked many of the reforms – for self-interested reasons of their own – was a source of permanent frustration.

Taking into consideration above mentioned negative tendentious, it is absolutely obvious that UN Security Council urgently needs to be reformed.

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[2] 70 years and half a trillion dollars later: what has the UN achieved? // The Guardian. URL: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/sep/07/what-has-the-un-achieved-united-nations

[3] Ibid.

3. Institutional Reform: the reform of the United Nations Security Council

3.1. United Nations Security Council as the main international body responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security

In order to ensure prompt and effective action by the United Nations, its members, in accordance with article 24 of the UN Charter, confer on the Security Council "primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security". As arguably the most important international institution of all, the UN Security Council remains the symbol of global governance and the only judge for defining what amounts to a threat to international peace[4].

In order to understand the centrality of the UNSC in the Charter, it is of elemental importance to understand the time at which the Charter was drafted. As it is indicated in its opening words, twice in the

[4] Mustafayeva, Najiba (2015) Need for reforming the United Nations Security Council // Research Institute for European and American Studies. URL: www.rieas.gr/images/trasatlantic/**najibaunreform**15.pdf

twentieth century, the world has experienced a hideous war. The number of lives lost is unknown; however, it is widely believed that the number was at least 100 million. The League of Nations was the first attempt to remedy such a loss of life and seek to avoid war in the future. The League was established after the end of the First World War, but failed, and then was overtaken by the onset of the Second World War, a mere twenty years later[5].

Yes, the UNSC was built on the experiences of the League of Nations. In order to strengthen the new institution`s ability, the Council`s creators made three fundamental changes. First, they gave the organ enforcement capabilities. Second, they discarded the unanimity role, which was seen as one the major reasons for the League`s failure[6], and gave veto power to a small number of powerful states[7]. Its enforcement authority is unique in the history of international institutions[8]. To compensate the smaller nations, the UN General Assembly was given the right to discuss security matters under article 10 and give recommendations to the UNSC.

So, the minds in San Francisco were heavily concentrated upon what was defined in the Charter as "the maintenance of international peace and security." The focus on peace and security led to placement of the organ of the UN responsible for that task at the center of virtually all of its activities.

It is the only organ whose decisions are internationally binding for all member states (article 25).

The gravity of the subject matter, for which the Security Council is given primary responsibility, leads to Articles 41 and 42 of the Charter. The first of these, Article 41, has the Security Council attempting to bring about the settlement of disputes by peaceful, non-military means. The second, Article 42, provides for action when that first activity has not borne fruit. Article 42 authorizes the Security Council "to take action, by air, sea or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security"[9].

UNSC is composed of 15 member states, with the five great powers emerging from the Second World War, i.e. the United States, Russia, the United Kingdom, France and China ("P 5"), designated as permanent members in accordance with article 23 of the UN Charter. The non-permanent members are elected by a two-third majority of the General Assembly for the term of two years. In accordance with article 27 decisions of the UNSC require a majority of nine votes with permanent members having a veto right.

In sum, under the Charter, States are enjoined to cooperate with each other, to harmonize their actions, and to settle all of their disputes by peaceful means. States are deemed to be sovereign, self-

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5 Butler, Richard (2012): Reform of the United Nations Security Council /Penn State Journal of Law and International Relations/Vol.1, No. 1/ April 2012. P.26.

6 Kirgis, Jr., Frederic L. (1995): The Security Council`s First Fifty Years /The American Journal of International Law /Vol. 89, No.3/ July 1995, pp. 506-539.

7 See: Bourantonis, Dimitris (2006): History and politics of UN Security Council Reform /Routledge Advances in International Relations and Global Politics. / London ; New York.

8 Luck, Edward C. (2006): UN Security Council. Practice and Promise. New York: Routledge,2006.

9 U.N. Charter art.42

determined, independent, and inviolable. Violation of the territorial integrity of any state is simply against the law. The members of the United Nations agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council in accordance with the Charter.

