

UNSC Permanent Members' Veto Turns to Democratic Use of Veto among the Permanent Members

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Abstract

This article emphasizes UNSC particularly UNSC permanent members' veto power. UNSC should effectively maintain international peace and security that is the main responsibility of this organ of UN. For making international peace and security, UNSC permanent members should change exclusive veto into the democratic use of veto among permanent members. Democratic use of veto means that UNSC resolution is blocked if more than three permanent members together show the veto. This article scrutinizes the good side of the democratic use of veto within current members than exclusive veto.

Historical background of veto among permanent members, historical evolution of UNSC members' especially permanent members and briefly some notion regarding veto are analyzed. The UN charter, some articles related to UNSC, permanent members veto and amendment process of UN charter are critically explored. Paper criticizes exclusive veto of UNSC and its misuse for blocking the resolution at some vital issues like new members admission in the UN, peacekeeping, appointing secretary general and so on. This article explores how Russia saves Syria and the USA protects Israel through blocking the resolution of UNSC about condemnation or economic section, peacekeeping mission and other reasons.

Various reform proposals have been given by various authorities; no reform proposals have yet been accepted by UNSC. Finally, this article examines the necessity of a new reform proposal which talks about exclusive veto turn to

democratic use of veto among the UNSC permanent members for taking decision more effectively.

Keywords: *United Nations, United Nations Security Council, United Nations General Assembly, Five Permanent Members, Non-Permanent Members, Veto, UN Charter, The league of Nations, Resolution, International peace and Security, Recommendation, Ratification, blocked, Rejected, Condemnation, Sanctions, Peacekeeping, Reform Proposals, Six Organs, Primary Responsibility of UNSC, Decisions, Democratic Use of Veto, Amendment, Article, Affirmative Votes, Substantive Decision, Russia, USA, Undemocratic, Effectiveness, Legal Framework, Abusing the veto power.*

Introduction

The United Nations Security Council (UNSC) is the most significant and powerful organ of the United Nations (UN). It was formed with 11 members in 1946 and now it has total fifteen membersⁱ. According to article 24 of UN charter, all of the UN members have given the primary responsibility to the UNSC for maintaining international peace and security and they have agreed that UNSC can take any action on behalf of UN member states in the any situation.ⁱⁱ And UN members states have also unified that they must accept and obey any sorts of decisions taken by UNSC.ⁱⁱⁱ UNSC five permanent members are China, France, Russia, The United Kingdom (UK) and United States of America (USA). These states can exercise the veto in the any kinds of substantive resolution matters.^{iv} The idea of veto was not a new concept in 1945 when UN was established. The notion of veto power came from the League of Nations (LN) the word was not mansion specifically rather in the League of Nation said that for passing any “decisions at any meeting of the Assembly or of the Council shall require the agreement of all the Members of the League represented at the meeting”.^v

In the article 27(2) of the UN charter allows that UNSC can accept any procedural resolution getting nine affirmative votes among the UNSC member states. According to article 27(3) of UN charter is mentioned that Concurring vote of five permanent members is required to pass the any substantive decision. This is known exclusive veto of five permanent members because one permanent member state can stop any substantive decision if other fourteen

members give full support for passing the resolution.^{vi} The five permanent members with veto consist of China, France, Russia, UK and USA.^{vii} Since the establishment of UNSC in 1946, UN has been criticized because of undemocratic veto of UNSC five permanent members. It provides exclusive power and privileges to some specific countries those have been mentioned earlier.^{viii}

312 vetoes have been cast in the UNSC since 1945. The former USSR/Russia and USA have exercised veto consecutively 152 and 91 times. The USA, Russia and China have cast most of vetoes to block resolutions Since October 2023. That is why, innocent Gaza residents have been suffering and around 1, 34, 568 people have been killed by Israeli soldiers in Palestinian enclave since the Israeli-Hamas war started on Oct 7.^{ix}

