



UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY



COLÉGIO NAVAL

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WAYS TO INCLUDE G4 INTO P5

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2019

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ABSTRACT

On actual days, the world's security lies on the hands of 5 powerful countries: The P5 (United States of America, China, Russia, France and United Kingdom). These nations say what is and what isn't safe for the world community in the United Nations Security Council's reunions. But this situation is no longer acceptable for some nations which urge for a security council's reform, such as Brazil, Japan, India and South America, the well-known Group of Four or G4; however, there are other groups willing to get their permanent seat inside the council, such as The African Union. This committee is placed in a United Nations General Assembly's reunion to decide and debate the inclusion of the G4 as permanent members of the UNSC.

SUMÁRIO

1. THE UNITED NATIONS	5
2. THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY	5
3. THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL.....	6
3.1. General Situation	6
3.1.1. G4: Fighting for a place in the permanent chairs	7
4. WORLD POLITICS	10
4.1. Latin America	10
4.1.1. Mercosur	10
4.1.1.2. General View	11
4.1.1.3. The tariff reform in MERCOSUR	13
4.2. North America	15
4.2.1. The USA's great influence around the globe	15
4.2.2. The USA's influence inside the Security Council.....	17
4.3.1.3. The Japanese and Chinese influences on the bloc	21
4.4. African Union: An alternate way to fight the imperialism	22
4.4.1. General View	22
4.4.2. The African Union in the Security Council's Reform.....	24
4.5. Europe.....	27
4.5.1. The European Union.....	27
4.5.1.1. Historical Context.....	27
4.5.1.2. General View	29
5. REFERENCES	31

1. THE UNITED NATIONS

The United Nations is an international organization founded in 1945, after the end of World War II is currently composed by 193 countries. The mission and work of the UN are guided and based by the principles and purposes of its founding charter. Due to the powers vested in its *Charter* and its unique international character, the United Nations can take action on the issues confronting humanity in the 21st century, such as peace and security, climate change, sustainable development, human rights, disarmament, terrorism, humanitarian and health emergencies, gender equality, governance, food production, and more.

The UN also provides ways for their members to express themselves in the General Assembly, Security Council, Economic and Social Council, and other bodies and committees. This way, The UN has become one of the main mechanisms for the international community to come together, discuss and find solutions to its problems.

2. THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The General Assembly of The UN is the main representative, deliberative and policymaking organ of the United Nations as well as the only one where universal representation is guaranteed, since every country gets a seat. Decisions on important questions, such as those on peace and security, admission of new members and budgetary matters, require a two thirds majority of the General Assembly. Decisions on other questions are by simple majority.

The functions and powers of the General Assembly are stated in the fourth chapter of the UN founding charter. The General Assembly may consider the general principles of co-operation in the maintenance of international peace and security, including the principles governing disarmament and the regulation of armaments, and may make recommendations regarding such principles to the Members or to the Security Council or to both. It may also recommend actions to the Security Council to solve situations that can or would endanger the peace and security of the international community. Annually, the Security Council reports to the General Assembly presenting its actions and measures taken all over the world.

All members of the General Assembly have one vote, and all of them are to be considered in the final decision. Important decisions, such as recommendations regarding the maintenance of international peace and security, the election of the non-permanent members of the Security Council, the election of the members of the Economic and Social Council, the admission of new members to the United Nations, the expulsion of members and budgetary questions, require two-thirds of the members' votes. Other decisions require only a simple majority of the members present and voting. A member of the UN which is in arrears of its financial contributions to the organizations will not have the right to vote if the arrear exceeds or equals to the amount of contributions made by the member in the proceeding of two full years. But, if the UN decides that the failure to pay is due to conditions beyond the control of the member, it may have the right to vote. The *Delegates Handbook* , revised and issued each year at the beginning of the General Assembly, is applicable throughout the session.

3. THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL

3.1. General Situation

The United Nations Security Council, under the founding charter, has the primary responsibility for the maintenance of the international security and peace. It has 15 members in total, 5 of which are permanent: The Republic of China, France, Russian Federation, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America: and other 10 non-permanent members which are all elected by the General Assembly. Each member has one vote, but only the permanent members have the right to veto, which means that they can deny any project made by the Council if they feel like it. The non-permanent members can only vote the projects and working papers. The Security Council takes the lead in determining the existence of a threat to the peace or act of aggression. In some cases, the council can impose actions or even authorize the use of force to maintain peace and security to the international community.

The Security Council was created after the end of World War II, and the permanent members were, in that time, the winners of that war (“[...] *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 [...]” UN charter, chapter V, article 23). Those countries are also known as “P5”.



First Session of the United Nations Security Council in London, United Kingdom on 17 January 1946. Credit: UN Photo/Marcel Bolomey

In 2006, due to the progress of the Iranian’s nuclear program and its ways to process uranium, the P5, together with Germany, started negotiations with Iran to reduce the creation of nuclear weapons and their proliferation around the globe. The conclusion of the negotiations, with the old accords of 2006 remade, led to several restrictions to Iran’s nuclear program, and gradual removal of the economic sanctions imposed by the P5 and the Security Council in the early 2008. Although Germany participated in the negotiations and was allied with the other great powers, it did not make it to the permanent chairs. The countries that were present during the accords with Iran were called the “P5+1”.

3.1.1. G4: Fighting for a place in the permanent chairs

The G4 nations , Brazil, Germany, India, and Japan are four countries which support each other’s bids for permanent seats on the United Nations Security Council.

Unlike the G7, where the common denominator is the economy and long-term political motives, the G4's primary aim is the permanent member status on the Security Council. Each one of these nations figured among the elected non-permanent members of the council since the UN's establishment. Their economic and political influence has grown significantly in the last decades, reaching a scope comparable to the permanent members (P5). However, the G4's bids are often opposed by their economic and political rivalry, which presents a bigger problem to the countries that want to become permanent members.