The Cold War largely immobilized the UNSC[10], but even after a brief moment of hope at the Cold War, criticism persisted[11]. In 1990, the UNSC authorized the use of force for the second time in history, and a large coalition force under US leadership defeated Iraq[12]. In 1992, John Major captured the spirit of the time when he argued that at last the UNSC was fulfilling the role envisioned by the UN's founders in 1945[13]. Since then, however, the Council proved to be a largely ineffective instrument in the context of collective security, failing to take action in the face of horrific human suffering in Rwanda and former Yugoslavia, and making serious mistakes with regards to the Somalia mission, which ended unsuccessfully in 1995[14]. "The Security Council failed", John Glennon announced in a similar vein in 2003, after US President Bush had decided to invade Iraq. He predicted that the UNSC would go the same way the League of Nations did sixty-five years before[15].

One of the major criticisms voiced is the lack of representativeness and its inability and unwillingness in some cases to ensure the implementation of its resolutions. So, the reform efforts of UNSC have to be focused on the following categories: the size of an enlarged Security Council, the categories of membership, the question of regional representation, the question of the veto, the working methods and effective implementations of its resolutions.

3.2. The institute of a veto right

A crucial aspect of the privileged and responsible position assigned, in the Charter, to the permanent members of the United Nations Security Council, is the veto power.

Due to the fact that the Security Council`s "primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security", it occupies a unique position not only in the UN system, but also in the whole system of international relations. On this basis the permanent members of UNSC, so-called

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[10] Luck, Edward C. (2006).

[11] Kirgis Jr., Frederic I. (1995): The Security Council`s First Fifty Years /The American Journal of International Law/Vol. 89, No 3/July 1995, pp.506-539.

[12] Russet, Bruce and Sutterlin, James S. (1991): The UN in a New World Order /Foreign Affairs /Vol. 70, No.2/Spring 1991, pp.69-83.

[13] Weiss, Thomas G. (2005): Overcoming the Security Council Reform Impasse. The Implausible versus the Plausible. / Dialogue on Globalization Paper /Friedrich Ebert Stiftung /No.14/January 2005.

[14] Melven, Linda (2001): The Security Council: Behind the Scenes /International Affairs /Royal Institute of International Affairs /Vol. 77, No. 1 /January 2001, pp.101-111.

[15] Glennon, Michael J. (2003): Why the Security Council Failed. /Foreign Affairs. /Vol. 82, No.3 /May-June, 2003, pp. 16-35.

victor powers of the World War II, were given their permanency and the extraordinary power of the veto[16].

The representative of the United States, at San Francisco, stated that, the great powers could preserve the peace of the world if united….they could not do so if dissention were sowed among them. The great powers had every reason to exercise the requirement of unanimity for high and noble purposes, because they would not want again to expend millions in wealth and lives in another war[17]. He warned that killing the veto would kill the Charter[18].

The representative of the Soviet Union said, "the agreement on a joint interpretation [that is of the veto power] would facilitate the creation of a truly effective and efficient international organization for the maintenance of peace"[19].

The representatives of France and China adopted similar positions, but the position of the representative of the United Kingdom deserves particular attention. He said, "The present voting provisions were in the interest of all states and not merely of the permanent members of the Security Council. Peace must rest on the unanimity of the great powers for without it whatever was built would be built upon shifting sands, or no more value than the paper upon which it was written. The unanimity of the great powers was a hard fact, but an inescapable one. The veto power was a means of preserving that unanimity, and far from being a menace to the small powers, it was their essential safeguard. Without that unanimity all countries, large and small, would fall victims to the establishment of gigantic rival blocs which might clash in some future Armageddon. Cooperation among the great powers was the only escape from this peril; nothing was of comparable importance"[20].

According to the Charter, decisions of the Security Council on procedural matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of nine members. 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.

All five members have used their veto right at different times.

So, according to the UN statistics, since the beginning of its work, the veto was applied 236 times, 103 of which accrue to the Soviet Union and its successor state, Russia, USA – 79, UK – 29, France – 16, China – 9.