The latest veto of Russia, which was happened On March 28, was used for blocking the UN sanctions against North Korea over its ballistic missile programs and nuclear weapons.^x

A resolution was passed on Dec. 12, 2023 in the United Nation General Assembly (UNGA) for ceasefire between Israel and Hamas for reducing the human crisis in the Gaza Strip during the war. UNGA resolutions sent the UNSC because the binding resolution can be made by UNSC which is the powerful organ of UN . But the resolution for ceasefire was unable to pass due to US veto. It is common to use veto of the USA in the UNSC to support Israel.^{xi}

All of the cases shown that the undemocratic use of veto of UNSC merely applies for permanent members won benefit not for peace of world. This power is the main impediment to make peace and security for world community. So, for maintaining appropriate peace and security, the veto power of five permanent members need to reform and make effective in the democratic way.^{xii} Exclusive veto has been condemned since beginning because of undemocratic and unpopular ways of casting negative votes making binding resolutions of UNSC. UNSC can solve any dispute without support of UN others organs. Even, UNGA cannot recommend about any problem unless UNSC requests for that.^{xiii}

However, 5 permanent members of UNSC have huge contributions for making peaceful world communities after Second World War. No one of the globe can deny those contributions. Veto power can possess those states. There are no any opposite views of this

article but it requires to be performed by the support of concurring vote of 3 permanent members.

Notion of Veto

Veto means exclusive veto. The idea of veto came from the LN. According to article 5(1) of the League of Nations talks about veto. It states any members of the LN can show veto through participating in the assembly regarding resolution.^{xiv} Various types of veto are used in the legal framework these are Exclusive Veto or veto, Pocket Veto, Non-permanent Members Collective Veto and democratic use of veto in permanent members.

Exclusive Veto or veto

Veto is the one kinds of power that is permitted for the five permanent members of UNSC in the UN charter. By exercising veto, one of permanent members can say 'NO' about any substantive decision or can block any sorts of resolutions if others fourteen members of UNSC are unified. The veto word comes from Latin term "I forbid".^{xv} The exclusive veto is granted for the permanent members by the article 27(3) of the UN charter

Pocket Veto

In addition to casting direct veto, permanent members of the UNSC may use pocket veto. Pocket veto means to show the threat for using of veto. This threat can be exercised either implicitly or explicitly in the private meeting of the UNSC by the permanent members.^{xvi}

Non-permanent Members Combined Veto

UNSC cannot pass any resolution without nine votes of UNSC members. If seven non-permanent members of UNSC do not support by applying own vote for making a resolution, the resolution cannot be passed even all permanent members vote in favor. This is called Non-permanent members combined veto.^{xvii}

Democratic use of veto in Permanent Members

In the present charter allows veto of permanent members. For more effectiveness of the UNSC, UN Charter must amend and new rules have to make. One permanent member of UNSC cannot block any resolution without the concurring vetoes at least 3 permanent member states

together against the resolution. This is considered as the democratic use of veto among the permanent members of the UNSC.

How to Maintain International peace and Security

After the devastation of the Second World War (WW2), the UN was formed in 1945 taking one central object that is the maintenance of international peace and security. The responsibility is given to the UN's powerful organ UNSC.^{xviii} A complaint is presented to the UNSC about a threat to peace; first of all, UNSC takes action to solve the problem among the parties. That is why, UNSC set up principles for the agreement and request parties to reach the agreement in a peaceful way. UNSC also undertakes investigation, mediation, dispatch mission. UNSC requests the secretary general to use his office for achieving a peaceful settlement among the parties' disputes.

