The Evaluation of the Ezulwini Consensus on United Nations Security Council Reform
Debate on Africa
The undersigned certify that they have read and recommend to Bindura University of Science Education for acceptance; a dissertation with the title, “The Evaluation of the Ezulwini Consensus on United Nations Security Council Reform Debate on Africa”, produced by Rev. Fr. Kudakwashe. S. Madzime in partial fulfillment of the requirements for a Master of Science Degree in International Relations (MSc. I.R) programme.

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ABSTRACT
This paper sought to evaluate the Ezulwini Consensus “common position” of African states and its impact in the United Nations Security Council reforms debate. The United Nations Security Council, the main body of the UN, is mandated by the Charter with the responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. Thorough analysis of the functions of the Security Council the flaws can be seen, and these flaws have led to increasing calls for reform. The five permanent members of the Security Council have used the exclusive power of veto to affect the agenda and decisions of the Council. Africa has adopted a common position known as the Ezulwini consensus to push for reforms. The study objectives were to explore the root cause of the division among the AU member states, to investigate the challenges affecting Africa in its push for reforms, to outline the expected benefits of the UNSC reforms to Africa and to evaluate the validity of the Ezulwini consensus towards UNSC reforms. This study made use of interviews and focus group discussions to gather relevant information about the study. The study used the descriptive survey as the research design. The study population was the Ministry of Foreign Affairs representatives, Academics, UN representatives in Zimbabwe and Students of International Relations. For this research the sampling technique used was purposive meaning that the samples were selected using a predetermined criterion. The study found out that increasing calls for reform have led to numerous proposals for improving the functioning of the Security Council. If Africa is to be taken seriously it needs to improve the functions of local institutions such AU, ECOWAS and SADC. Africa needs to maintain a common position and the Ezulwini consensus should help Africa in pushing for reform. Reforming the UNSC will help in correcting the colonial imbalance. The findings also show that some countries still actively oppose each other for self-interest paying too much attention to the details of the procedure without focusing on practical steps towards reform. The study recommends that in order to avoid schisms, the African Union should be responsible for the selection of Africa’s representatives in the Security Council. Africa also need to improve the functioning of its local institutions starting with the AU followed by all other regional bodies. Improving social, political and economic affairs of its people will help Africa urge closer to realizing its dream of having a reformed UNSC.

DECLARATION
I Kudakwashe S. Madzime declare that this dissertation is the result of my own except to the extent shown in the references. I also declare that this dissertation has not been submitted in part or in full for any other degree at any college or university.

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DEDICATION

This research word is dedicated to my best friend and wife Miriam, my children Rebecca, Kuda Jr and Matipa. You are my strength when I am weak.
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<tr>
<td>AU</td>
<td>African Union.</td>
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<td>NATO</td>
<td>North Atlantic Treaty Organisation</td>
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<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<td>UNGA</td>
<td>United Nations General Assembly.</td>
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<td>UNSC</td>
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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This study focuses on the United Nations Security Council reform debate centering on the African position as stated in the Ezulwini Consensus. This chapter focuses on the background of the study, statement of the problem, significance of the study, objectives, research questions, assumptions, limitations of the study, delimitation, definition of key terms and the organization of the study. Africa came up with what is now called the common position in its approach to the reform debate. The paper also takes a closer evaluation on the effects of the reform debate on developing countries especially Africa. The dilemma between representativeness and efficiency is not unknown in any system of governance, both in domestic and in international institutions. It is however remarkably visible when comparing the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) and the United Nations Security Council
(UNSC). The General Assembly is praised for its global comprehensiveness and legitimacy, but faces justifiable criticism for its inefficiency and limited impact. The Security Council suffers from obsolete membership, lack of representativeness, anachronism in working methods and the veto. However, UNSC still maintains a considerable global political leverage because to a larger extend it has achieved its target of stopping another world war or “major war”. Since the 1960s a cry and debate for reformation in the greater function of UN and its agencies commenced. Africa, other continents and individual nations have argued that an increased membership can make the Security Council more legitimate, as argued by many researchers.

1.2 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

According to UN report of (2005), the UN was birthed out of its predecessor the League of Nations, an organization conceived in similar circumstances during the First World War, and established in 1919 under the Treaty of Versailles 'to promote international cooperation and to achieve peace and security.' Similarly, the International Labor Organization was also created under the Treaty of Versailles as an affiliate agency of the League. The main objective of the League of Nations was to make sure that nations avoided the dreaded war yet the Second World War happened under its noise and it ceased to be (UN 2005). Under such harsh war conditions 50 countries met in San Francisco at the United Nations Conference on International Organization to draw up the United Nations Charter. The USA was a leading voice in these dialogs, something had to be done to stop this unnecessary loss of life.

The United Nations organization is composed of "six principal organs" which are: Security Council; Trusteeship Council; Secretariat; International Court of Justice; General Assembly; Economic and Social Council; and "semi-autonomous agencies". The trusteeship Council met its mandate of preparing colonized states for self-governance and transfer of power from the former colonialists. It's no longer effective or in use (Weiss 2009). This is how the United Nations was formed and structured. Weiss further states that the imbalances of power and representation in various agencies and the nature of this organization that has led to calls for its reform to make it relevant to the new global conditions (2009). The winners of the Second World War have remained the most powerful, while a reformed Germany, a powerful Japan, Brazil, South Africa have done much to deserve a seat at the UNSC. The call for the reform of the United Nations was even captured in the United Nations Charter that the amendment to Article 109 of the United Nations Charter, which relates to the first paragraph of that Article,
provides that a General Conference of Member States for reviewing the Charter may be held at a date and place to be fixed by a two-thirds vote of the members of the General Assembly and by a vote of any nine members (formerly seven) of the Security Council.

It is in this context of the evolution and advancement of the international system that Ronzitti (2010) has identified the reasons for the UN Reform as: the birth of new States and the transformation of the international community; the UN’s membership has more than double that number when the amendment on the increase in non-permanent members of the SC entered into force. Nowadays, the number of UN members has increased almost fourfold since its foundation Africa now has 54 nations. Since its inception, the global community and system has completely changed, nations like Germany are no longer villains but stable and an economic powerhouse According to Ronzitti (2010), the UN at its creation was composed of Western and Eastern European countries plus several Latin American countries. Member states have flexed their sovereign muscle, absconding on international guide line such as the North Korea on NPT, while the US went into Iraq with UN approval and the principle of consent to enter into international obligations has been reduced and the use of force by States defend themselves and their allies (Tait 2011).

South African president, Jacob Zuma once remarked that the United Nations is "skewed in favor of the developed North," and these sentiments were echoed by the Brazilian president, Dilma Rousseff further stating that the Organization needs more legitimacy (Tait, 2011). The leaders of developing Nations also joined the chorus claiming that the United Nations(UN) failed to reflect the realities of the modern world. It has been argued that the charter states that all nations are equal and at the General Assembly each nation as one vote represent them and vote on decisions to be taken at this level and therefore this should be reflective in all the agencies. According to Meisler (1995), each member gets to vote once on any issue that is put to voting in the assembly.

According Meisler (1995), the problem with such comprehensive representative organ, according to countries calling for the UN reform, is UN Charter which serves as a constitution of the UN permits the General Assembly to discuss any question of importance to the UN and to recommend action to be taken by the members or by other UN Organs. Scholars still urge that the assembly is disabled through other means such as manipulation and bullying of smaller states by bigger states to decide on any matter concerning the UN. In
reality, UNSC though it does not craft its own agenda, is the power hub of UN, this agency ultimately and solely decides on the course of global matters. This is done irrespective of the skewed representation of the UN member-states in this Organ. According to the CRS Report for Congress (2007), it was not the decision of all UN member-states or at least majority members to bomb Libya as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) did in 2011 nor Iraqi invasion by the United States of America while claiming to act on the mandate of the UN, but those were decisions taken by the Security Council which is composed of 15-member states in which five are permanent members with veto powers. AU report of (2007) majority of the UN member-states want the Palestinians to be granted full membership in the Organization as they recognize them as a Nation, but because of the veto powers conferred on each of the UN Security Council (SC) permanent members, this cannot be passed as a resolution of the UN because one or two members are against the view of the majority. This is how skewed the Organization is, in terms of representation, as thus the UN does not reflect the modern body politic of world affairs which is compounded by democracy that simply means the majority rule (Tait 2011).

Spies (2008) states that at the end of the Second World War, the vast majority of current UN member states were subjects of colonial or other type of external domination. Presently, the 54 states of Africa comprise more than a quarter of the UN membership, in 1945 only four of them - Egypt, Ethiopia, Liberia and South Africa were members. The inevitable effect of this asymmetrical start, according to Murithi (2007) was that African countries were effectively preached to rather than consulted as equals, producing a paternalistic relationship between the UN and Africa. Africa has been challenging this relationship since 1963, when the Organization of African Unity's (OAU) very first summit called for the UN Security Council expansion. During the past decade, this quest for equity in global governance has taken on renewed vigor, but until now Africa has not succeeded in obtaining permanent membership of the Security Council. Africa's profile in the UN has; however, changed significantly because of its quantitative presence (Murithi 2007).

This has rendered Africa a potent voting bloc in the UNGA, and during the past two decades the continent produced as many Secretaries-General of the UN. Of specific relevance to the Security Council is the extent to which Africa dominates its agenda. Adebajo (2009) points out that almost 70% of the issues considered by the Council are problems in Africa. As a result, most of the UN's humanitarian efforts are based in Africa, and the continent currently
hosts the largest, most numerous UN peacekeeping missions in the world a staggering 90% of the organization’s peacekeeping personnel. If Africa then dominates the work of the UNSC, the question arises as to whether a permanent African presence on the Council is not indeed essential, rather than merely desirable (Adebajo 2009).

Reflecting on the impact of the call for UN Security Council reform had on dividing states, Weiss (2003) states that "political paralysis" has played fundamental role in stalling the debate about Security Council reform because some states were concerned about the outcomes than the process itself. Those states were consumed by the desire to form part of the newly reconfigured Security Council than improving the effectiveness of the General Assembly. And the issue was also about the criteria to be employed to choose states to form part of the Security Council, whereby Weiss (2003) submits that 'even more difficult has been reaching agreement on new permanent members. If dominance by the industrialized countries was the problem, why were Germany and Japan obvious candidates? Would Italy not be more or less in the same league? Would it not make more sense for the European Union to be represented rather than Paris, London, Berlin, and Rome individually? How did Argentina feel about Brazil's candidacy? Pakistan about India's? South Africa about Nigeria's? How did such traditional UN stalwarts as Canada and the Nordic countries feel about a plan that would leave them on the sidelines but elevate larger developing countries, some of which represent threats to international peace and security? Moreover, if the veto was undemocratic and debilitating for the Security Council's work, should this privilege be given to new permanent members? Would that not make the lowest common denominator lower still?'