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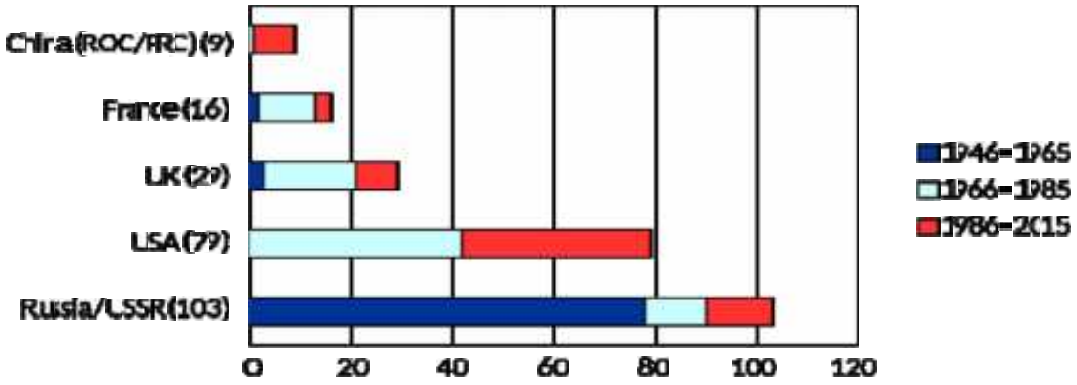
[16] See: Мустафаева, Наджиба (2015): Институт права вето в Совете Безопасности ООН /Стратегический анализ /Центр Стратегических Исследований при Президенте Азербайджанской Республики /No.2 (13), 2015, pp. 85-101.

[17] Document 936, III/1/45, compiled in Documents of the United Nations Conference on International Organization, San Francisco, 1945, Vol. XI. P.474.

[18] Butler, Richard (2012): Reform of the United Nations Security Council /Penn State Journal of Law and International Relations /Vol. 1, No. 1, P. 28.

[19] Ibid, p.475.

[20] Ibid.



It should be noted that most cases of the application of a veto right by the permanent members of UNSC related to their different and sometimes completely contradictory positions in relation to military conflict in various corners of the globe.

So, in 1965, the UK and France blocked the resolution of the USSR on the cessation of Israel's offensive on Egypt. In 1958 the USSR opposed the creation of the international inspection zone in the Arctic, blocking proposed draft project by its veto right. In 1982, London and Washington blocked a resolution on the ceasefire in the Falklands war between Britain and Argentina[21].

In addition, 42 times the admission of new members to the Security Council was blocked by a veto right.

In the light of recent worrying process in the world, namely the political crises in North Africa and Middle East and new threats of terrorism in the face Al-Qaeda and ISIS (Daesh), it is observed the activity of the UNSC, and accordingly the recent increase of the cases of applications of a veto right.

In this regard, criticism of the UNSC due to the fact that its permanent members use a veto right in purely national interests of their countries in circumvention of existing international problems and threats is quite fair. Moreover, the permanent members periodically accuse each other in misuse of the veto right in order to block the adoption of certain resolution. This practice can ultimately leads to total paralysis of the UNSC, as well as the system of international security.

In this situation, the calls for reform of the UNSC and its working methods, including the use of veto right, are highly relevant today.

3.3 The reform of the United Nations Security Council`s composition

In Dumbarton Oaks in 1944 it was proposed that the SC was consisted of eleven members, of which

[21] Mustafayeva, Najiba (2015) Why do we need strong United Nations // Modern Diplomacy. URL: http://moderndiplomacy.eu/index.php?option=com_k2&view=item&id=1053%3Awhy-do-we-need-strong-united-nations&Itemid=724

five were permanent members. This proposal had been adopted in the form of the original provision of Article 23 of the UN Charter, which was amended twenty years later when the number of non-permanent members was increased to ten[22]. Nowadays, such a composition of the SC mirrors a petrified historical moment, thus being at odds with the changed geopolitical, economic and demographic constellation and dynamics in international relations, and therefore the target of a sharp opposition on account of its lack of legitimacy.