Quick Comparison of G4 and P5 Members							
		Population	GDP ¹	UN funding ²	Defence budget ¹	Active military	Nuclear arsenal
 Brazil	G4	190,732,694 (5th)	\$2,353 (7th)	2.934% (10th)	\$35.4 (10th)	327,710 (14th)	✗ NO
 Germany	G4	82,329,758 (16th)	\$3,860 (4th)	7.141% (3rd)	\$46.7 (9th)	250,613 (22nd)	✗ NO ³
 India	G4	1,210,193,422 (2nd)	\$2,050 (9th)	0.534% (27th)	\$46.8 (7th)	1,745,000 (2nd)	✓ YES
 Japan	G4	128,056,026 (10th)	\$4,616 (3rd)	10.833% (2nd)	\$59.3 (6th)	230,300 (24th)	✗ NO
 China	P5	1,347,338,352 (1st)	\$10,380 (2nd)	5.148% (6th)	\$143.0 (2nd)	2,285,000 (1st)	✓ YES
 France	P5	65,821,885 (21st)	\$2,847 (6th)	5.593% (4th)	\$62.5 (5th)	352,771 (13th)	✓ YES
 Russia	P5	143,056,383 (9th)	\$1,857 (10th)	2.438% (11th)	\$71.9 (3rd)	1,027,000 (5th)	✓ YES
 United Kingdom	P5	63,047,162 (22nd)	\$2,945 (5th)	5.179% (5th)	\$62.7 (4th)	197,780 (26th)	✓ YES
 United States	P5	312,913,872 (3rd)	\$17,419 (1st)	22.00% (1st)	\$711.0 (1st)	1,458,219 (3rd)	✓ YES

The Security Council reform, proposed by the G4's countries, deals with 5 key problems:

- Categories of Membership;
- The veto held by the five permanent members;
- Regional representation;
- The size of an enlarged Council; and
- Working methods.

There is widespread agreement that the system established in 1945 no longer matches global needs. The UN has grown from 57 to 194 member states, the world from 2 billion to almost 7 billion people. The Security Council is losing legitimacy, because its decisions are not made by the actors who have the most influence, nor do its decisions involve most of the world's people. As a result, the Council has a democratic deficit. The list of large or powerful countries to be added include at a minimum: Brazil, Germany, Japan, India and Nigeria. A more complete list might include Egypt, Indonesia, Iran,

Mexico, Pakistan, South Africa and Turkey. While most countries have agreed in principle that the Security Council needs reforms, including the expansion of the permanent members, there is no agreement on which countries to add, how to manage other vital reforms, the specific timing of reforms and detailed processes. There is also a disagreement about who gets a veto and who does not, or even the existence of the veto as a concept as it brings power over all and segregation with it.

The G4 is not the only group of countries that has a proposal of reforming the Security Council, there are numerous proposals put forward by other countries and groups, such as the *African Union*, and the *Arab League*. The two main rivals are the Group of Four (also known as G4) and the opposing *Coffee club*, or simply *uniting for a consensus* group of Argentina, Canada, Italy, Mexico, Spain, Pakistan and South Korea. The current situation of UN Security Council reform is intertwined with historical factors, nationalism, national interests, rational choice and balance of power in different regions.

As the largest country of South America, Brazil is an emerging global presence and is increasingly involved in major issues around the world. However, permanent Brazilian membership is objected by Argentina, Mexico and, to a lesser degree, by Colombia. They worry that Brazil's permanent membership will enhance the country's competitiveness in South America and are especially suspicious of a Brazilian veto.

Germany is the world's fourth largest economy; the economic engine of the European Union. It has campaigned hard for a permanent Security Council role but faces serious obstacles. Italy and Spain resent being passed over for consideration themselves. There also are serious misgivings from other regions, since two European nations already occupy permanent seats. African and Muslim countries are advocating that the Security Council should balance the number of permanent memberships in terms of different regions.

India is also a rising economic power and a restrained nuclear weapons state. Indian permanent membership is opposed by Pakistan, a longtime foe in several wars. Even today, they still have troubled relations over arms racing, the disputed Kashmir region, and Pakistan-based terrorist attacks. China also has territorial disputes with India. Initially, China was opposed to India, but, due to stronger economic ties in recent years, China probably would support India's bid.

Japan is the world's third largest economy and has one of the biggest populations. However Due to historical reasons and nationalism, Japan is objected by several East Asian countries, such as China, South Korea, and North Korea. Although the United States supports Japanese permanent membership, it does not favor granting Japan and other G4 nations— Germany, India and Brazil— a veto power.

There are also disagreements inside the great powers of the P5 in which country each power will support. That makes the veto a powerful weapon to them, since if one country of the P5 disagrees and uses the veto, none of the others can proceed with their reform and other projects to include more countries to the permanent chairs.

Recently, the Security Council's reform issue has gained new attention, largely from the combined pressure of Brazil, India and other would-be permanent members. Their proposal is that —The new council will include up to half the Group of 20 countries. It will include all the BRICS – the alliance of emerging powers Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa. Expansion will relieve some conflicts, but may worsen others. How to balance these issues is the question that will dominate any debate.

4. WORLD POLITICS

4.1. Latin America

4.1.1. Mercosur

4.1.1.1. Historical Context

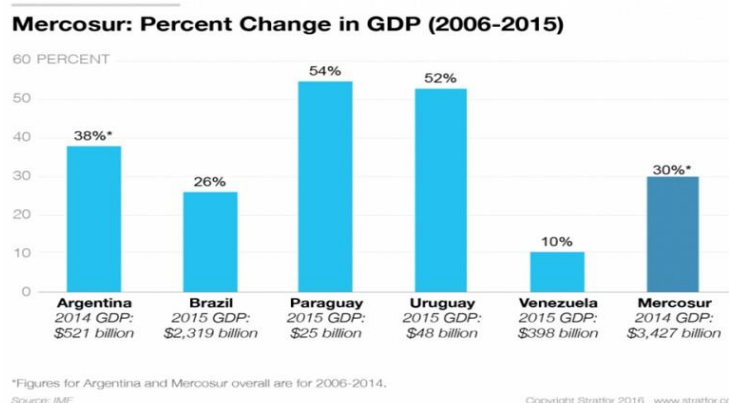
Mercosur is the Mercado Común Del Sul, a South American trade bloc consolidated by the Treaty of Asunción in 1991 and Protocol of Ouro Preto in 1994. Its members are Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay. Venezuela is also a member but has been suspended since December 1, 2016, other members that are only associated are Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Guyana, Peru and Suriname. New Zealand and Mexico are members too, but only as observers.

The bloc was consolidated in 1991 by the Treaty of Asunción, which was later amended and updated by the treaty of Ouro Preto. Before the 80's decade, Brazil and Argentina already had a few agreements and the main one was the declarations of Foz do Iguaçu and considered the first step to the economic bloc. In 1986, the protocol of

integration Brazil Argentina was one of the early steps to the formation of Mercosur, and Uruguay joined the project with the protocol of Alvorada. In 1990, the Declaration of Buenos Aires was made by presidents Collor and Menem, mainly to guarantee the swiftness in the integration's schedule. The name Mercosur was permanently decided in 1991. The members signed in Ushuaia, Argentina, the Protocol of Ushuaia with Chile and Bolivia, aiming to establish a democratic commitment between them all. Mercosur's image was compromised world widely when Argentina faced a severe economic crisis and had to focus on paying their external debt, making the block lose USA's support. In 2004, the Declaration of Cuzco was signed beyond the entrée of Mexico. The deal previewed a free trade zone with the Andean Community the Mercosur also has free commerce treaties with Israel and Egypt.