1.3 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM
Though the endeavor to reform the UN and the Security Council (SC) in particular is sacrosanct, it has caused enormous divisions among African states and consequently caused the distrust among them. African leaders seemed united in pursuing the UN Security Council reform in 2005 by developing a comprehensive document, the Ezulwini Consensus, in response to the call for proposals on the Security Council reform. The cracks started to show, according to Landsberg (2009) after a meeting in London in August 2005 between African Union and G4 (Brazil, Germany, Japan and India) foreign ministers.

It appeared that the Africans would have to drop their veto demand in exchange for the G4 agreeing to lobby for 26 instead of its preferred 23 seats. An acrimonious meeting of AU
leaders in Addis Ababa in August, 2005 exposed the continent's deep divisions over this issue, with countries such as Egypt, Libya, Algeria and Zimbabwe reportedly opposing the pragmatic approach of Nigeria and South Africa; which were willing to drop the unrealistic insistence on a veto (Germany, Japan as well as their Brazilian and Italian allies, were also prepared to drop the veto). This lack of African consensus, apparently with China reportedly influencing several countries in a bid to stall Security Council reform contributed significantly to the failure to achieve the Security Council reform at the September 2005 summit (Zhao, 2008). The African bloc of 54 states about a quarter of the 192 strong General Assembly membership was thus unable to play the bridging role required to reach the 128 votes needed to obtain a two thirds majority, and put pressure on Washington and Beijing to agree to the expansion of the Security Council. Thus it would be necessary to investigate substantially the nature of the divisions and ultimately propose a better approach.

1.4 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The study will bring diverse benefits to policy makers, Non-Governmental Organizations, Researchers, Universities and Think tanks. This study is meant to assist decision makers in governments, international organizations and members of the international community on how reforming the United Nations Security Council will affect developing countries. The research will assist governments in crafting foreign policies and in diplomacy. The study is also of importance to academic institutions by providing new knowledge the ongoing debate on UNSC reforms. The evaluates the Ezulwini Consensus giving insight onto how Africa can close gaps on potential issues causing divisions among AU member states in pursuit of the UN Security Council reform.

1.5 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The main objective of the study was to make an evaluation of the United Nations Security Council reforms on Africa.

Other objectives of the study were

1.5.1 Explore the root causes of the divisions among the African Union member states on United Nations Security Council reforms.

1.5.2 Investigate the challenges hindering the implementation of the Ezulwini Consensus on United Nations Security Council reforms.
1.5.3 Outline the expected benefits of the United Nations Security Council reforms on Africa countries.

1.5.4 Evaluate the validity of the Ezulwini consensus towards United Nations Security Council reforms

1.6 RESEARCH QUESTIONS
The following research questions guided the study

1.6.1 What are the root causes of the divisions among Africa Union member states on United Nations Security Council reforms?

1.6.2 What challenges affect the United Nations Security Council reforms towards the African continent?

1.6.3 What are the benefits to Africa of reforming the United Nations Security Council?

1.6.4 How important is the Ezulwini consensus in Africa’s push for United Nations Security Council reforms?

1.7 ASSUMPTIONS
The following assumptions guided the study

1.7.1 Divisions amongst Africa Union member states is hampering Africa’s push for United Nations Security Council reforms.

1.7.2 The Ezulwini consensus is the only launch pad for Africa to achieve United Nations Security Council reforms

1.7.3 Africa will reap more benefits from a reformed United Nations Security Council

1.8 LIMITATION OF THE STUDY
The study is limited in scope as it only focusses on evaluating the impact UNSC reforms on African countries, and other nations outside the Security Council. It was difficult to manage the fieldwork within a limited timeframe, which had implications for empirical depth of the research. The researcher solved this problem by collecting field data during the semester break. It was difficult to set up interviews as most people were afraid to grant interviews to
strangers. The introductory letter from the University, helped the researcher in setting up interviews.

1.9 DELIMITATION OF THE STUDY

The study was strictly concerned with the evaluation of the impact of the UNSC reforms on Africa. The study focused on academics, UN representatives, Ministry of Foreign affairs officials and students from across Africa. The sample comprised of Students at University of Ghana- Accra and UN representatives, Ministry of Foreign Affairs officials and academics based in Harare Zimbabwe. The study covers the period from 2005 to date.

1.10 DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS

Veto

According to Wilcox, the veto is defined as the power to unilaterally stop a decision or postponement the adoption of any substantive resolution. In United Nations context the veto is held by the permanent five members United States, France, Russia, China and Britain. This unilateral authority vested in the P5 has sparked wide spread criticism of the United Nations (Wilcox 1945).

Diplomacy:

Barston (2006) advance that diplomacy is the conduct of international relations is which states conduct negotiations. It is further a process of representation by states in order to achieve national interest in the global community.

1.11 ORGANISATION OF THE STUDY

The study is organized into five chapters. Chapter one provides the background to the study, statement of the problem, research objectives, and research questions, purpose of the study and justification of the study, delimitation and limitations of the study, assumptions of the study, definition of key terms as well as organization of the study. Chapter two covers the review of related literature. Chapter three looks into the research design, the population and sample of the study, data collection procedures and data analysis. Chapter four focuses on
data interpretation, presentation and discussion of findings. Finally, chapter five deals with summary of key findings conclusions and recommendations

1.12 CHAPTER SUMMARY

The preceding chapter highlighted that there are problems resulting from the structure of the UNSC. It is the power imbalance and the nature of this organization that has led to calls for its reform to make it relevant to the new global conditions. The chapter outlined the genesis of UNSC reform debate, efforts by Africa to gain a permanent seat and views proffered by various scholars on the necessity for reforms. The statement of the problem and objectives of the study were clearly laid out taking cognizance of the limitations and delimitations of carrying out this research. The preceding chapter will review the literature related to the study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 INTRODUCTION

The last chapter contains a general discussion of UNSC reforms and its impact on developing countries. The chapter looked at the background to the study, statement of the problem, the research problem, justification of the study, objectives of the study, delimitation of the study, limitations of the study, definition of terms and organization of the study. However, the main purpose of this chapter is to review the literature related to the study variables.

2.1 THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK
Critics and politicians have one thing in common in regard to the debate surrounding the SC. The institution is regarded as undemocratic by others while some have even called it the “the holy of holies”. The working methods of the SC have also been criticized, many argue that the P5 holds too much power and sway in global matters. To worsen the situation these permanent members, hold the power of veto and this has been seen as unfair by others. The point that the P5 can veto decisions that they do not agreed upon has been blamed for the Syrian crisis and other conflicts of this nature. It can be noted here that the veto has become infamous, the US has used the veto to stop resolutions that are against her ally Israel and other hand Russia has backed the Assad regime even in the worse of circumstances. National interests have top debate in many of the situations, while countries have been invaded under the same context. The use of that power rapidly distanced from the initial reason for which it was included in the UN Charter, namely preventing the UN from taking direct action against any of its principal founding members (Okhovat 2011).

Furthermore, Okhovat argues that after the end of the Cold War and because of the elimination of ideological divisions among the superpowers, the veto has been cast more sparingly. However, a look at the use of veto in the last two decades reveals that although being cast less often, the veto is still exercised for self-interest or the interests of allies. Over the last 20 years out of a total of 24 vetos, 15 have been used by the USA to protect Israel. Moreover, we should not overlook the influence of the “pocket veto”, so called because on many occasions permanent members managed to keep an issue off the Council agenda or soften the language of a resolution without actually casting a veto by mere threats of using that power.

This undemocratic privilege of the permanent five combined with other flaws of the Council led to several calls for reform. After the end of the Cold war, when the Council became more engaged in international matters, the calls for reform paradoxically increased. It shows that countries started to take this body more seriously and therefore became more eager for its reform. However, because of the high number of proposals on the reform of the Council and strong disagreements among advocates of different proposals, not much has been achieved. Analysts believe that an increase in the number of seats in the Council is much more plausible than reforming or removing the veto. At least there is universal agreement about the former while the latter is much more controversial.
According to Goldstein and Pevehouse (2009), theories provide explanations for events and suggest that it is important to think critically about International Relations events and consider several different theoretical explanations before deciding which theory provides best explanation. This is because of the complexity of the politics of the International System. Sorensen and Jackson (2007) agree with this view and further elaborate the importance of a theory and described it as a 'specific set of lenses' through which political scientists view the world. They state that facts do not speak for themselves, but needs theories to explain them and further assert simply put theory as devices which tell political scientist which facts are important and which are unimportant, that is, they structure the view of the world. As a result, the theories the researcher employed in exploring and explaining the phenomenon are Regime and Realist theories.

2.1.1 REGIME THEORY

Rourke and Boyer (2010) state that the term "Regime" ‘does not refer to a single organization, instead, Regime is a collective noun that designates a complex of norms, rules, processes and organizations that, in sum, have evolved to help govern the behavior of states and other international actors in an area of international concern. Regime theory is an approach within international relations theory, a sub-discipline of political science, which seeks to explain the occurrence of co-operation among States by focusing on the role that regimes play in mitigating international anarchy and overcoming various collective action problems among States (Crawford, 1996). Different schools of thought within international relations have emerged, and various analytical approaches exist within the regime theory itself. However, typically regime theory is associated with neoliberal institutionalism that builds on a premise that regimes are central in facilitating international co-operation and constraining the behavior of States. Thus, in international relations literature, regime theory is often used interchangeably with the terms ‘institutionalism’ or ‘neoliberal institutionalism’. A regime is most commonly understood to refer to a set of ‘principles, norms, rules and decision-making procedures around which actors’ expectations converge in each area of international relations’ (Krasner 1985).

A regime creates convergence of expectations, establishes standards of behavior, and cultivates a general sense of obligation. Regimes mitigate anarchy that would otherwise prevail in international relations and thereby facilitate co-operation among States and other potential actors (Crawford, 1996). International regimes should not be quasi-governments
Governments), the purpose of which would be to create a centralized authority to govern world politics. It is more accurate to think of regimes as institutions involving States—and increasingly also non-State actors—who seek to realize their long-term objectives and structure and stabilize their relations to the benefit of all the members of the regime (Ritterenberger, 1995). This theory is appropriate because it enabled the researcher to analyses and explain correctly the behavior of states in relation to the norms in the international system and the relevance of the United Nations to govern the states' behavior. As explained by Jackson and Sorensen (2007), realists assume that states act in their interests, hence this perception informs or explains better the contest among Nigeria, South Africa and Egypt for the UN Security Council seat should the reform take-place, and the divisions underpinning the 'Common Approach' of the continent in pursuit of this discourse.

Regime theory shares many of the analytical assumptions of realism, which also builds on the presumption that States are rational, unitary actors that act in pursuit of maximizing their individual national interests. Both theories hence reflect a commitment to a rationalist research agenda. Realists are, however, considerably more pessimistic about the prospects of international co-operation among egoistic States that operate in an anarchic system. Realists believe that international outcomes reflect the distribution of power among States. Unlike regime theorists, who believe that States engage in international co-operation largely in pursuit of absolute gains, realists have stressed that States are most concerned with relative gains. In other words, while regime theory claims that States care only about their own gains and losses from international cooperation, realists argue that States’ willingness to co-operate depends on whether they achieve more gains relative to other States by co-operating (Hasenclever, 2000).