Secondly, when a dispute goes to hostilities, UNSC tries to the level best to solve as soon as possible. That is why, UNSC attempts to ceasefire among the parties which can help to reduce the escalation of the conflict, dispatch the military observer and peacekeeping force. In addition to this, the Council may enforce a plethora of penalties including economic sanctions, arms embargoes, financial penalties, travel bans, breakdown of diplomatic relationship and collective military action.^{xix}

Historical Background of UNSC and its power

After WW2, when the UN charter was being drafted, victorious states intended to lead the world. For exercising global leadership, all powerful countries realized that they need to establish an international organization. This institution should be established through the institutional framework by which all members can do cooperation among the wartime uninterrupted.^{xx} Hence, the USA, UK, the Soviet Union and China proposed for the formation of UNSC in August 1944 at the Dumbarton Oaks for working as an executive organ in the UN for maintaining international peace and security and these four countries plus France to be included as permanent members with veto power. The council was made small

in size and permanent member of SC possess the veto power. This organ is the strong department of UN. If any middle range countries like Germany or Japan make any attack, UNSC can take action against those countries.^{xxi}

UNSC Permanent members can take decision positively or negatively. Positive sign is happened by adopting resolution within concurring veto of all permanent members.^{xxii} There is no doubt that any permanent members can influence all sorts of council decisions as well as others organ of UN by the recommendation. For example, UNGA passes most of the important decisions upon the recommendations of the UNSC. Furthermore, the influence ability of UNSC in the UN other organ is known de facto or unwritten privileges of UNSC.^{xxiii}

The changing of UNSC membership or veto power of Security Council is required the unanimous vote of the five permanent members. The main draft of the UN charter was formed by the USA, UK, the Soviet Union, and China and added France. For amendment of UN charter, all permanent members must exercise concurring vote in favor the amendment according to article 108 of UN charter.^{xxiv}

Then five permanent members decided that Security Council (SC) was formed with 11 members its 5 are permanent members with veto power and 6 members are non-permanent who are elected for two years.^{xxv} After setting up UNSC taking 11 members, a great numbers of countries wanted to reform the UNSC. That is why; they also wanted to amend the UN charter. A long time later, In December 1963, UNGA decided to extend the council members from 11 to 15. UNGA decided to enlarge the Council membership from 11 to 15. Though the number of members has increased, UNSC veto power possesses same seats.^{xxvi}

Historical Background of Veto Power

After the First World War, the people of the world put their trust in the League of Nation (LN) to avoid another world war. But around within 25 years, the world community had been involved the terrible and indescribable war. People lost their faith in the LN. One of the greatest weaknesses of the LN was the rule of unanimous among the members in the making decision.^{xxvii} That is why; UN was formed at the end of Second World War (WW2). In WW2,

more than 10 million people died and thousands of people were physically and mentally affected. A numbers of cities towns, and villages were devastated during the war.

The UN avoided the principle of unanimous among the members for the decision making process and the UN allows veto just for five permanent members of UNSC. USA, UK, the Soviet Union, China and France are self-sleeted permanent members. According to UN charter, the primary responsibility of the UNSC is the maintenance of international peace and security. The UN member states have conferred this responsibility upon the UNSC.^{xxviii}

Under chapter V, article 27 of UN charter, each of the members of UNSC has one vote. The UNSC's decisions are divided two categories such as procedural and non-procedural. For the procedural decisions require just nine affirmative votes whereas substantive decision requires not only nine affirmative vote but also affirmative unity of five permanent members. So, without directly using the term of veto, the veto is established in UNSC mentioned earlier.^{xxix}

In the founding discussions of UN, the some smaller states ware involved and they were fighting regarding veto power till the very end of dissuasion. One of the strongest voices rose from the Australian delegate who argued that it is not veto of five basically exclusive veto of one member. It means that only one member can block the decisions of the all members of the UN directly and indirectly. He also said that veto of the some sleeted countries is against the UN aims. In the end, the five permanent members gave an ultimatum to the others states either accepted our veto or lost our participation from the UN. When smaller countries saw that the UN could be destroyed before beginning. Then, they accepted veto of permanent member to form the UN so that world communities could stay together in an organization for peaceful globe.^{xxx}