4.1.1.2. General View

Since 2001, changes in tariffs promoted by the Argentine government, mainly on capital goods, followed by the Uruguayan government, have led to discussions on a possible tariff reform in MERCOSUR or, even, the replacement of the current customs union with a free-trade zone, which would allow each member country autonomy in the conduct of its trade policy. This paper has two objectives: first, assuming the maintenance of the customs union, to present suggestions for restructuring the “Common External Tariff – CET, making it more appropriate to stimulate external competitiveness and economic growth, and secondly, to discuss the conflicting interests of MERCOSUR members in the case of a setback towards a free trade area.



In 2002, MERCOSUR constituted an important regional market with a GDP of US \$ 673.8 billion, a population of 219.8 million inhabitants and a per capita income of approximately US \$ 3,065. However, the members' economies are quite different – The

GDP of the two biggest and founding countries, Brazil and Argentina, are much higher than those of Uruguay and Paraguay. In terms of structure and ways of production, only Brazil and Argentina have developed economies. While Brazil has the most important industrial sector of all Latin America, Paraguay, for example, is the most dependent of agriculture and farming.

The levels of per capita income are also very different; the higher ones are held by Argentina and Uruguay. Despite their differences in economic and political ways, the countries of MERCOSUR are facing situations of macroeconomic imbalances in recent years, particularly Brazil and Argentina, who were the protagonists of a series of inflationary crisis (In 1989, the annual inflation rate reached 4,883% in Argentina and 1,878% in Brazil), which were only solved by the implementation of macroeconomic stabilization programs. The other lesser-economies of the bloc suffered with their neighbors' crisis, mainly in their economic growth rates and the devaluation of their currencies. But, from 2002 and on, the evolution of MERCOSUR's total foreign trade (exports and imports) was very positive, from US \$ 73.8 billion in 1990 to US \$ 148.2 billion in 2002, which corresponds to a variation of just over 100%.

In comparison with other blocs, however, the share of intra-regional trade in MERCOSUR's total trade, which reached 20.8% in 2001, did not allow levels similar to those obtained, for example, by the European Union (61.2%), and NAFTA (54.8%), although it is close to ASEAN (22.4%) - an association composed of Brunei, Cambodia, Singapore, Philippines, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Thailand and Vietnam - and has surpassed the Andean Community (11.2%) and the Australia and New Zealand Agreement (9.7%), that same year. In short, despite the excellent development of the intra-regional trade, it does not come as a surprise that, due to the differences between the members of the MERCOSUR and the difficulties faced by economic stabilization programs, commercial conflicts would occur, eventually. Frequently, disputes have resulted in demands for increased sector protection and changes in the common external tariff, emphasizing the social costs of short-term to the detriment of long-term benefits.

MERCOSUR IN NUMBERS

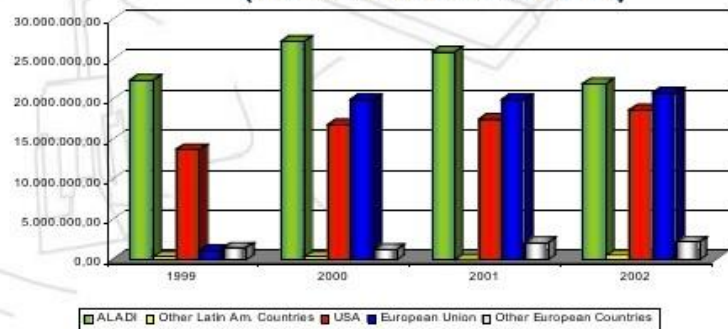
EXPORTS

↗ Coffee	1st world exporter
↗ Orange Juice	1st world exporter
↗ Cattle Meat	1st world exporter
↗ Soya	1st world exporter
↗ Wool Tops	2nd world exporter
↗ Lamb Meat	3rd world exporter
↗ Aircrafts	4th world exporter
↗ Dirty Wool	5th world exporter
↗ Automobiles Production	73% of Latin America's

TRADE

↗ In World Trade	2% participation
↗ In the Latin American Trade	30% participation
↗ In the South American Trade	60% participation

MERCOSUR World Exports (in thousand dollars f.o.b.)



Source: ALADI, Sistema Integral de Información, Versión 3.00, December 2003

4.1.1.3. The tariff reform in MERCOSUR

The nominal common external tariff in MERCOSUR presents a simple average of 12.4% and a standard deviation, indicating the uniformity of the tariff structure, of 5.9%. The five most protected sectors are automobiles, trucks and buses (34%); clothing (19.6%); plastic (16.5%); textiles (16.4%); electrical material (16%); and other metallurgical products (15.8%). This CET is proved to be excellent as it generates equal forces of protection to all the different sectors of economy. However, it is linked to the suppositions of no externalities at all, or, at least, insignificant. When those suppositions are not accepted, then the determination of a tariff structure becomes a very complicated job, as it depends on external factors that are not under the control of the countries that support its creation. Even with these external factors, there are some authors that still defend a uniform tariff, instead of a system of differentiated tariffs, indicating two major benefits: simplified customs administration and reduced political pressures in favor of certain productive segments.

Despite these recommendations, some countries usually adopt a system of differentiated tariffs. Also, the activities that have their external competitiveness

determined by the allocation of natural resources, such as oil and coal, have a much lower protection degree than the average.

Among the options for changes in the relative tariffs of capital goods, maintaining the average nominal tariff of 12%, there would be hardly any political conditions to implement a uniform tariff, as this would require a reduction in the nominal protection levels for consumer goods and an increase for intermediate goods. This would lead to a strong reallocation of resources, which, while appropriate in the long term, would lead to substantial adjustment costs in the short and medium terms.

Another solution would be using the “concertina” method, which comes in several steps. This method defends that, in each period already determined, the nominal tariffs above the average would be reduced to that valor. This way, every tariff would have the same value of protection. For example, on the first instance, nominal tariffs above the average would be reduced to reach this value. Secondly, a new average nominal tariff would be calculated and repeated the previous procedure and so on.

Of course, the current average tariff could be maintained, gradually reducing only tariffs above it, which leads to greater uniformity in the tariff structure.

This reform causes a lot of discussion inside, not only MERCOSUR but all the American Continent and other regions of the world, such as Asia (with China and Japan). In 2001, the government of Argentina took a very controversial decision and reduced the tariff rates of all capital goods to zero. This became a main reason for conflict with Brazil, the only MERCOSUR country that produces such goods. Thus, Argentina became a partner and a rival to Brazil, at the same time.