### 2.1.2 REALISM THEORY

This is a theory which is was propounded by Hans J. Morgenthau who developed it into an international relations theory. For, Morgenthau power-lust selfishness are at the center of human existence. He argues that the main cause of conflict among nations is the insatiable human lust for power, timeless and universal and the desire to dominate. It can be argued that when discussing the issues related to UNSC reform at the core of the matter is the issue of power and dominance. It can be argued further that Africa though are a common position, is affected by the argument of who will yield that power and for whose benefit. The cornerstone of Morgenthau's realism theory is the concept of power or “of interest defined in terms of
power,” which informs his second principle: the assumption that political leaders “think and act in terms of interest defined as power” (Morgenthau, 1948). This concept defines the autonomy of politics, and allows for the analysis of foreign policy regardless of the different motives, preferences, and intellectual and moral qualities of individual politicians. Furthermore, it is the foundation of a rational picture of politics. Power or interest is the central concept that makes politics into an autonomous discipline. Rational state actors pursue their national interests. Therefore, a rational theory of international politics can be constructed. Such a theory is not concerned with the morality, religious beliefs, motives or ideological preferences of individual political leaders. It also indicates that in order to avoid conflicts, states should avoid moral crusades or ideological confrontations, and look for compromise on the basis of satisfaction of their mutual interests alone (1948).

On other hand, Rosenau, James and Durfee (1995) and other scholars have noticed that power is the fundamental concept of Morgenthau's realism, is ambiguous. It can be either a means or an end in politics. However, if power is only a means for gaining something else, it does not define the nature of international politics in the way Morgenthau claims. It does not allow us to understand the actions of states independently from the motives and ideological preferences of their political leaders. It cannot serve as the basis for defining politics as an autonomous sphere. Regardless of national interest and power Rosenau and others argue that nations can find common causes and work towards a common (1995). In reflection, the end of the colonial era in Africa came as the call by many other nations in and outside Africa faced colonialism from a common position. Morgenthau's principles of realism are thus open to doubt. Rosenau argues that it might not be true that states whatever their regime, pursue the same kind of foreign policy. Recent elections in Europe has witnessed a decline in the realist doctrine of Donald Trump. Accordingly, it is useless to define actions of states by exclusive reference to power, security or national interest. International politics cannot be studied independently of the wider historical and cultural context (Morgenthau 1962).

2.3 SECURITY COUNCIL AS AN ELITE PACT CONCEPT

According to Weingast divided societies are governed more effectively by the introduction of elite pact. Weingast defines as an agreement amongst a select set of actors that seeks to neutralize threats to stability by institutionalizing non-majoritarian mechanisms for conflict resolution. Weingast and others the SC can be viewed in such terms or reference, the SC functions as the focal point for the powerful states (Lijphart 1969, Rustow 1970 and Tsebelis
1990). In such a system these elite states power is not vested in one state but amongst all through the use of veto, these states find ways and means to cooperate and mostly do so secretly. Furthermore, this elite pact is not made in-order to control the weak but to check and keep other powerful states in check. Besides a wide spread belief that states should have common values, elite pact does not depend on such, instead their difference in values makes them strong. Elite pact model advances modes which include: the mode of transformation, institutional design and self-enforcing character of the pact. The elite pact theory best explains the SC in its current form. Powerful states such as Germany, Japan and India including developing countries criticize the SC of being undemocratic yet the same in some instances support the authorization of the use of force by the SC. Some states even conform their local law to support the views of the SC.

The elite pact theory operates on three main principles and the major one is non-majoritarianism. Andeweg (2000) advances that there is deliberate avoidance of majoritarianism in the elite pact’s decision making and composition. Influential actors are given preferential treatment and authority over others such as the power of veto. The veto has been criticized by many reformers who argue that it gives the P5 unfair advantage over other states on global affairs. It follows that this practice of veto and an eschewed majoritarian is understandable because the goal of the elite pact is stability and procedure. In the P5 the world has the biggest threat to a major war and there these states are the main threats to global security. By giving them the duties of maintaining peace and security it means there are very low chances that they can be over-ruled there by maintaining peace. The GA though member states have a voting write on matters, the elite pacts remains dominance, the GA becomes a lame duck with no power or influence.

The above observation makes the reformation of SC debate more difficult to achieve. The elite pact is a result of the threat of a major war for which those circumstances are what joins the P5 together. China might not be happy with the role being played by the US in North Korea, but China must maintain the sanctity of the elite pact first forcing her to give concessions. On the other hand, Russia has taken the Al Assad side in the Syrian crisis angering the US. Interestingly the US and Russia have organized various meetings to discuss the Syrian crisis. So, the elite pact is not necessarily worried by the security of Syria but in maintaining its dominance on world affairs.

2.4 SECURITY COUNCIL.
It has been argued that amongst the six UN agencies, the SC hold the most prestige and power in global affairs. This argument is strongly supported by the fact that the UN was set as nations sought to avoid a war of high magnitude. It further explains the composition of the SC which is dominated by the victors of the Second World war. The mandate of the SC also substantiates the claims, the SC is mandated with preserving the peace and security around the globe. Doyle and Sambanis (2000) advance that the SC is an institutional manifestation of a central coalition of great power. Furthermore, the SC is in this context not an enforcer of broad collective security but is to a greater extend a mechanism that facilitates cooperative behavior amongst the great nation. Jervis (1985) notes that there is need for these great nations to cooperate in-order to avoid anarchy of high levels. It follows therefore, that the P5 maintain a balance of power in trying to avoid a unipolar world where bigger nations such as the US, China, Russia can use its preponderant resources to force smaller nations into concessions or trample the interests of other states without deterrence.

The SC is a tool setup to achieve better out comes on global affairs, states are forced into diplomacy and coordination rather than outright hot wars. This matrix places smaller nations and Africa on the side lines of main global activities. Africa is exploited by superpowers by the divide and rule model, economic interests and benefits are used in rewarding and infringing other actors. The role of aide in Africa softens the African voice on its demands and even turns the heads of other African states. China and the US have both put on economic program is Africa and seek to outdo each other in the fight for raw material which is plenty in Africa.

2.5 THE AFRICAN POSITION ON UNSC REFORM

To address the reform of the UNSC without addressing the reform of Africa is inappropriate since Africa dominates the Council’s agenda with numerous unresolved conflicts and humanitarian crisis (Spies 2008). This position strengthens the African position or requiring a permanent seat in UNSC. According to UN, (2005) there are various contending views as regards the reform process. As at 2005, AU demanded two permanent, veto wielding seats for Africa. The same year AU failed to agree with the Group of Four (Japan, Brazil, German and India) after the group had proposed that Africa gets the two seat without the veto power. The Sudan Tribune reported that former South Africa President Thabo Mbeki said that he saw little chance of a breakthrough on an issue that required the support of the five permanent members. US only wanted two new permanent members while China opposed a permanent
The African position is dominated by three main contenders Nigeria, South Africa and Egypt even though countries like Senegal, Algeria and Kenya have expressed interest. Mauritius spoke on behalf of the AU at the 2008 UNGA debate on Security Council reform while Algeria, Egypt and Nigeria made individual statements. On the other hand, South Africa did not make a statement which can be argued that South Africa help itself to the Ezulwini Consensus (UN, 2008). It is vital to note that it is the then Organization of African Unity that called for the reform of the UNSC in 1963 by calling for redressing of Africa’s under representation in all the organs of UN. It is therefore plausible that a common position by Africa on permanent membership with a veto would be supported and likely to yield results.

The African position formed part of an emerging African international and multilateral position that was called a “paternalistic colonial” relationship between Africa and UN to one of consultation amongst equals (Spies 2008: 99).

In recent history, Africa has come up with two dominating documents the Ezulwini Consensus and the Sirte Declaration of the AU (5 July 2005) demanding for five non-permanent African seats and two permanent seats. One cannot separate the call for UNSC without the required transformation in the rest of the global governance system. At the core of the Ezulwini Consensus is a call to collective security and a host of human surety challenges. The document further seeks to bring the participation of Africa to global parity. There is a push for wider institutional reforms within UN system that African may be fully represented at the all levels of decision making organs of the UN (AU, 2005). Spies notes that the AU reiterated its demands as contained in the Ezulwini Consensus and that the decision on the African representation should be determined by Africa (2008).

The UNSC faces power balance and the same has affected the African position. Unity in purpose, in operation and in culture remain elusive and will remain an idea. The African position is affected by many challenges such as colonial legacies and the role of aid. Francois Very refer to Africa’s integration as an emerging strategic culture; he points out that Africa should build institutions that starts a process to empowering mechanism to mold strategic culture. The process ultimately leads to a fusion towards compromise and a more unitary

One of the main initiative of South Africa is the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA). According to AU 2010, an Assessment study provides insight into progress, trends, and issues, including shortfalls. This adds to the perspective on the UNSC-AU relationship that speaks directly also to the UNSC mandate on maintaining international peace and security. It has been argued that the UNSC has not yet provided conclusive answers on ensuring necessary, sustainable, and predictable resources for African peacekeeping undertaken by AU. Laurie further advances that there is a gap between mediation mandate and mediation capacity in Africa (Nathan, 2007)

2.6 THE ROLE OF AID ON AFRICAN DISUNITY.

Joseph and Gillies (2009) have devoted attention to the critical issues of the impact of large and prolonged aid allocations on local economic and political incentive structure. Out of this observation it stands to reason that if 90% of a country's export earnings derive from petroleum, as has been the case for decades in Nigeria, Gabon, and Congo Brazzaville, then oil revenues will skew the pursuit of economic advancement of much of the society unless bold counter vailing actions are taken (Joseph and Gillies 2009). Aid can also distort political dynamics, as public offices become disproportionately vehicles for rent distribution rather than the provision of public goods. Similarly, as aid becomes a steady financial resource or African governments, it can overwhelm and even marginalize other major forms of revenue generation and inhibit institutional maturation and the emergence of entrepreneurial classes in recipient countries. The posture of Joseph and Gillies (2009) on foreign aid is that it was meant to be transitional operations; however, have expanded over time, sometimes ebbing but more often growing, as African economies became distorted, stagnated, or contracted. This impression was informed by the view held by Van de Walle (1999) that 'by early 1990s, Africa's relationship with the international economy was almost entirely mediated by public aid flows'.

The disturbing phenomenon in Africa is the reality highlighted by Joseph and Gillies (2009) that 'today, aid sub-Saharan Africa amounts to billions annually and often accounts half or
more of the income of a number of governments. Meanwhile, prominent advocates of African development insistently call on the richer countries to provide significantly greater amounts of aid. For the citizens of the recipient countries, as well as donors, the time has come to deal frankly, fearlessly, yet humanely with the paradox of abundant aid that too often deepens dependency, sustains corrupt governance warps the incentive structure of recipient societies, and inadequately subordinates for the private capital that many Africans, not to mention foreign entrepreneurs, have been reluctant to invest (Van de Walle 1999). This phenomenon is very disturbing because it creates dependency by the recipients on the donors. It tilts the scale of power relations between these two parties towards the donors as the more powerful and the recipients as the less powerful. The donors whom are generally the former colonizers and particularly those who are serving in the Security Council as permanent members, are at an advantaged position to influence the political and economic directions of the aid recipients. By this, aid undermines the sovereignty of states. Therefore, it seeks to sustain the status quo of the power relations between the less developed South and the more developed North countries. The endeavor to address the question of representation in the UNSC should be intertwined with the struggle to gain political and economic independence of African countries, which would result in self-reliance and sustenance in all fronts (Luck 2006).