The number of the UN members has drastically increased due to the process of decolonization, the disintegration of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, and entering of the European small states into the UN membership in the early 90-ies. The complaints on the ground of misrepresentation and non-democratic nature of the SC are most distinctly voiced by the Third World countries. As early as 1979, a group of 19 African, Asian and Latin American countries proposed increasing the number of permanent members to 16 and the total number of the SC members to 21, with a corresponding new geographical distribution. Between 1979 and 1990, the question of increasing the membership of the SC was on the SC agenda, but it was not discussed. It was not before the end of the Cold War that "democratization" was called for, at the NAM Conferences in Accra 1991 and in Jakarta 1992. This demand included the extension of permanent membership on most Third World countries. In addition to quantitative changes in the membership of the UN, even more important seems to be a qualitative change in terms of leverage of the individual states on the international stage. The economic power and financial contribution to the UN budget by Japan (UN member since 1956) and Germany (UN member since 1973)[23] , as well as India's and Brazil's size of population and contribution to the peacekeeping missions, exceed significantly those parameters of certain other SC permanent members, thus indicating a considerably different power relationships than those from the time when the SC was established. In that time Germany and Italy were "the enemies" (see Art. 107 of the UN Charter); Egypt, Brazil and South Africa had a much smaller impact on the international scene, India was not yet an independent state, and Nigeria did not exist in 1945. All in all, the permanent membership in the SC no longer corresponds to international relations in contemporary international community[24].

On the other hand, some authors consider a numerical limit on the membership of the UN SC an essential characteristic of that body originating and inseparable from its specialized and limited powers and from the need to act promptly and effectively within the scope of its mandate. Geiger believes that the imperative of existence of a real power of enforcement of the SC decisions calls for such

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[22] GA Resolution 1991 A (XVIII), 17 December 1963; *UNYB* (1983), p. 87; the Amendment entered into force on 31 August 1965; *UNYB* (1965). P. 232.

[23] Thus, for example, the contribution of Japan in 2009 amounted to 16.624% of the UN budget. Germany contributed with 8.577% to the UN budget in 2009, which was the third largest contribution in that year.

[24] Miljanovic, Morana and Lapas, Davorin (2011): Reform of the United Nations /Available at: *http://www.academia.edu/1326958/Reform_of_the_United_Nations*

a composition of the SC[25]. The representativeness, on the other hand, is a characteristic of the GA as a global forum with a mandate different from that of the SC. The latter was conceived as a small club capable of effectively taking care of international peace and security and taking responsibility thereof.

It is true that the SC was not originally conceived as a democratic body, but only representative in terms of geopolitical, military and economic power, in the function of specific capacity to care about international peace and security. However, due to the changed picture of the world, as well as due to unfulfilled expectations from the SC, proposals for an extended membership of the SC seem to be reasonable indeed. Moreover, even if a small number of the SC members was preferable in terms of efficiency, the crisis of legitimacy due to perceived inadequate representation of states in the SC would be of such a scale and of such graveness, that a need for reform in this direction would be hardly debatable[26]. The sustainability of the SC political legitimacy, as a prerequisite for an efficient exercise of its primary function, has become less likely without expanding the membership of the SC. Furthermore, given the changed power relations between individual states, an argument of legitimacy of the special status of the permanent members because of their greater capacity for action in terms of preserving international peace and security is no longer compelling.

In order to halt the marginalization of the Organization and allow it to survive and gain strength in the changed circumstances in the 21st century, in November 2003 the UN Secretary General Kofi Annan appointed sixteen prominent former government officials as the members of the Panel with the task to: (a) examine the current threats to international peace and security, and (b) formulate appropriate recommendations for the reform. The High Panel for the Threats, Challenges and Change (hereinafter referred to as the "Panel") completed the Report on its work, entitled "A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility" on the 1 December 2004. A necessity of evaluating the situation and drafting of proposals was also explained as a consequence of the Millennium Declaration, adopted by all the UN member states in 2000[27]. At the meeting of the Heads of States and Governments – "World Summit 2005" – the representatives of the UN member states confirmed their commitment to strengthen the authority of the Organization and its capacity to effectively and quickly address contemporary global challenges.

The Panel went exactly with the view that the key to increasing the capacity of the SC to respond to threats to international peace and security lies in a greater involvement in the decision-making process of

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[25] Geiger, R., Article 23, in: Simma, B.(ed.), The Charter of the United Nations – A Commentary, München, C.H. Beck, 1994. P.
393.