Argentina defends a radical solution, which is walking towards a free trade zone, with the removal of any CET, together with Uruguay and Paraguay. For Argentina, a free trade zone would allow them to have greater autonomy in the conduct of trade policy. In this context, Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay would maintain their tariffs at 0%, as well as sign new bilateral accords that would minimize their losses imposed by tariff preferences that benefit Brazil and its industries. Also, for the “small” countries, such as Uruguay and Paraguay, the installation of a free trade zone could result in a loss of power in the negotiation of the bilateral accords, mainly with the United States and the European Union. The replacement of the customs union by a free trade area can lead to a transfer

of the debate from the CET to the regional content index which can lead to the increase of the tariffs that benefit Brazil.

On the other hand, Brazil does not agree with any CET at all, as it is inappropriate because even large capital goods producers and exporters do not have zero tariffs. As Brazil is the largest producer in Latin America, it represents its own interests on exportation and importation of such goods. For Brazil, that, as a big country of MERCOSUR, already had lesser gains with the customs union, and its replacement for a free trade zone would result in additional losses for its gains arising from the trade diversion, turning the MERCOSUR less economically attractive, which complicates the economic relations between China and Brazil, as China is the main buyer of Brazil's commodities and other natural resources, making it a great economic partner.

4.2. North America

4.2.1. The USA's great influence around the globe

The United States are the biggest country with the biggest influence in the world, there is no denial in that, but their recent governments' policy has changed due to presidential elections, from president Obama to president Trump. But, as written in the *Foreign Policy Agenda* of the Department of State, their objective is "to build and sustain a more democratic, secure, and prosperous world for the benefit of the American people and the international community. The emphasis on "American People" shows how their nationality it is the main point of all foreign relations decision.

For a very long time, the USA has been trying to do an agreement with Latin countries. **The Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA)**, a proposed free-trade zone encompassing all of the Americas, a major trading bloc that would help American countries develop their own economic partnerships and would help big economies such as USA, Brazil, Mexico, but the negotiations to establish FTAA ended in failure, since an agreement was not reached by the 2005 deadline. The FTAA was to include all countries of North America and South America and of the Caribbean with the exception of Cuba, and its proposal was rooted in the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative announced by U.S. President George H. W. Bush in 1990.

Following the signing of the North America Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1992, the earlier proposal was renewed by President Clinton's administration. By 1998, the preparatory work had been fulfilled and the formal negotiations begun. The FTAA

negotiations were carried out under an agreed structure and timetable. The early phases have happened until 2002 and produced three draft proposals. The last proposal contained provisions about market access, agricultural subsidies, investment, antidumping measures, competition policy, intellectual property, dispute settlement, government procurement, and services. The final anticipated phase of the negotiations was placed under the co chairmanship of Brazil and the United States in November 2002, intending to conclude all negotiations by January 1, 2005, and implement the agreement no later than December 2005.

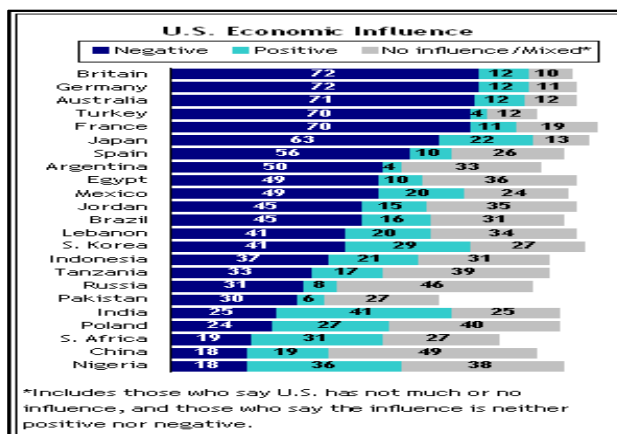
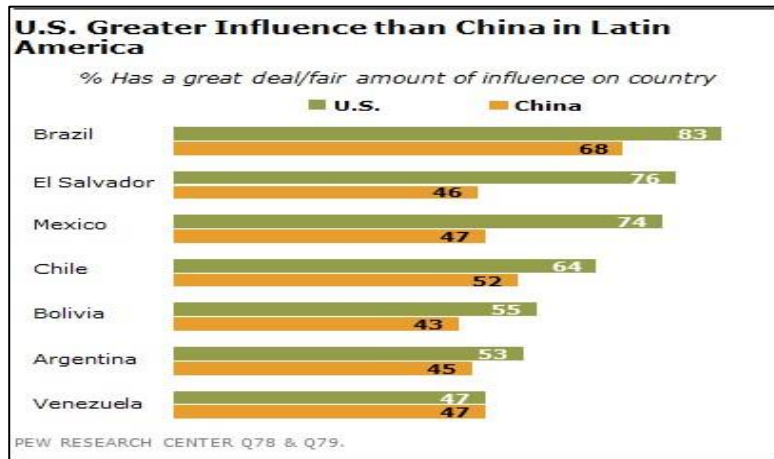
However, the January deadline passed with no completion of the agreement. The biggest opposing countries were Latin Americans which disapproved the domestic subsidies by the U.S. government, particularly in the agricultural sector. Also, those countries were less willing than the United States to prolong the agreement beyond issues of market access to include rules regarding trade in services and intellectual property. After 2002, center-left governments in Brazil and Argentina, among others, increased resistance to the United States during the negotiations and that, in the future, contributed to the impasse.

As seen for the last decades, the USA has always tried to push countries for the Free trade in America, only to be obstructed by the Brazilian intransigence. But now, with Trump's administration, the tables have been turned, and Brazil has begun to lean toward liberalized trade only to have one of their biggest trading partners pursuing protectionism. But, independently of their mixed positions, the disconnect between the two countries has remained a constant.

For a long time, the US has encouraged Brazil to join the free trade area in the Americas, but Brazil rejected several times because its main goal was to establish a regional leadership through MERCOSUR, and to Brazil, US's desire to promote the free trade area represented an obstacle to the creation of a more autonomous regional South American bloc. In addition, Brazilian industries that benefited from protectionist measures exerted pressure on the government to reject any US requests for free trade. Despite the lack of a free trade deal, Brazil and the United States share significant economic relations. The United States is Brazil's third largest trade partner after China and the European Union.

U.S. proposals for a free trade area in the Americas have largely foundered because of MERCOSUR's opposition. Other countries in Latin America, however, have

banded together to create a rival bloc dedicated to free trade. In 2012, Mexico, Chile, Colombia and Peru, all of which enjoy close ties with the United States, created the Pacific Alliance to counter MERCOSUR.



4.2.2. The USA's influence inside the Security Council

The U.S. has always supported some degree of adjustment to the Security Council Membership; theoretically, it became more noticeable when the Clinton administration backed permanent seats for Germany and Japan. George W. Bush's team restrained the focus to Japan. President Barack Obama thrilled India by (vaguely) endorsing its bid for a permanent seat during a trip there in 2010.