2.7 ELECTION OF MEMBER-STATES TO THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL

The reason why states are contesting fiercely to be part of the UNSC is because of the nature of the structure of this global governance organisation and the nature of the power relations in it. The UN is made up of various organs namely: Security Council; General Assembly, International Court of Justice; Economic and Social Council and specialized agencies; Secretariat and the Trusteeship Council. The application of real power lies in the Security Council. Luck (2006) has clearly articulated this view by stating that 'the Security Council is a special place. Over several centuries of institutional evolution, it is the closest approximation to global governance in the peace and security realm yet achieved. Its enforcement authority is unique in the history of inter-governmental cooperation. The UN's 192 sovereign member states have agreed, under its Charter, to accept the decisions of the Council's fifteen members as binding, despite ceaseless complaints about its undemocratic and unrepresentative character. The decisions of the Security Council are absolute and not open for amendments.
The UN Charter in Article 12 clearly stipulates the Security Council’s form and direction matters of international peace and security are derived from the General Assembly. It is however, the controversy lies in the fact that the GA has no last say in the dispute that they would recommended to the SC unless the SC requests for recommendations. Critically, The Security Council acts as a final arbiter on issues threatening international peace and thus resolves on how they should be addressed. Resolution 1970 which referred Muammar Gaddafi to the International Court of Justice and the 1973 'no fly zone' resolution implemented by North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) to protect civilians in Libya is a case in point. These resolutions were passed by the Security Council without even consulting the AU as a regional organisation of the African continent. African issues have long suffered from either a lack of exposure in the mainstream media, marginalization and misrepresentation or from outright silencing. The case of the African Union's intervention in Libya is a classic example of how African efforts go unreported or are twisted to suit a hostile agenda' (Ping 2011). Ping (2011) highlights the dissatisfaction of Africans on the manner decisions are taken at the Security Council and how Africans are treated in this whole process which highlights the importance of African representation in the UN Security Council with all the prerogatives enjoyed by permanent members. He further pointed-out the importance of repositioning the AU in the International Affairs of the Continent, he noted that 'one of the aspects highlighted by the crisis in Libya relates to the reluctance of some members of the international community to fully acknowledge the AU's role. African leaders argued that lasting peace is achievable through the involvement of African institutions as stressed in August 2009, without such a role, there will be no ownership and sustainability. He further argues that because Africans understand the problems far better, solutions which involve their opinion will have a better chance to work and because, fundamentally, these problems are ours, and peoples will live with their consequences. These views though they show a sense of patriotism, African institutions and leaders have proved time and again that they are not willing to make the difficult decisions against other leaders or states.

Dr. J. Ping, suggests a clear way forward though it seems like he deliberately ignored the role played by some African states serving as non-permanent members in the Security Council in the resolution of the Libyan crisis in particular. All countries serving in the Security Council at the time, voted with the superpowers on both resolutions on the Libyan crisis. Moving forward he points out that 'asserting Africa's leadership will also require that, as highlighted by the Peace and Security Council (PSG), an organ in the African Union structure, on the
occasion of its solemn launching, on 25 May 2004, we do not shrink from decisive actions to overcome the challenges confronting the continent; that there is no conflict on the continent that will be considered to be out of bounds for the African Union; and that where grave abuses of human rights occur, the AU is the first to condemn, and to take swift action, consistent with the letter and spirit of the Constitutive Act of the Union and other relevant instruments that we subscribe to. What Dr Ping is failing to acknowledge in the process of decision-making in the United Nations Security Council is the fact that the African states serving in this organ are to a certain extent failing to defend the continent or probably are failing to articulate the African positions well. He pointed out that one week after the adoption of the AU Roadmap, the UN Security Council passed resolution 1973 (2011), in which it imposed 'no-fly zone over Libya to protect civilian population'. Given this observation, it is either the African countries serving in Security Council are not raising and defending African views or are not being listened to all by those serving in the Council, or probably they are not popularizing those positions to win the support of other countries serving in this Security Council. To illustrate this point, Johnson (2009) states though in a critical manner that when South Africa presided over the Security Council for a month in January 2007 it merely compounded the damage.

South Africa used its chairmanship to prevent the Council from discussing the denial of democracy in Burma or human rights atrocities in Zimbabwe and to obstruct UN sanctions against Iran for its refusal to terminate its nuclear enrichment policy. It also abstained on a US motion for a tribunal to investigate political killings in Lebanon and opposed Western pressure for sanctions against Sudan over Darfur.’ Though Johnson is critically raising an important issue of the contribution played by South Africa during its tenure in the Security Council as a non-permanent member in the period 2007-2008, the bottom-line is that South Africa raised those issues in defense of the African agenda in particular and the South in general. Johnson unconsciously acknowledges this fact though he reduces it to personality that 'Mbeki’s ambition to transform the international order had been the emanation of a personality with grandiose illusions. South Africa was a middle-income developing country of less than fifty million people. The idea that it could be a key initiator of change in the world system- or even the leader of the Third World- was absurd. It is not by accident of history but by a deliberate design, that the Security Council is used as launching pad of the interest of the few in the international community against the wishes of the majority who are the South or less developed. To illustrate this point Luck (2006) states that president
Roosevelt of the United States remarked in the interview that post-war organisation must be built on a clear foundation of power politics, not welfare politics or wishful thinking.

Given the prospect of American military dominance in the post-war world, he opposed any sort of autonomous or distinct United Nations military capacity or the delegation of sovereignty from member states to the World body. America's two major partners in winning the war and designing the peace, the Soviet Union and United Kingdom, shared the same sentiments. The architectures of the new global dispensation following the failure of the League of Nations to prevent war, borne in mind the fact that this new era would require an organisation that would manage the conditions characterizing it in their own interests. They also appreciated the fact that they should balance power among themselves in order to avoid a conflict that would result in another third world war, thus Moscow and London had strong strategic reasons for preferring a small Security Council built around the cooperation of the chief wartime allies, and they insisted more than Washington, that the new organisation not be able to act on security issues without the unanimity of the great powers. This was despite subtle ideological differences; but more about an alliance forged by necessity, as a reaction to ambitions. War against a common enemy had brought together America; Soviet Union and Britain, the UN, particularly the Security Council, provided a potential means for perpetuating the wartime collaboration should other potential aggressors appear or should differences arise among the wartime allies (Luck, 2006).

While it appears that the victors of the war were in agreement on the form the new intergovernmental organization should be which had to be, different from the League of Nations, America appeared more vividly than any other country in planning the set-up of this Organisation. This then supports the view held by Weiss (2003) that there are only two international organisations, the United Nations global in membership and the United States global in hegemony. Therefore, any attempt to change this systematic organisational set-up of the United Nations face a trial of first to challenge America's influence and quench its supremacy in the international relations and corporation. America was very instrumental in the formation of the United Nations because most of the intensive planning for the post-war dispensation was conducted in this country, ironically the territory and infrastructure of America was least touched by the war's devastation. In fact, the formation of this organization was not a product of multilateral diplomacy (Luck, 2006). It is very ambitious but achievable through unity for the current membership to reform a structure of the United Nations in order
to transfer power from the few minority who created it to advance their states’ interests to cater for the view of the majority. Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin had a series of conferences which as a result brought a high degree of convergence on the basic structures and purposes of the prospective world body. This was before San Francisco could be an idea or a thought.

More detailed proposals were worked out at a two-part series of conversations (Luck, 2006). San Francisco was sponsored by a ‘Proposals for the Establishment of a General International Organisation’ document which laid-out points of discussions at the UN’s founding conference. China's participation in crafting this document was minimized by the Soviet Union in those secret meetings because of the Chiang Kai Shek regime and consequently served as a window of opportunity for the Anglo-American relations to be further tightened and this also informed their relationship in the present moment which is very politically romantic. France only became a big fish in San Francisco, the then Big Four became the Big Five.

How San Francisco conference constituted was much skewed in its nature, because invitations were extended and limited to those states that had declared war on one of the Axis countries. Luck (2006) states that the Charter did not limit as to who could join but those who wanted to join had to abide and are willing to carry it the obligations that are contained. Membership to the Charter in this context was and still is for peace loving nations. This would only happen through a two-thirds vote of the General Assembly which is very unlikely, upon ratification of the amendments of the Charter by the parliaments of permanent members of the Security Council. The impression drawn from this analysis finds the basis from the words of the late Zambian president Levy Mwanawasa who described the Security Council as the "holy of holies".

The realist assumption on the transformation on the system is that the powerful countries should go to war in order to change the balance of power. This is not an option for the global community given the devastating effects it suffered post first and second world wars. Therefore, the onus is on the countries of the South to make it a point that they unite with the purpose of pushing for the inclusion of their representatives into the Security Council and deal away with its "undemocratic" tendencies. This process should be deliberate as the process preceding San Francisco was.
Luck (2006) states the unpalatable reality that at San Francisco, the big powers held firm the centrality of the Council to their larger vision. There were gaps in the Dumbarton Oaks plans, of course, none more consequential than what the voting procedures in the Security Council would be. The Big Four agreed on the need for unanimity among them for the authorization of collective enforcement action, so as to ensure that the organization would not turned against any one of them.’ The currency of the international relations and cooperation of the global community lies in the play of power politics within United Nations Security Council because it is the one with the prerogative to decide on matter of global peace and security. The attempt to makes changes in the structure of the United Nations Security Council would first have to focus on the rewriting of the United Nations Charter which seems to be impossible at the present moment not because of lack of unity and coherence from the countries of the South but because of the prerogative by the countries of the permanent five to have a final ratification of the amended Charter.

The UN Charter states that the composition of 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 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.’ And further states that ’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 member shall be chosen for a term of one year. A retiring member shall not be eligible for immediate re-election.’ South Africa got to be elected into the Security Council in 2007-2008, to serve as non-permanent member. This can be dominantly attributed to the role the Republic played in the African continent of resolving perennial conflicts and again because of her role in advancing the agenda to transform global governance institutions.