Legal Framework of UNSC and its veto power

Undemocratic Veto Power Conflicts Others Democratic Articles of UN Charter

Article 1(2) of the UN charter describes that all UN members always try to develop friendly relationships among the UN members based on the principle of equality. Each of the UN members gets same respect regardless more or less powerful countries.^{xxxix} According to article 2(1) of UN charter, all members of UN have equal sovereign power. Every country of the UN possesses the same power irrespectively big and small countries.^{xxxix}

Provision 4(1) of UN charter narrates that the membership of UN is open for all peace loving countries. There is no inequality regarding membership of UN.^{xxxix} Provision 18(1) of UN charter provides all member state of UN can perform one vote in the UNGA irrespectively country powerful or not.^{xxxix} One the other hand, article 27of UN charter offers the veto power of the 5 permanent members of UNSC.^{xxxix} it is unequal and undemocratic provision of UN charter which conflict other equal ensuring articles such as 1(2), 2 (1), 4(1) and 18(1). So we need to amendment article 27 for respecting other articles of UN charter.

UNSC Permanent Members' Direct Involvement by Concurring Vote of P5 in SC

According to article 24 of the UN charter, all members of UN have given the primary responsibility to UNSC for maintaining peace and security and UN members have agreed that this body can take any action on behalf of these countries which are the members of UN.^{xxxix} And also UN members promise that they must accept and obey any kind of decisions which is taken by UNSC.^{xxxix}

In the article 27 of the UN charter says that one of permanent members of UNSC an reject any substantive draft resolution exercising its negative vote without major support or popularity. UN charter mentions that concurring vote of five members are needed to make any resolution in the UNSC.^{xxxix} UNSC resolution is only binding resolution for UN member states which is passed by the permanent member concurring support. The permanent members veto power needs to limit and veto power should ensure the democratic use of veto for making UN more effective.

UNSC Permanent Members Involve to Other Organs of UN by Recommendation

Under provision 5 of UN charter states that members of UN can be suspended from right and privileges any time by the UNGA upon the recommendation of the UNSC. Again, these right and privileges may be restored by recommendation of UNSC.^{xxxix}

According to article 6 of the UN charter describes that any member of UN persistently violates the principle of UN charter. The country can be expelled from the UN member by the UNGA upon the UNSC recommendation.^{xl}

Under article 83(1) of UN charter narrates that agreement, alteration and amendment of trusteeship should be made by the recommendation of UNSC.^{xli}

Accordingly article 93(2) of UN charter describes that a country, which is not a member of the UN, case or dispute can be determined and solved under the Statute of International court of Justice (ICJ) when a decision is accepted upon the recommendation of UNSC in the UNGA. In this way, UNSC is involved regarding ICJ.^{xlii}

Under article 97 of the UN charter states that the Secretary General of UN is appointed through the UNGA according to the recommendation of UNSC. He is the chief administrative officer of this organization. The Secretariat consists of secretary general and others require staffs.^{xliii}

Under article 4(2) of UN charter, UNSC recommendation is required when UN wants to get admission new member in the UNGA.^{xliv}

How to Make UNSC Resolution

First and foremost, a draft resolution is presented by one or more council members in the meeting of UNSC. Then, the drafts may be negotiated and changed with the consultation among council members based on necessity. When all members agree, a resolution is presented to the formal council. In the formal session, each member has one vote. And for finally passing resolution, UNSC needs 9 votes out of 15, including either positive vote or abstention of all five permanent members.^{xlv}

Historical Amendment of UN Charter

The UN charter had been amended five times and these are followings.

Article 23 was amended in 1965 for extending the UNSC members from 11 to 15. And in the same year, article 27 of the UN charter was reformed for increasing positive vote 7 to 9 for passing the UNSC resolutions.

In 1965, amendment of article 61 was done in 1965 to enlarge the number of members from 18 to 27 in the Economic and Social Council.

Then, again in 1973 article 61 was amended for prolonging the members of Economic and Social Council from 27 to 54.

Then, again article 61 of UN charter was changed for prolonging the members from 27 to 54 of Economic and Social council.