America's torpor reflects the reality that, rhetoric aside; U.S. leaders aren't convinced that council reform is in the national interest. The U.S. has an awfully good and comfortable deal on the Security Council. On many issues, it can use the council to help share burdens, amplify its voice, and endow policies it favors with the force of international law. When the U.S. doesn't find the council suitable, the veto power means it can work around the body without risking an official reprimand. The Security Council's

small size is also conducive to American purposes, once the number of non-permanent members has not increased since 1965. Divided by region and interests, the ten rotating nonpermanent members are rarely able to behave and act as an effective bloc. That leaves the veto-wielding five mostly in charge of the council's agenda. When they can agree, the rest of the council almost always follows them.

The diplomacy of likely new members, including Brazil, India, and South Africa, has been frustrating to U.S. policymakers. During the Libya intervention, these countries complained about what they perceived as America's abuse of its council mandate.

For all the disunity on precisely how to rebuild the council, there is broad and deep support for change. The necessary two-thirds of the General Assembly could unite behind a plan that U.S. doesn't favor. At that point, the U.S. and the other permanent members will be forced to stand in the way. The veto means that the rest of the world can't force anything on the United States, but blocking a popular demand would have a high political price.



(The United Nations Security Council meets on Ukraine May 2, 2014 at UN headquarters in New York. Russia warned Ukraine of "catastrophic consequences" unless it halted a military operation against pro-Russian gunmen while Western powers rounded on Moscow at emergency UN talks. AFP PHOTO/Stan HONDA Photo credit should read STAN HONDA/AFP/Getty Images)

4.3. Asia

4.3.1. The four Asian tigers

4.3.1.1. Historical context

The term Asian Tigers refers to four countries in Asia (Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan), which since the 1970s have achieved rapid industrial and

economic development. Because of the administrative aggressiveness and location of these countries, they were given such a name.

There were several factors responsible for the economic development of the Asian Tigers. An industrial model characterized as IOE (Export Oriented Industrialization) was implanted in these countries. This economic model is fundamentally an exporter; in this way, its production is diversified and geared towards the developed countries' market. However, domestic consumption is not encouraged, since taxes on products are high.

As a result of the great economic development of the Asian Tigers, there was an expansion to the neighboring countries of the Southeast, which provided an industrialization process in Indonesia, Vietnam, Malaysia, Thailand and the Philippines, and these countries became known as the new Asian Tigers. Until the 1960s, these countries they were marked by social indicators as low as those currently registered in African countries. The Asian Tigers are defined as the expression of a vibrant and efficient economy, resulting in riches, political, administrative and social well-being. The term "tiger" denotes the idea of strength, robustness, dominance. These characteristics were attributed to the economies of the Tigers, symbolizing the nations that grew with the introduction of an economic model that bets on exports (such growth is evidenced from the 70s, a fact that will be discussed later).

4.3.1.2. General View

Taking a look at Hong Kong, in the 1960s, the manufacturing industry opened a new decade employing large sections of the population. The construction business was revamped, and it also used the textiles industry to boost its economy. Hong Kong is said to have the most attractive business environment within East Asia, in terms of attracting Foreign Direct Investment – FDI. This has led Hong Kong to be the third largest recipient of FDI in the world. Using its profit, the government has built roads, schools, hospital and other infrastructures and services. Wages in Hong Kong are also relatively flexible. This made the GDP grow 180 times between 1961 and 1997. Skilled labor force with modern British business methods and technology ensured that opportunities for external trade, investment and recruitment were maximized. It now has one of the largest ports in the world.

Some of Hong Kong's main features are:

GDP: US\$ 427.4 billion (growth of approximately 1.8% per year);

HDI: 0.933 (growth of 0.003 in recent years);

Territorial extension: 1,104 thousand Km²; and

Ethical Composition: 7.8 million people, 96% Chinese, and the remaining 4% non-Chinese.

Another very important country of the 4 tigers is Singapore, which is a recently independent country. When it became independent from Malaysia in 1965, the population faced high levels of unemployment and poverty. GDP per capita was US\$516 and half the population was illiterate. In response to this, the Singaporean government established the Economic Development Board to make Singapore an attractive destination for FDI. Within the following decades, FDI increased rapidly and by 2001 foreign companies accounted for 75% of manufactured output and 85% of manufactured exports. The strategically located deep-water harbor is in ideal trade position linking routes from Europe to Australia and America's west coast. Singapore is now the highest ranked Asian country in HDI (7th in the world) and has a GDP per capita of US\$55,182 (World Bank 2013). Singapore's main features are:

GDP: 323.9 billion (20 b increase in the last 3 years);

HDI: 0.846 (substantial growth in the latest years);

Territorial extension: 698 thousand Km²; and

Ethnic Composition: 5.9 million people, 76% Chinese, 15% Malaysian, 6% Indian and 3% others.

Although South Korea has very few natural resources, for the industrial advance, it had a substantial and cheap workforce. The government realized that agricultural production was not the route to economic growth and so attracted large Transnational Companies – TNCs such as Sony from Japan and encouraged FDI from the US. South Korean firms were also protected by high import taxes which ensured enough market for goods and stimulated further production. Firms were attracted by a large consumer market of the South East Asia such as China. This has resulted in

South Korea producing world-leading products and technologies.

GDP: 1.5 trillion (3% growth over last year);

IDH: 0.903;

Territorial extension: 99.2 thousand Km²; and

Composition Ethics: 50.8 million Korean people 99.7% Chinese and 0.3%.

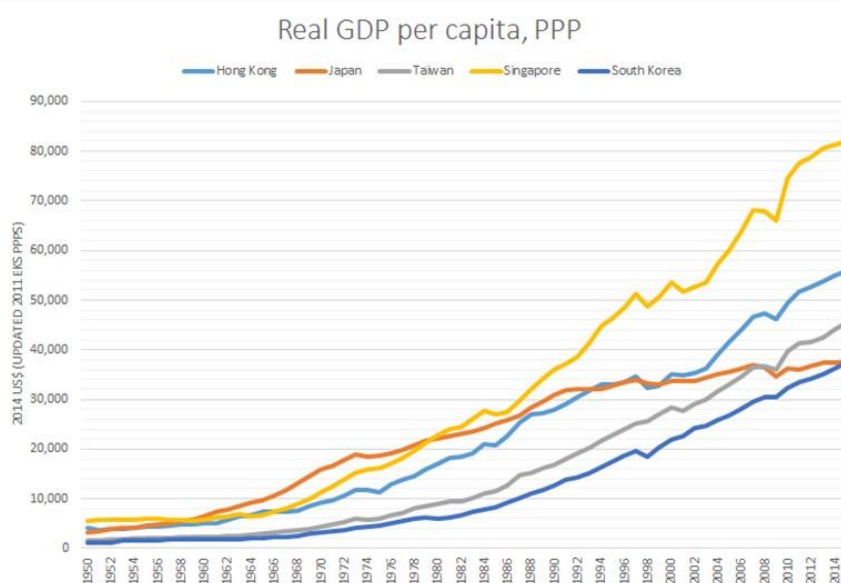
Finally, Taiwan was also targeted by large TNCs. In the late 1960s, the American toy company Mattel, wishing to lower its labor costs, moved its main factory from Japan to Taiwan. This was one of the first movements of such that made eastern Asia the workshop of the world. However, in the late 1980s, the rising incomes in Taiwan led Mattel to move on to countries with a cheaper labor force. On actual days, the main MATTEL’s factories are in China, Malaysia and Indonesia. The Taiwanese economy has benefited further from globalization and is thriving with their high-tech industries.