As Makgetlaneng (2011) notes, the post-apartheid South Africa became a member of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in 1994. It led the transformation of the OAU into the AU and the formation of the continental development programme, New Partnership for
Africa's Development (NEPAD). It has been active in Africa continental affairs by promoting the peace, security and prosperity of the rest of the continent. It has been constantly promoting negotiated resolution of political conflicts throughout the continent. It served as an active peace broker in Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Cote d'Ivoire, Rwanda and Zimbabwe. Its military forces have been engaged in efforts to contribute towards peace keeping in countries affected by conflicts. It has been enormously contributing towards the reconstruction and development of the Democratic Republic of Congo and Zimbabwe. It has played a crucial role in the restoration of peace and security in Cote d'Ivoire. It is therefore of notable point that the prestige of the country and members-states of the UN matters most in nomination for the seat in Security Council. Article 23 of the UN Charter states that 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 UN to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the organization, and also to equitable geographical distribution. Although the UN Charter is mum on what kind of a state gets to be elected into the Security Council in terms of behavior, but one issue that also earned the Republic an opportunity to serve in the UNSC was its approach in advancing the agenda for global governance transformation. Landsberg (2011) states that South Africa conformed to the norms and rules of UN in particular and the international community in general in pushing the agenda for UN reform and advocating for the sanctions not to be imposed on Zimbabwe diplomatically. It is unlikely for a pariah and a rogue state to get elected into the UNSC. Generally, South Africa given its prestige in the international system deserved to be non-permanent member of the UNSC.

2.8. UNITED NATIONS REFORM DEBATE

According to Ronzitti (2010) the reform of the United Nations only took place in 1963 with suggestions to expand the Security Council with non-permanent members from 6 to 10 under the Resolution 1991-xviii. The due process to reform the organisation was followed as per the prescripts of the UN Charter. The reform had approval of the General Assembly, with reservations from France and the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States of America abstained. China also voted in favor. All the permanent members eventually ratified the reform that came into force in 1965. In the event the national parliaments of the permanent members refused to ratify the reform, it would have been impossible for the
reform to take place. This resolution also increased the number of Economic and Social Council members, another organ in the UN system, from 18 to 27.

A second increase from 27 to 54 was approved with Resolution 2847-xxvi, with the amendment entering into force in 1973. Ronziti (2010) also states that the reason for these reforms as the growth in membership number of the organisation compared to the membership number when it was formed. When the United Nations was formed, it had 50 members while by 1963 its membership had grown to 115. The membership growth happened as a result of the process of decolonization that gave birth to new independent states. According to Ronzitti (2010), there are a number of reasons for reforming the Security Council. He enumerated them as; (a) the birth of new states and the transformation of the international community; (b) the increase of the Security Council's role after the end of the Cold War; (c) the Security Council as legislator; (d) the new threats; and (e) the use of force by states. Be that as it may, Weiss (2003) is very skeptical about the substance of the reform efforts and agendas partly on the basis of what was articulated by Ronzitti (2003) that the success of the reform would have to get the blessings from the national parliaments of the Security Council permanent members.

Weiss (2003) argues that in practice, the call for reform impractical and significantly impossible. In a history of 60 years the Un has only been able to only amendment its constitution three times. It is imperative to note that the amendments all dealt with seat numbers in two of the six principal organs, once for the Security Council and twice for the United Nations Economic and Social Council. Weiss further notes that at its establishment the UN was intentionally divided member rights and roles by creating a universal General Assembly which carries most general functions and a restricted Security Council with executing authority for maintaining the peace-unanimity among the great powers was a prerequisite for action. This arrangement was designed to give the new institution a better chance to execute its duties and to succeed in contrast with the Council of the League of Nations, a general executive committee for all of the organization’s functions that failed miserably in the security arena because it required agreement from all states.

After a crisis of the magnitude the victors, scholars argue that there was a need to bring the great powers into one room and to guarantee the seats of the United States, the Soviet Union, France, the United Kingdom, and China. This group of great powers was bestowed with unique power to veto which has been described by others as the equilibrium which is an
essential component of the original 1945 deal. The report on strengthening the Nigeria South Africa relationship has correctly put into context the politics of the United Nations Security Council reform in the African context and further exposed the nature of divisions among developing countries despite having crafted a common position, the Ezulwini Consensus, guiding the agenda for the reform. The report states that both Nigeria and South Africa put themselves forward as candidates for a permanent seat on the Council, though South Africa was more discreet and only publicly declared its interest in 2010.

Nigeria stressed that it was "the largest democratic black nation" in the world and had a solid history of international peacekeeping for over four decades. South African officials noted that their country had the largest and most advanced economy on the continent as measured by industrialization and diversification and highlighted the global repute won by the country’s relatively peaceful transition from racist apartheid rule to democracy. Both countries touted themselves as gateways for investment and trade to other parts of the continent, and sought to capitalize on this image. Opposition from the five veto wielding permanent members of the UN Security Council reform or notably the United States (US) and China effectively ended any chances of Security Council reform or enlargement in 2005. However, although neither Nigeria nor South Africa could win a permanent seat, the competition between the two countries led to tensions in their bilateral relationship. Subsequently, both permanently on the Council undermines unity of purpose in defending the continent’s interests, and should take second place to efforts to win permanent representation for Africa as a whole.

Nigeria and South Africa, however, have sometimes differed on how best to secure effective African representation on the UN Security Council and continue to grapple with their divergent views in pursuit of bilateral consensus on this issue, although both sides acknowledge the primacy of the AU in mandating African representative to the UN Security Council. South Africa has been less willing to countenance any new proposal that would formalize how the AU should go about selecting these representatives. South Africa continues to stress the need to stick to the letter of the 2005 "Ezulwini Consensus" and insists on seeking the implementation thereof. It was, however, noted that the UN Security Council reform is unlikely to occur in the near future, and that Nigeria and South Africa should not waste their time squabbling about permanent seats that are currently not on offer.

One interim suggestion is that one of Africa's three non-permanent seats could be rotated between Africa's major powers (including Nigeria, South Africa, Algeria, and Kenya);
another between the continent's middle powers; and the third between the smaller African states. Khadiagala and Lyons (2001) assert that 'despite the postcolonial conundrum of multiple motives and meagre, African elites have treated foreign policy as a way for nation states to become effective participants and claimants in the international arena.' It is in this context that African heads of states decided to commission their ministers of foreign affairs to craft a Common Position on the UNSC reform. They further highlight the weaknesses of the foreign policy formulation in developing countries.

In contrast, through sovereignty, national identity, and differentiation, developing countries sought to maximize individual political autonomy, strengthen territorial borders, and guarantee unilateral advantages from privileged relations with external actors. Thus the competing choices and practices of nationalism have existed, though uneasily, in developing countries foreign policies, a testimony to the success of elites in straddling these broad concerns.' The unity and integration forged among developing states was of a particular purpose, which sought to protect leaders of developing countries and their states from external influence and to overcome their own continental and regional institutions. Building alliances is a better alternative approach.'

2.9. CHALLENGES TO UNITED NATIONS REFORM DEBATE

Rourke and Boyer (2010) state the challenge to UN Reform as 'the two insurmountable hurdles to amending the UN Charter and altering the composition of the UNSC. Firstly, the Charter amendments require the endorsement of two thirds of the Security Council, and the permanent five members are not especially open to diluting their influence by adding more permanent members to veto, or least of all, by eliminating the veto altogether. Specific rivalries also influence the permanent members. China, for instance, would be reluctant to see either of its two great Asian power rivals, Japan or India, get a permanent seat. Beijing also complains that Japan has not apologized adequately for its aggression and atrocities during Second World War.

Secondly, another hurdle for a Charter revision is to get a two thirds vote of the United Nations General Assembly. The, agreement on any new voting formula would be difficult, given the sensitivities of the 192 countries. For example, the proposal that India have a permanent seat alarms Pakistan, whose UN representative has characterized the idea as an undisguised grab for power and privilege. Over and above, Weiss (2003) state that 'the veto has been and remains an obstacle to reform both because of the permanent members five's
vested interest is in preserving power and because no provision in the charter requires them to relinquish this right'. It is therefore an obvious fact from this observation that the agenda to reform the Security Council is divisive in nature and therefore should not come as a shock to the commentators when most regional blocks are divided on this subject including the African Union.

However, a vigorous study is required to understand the nature of the agenda to reform the Security Council and how it could be approached while closing space for any elements of divisions thus ultimately provide a way forward. According to Adebajo (2009) the contradictions embedded in the UN especially Security Council are so glaring that the "Great Powers" the United Kingdom; the United States; China; France and Russia can manipulate the system to the disadvantage of the poor or the South. The 1973 resolution of "no fly zone" taken about Libya in the guise of protecting civilians is a case in point. The state's interests pursued by those "Great powers" are in stark contradiction with the principles and ideals upheld by the organization; justice and equality. If states are indeed equal then the same resolution could not have been advanced about the Syrian crisis.

Adebajo (2009) also states that Africa has "sought to transform itself from a pawn on the chessboard of the Great powers to an influential player in global geo politics.” This was evident when ministers of foreign affairs of African states met in Swaziland to come up with a comprehensive document in order to consolidate views of Africans in as far as UN Security Council reform is concerned, and this document is known as "Ezulwini Consensus." Unfortunately while Africa made efforts to turn tables around the inevitable took-place, Landsberg (2009) states that in 2005 UN Summit, Africa did not speak with one voice in as far as the issue of the UN Security Council reform is concerned despite the "Ezulwini Consensus", the division occurred when Nigeria, South Africa and Egypt wanted to compromise on the veto question.

According to Landsberg (2009) it is until such time African states and many other developing countries across the globe unite and stop to appeal to the moral sensibilities of the five permanent members of the Security Council and other dominant powers, the UN Security Council reform and the broad agenda of transformation of international institution would remain a mirage. This scholar has brought another dimension about the behavior of African states in the international relations beyond the continent. This is where the research would fundamental contribute, the understanding of the relations of developing states with
permanent members of the Security Council. The study seeks to assess whether are the leaders of developing countries afraid to take bold positions that are not in favor of their former colonial masters. Is the foreign aid playing a role in this area of policy formulation, and to what extent? According to Maseng (2012) France wanted to capitalize on the opportunity of the Security Council reform to increase its leverage by likely advocating for a francophone country to form part of the permanent members should there be a consensus on this agenda of Security Council reform.

Thus it is inevitable for the AU to be divided but until such time the divisions are clearly understood and properly addressed its then when African and other developing states would be united and close space for any divisions. Most researchers specializing on this topic have not adequately provided answers to the question of the Security Council reform especially on how to address the factors sowing divisions among states.

2.10. THE SYRIAN CRISIS AND THE QUESTION OF MULTILATERALISM.

The Syrian crisis has exposed the reality that the UN can be used as a tool to apply the process of checks and balances in the international community. Russia, China and other countries of the South have countered the plan of the United States to punish Bashar Assad by campaigning strongly against the use of force against Assad's regime which had crossed the red line imposed by the United States by unleashing chemical weapons attack on the civilians. The inconsistency and inability of the United Nations Security Council to act promptly to avert violent conflict from escalating and its vulnerability to manipulation by the Permanent Five (P5) is very vivid in the Syrian crisis as opposed to how it acted against Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi.

The Syrian crisis was precipitated by the Arab Spring that started in Tunisia in January 2011. The Arab Spring had no respect and regard for the states borders, it transcended from Tunisia to Egypt, Libya, Yemen and ultimately landed in Syria knocking on the door of Bashar Al-Assad's presidency. This phenomenon caught the international community by surprise rendering the United Nations Security Council incapable of resolving it. However, it is the United Nations which sanctioned both resolutions 1970 and 1973 ushering in the regime change in Libya and the murder of Muammar Gaddafi. The United Nations acted promptly to the Libyan crisis but is failing to take such a bold action against Syria despite the similarity of
the conflict. This failure to intervene is paralyzed by the close relationship between Bashar Al-Assad and Russia.