[26] See: the response of Karel Van Kesteren in discussion at the Hague Conference 2005, /International Institutional Reform,
/2005 Hague Joint Conference on Contemporary Issues of International Law, What follow-up to the High Level Panel Report, p. 180; also see the response of Lord David Hannay, in which he deems the proposal to reduce the number of the SC members to be surely dead on arrival. Ibid, p. 182.

[27] 150 experts worked on so-called Millennium Project, with an objective to draft a plan of action towards achieving the Millennium Goals until 2015. Detailed analysis of the goals as well as of the means to achieve them can be found in the "Millenium Report".

those countries that are the biggest contributors to the UN. The criteria offered for obtaining this status include the extent of contribution to the budget of the UN, involvement in the peacekeeping operations, contribution to the voluntary activities of the UN in preserving peace and development, diplomatic activity in the direction of supporting the UN goals, and - for developed countries - reaching or coming close to the figure of 0.7% of GDP for Official Development Aid. Certainly, criteria of contributions (military, financial, diplomatic) and the criterion of representativeness can come into conflict, especially if the size of a population is taken as a criterion of representativeness, and it is also possible that countries with a minor financial contribution, for instance, contribute significantly by sending troops to the UN missions or in diplomatic efforts.

The Panel also held that it is necessary to include developing countries in the decision-making process and to democratize the SC (the criterion of representativeness), insofar as that would not jeopardize its effectiveness. Blum noted the Panel's intention to "mix" the criteria of accountability and efficiency, with a "healthy dose" of the criteria of representation and contribution, in order to ensure a successful reform of the SC[28]. The Report's guiding principle in regard to reform of the SC is strengthening of credibility, legitimacy and representativeness of the SC, through the enlargement of its membership, towards a greater efficiency in performing tasks for which it is responsible.

The first model ("Model A") includes six additional permanent members to the existing five: two permanent seats for "Africa", two for "Asia and the Pacific", one for "Europe" and one for "America"; as well as an additional three two-year non-permanent seats (to the existing ten, so that a total of seats of this category amounts to 13). New seats would be assigned in a way that each region has a total of six seats in the SC (permanent and non-permanent). Thus, "Africa" would have four non-permanent seats, "Asia and the Pacific" three non-permanent seats, "Europe" two and "America" four non-permanent seats. New permanent members would not get a veto power.

Under the second model ("Model B"), the total number of seats in the SC would also be 24, but with no new permanent members. A third category of renewable four-year seats ("semi-permanent members") was proposed. A total of eight such renewable-term seats would be distributed equally among the four regional areas, thus two seats would be allocated to each area. One new non-permanent non-renewable two-year seat would be created and the 11 non-permanent seats would be reallocated by giving four seats to "Africa", three seats to "Asia and the Pacific", three seats to "America" and one seat to "Europe". The key to the distribution would be to apportion a total of six (permanent, non-permanent and semi-permanent) seats to each region. "Europe" would therefore lose two non-permanent seats while gaining two semi-permanent ones, whereas the other regions would get two semi-permanent seats each and one additional non-permanent seat.

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[28] Blum, Y.Z., Proposals for UN Security Council Reform, /American Journal of International Law, /Vol. 99, No. 3, 2005, p. 645.

The two models are similar to a large extent, as they both exclude the possibility of creating new permanent members which would possess a veto power. The difference between the two models consists in the nature of the seats and their distribution within the areas. Behind the dilemma whether to create additional permanent or new semi-permanent seats there is a question of the ratio between the permanent members and the "others" (under the "Model A", 11 out of 24 seats would belong to the former, whereas under the "Model B", non-permanent and semi-permanent members would have a numerical superiority of 19 out of 24 seats). In other words, there is a fear among the permanent members of the decline of their influence in the SC. The advantage of the "Model B" is in its greater flexibility with regard to the possibility of immediate re-election of semi-permanent members and thereby giving them a *de facto* almost-a-permanent status. Also, there would be the opportunity for other countries of a given regional area to be elected as a second semi-permanent member. However, there are limits to this solution, as the practice of consecutive re-election of those states which have been aspiring to the permanent membership (so-called "middle-powers") has demonstrated that this concession was perceived as perpetuating of their inferior status. What is more, dissatisfaction was expressed by other non-permanent member states, which pointed out that this practice disrupted the mechanism of election based on the criteria of a geographical representation. The advantage to the "Model A" consists in a better preserving of the delicate balance between the permanent and non-permanent members[29].