GDP: \$ 1.021 trillion;

IDH: 0.885 (2015);

Territorial extension: 35.9 thousand Km²; and

Ethical Composition: 23.5 million (without accurate records of its details).



4.3.1.3. The Japanese and Chinese influences on the bloc

Japan was very supportive of the sharp rise in the Asian Tigers' economy in 1970. Japan was having problems increasing its industrial output due to the size of its territory, so a strategy called “toyotism” was developed to keep the good economy since the end of World War II; such strategy had the idea of fragmenting the production system (where the role of the tigers enters) and being able to finish the assembly in Japan; for the Tigers, such a strategy would benefit the gain of their own industry system, which would then be used for their own benefit.

Like Japan, then, the Asian Tigers embarked on a strategy to build cheap export manufactures using the same low-wage labor that could undersell First World products. As in Japan, they began in the textile industry, which required little capital investment but

many low-skilled workers who were willing to work long hours assembling ready-to-wear garments. Ironically, they occupied the very same position that Japan had occupied a decade earlier. In the 1970s, once again following the Japanese path, these Asian Tigers had accumulated sufficient capital to embark on the next phase of capital-intensive development. By the 1980s, these other countries were beginning even to encroach on Japan's high technology industries with the production of computers and biotechnology. By 1976, the Asian Tigers were producing an astonishing 60% of the Third World's manufactured exports, with only 3% of its population.

In addition to the influence of the ethical composition previously mentioned in basically all the countries that compose the Asian Tigers, China also has great responsibility in the economic movement, both in the import and the export of products; in addition, Chinese influence was widespread on Asian territory, granting Beijing powerful regional control. The culture of Confucianism is said to have been compatible with industrialization because it valued stability, hard work, discipline, loyalty and respect towards authority figures. There is a significant influence of Confucianism on the corporate and political institutions of the Asian Tigers. Prime Minister of Singapore Lee Kuan yew advocated Asian values as an alternative to the influence of Western culture in Asia. This theory didn't go on without criticism. There was a lack of mainland Chinese economic success during the same time frame as the Four Tigers, and yet China was the birthplace of Confucianism.

4.4. African Union: An alternate way to fight the imperialism

4.4.1. General View

The group of African countries that mainly represent the continent's ideals is called The African Group. Its components have a strong and respected economic base, being South Africa and Egypt the main ones.

South Africa

South Africa is Africa's richest country, with about 18 percent of Africa's total GDP and 45 percent of ore production. Its industrial activity is the most important in the continent. Along its coast travels almost all the ships that transport oil to the West. Until World War I, the South African economy was based on mining (diamonds and gold) and agriculture.

Since World War II, the industry has entered an accelerated development process and today is one of the basic sectors of the economy. In 2008, the services sector accounted for 65.3% of GDP, industry, 31.3% (including mining) and agriculture, 3.4%. South Africa is the world's largest producer of gold, platinum, chromium, vanadium and manganese. It is also a major producer of diamond, coal, nickel, uranium and natural gas. In the year 2000, platinum surpassed gold as the country's largest source of income. The unemployment rate, of 21.7% in 2008, is one of the largest in the world. By the year 2000 half of the population lived below the poverty line. Some important features that can be used by the country to improve its power of speech inside the council are:

President: Cyril Ramaphosa

Surface area: 1,221,037 km²

Location: South African Continent

Capital: Pretoria (Executive Branch), Cape Town (Legislative Branch) and Bloemfontein (Judicial Branch)

Currency: South African Rand (R) and the international symbol is ZAR. 1 ZAR = 0,07 USD.

Total population: 56.72 million

Total GDP: US \$ 349.4 billion

Egypt

Historically, it is known that Egypt was one of the first countries to initiate the agricultural revolution. Therefore, agriculture was the main economic activity of Old Egypt. However, the Egyptians also dedicated themselves to crafting, livestock, fishing, hunting and mineral extraction. They also practiced foreign trade with other nations. Nile River's fertile offered excellent conditions for agriculture. The Egyptians planted barley, wheat, cotton, grapes, etc. Papyrus was also cultivated, since Egyptians used it to make a kind of paper. Egypt's eastern African border and western Arabic deserts make it a transcontinental state. It borders Libya to the west, with Sudan to the south and Gaza Strip and Israel to the east. On its northern coast lies Mediterranean, and the eastern coast borders the Red Sea. In 2012, Egypt had a GDP of more than 500 million dollars. The country has four sources of capital: tourism, extraction and export of oil, taxes and

customs fees on ships that pass through the Suez Canal and economic aid sent by Egyptian families abroad.

President: Abdul Fatah Khalil Al-Sisi

Area: 1,010,000 sq km

Location: Northeast African continent

Capital: Cairo

Currency: Egyptian Pound

Total population: 97.55 million

Total GDP: 235.4 billion

4.4.2. The African Union in the Security Council's Reform

Africa's position on the global governance and political system is clear – “reform the United Nations Security Council”.

This common position was reiterated at the 26th African Union (AU) Summit held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, when the continent said the UN Security Council is out of date and out of touch with reality. For example, the council, which is tasked with the primary duty of maintaining international peace and security, continues to be dominated by a few powerful nations at the expense of the majority. Of the five permanent members with veto power, none is from Africa, even if the continent provides the biggest membership of the UN.