The campaign for the UN to intervene in Libya was led by the West, the United States of America, France and Britain with the silence of China and Russia. It is the same West alliance that is pushing so hard for the UN to resolve on the Syria to the extent that it is even willing to act alone. The UN is paralyzed in this crisis, Russia and China vetoed the proposal to allow the United Nations Security Council to discuss the Syrian crisis. Both Russia and China are adamant in protecting Al-Assad from experiencing what Muammar Gaddafi experienced. The crux and details of the Syrian crisis are very complex. There are more than 1 000 deaths of innocent civilians as a result of chemical weapons attack in Damascus (Palmer, 2013). The answer to the question of who unleashed this chemical weapons attack remains to be approximated. Both the rebels and the Syrian government forces have the capacity to unleash such an attack on the civilians. Rebels can unleash this act with the sole purpose of prompting a UNSC sanctioned action against Al-Assad, exposing the inconsistency of the UNSC in resolving international conflicts, given the precedence of Libya.

Bashar Al-Assad can also do so taking advantage of the complex situation. This is what has paralyzed the United Nations Security Council in resolving this problem. However, the UN sent inspectors to assess if indeed the chemical weapons were unleashed on the civilians. Critically though, these UN inspectors are not investigating the culprit of the chemical weapons attack, which then one can say it's a futile exercise. What has further paralyzed the UNSC to intervene in the Syrian crisis again is the fact that Bashar Al-Assad has a principled, consistent and reliable friend in Russia as one of the permanent members of the UNSC. Russia has managed to convince China to support and protect Bashar Al-Assad from the West. Russia resisted the temptation of dropping Al-Assad when Saudi Arabia pledged the middle-east to Russia's influence if it is willing to allow the regime change in Syria.

Assad is a beneficiary of historical flaws committed by the international community and the United Nations Security Council. 'It is encouraging to hear voices of reason from the inner circles of both London and Washington, demanding a compelling and plausible case based on facts to be made before any action. This is largely because of embellished or flawed intelligence used to justify the invasion of Iraq. It also has to do with the misuse of a UN Resolution imposing no-fly zones in Libya to execute regime change. After having been
misled on Iraq and Libya, we should demand more compelling, conclusive and plausible evidence to justify any decision to launch an attack on Syria. The burden of proof should lie with those wanting the international community's endorsement for an attack (Diamini, 2013). The West are searching for terminology to support their intervention in Syria because the odds are against them. Terms such as "an international norm" and "humanitarian intervention" have been used justifying an intervention in Syria. It's the same tactics applied by the West using UN Security Council to intervene in Libya under the guise of "responsibility to protect".

The most important lesson for African Union and the countries of the South that can be drawn from this crisis is the fact that relationships forged with other countries particularly of permanent members of the United Nations Security Council should be on the basis of mutual respect, interests and reliability. Bashar Al-Assad is arrogant to bow to the pressure of the West because he has the backing of Russia and China. The protection given to Assad by Russia and China should have been provided for Muammar Gaddafi's well and thus the respect and recognition for the roadmap suggested by the African Union. The firmness of Russia and China in protecting Bashar Al-Assad is also required to advance the reform of the United Nations Security Council. If South Africa could use its position in the BRICS to solicit the support of these two powerful countries for the aspirations of the Ezulwini Consensus, UNSC reform could be realized.

2.11. THE FAILURE OF THE ANNAN PLAN, MARCH-JULY 2012.

As the Syrian conflict developed during 2011 and 2012 the government consented to, and then reneged upon, two separate peace agreements. Following a November 2011 agreement signed with the Arab League, state violence actually increased. Then on 27 March 2012 President Assad agreed to a six-point plan proposed by the recently appointed joint UN-Arab League Special Envoy, Kofi Annan. The Annan Plan included the implementation of a ceasefire, withdrawal of government troops and tanks from cities, release of political detainees, freedom of movement for journalists, freedom of association and the right to demonstrate, provision of humanitarian assistance to besieged civilians and initiation of a political negotiation process led by Syrians. However, in the weeks leading up to the scheduled ceasefire, security forces actually intensified their attacks on areas regarded as opposition strongholds.
In a rare display of unanimity, on 21 March the Security Council issued its second Presidential Statement expressing grave concern regarding the deteriorating situation and affirming support for the Annan Plan. On 12 April violence temporarily decreased throughout Syria as both government forces and armed rebels observed the ceasefire. Two days later the Security Council adopted its first resolution since the conflict began, authorizing the deployment of a small observer team. Then on 21 April the Council established a larger 90-day UN Supervision Mission (UNSMIS) to monitor the ceasefire and implementation of the Annan Plan. Yet, it was already clear by late April that the Annan Plan was imperiled by numerous ceasefire violations by both government troops and armed rebels, along with the Syrian government’s unwillingness to seriously implement any of the plan’s other key provisions. In particular, the success of the Annan Plan depended upon UNSMIS’ full and rapid deployment throughout Syria, which government obstruction and increasing violence made impossible. As Major General Robert Mood, the Norwegian head of UNSMIS, later argued: “my deployment was unarmed, had a weak mandate, followed passive rules of engagement, and operated within a political six-point plan that was challenging to translate to field realities without full commitment from all parties, including the UN Security Council.

Inside UNSMIS there was an overwhelming sense of frustration. When not being obstructed by Syrian government bureaucracy or shot at by unidentified snipers, UNSMIS investigated and documented several atrocities – photographing forensic evidence at a massacre site, measuring tank tracks in the area to determine what forces had been stationed nearby at the time, and using military experts to verify the damage caused by various weapons. UNSMIS officials had separately interviewed locals who had witnessed particular attacks and then compared reports for veracity. They compiled summaries of atrocities and the forces suspected of perpetrating them. But with the civil war growing more intractable and the ceasefire increasingly ignored by all sides, one senior UNSMIS official felt that Syria was already “past the point of no return.” Both sides were thoroughly committed to military victory and “destruction of some areas of cities, towns and villages [was] already on a scale of Europe in 1945.” Lacking sufficient support from the Security Council, the official believed “the UNSMIS tool is no longer relevant.”

Although UNSMIS was forced to suspend its activities on 16 June this did not prevent the signing of the “Geneva Communiqué,” which drew directly on Annan’s six-point plan, 14 days later. The 30 June Communiqué resulted in the creation of an international “Action Group,” which included the secretaries-general of the UN and Arab League, as well as the
foreign ministers of China, France, Russia, United Kingdom, United States, Turkey and other concerned states. Iran and Syria were notably absent. But with UNSMIS operations suspended, the ceasefire finished and the Annan Plan un-implemented, it was hard to discern any reason to celebrate the “Geneva I” meeting. Attention now turned back to the Security Council. There was renewed pressure to pass another draft resolution aimed at holding perpetrators of mass atrocities in Syria accountable for their actions, with the focus on imposing sanctions on the Syrian government. However, negotiations quickly broke down with Russia indicating that it believed the text to be unbalanced and divisive. Russian Ambassador Vitaly Churkin later claimed that the resolution’s sponsors were “well aware” that it “had no chance of adoption” but had foolishly decided to push ahead anyway, plunging the Security Council into another round of bitter diplomatic denunciations.

2.9. CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter gave an in depth discussion on the fundamental concepts underlying the theoretical framework of this study. The literature shows the ongoing UNSC reform debate, and how developing countries have failed to unite towards effecting reforms. Some authors noted that reforming the Security Council will help balancing the world power which is presently in the hands of the five permanent members of the UNSC. The following chapter looks at the research methodology used for this study, the data collection techniques, the population under study, the sample, sampling techniques used, justification of the data collection methods used as well as how data will be analyzed.
CHAPTER THREE
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0. INTRODUCTION
This chapter focuses on how the research was conducted. This entails identifying a suitable research methodology and explaining the data collection methods that were employed in gathering the data. The discussion moves on to identify the target population of the study as well as sampling techniques which are relevant to the subject at hand. Data has to be analyzed for it to be useful in drawing inferences from it. The chapter concludes with a look at the various methods of presenting data from the research which included tables and graphical representations.

3.1. RESEARCH DESIGN
Merriam (1998) defines research design as a term that covers the aims of the research, research philosophy, the final selection of appropriate methodology, data collection techniques, the chosen method of data analysis and interpretation and an elaboration on how this combination blend into literature. Research design is a plan, structure and strategy of investigation that is employed to answer the research problem (Kumar 2005; 84). The researcher made use of qualitative research methods. The main advantage of qualitative research approach is that the interviewee can be quoted verbatim and there is no room for manipulation of results. Since qualitative data is collected through interviews the interviewer has control over questions order and can ensure the respondent does not answer questions out of order and also the interviewer can also observe nonverbal behavior and can assess the validity of the respondent’s answers.

Face to face interviews and focus group discussions were used as data gathering methods. The qualitative method (interviews) was used because of the primacy of the data. The researcher used the descriptive survey as the research design. A descriptive survey is a research design in which the researcher selects a sample of objects and administers a questionnaire or conducts interviews to collect data. McMillan and Schumacher (1993) subscribe that the survey can be used to describe attitudes, beliefs and other types of information. They also point out that the survey is designed in such a way that information about a large number of people can be inferred from responses obtained from a smaller group of subjects. This design appeared to be the most appropriate for this study.

3.2. TARGET POPULATION
Sekeran (2001) defines a population as the entire group of people, events or things of interest that the researcher wishes to investigate. In this research the target population was the Ministry of Foreign Affairs representatives, Academics, UN representatives in Zimbabwe and Students of International Relations. However, it was not possible to involve everyone into the study hence a sample was drawn from the targeted population.

3.3. RESEARCH SAMPLE
Mcphail (2001) defines sampling as a process of selecting a few (sample) from a bigger group (the sampling group) to become the basis for estimating or predicting the prevalence of an unknown piece of information, situation or outcome regarding the bigger group. Thus a sample is a sub group or subset of the population one is interested in. Owing to time,
financial and accessibility restrictions, it was practically impossible for a researcher to collect or analyse all available data from every possible case or group member, hence a sample was chosen from the study population.

3.4. SAMPLING TECHNIQUES

Sampling techniques can be narrowed down to two broad types, namely probability and nonprobability sampling. According to Crowther and Lancaster (2009) probability sampling ensures that the chance of each case being selected from the population is known and equal for all cases. On the hand, non-probability sampling is unknown and cannot answer research questions or objectives that require statistical inferences about a population’s characteristics. For this research the sampling technique used was purposive meaning that the samples were selected using a predetermined criterion. The choice of the sample depended on the discretion or judgement of the researcher Terreblanche and Durrhein (1999). They were chosen on the basis that they were convenient to the researcher. The researcher conducted a focus group discussion when he travelled to Accra Ghana. Interviews were also held with the UN representative, Director in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Director Zimbabwe Institute of Diplomacy and Attorney. In this regard, the sample was tailor made to suit the objectives of the study.