Furthermore, it was proposed by the Panel that, regardless of the outcome of choosing between these models, the composition of the SC would be reviewed from the standpoint of its efficiency with regard to the collective security in 2020.

The Panel did not specify which states would obtain (semi) permanent membership. However, there is no room for doubt that the candidates are Nigeria and Egypt or South Africa (Africa), Japan and India (Asia and the Pacific), Germany (Europe) and Brazil (America). In the case of the adoption of the "Model B", in the seat intended for the European area Germany and Italy would rotate, and also most probably Spain, Poland and Turkey, whereas Argentina, Mexico and Canada would occupy in turn the second seat of the American area, the first having gone to Brazil[30].

During the summer of 2005, Brazil, Germany, India and Japan (G4) intensified their diplomatic efforts to gain support for obtaining the permanent membership in the SC. This approach challenged by the so-called "coffee club" countries – Spain, South Korea, Mexico, Canada and others, believing that increasing the number of permanent members is contrary to the course of democratization and other global modern trends, and complicating the possibility of representation of other UN member-states in SC[31]. Italy is also against "G4"`s proposal due to the fact that the obtaining permanent membership by Germany and Japan – defeated states in the Second World War – is a discriminatory step against other

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[29] See: Blum, *op.cit.*, (note 20), P. 644.
[30] Ibid., P. 641.
[31] Мустафаева, Наджиба (2014): Проблемы реформирования Совета Безопасности ООН /Евразийский Юридический Журнал /No. 10 (77), 2014, pp. 57-58.

countries defeated in that war.

Given the geography of the recent negative trends, such as chaos in North Africa and Middle East, particularly Syria crisis and international terrorism, it seems appropriate to create a more closer cooperation among the UN and other international (regional, inter-regional) intergovernmental organizations in the maintenance of international peace and security. The UN Security Council has repeatedly stressed the need to enhance such cooperation, taking into account the fact that knowledge of their countries and regions gives to other international organizations an advantage, "in terms of understanding the root causes of armed conflict, which can improve the effectiveness of efforts to resolve them"[32]. Moreover, significant Islamic countries can also be represented in UNSC. It should be noted that the idea on creation regional seats for Arab countries has also been discussed in the framework of UN reform debates.

4.Conclusion

Summarizing the aforesaid analysis of the status of the UN and position of its member states on issue of reform, we have to admit the fact that the effectiveness of such reform depends on the policies of great powers that have sufficient economic and military resources and the leverages of political control at the global level that are necessary for the effectiveness of the relevant reform in the Organization.

It is quite obvious that any projects of the states on UN reform, inspections and investigations will not have effect unless policies of double standards will dominate in the activities of UN Security Council, and the entire system of international relations that do not allowing fairly evaluate events of international life.

Today global and regional powers have different approaches and methods of solving problems, and ideological and moral differences become stumbling blocks in the activities of international organizations and do not contribute to the resolution of international conflicts. Working mechanisms and double standards in the activities of international organizations do not allow them to perform adequately their duties and maintain peace.

Thus, in the modern, very complicated stage of international affairs, the activity of the UN particularly the UN Security Council should be reformed to have a sufficient and not a "ghost" authority and influence, to solve the problems of disarmament, combating international terrorism, and, of course, prevent the expulsion of the existing conflicts and the emergence of new wars. The success in this direction can be achieved only in case of renunciation from the policy of double standards in the activities of UN and the demonstration of political will of great powers that are obliged to approach fairly in political and legal assessment of international conflicts. Only the approach based on a solid foundation of international law can be a guarantor of sustainable international development at the modern international affairs.