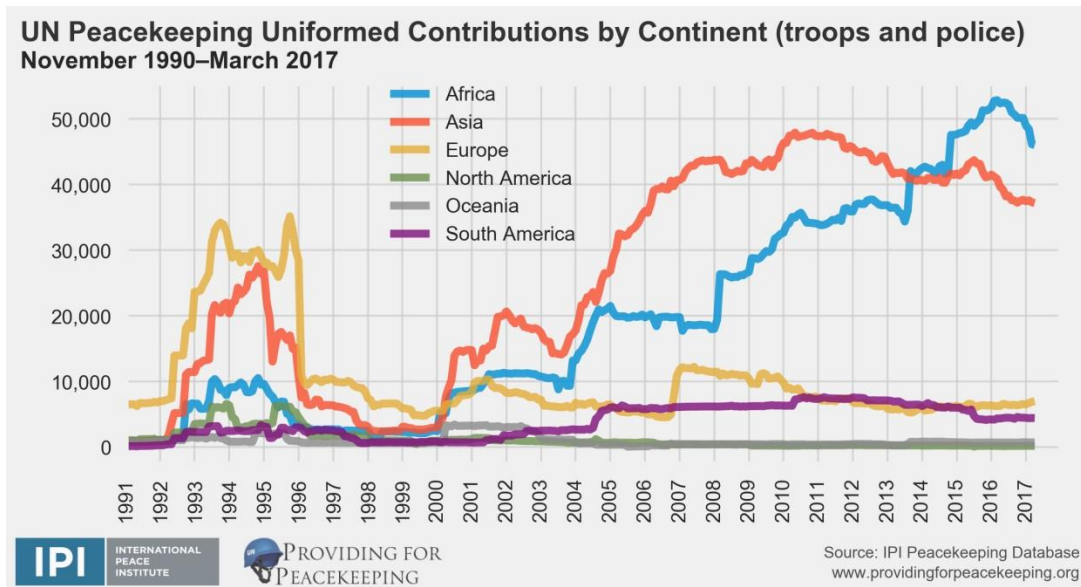
The UN is made up of 193 member states. Out of these, 54 are from Africa, Asia-Pacific (53), the Eastern European Group (23), the Western European and Others Group (28), while the Latin American and Caribbean Group have 33 members.

This arrangement and structure where some countries are "more important than others" is what Africa and other developing regions want to be reformed. Furthermore, with global power shifting in recent decades, Africa is now the fastest emerging continent and China is the largest economy in the world. Reforms to the council are more urgent to ensure that the body is in line with new realities and emerging geo-political dynamics.

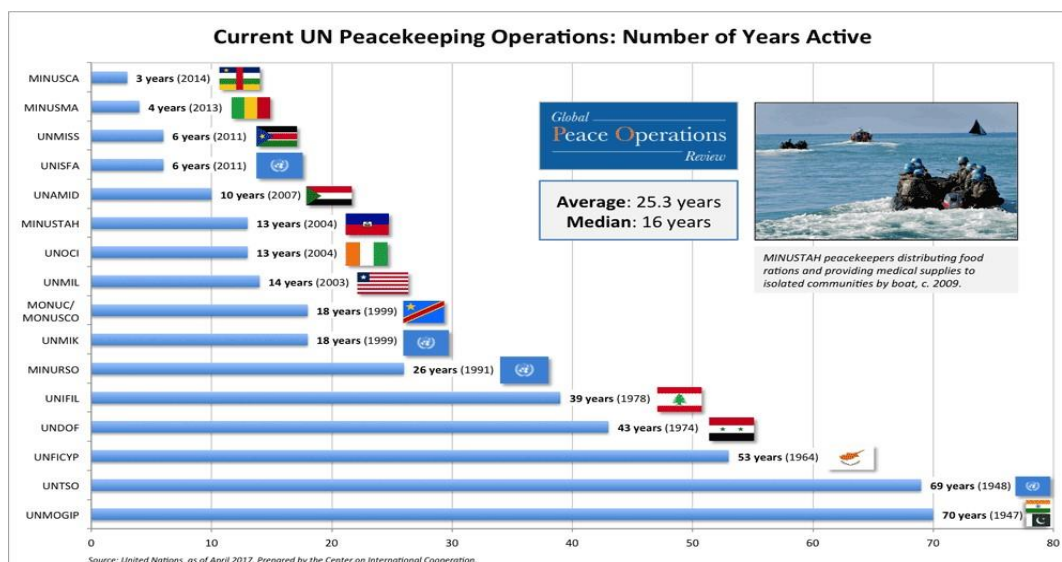
Ironically, Africa is the recipient of most declarations on peace and security but continues to be marginalized in influencing such decisions. Outgoing AU chairperson, President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, said it is time all countries in the world report on equal footing as opposed to the current scenario, where the majorities are being dominated

by a few powerful nations. Africa's common position on the UN Security Council reforms is clearly contained in the Ezulwini Consensus made in Swaziland in 2005 and adopted the same year at an Extraordinary Session of the Executive Council of the AU in Ethiopia.

Even though the Ezulwini Consensus is based on the idea of regional representation as opposed to the current UN system, which focuses on representation of countries based on their individual merit, the adoption of such a consensus by Africa is nevertheless a bold step in the right direction. A permanent seat for Africa on the UN Security Council will allow the continent to at least have some voice in all decision-making organs of the UN, setting the stage for the reconstruction of global affairs. The consensus calls for the need to expand the size of the council from 15 to 26 members, with fair representation of Africa. "Africa's goal is to be fully represented in all the decision-making organs of the UN, particularly in the Security Council, which is the principal decision-making organ of the UN in matters relating to international peace and security," reads part of the Ezulwini Consensus. Even though Africa is opposed to the veto provision, the continent believes that, as a matter of justice, the veto should be allowed to all council members. On the issue of the selection of Africa's permanent representatives in the council, the Consensus clearly states that the criteria for the selection of African members should be a matter for the AU to determine, taking into consideration the representative nature and capacity of those chosen. Some external forces want to take advantage of what they claim to be a "failure" by Africa to agree on its representatives as an opportunity to reform the process and cause division in Africa's calls to reform the UN Security Council. On the five nonpermanent seats, the Ezulwini Consensus states that these will rotate between African countries, one for each of the five regions namely North, East, West, Central and South.



As aptly put by President Mugabe at the AU Summit, “we will fight for our own identity, for our own integrity and personality as Africans.” The UN was formed in 1945 when most of Africa was not represented, and when first reforms were made in 1963, Africa was represented but was not in a particularly strong position.



(Current UN Peacekeeping operations. United Nations on April 2017. Prepared by the center on International Cooperation)

At present, no country on the African continent has permanent membership in the Security Council. Although no African nation has formally applied for the vacancy, Algeria, Egypt, Ethiopia, South Africa and Nigeria are the most highly regarded. Algeria received increased support for its neutrality in foreign affairs and its great cooperation for the development of Africa; Egypt has the greatest military potential of the continent, being

one of the founding States of the United Nations and has great impact in the Arab world; Ethiopia, also one of the founding states of the organization, hosts the African Union Commission; South Africa is the continent's largest economy; and Nigeria, as well as being the most populous African country, is the continent's second largest economy and one of the largest sponsors of United Nations peacekeeping missions.

Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe says the African continent is ready to leave the United Nations if his request for reform of the UN Security Council is not being addressed.