3.5. RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS

According to McMillan and Schumacher (1997) research instruments are tools to collect information and data needed to find solutions to the problem that is being investigated. Research instruments are methods and procedures that have been developed to help with the acquisition of data. Instruments for data collection provide the researcher with information on how to obtain necessary data on which results and conclusions are based on. The researcher used three main methods to collect data namely interviews, focus group discussion and through secondary data sources (Journals, Articles, Newspapers articles, Text books and internet sources).

3.5.1. INTERVIEWS

Interviews are one of the major forms of data collection method for qualitative research. Interviews are recommended to ensure relevant phenomenon is addressed and to explore those things that we cannot directly observe such as feelings, thoughts and intentions (McMillan and Schumacher, 2001). The researcher conducted interviews with the UN representative in Zimbabwe, Ministry of foreign Affairs Director, Zimbabwe Institute of
Diplomacy Director and an Attorney. Interviews were used to gather first-hand information from the presumed experts in the field of study as well as to get a feel of the key issues. The use of interviews led to higher response rate and allowed the researcher to control the process. The interviews had the advantage that they were in depth, allowed for clarifications and enhanced the ease with which ambiguities were eliminated. However, interviews have their own demerits in that they were time consuming and expensive. The researcher was also alert not to give unconscious signals or clues which guided respondents to give answers expected by the interviewer.

3.5.2. FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION.
Focus groups refer to those group interviews where the topic is clearly defined and precisely and there is a focus on enabling and recording interactive discussion between participants (Carson et al 2001). Participants are selected because they have certain characteristics in common that relate to the topic being discussed. Using this platform was very useful because the students and academics could discuss the topic on the impact UNSC reforms on Africa. The researcher had to break the large group into smaller group since there were many students who wanted to participate. The challenge with having a big focus group discussion is that sometimes you have those who participate a lot and they tend to intimidate the introverts into silence. By concentrating on a smaller group a lot of discussions emerged. The group had a total of 11 participants from Ghana, Nigeria, Liberia, Kenya and Cameroon.

3.6. DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURE
Data collection procedure refers to the process and stages that the researcher had to follow to collect data. The researcher obtained permission from to University of Ghana faculty peace and governance to carry out the focus group discussion at the University. The focus group discussion was carried out on the University premises on the 20th of July 2017. The researcher also got permission from the United Nations, Ministry of foreign affairs, and the Zimbabwe Institute of Diplomacy to interviews its officials. Interviews were arranged at the times that were most convenient to the participants. The interviews lasted no more than 30 minutes.

3.8. VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY
Punch (2005) defines validity as to how sound or effective a measuring instrument is. To check on validity one must ask the following question, are we really measuring what we think we are measuring? If the instrument is measuring what it is supposed to measure, then that instrument is valid. To validate the instruments, sample questions were drawn from a list of reform proposals for the United Nations Security Council identified in the literature and how these would impact on Africa. The questions were given to college colleagues and then to the supervisor for scrutiny.

3.8. ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS
Ethics could be defined as norms of conduct that distinguish between acceptable and unacceptable. Resnik (2011) observed that norms promote aims of the research such as knowledge, truth and avoidance of error. Additionally, ethical standards promote the values that are essential to collaborative work such as trust, accountability, mutual respect and fairness. Ethical considerations in research also play a huge part in promoting moral and social values such as social responsibility, human rights, and compliance with the law. Full information about the purpose of the study was given to the participants in the researcher’s introductory letter and confidentiality was guaranteed to the participants. The researcher pointed out that the respondents have the right to withdraw from the study. No one was forced to participate in the focus group discussion as well as participating during the interviews.

Respondents were not forced to disclose information that would jeopardizes their work after data had been collected. The dignity of all participants was respected. The researcher remained focused on the research objectives and questions for the study.

3.9. DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION PROCEDURES
Analytical induction is an inductive version of the explanation building procedure. Johnson defines analytical induction as the intensive examination of a strategically selected number of cases to empirically establish the causes of a specific phenomenon. As an inductive way of collecting and analyzing data qualitatively this process has the capability of leading to the development of well-grounded explanations. Qualitative data was made available through focus group discussions and interviews. Qualitative data was presented and analyzed in the form of themes which emerged from the data collected. Analysis of that data in this manner
made the research more complete as it sought to explore various avenues to address the research objectives.

3.10. CHAPTER SUMMARY
The chapter dealt with research methodology. A descriptive survey approach was adopted with the qualitative technique being employed by the researcher. Interviews and focus group discussions were the research instruments utilized in carrying out the research. The targeted population was identified from which a sample was taken using purposive sampling. The chapter also highlighted the data collection procedures as well as data presentation. The following chapter will look at data presentation analysis and interpretation.

CHAPTER FOUR
DATA PRESENTATION ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

4.0. INTRODUCTION
The previous chapter discussed the research methodology adopted for this study. This chapter presents the results of the survey carried, interpretation and discussion of the findings to answer the objectives of this study. In this chapter of the study, the views of the participants are expressed in tandem with the views of the researcher in relation to the objectives and research questions of the study. Qualitative data gathered from interviews and focus group discussion would be presented and analyzed from the themes which emerged from the collected data. However, data sometimes contrasted or agreed with what has been previously found in relevant literature and previously held assumptions.

4.1. BACKGROUND OF RESPONDANTS
In order to establish credibility of the responses to interview questions. Respondents were asked to state their positions, and the period spent working for their respective organisations. They were also asked to rate the effectiveness of the United Nations Security UNSC.

4.2 INTERVIEW RESPONSE RATE

Bubbie (2005) defines response rate as the number of people participating in a survey divided by the number selected in the sample, in the form of a percentage. The response rate of elements or subjects is critical when considering establishing the discussion and analysis of data gathered.

![Interview Response rate](image)

Figure 1: Interview response rate

A total of 6 interviews with foreign embassies, academics and the Zimbabwean Ministry of foreign affairs officials had been planned. Of these 4 interviews were successfully carried out indicating a 67% success rate. Saunders et al (1997) gave an acceptable response rate as lying between 50-92%. Therefore, the response rate of 67% obtained in this research was sufficient.

4.3. EVALUATION OF THE CURRENT FORM AND STATE OF THE UNSC

The respondents were asked to make an evaluation of the current form and state of the UNSC. The intention of this question was to encourage the respondents to make an assessment of the current state of affairs in the UNSC. Mr Tendai Biti an academic and attorney with Biti Law firm said, ‘the United Nations Security Council is defective, it has
failed to evolve since its formation, but on a positive note it has kept the balance. The UNSC has managed to stop a major war, the bulk of the conflicts we see today are not of a large scale. The organisation is faced by, internal conflicts and religious terrorism, and isolated conflicts in Somalia, Sudan, Bujumbura, Togo and Ivory Coast.

Responding to the same question Mr Chikanda of the Zimbabwe Institute of Diplomacy noted that the UNSC is an undemocratic institution dominated by the permanent five members. The view states by both Mr Biti and Mr Chikanda fail to agree to the elite pact concept which argues that the structure and composition of the UNSC is not based on majoritarianism (Lijphat 1962). The structure of the UNSC is much skewed in favor of the five-veto welding permanent members. Because of the way it is set up, the organization is vulnerable to manipulation by those who have the extreme powers than others. The UN Charter undermines the potential of members states to act collectively in the maintenance of international peace. According to article 24 of the UN Charter the United Nations, 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. As heighted by Krasner 1985, the institutions such as UN are meant to bring international co-operation and containing the behavior rather than question who is seated on which seat. In a way the behavior of powerful nation in terms of war are checked by the other members of the P5 therefore sustaining peace in the process (Krasner 1985).

Mr Siraka Gebrehinot the UN Communications Specialist in Zimbabwe said, ‘for the United Nations to be transformed the history of the war victors and the league of nations needs to die first this will create harmony and interdependence, peace and security as well as liberal philosophy. Reforming the UNSC is about reforming the mindset of the member states. Responding to the same question Ambassador David Hamadziripi, the Director for Multilateral Affairs in the Ministry of foreign affairs said that the United Nations is not representative and the permanent five members of the security council abuse the veto. The Security Council acts as a final arbiter on issues threatening international peace. According to Resolution 1970 which referred Muammar Gaddafi to the International Court of Justice and the 1973 'no fly zone' resolution implemented NATO were passed by the Security Council without even consulting the African Union as a regional organization. African issues have long suffered from either a lack of exposure in the mainstream media, marginalization and misrepresentation or from outright silencing. Osita Afoaku 2015 argue that the Responsibility
to Protect is an international norm which states should accept. There can be arguments as to the conditions which might necessitate for R2P, but citizens must be protect and from renegade statesmen who are not willing to safeguard human rights. In this context the UN cannot fold its hands and watch as another Rwanda occurs on its watch (Afoaku 2015). There is some kind of unguarded patriotism among African statesmen which forces them to keep quite while the people suffer. Furthermore, the noise that arises from Africa about the Libyan interventions are to some extent unfounded. The Ezulwini consensus recognizes the full authority of the UNSC and the need at times to use force in situations of crimes against humanity, ethnic cleansing, genocides and that the regional bodies should be given power to intervene as what happened in the Gambia (African Union 2005).

4.3.2 Effects United Nations Security Council on Africa

Mr Biti noted that the African institutions have been by standers and they are not good options to the UNSC. The complexity of the international system includes aid offered to countries of the South by the Developed countries. Some scholars have suggested that these developed countries are using aid as a political tool to direct foreign policy positions of those aid receiving countries. Aid in this context is not used to help in improving humanity and develop the less developed, but it is a tool to sustain the legacy of colonialism and reliance by the recipients on those offering it. The questions that need to be answered in order to understand these complexities include among others, to what extent has aid influenced the behavior of states in the international system and whether the divisions among African states in pursuing the Ezulwini Consensus be attributed to it. Responding to the same question Mr Chikwanda of the Zimbabwe institute of democracy said; “The permanent five members of the Security Council have vested interest in Africa. China is need of raw materials, Russian which is on sanctions from the US is looking for friends in Africa and because of this Africa is the battle ground for the Permanent five. According to Du Plessis, the African problem also lies in the weakens of its individual countries which have very poor economies and institutions. He argues that if Africa had well to do economies and democratic they would gain the respect of other countries and not be over reliant on handouts (Du Plessis 2013). It can be argued that instead of blaming the worst Africa has to do its part.