Mugabe informed the AU would be planning to form a separate group to which it would invite countries such as Russia, China and India if the UN Security Council does not include members of its continent next year. "Not all of the permanent members of the Security Council have a tough stance - only Britain, France and the United States - if they persist, do not complain later when we're setting up our own organization, we plan to do so next September, in the next General Assembly", he said. According to him, Western leaders do not take into account the views of a number of African countries, so the UN risks being left without those states if reform are not made. "Only Russia and China support us, and the US opposes us."

Addis Ababa

Russia's Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov said in Ethiopia that the reform of the permanent members of the UN Security Council should include some country in Africa. "I do not believe that developed countries are underrepresented in the current composition of the UN Security Council. The most important thing is to increase the representation of developing countries and we are willing to consider any option," Lavrov said at the African Union (AU) headquarters in Addis Ababa.

4.5. Europe

4.5.1. The European Union

4.5.1.1. Historical Context

The European Union is set up with the aim of ending the frequent and bloody wars between neighbors, which culminated in the Second World War. As of 1950, the European Coal and Steel Community began to unite European countries economically and politically in order to secure lasting peace. The six founding countries are Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands. The 1950's are dominated by

the cold war between the eastern and western hemispheres. In 1957, the Treaty of Rome creates the European Economic Community (EEC), or The European Common Market. The Polish trade union, Solidarność, and its leader Lech Walesa, became household names across Europe and the world following the Gdansk shipyard strikes in the summer of 1980. In 1981, Greece became the 10th member of the EU, and Spain and Portugal followed five years later. In 1986, the Single European Act was signed. This is a treaty which provided the basis for a vast six-year program aimed at sorting out the problems with the free flow of trade across EU borders and thus created the 'Single Market'. On 9 of November of 1989, the Berlin Wall was pulled down and the border between East and West Germany was opened. This led to the reunification of Germany, when both East and West Germany were united in October 1990. With the collapse of communism across central and Eastern Europe, Europeans became closer neighbors. In 1993, the Single Market was completed with the 'four freedoms' of: movement of goods, services, people and money. The 1990s was also the decade of two treaties: the 'Maastricht' Treaty on European Union in 1993 and the Treaty of Amsterdam in 1999.

In 1995 the EU gained three more new members: Austria, Finland and Sweden. The actual currency on most of the European countries is the euro. When the "war of terror" began, with the 9/11 attacks, the European Union became closer to retaliate the terrorists and its associates. The political divisions between east and west Europe were finally ceased when no fewer than 10 new countries joined the EU in 2004, followed by Bulgaria and Romania in 2007. In 2008, one of the greatest crises of global capitalism occurred. All members of the European Union ratified the treaty of Lisbon, which clarifies the Union's powers.

It distinguished three types of competences: exclusive competence, where the Union alone can legislate, and Member States only implement; shared competence, where the Member States can legislate and adopt legally binding measures if the Union has not done so; and supporting competence, where the EU adopts measures to support or complement Member States' policies. The Lisbon Treaty gave the EU full legal personality. Therefore, the Union obtained the ability to sign international treaties in the areas of its attributed powers or to join an international organization. Member States may only sign international agreements that are compatible with EU law. The Treaty of Lisbon completed the absorption of the remaining third pillar aspects of the area of freedom, security and justice (FSJ), i.e. police and judicial cooperation in criminal matters, into the first pillar. The former intergovernmental structure ceased to exist, as the acts adopted in

this area are now made subject to the ordinary legislative procedure (qualified majority and co-decision).

From 2010 to nowadays, the global economic crisis strikes hard the European Union. The EU helps several countries to confront their difficulties and establishes the 'Banking Union' to ensure safer and more reliable banks, for example during the Greece situation in 2009. In 2013, Croatia became the 28th member of the European Union. A new security policy was established in the wake of Crimean annexation by Russia. Religious extremism increased in the Middle East and various countries and regions around the world, leading to unrest and wars which resulted in many people fleeing their homes and seeking refuge in Europe. The EU is not only faced with the dilemma of how to take care of them, but also finds itself the target of several terrorist attacks.



(From 6 founding fathers to 28 members, The EU is now one of the most important economic and political blocs of the world. In 1957, the six founding fathers founded the ECC and the EAEC)

4.5.1.2. General View

We can't talk about Europe without talking about the European Union, which is the political and economic union between 28 countries in the European continent that runs indirectly the continent's economy and political decisions. The EU is represented in the P5 by France, and formerly, by the United Kingdom.

Recent talks have been approaching more countries to be interested on UN Security Council permanent membership, but the country that showed more interest is

Germany, with some agreements such as the deal with Iran to decrease the production of nuclear powered weapons, where it was treated as an important member, being mentioned several times as the +1 to the P5.

The Supremacy of the five countries has been noticed for long, and fewer representative countries are looking forward to changing the ways in the Security Council. European countries like Germany seek their own place in the sun at the permanent members, but political opinions have been made favorable to the common seat and how beneficial it would be for a real common foreign and security policy, but it is a rather controversial theme and has negative comments such as "... It's not realistic..., ... but something needs to be done..." by Foreign Affairs Commissioner Hans van den Broek. "We would support a seat for Germany, but not Germany alone. There would also have to be seats for Africa, Asia or Latin America" he said.

The EU holds an enhanced observer status at the UN. While normal observers such as the Arab League and the Red Cross are not allowed to speak before Member States at the UN General Assembly, the EU was granted the right to speak among representatives of major groups on May 3rd 2011. These include: the right to speak in debates among representatives of major groups, before individual states, to submit proposals and amendments, the right of reply, to raise points of order and to circulate documents. However, the EU does not have voting rights neither the right to sit on the Security Council. As an observing group, the EU must balance the desires of major countries and the needs of its minor nations, as well as overall diplomatic relations.

In 1987, by the Maastricht Treaty, the European Political Cooperation was renamed to Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), aiming to promote both EU's own interests and those of the international community as a whole, including the furtherance of international co-operation, respect for human rights, democracy, and the rule of law.

The EU coordinates its voting within the General Assembly's six main committees and other bodies and agencies such as the Economic and Social Council, UN agencies (such as the World Health Organization and the International Atomic Energy Agency). To this end, more than 1000 internal EU coordination meetings are held at the UN to develop a common EU stance. Article 19 of the EU treaty also stipulates that EU members

on the Security Council must act in concert and foster the interests of the EU. The EU has also spoken with one voice at all major UN conferences held since the 1990s.

Recent events boosted the EU-UN political partnership, reinforcing joint action on conflict prevention to a renewed partnership in development; EU-UN cooperation is both stronger and more important than ever. The groundbreaking trilateral African Union-EU-United Nations cooperation, launched at the 5th African Union-EU Summit in Abidjan, paved the way for enhanced cooperation not only on migration, but on the wider agenda.

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