4.3.3 United Nations Security Council Agenda and Africa
According to Siraka Gebrehinot the UN communications specialist said, “Africa needs to realize that the UNSC is not a judge. Some issues proposed to UNSC should be dealt with by regional bodies such SADC, and the AU. Africa is pressing for a seat in the security council but it has failed to run its own local institutions. Africa needs to put its house in order, its struggling with social political and economic problems. What is it that it can bring on the table?” Advocate Biti also had this to say, “Africa should find its own solutions and regional bodies should be made more effective. If Africa can address its challenges, then it can be take serious in its quest for a permanent seat. Mr Chikwanda of the Zimbabwe Institute for Democracy believes that there are equally many issues in other parts of the world. The UNSC agenda is not reflective of all issues from other parts of the world. There is however, a need to understand the varied reasons that has forced Africa on the UNSC agenda. Unlike other continents, Africa has varied types of conflicts, some are religious, political, ethnic and in some cases pure rebellion. It has been argued that some conflicts in Africa are induced from outside in-order for the outside world to loot the vast amounts of raw material in Africa. Some analysts have argued that Africa dominates the UNSC agenda with about 60% (Duque 2014). As states by Gebrehinot (2017), the UNSC is not a judge of other nation or a police force, the agenda is handed to the UNSC by regional and neighboring countries. The mandate of the SC also substantiates the claims, the SC is mandated with preserving the peace and security around the globe. Doyle and Sambanis (2000) advance that the SC is an institutional manifestation of a central coalition of great power. Furthermore, the SC is in this context not an enforcer of broad collective security but is to a greater extend a mechanism that facilitates cooperative behaviour amongst the great nation.

4.3.4 EVALUATION OF THE EZULWINI CONSENSUS

According to Mr Siraka Gebrehinot the United Nations communications specialist in Zimbabwe believes that Ezulwini consensus document is good because it gives Africa the strength to push their own agenda, but it lacks on how Africa intents to achieve its agenda. How does having a seat in the security council bring change to Africa. Africa can make demands but in reality Africa is not united as their different groups in Africa, such as Francophone, Commonwealth and of late China has its own friends. Advocate Biti also said Africa needs to understand that the UN is not about quantitative representation as argued by Africa in the Ezulwini consensus document it is about qualitative contributions. Ambassador Hamadziripi believes that the Ezulwini consensus will correct historical in justices and it is fully representative of Africa. The AU as a hunter once it manages to catch the animal will
decide on how it can distribute it. African should not accept to be divided on the debate that who then should be the African candidate.

The biggest challenge to the Ezulwini Consensus are the other groups that are also vying for the same positions in the UNSC. Groups such as the Groups Four, Uniting for Consensus and the Anna Plan are alternatives that can scope the African position. The view stated by Ambassador Hamadziripi are questioned by the views of other scholars who view the consensus as weak and without merit. Ezulwini Consensus faces the challenge of geography because Africa is huge and different in both culture, economy and other values. South Africa and Nigeria as the undeclared front runners for the two seats, have taken some varied positions when negotiating with the Group of Four further putting doubt to the common position. The old age problem of politics is another challenge faced by Africa. It is rather politically impossible for the P5 to reform themselves out of power and privilege, in this case any reform of the UNSC has to be done with consent of the P5 (UN Charter Article 18). This does not mean the Ezulwini Consensus should all but be thrown out the window, but it can be a good position for another reform of some sorts (Weber 1964).

4.3.5 THE ROLE OF AID IN UNSC DEBATE
In response to this question Advocate Biti noted that Africa depends to a large extent on the Permanent 5 hence it they can’t have the same powers. Africa has to many strings attached and Germany and Japan besides their contribution to the global economy still they do not have a sit. According to Maseng (2012) France wanted to capitalize on the opportunity of the Security Council reform to increase its leverage by likely advocating for a francophone country to form part of the permanent members should there be a consensus on this agenda of Security Council reform. This further creates divisions on the African countries as Britain may also do the same by pushing a commonwealth member country for that position. Mr Hamadziripi argued that membership to UNSC has nothing to do with bilateral relations and attitude it’s about sovereign equality of all its members. The unequal economic relations do not take away the UN rights. It has been noted that the economic status of many African countries relies of foreign aid from the P5. The francophone countries are directly linked to the economy of France and hence it is impossible for these nations to out rightly do away with France. The US sponsors the Egyptian government with billions of dollars annually. The
African position is therefore threatening by such real actions at the expense of idealistic
demands of seating next to your donor as an equal.

4.3.6 IMPACT OF THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL REFORMS.
The researcher also conducted a focus group discussion at the University of Ghana- Accra on
the 20th of July 2017. The group comprised of 7 members from the following countries
Ghana, Nigeria, Liberia, Kenya and Cameroon. Discussing on the current state of the UNSC
most members noted that the UNSC is defective and it has failed to revolve, the institution is
undemocratic and it is important for Africa to adopt a common position on the UNSC reform
debate. However, some members also acknowledged that the veto has saved many countries.
The members agreed that the problems facing the international system and international
society should be resolved by all states through multilateral diplomacy. They concurred that
this cannot be realized when states are not united either in representation or power in the
multilateral institutions with such serious mandates of resolving international conflicts like
the UN. The SC of the UN has been reduced to a launching pad of the interests of the
permanent five members. The group also agreed that there is nothing wrong with the United
Nations as an organisation catering for international peace, the major challenge is on the
marginalization of the countries of the South who constitute the larger part of its membership.

On the evaluation of the Ezulwini consensus the group consented that it is a good document
but Africa should remain united in order to achieve its goals. African countries should not
belong to other negotiating groups because that would dilute the Ezulwini consensus. Schism
among African states is a creation from outside and Africa should speak with one voice. The
group noted that the main root cause of the division among the African states mainly from the
outside. For the continent to remain united it first need to achieve economic, political and
social stability. The divisions among African states towards the Security Council reform
despite the adoption of the common position emanate from number of reasons. The role
played by external forces in the continent compromised the unity of African states.

`The Francophone countries still owe allegiance to France because of their economic,
military and social reliance on France. This was made possible by the fact that the continent
is still polarized along arrangements of the Berlin Conference, Anglophone and Francophone.
This polarization owes to the colonial ties that still binds these countries mainly
economically. The group also noted that China as well played a role in stalling the UNSC
reform thus was divisive in the continent. China is the main investor in the continent with its ignorance of the human rights abuses and has attracted many African.

4.4. CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has presented findings on the impact of UNSC reforms on African countries. The researcher summarized the findings from the respondents and has presented and interpreted them in the form of graphs and explanations on those findings. The information sought to address the main objectives of this research. From the picture emerging, no matter how flawed, the Security Council is still the only UN body in charge of conflict resolution and the maintaince of international peace and security. Numerous calls for reform have led to many proposals for the better functioning of the Security Council and so far, these proposals have not been successful. The following Chapter gives a summary of the findings, conclusions and recommendations of the study.
CHAPTER 5
SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 INTRODUCTION.
This chapter wraps up the key points emanating from the findings of the research on the impact of the United Nations Security Council reforms on African countries. This chapter gives conclusions to research questions raised from chapter one. The main objectives of the study were to make an evaluation of the United Nations Security Council reforms on Africa. Other objectives were to explore the root causes of the divisions among the AU member states on UNSC reforms, Investigate the challenges affecting Africa due to UNSC reforms, outline the expected benefits of the UNSC reforms on Africa and to evaluate the validity of the Ezulwini consensus towards UNSC reforms. Recommendations are also made based on the findings and discussions in chapter four.

5.1 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS
With reference to the results presentation has been discussed in chapter four, this study made the following findings
The UNSC is defective and it has failed to revolve over the years. Most of the respondents criticized the UNSC for its small size and exclusive nature, its poor working methods, and its undemocratic structure. The findings also show that Africa is unhappy with the infamous power of veto, because of the ability of the five permanent members of the Council (USA, Russia, France, UK, and China) to quash any non-procedural matter with their negative vote, irrespective of its level of internationals support.
The Security Council, permanent members have used their power of veto in accordance with their national interests. The use of that power rapidly distanced from the initial reason for which it was included in the UN Charter, namely preventing the UN from taking direct action against any of its principal founding members.

Developed countries are using aid as a political tool to direct foreign policy positions of those aid receiving countries. Aid in this context is not used to help in improving humanity and develop the less developed, but it is a tool to sustain the legacy of colonialism and reliance by the recipients on those offering it.

Africa is pressing for a seat in the United Nations Security Council but it has failed to run its own local institutions. Africa needs to put its house in order, its struggling with social political and economic problems. Even if it is offered a sit Africa has nothing to offer. Africa will benefit a lot if offered a sit in the Security Council because this will help the colonial imbalance.

Most respondents agreed that Ezulwini consensus document is good document it gives Africa the strength to push for reforms but it is not clear on how Africa intents to achieve this.

5.2. CONCLUSIONS

Thorough analysis of the findings of the study it can be concluded the flaws in the UNSC have led to increasing calls for reform. The permanent members of the Security Council, who are the only veto holding members, have used the exclusive power of veto to further their self-interest. The research notes that the P5 are to a greater extend the instigators of war and therefore are setup in way that will bring equilibrium rather than majoritarianism. The call bigger numbers in UNSC are from African perspective baseless and unrealistic. African institutions can be explored to achieve better results and benefits for Africa rather than two seats on the UNSC. The African problems and solutions lie in the willingness of the African continent to reform and respect the rule of law, maintain good human rights and explore better bilateral and multilateral agreements. Increasing calls for reform have led to numerous proposals for improving the functioning of the Security Council. If Africa is to be taken seriously it needs to improve the functions of local institutions such AU, ECOWAS and SADC. The AU has the Peace and Security Council which has barely scratched the surface on its agenda and therefore why would the safe dormant states demand a seat at a higher level. Africa needs to speak with one voice and the Ezulwini consensus should help in pushing for reform. Reforming the UNSC will help in correcting the colonial imbalance. Finally, it can be concluded that some countries still actively oppose each other for self-
interest paying too much attention to the details of the procedure without focusing on practical steps towards reform.

5.3. RECOMMENDATIONS

In light of the above findings the study recommends that

- In order to avoid schisms, the African Union should be responsible for the selection of Africa’s representatives in the Security Council.
- A clear criterion should be put in place to help the policy makers as to which state can qualify represent Africa.
- For Africa to be taken seriously it needs to maintain a common position. The Ezulwini consensus of 2005 on UNSC reforms represents an African and continental consensus.
- Africa also need to improve the functioning of its local institutions starting with the AU followed by all other regional bodies. Improving social, political and economic affairs of its people will help Africa urge closer to realizing its dream of having a reformed UNSC.
- Africa needs to be self-reliant because some of the divisions found in Africa are as a result of external forces that use aid to manipulate some African countries.
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INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. What is your evaluation of the current form and state of the UNSC?
2. How does the current form and state of the UNSC affect Africa?
3. To what extend has Africa been represented at the UNSC?
4. In 2005 AU came up with Ezulwini Consensus. What is your evaluation of the
   common position on AUs reform proposal for the UNSC?
5. How practical are the AUs demands and can they be achieved?
6. Which African countries can be possible candidates for the two permanent seats and
   why?
7. What is the best criterion to choose an African country?
8. Is there a schism among African states?
9. What does Africa stand to benefit by having two permanent seats on the UNSC?
10. Many African nations receive aid from P5 nations. What role does aid play in the
    UNSC reform debate?
11. Should Africa revisit the Ezulwini consensus
12. What are the challenges affecting the implementation of the Ezulwini Consensus?