The article 109 of UN chapter was needed to alter for General Conference member states requirements for the reviewing the charter. ^{xlvi}

How to Amendment the UN Charter

UNSC permanent members are directly active in SC resolution as well as indirectly active on the other organs of UN by SC recommendation. UNSC permanent members are given these legal powers, especially veto by the UN charter. The UN charter reform has to do for democratic use of veto among the permanent which is main focus of this paper, but it is not easy. Under article 109(2) of the UN charter narrates that for changing the present charter, Two -thirds vote of the conference has to recommend for the ratification of the amendment. Here is mentioned that ratifications must be completed by the two-thirds support of UN member with concurring vote of all UNSC permanent members. That means regarding amendment of the UN chart, all UNSC permanent members must participate for ratification. There is no abstention option for UNSC permanent members.^{xlvii}

UN charter amendment is not possible without permanent members' positive vote. So, the UN charter amendment is depending on the permanent members' wish. That is why; most of the amendments have not happened yet for lack of positive wish of permanent members. They do not want to share their power with more countries. As they are great powerful countries of the earth, these five members have been contributing since ww2 for the world community.

I think that veto power is remained to them but it need to reform. A resolution is blocked when more than three permanent member of SC give negative vote. The democratic use of veto has to be ensured among the permanent members of SC. Permanent nations should amend the UN charter and ensure democratic use of veto in UNSC among permanent members. Maintaining international peace and security become more effective if they ensure democracy among them regarding veto power implement. The blocking number of resolutions may be reduced as a result, international peace and security will be ensured.

Analyzing the misuse of veto power

Applying the veto to stop new members of UN

Under article 4(2) of the UN charter states that if any country wants to be a member of the UN, UNGA discusses about membership applying country. After all discussion in the UNGA, the country will get membership when UNSC recommends regarding the applicant state. Here, UNSC can stop new member admission by the negative recommendation or non-recommendation. Non-recommendation is also considered subject to veto of permanent members.^{xlvi}

In February 1946, it became clear that any kind of initiatives regarding admission of new countries can be blocked by veto. Between 1946 and 1955, most of the new admission countries were prevented because of disagreement between the USA and Russia. After 1955, when 5 permanent members came to the package deal about new admission members, sixteen countries got admitted as new members of UN with in short time.^{xlix} Approximately, 25%

veto of UNSC had been raised against applications for membership which made a problem for new peace loving countries. In the matter of new admission member, Russia applies veto around 51 times to reject applications of the new membership. These applicant countries are Kuwait, Mauritania, Nepal, North Korea, South Korea, Japan, Spain, Cambodia, Labia, Jordan, Finland, Australia, Portugal, Ireland, Ceylon, and Italy and so on.

In addition, Vietnam's application for joining the UN had been blocked by the USA six times consecutively. China exercised the veto to reject the Mongolia membership two times and the membership application of Bangladesh was stopped by the China in 1972 when first time Bangladesh wanted to be member of UN. Palestine membership application was blocked in the UNSC by the USA veto if 12 members' states fully supported and two abstentions from the vote. If a great number of world communities fully support the Palestine application for the UN member, the exclusive veto of USA is only impediment to be member.ⁱ In revenge, the Soviet Union gave negative vote in the membership application of Japan for admission.ⁱⁱ For increasing the UN membership, veto exercising must be reduced in case of membership applications. SC permanent member should be more liberal for the new member admission in the UN.ⁱⁱⁱ

How to Use Veto for Protecting States from Condemnation or Sanctions

Generally, UNSC permanent members exercise veto to shelter their friendly country from the condemnation or economic sanctions. All of the UN members abhor the veto power. Most of the time, UN cannot take initiatives for those countries that basically violate the human right due to veto. For example, Malaysia complained to UNSC in 1964 against the Indonesia for dropping the armed paratroopers in area of Malaysia. UN was taken initiative for draft resolution regarding deplored but it could not be passed because of The Soviet Union veto.^{liii}

In 1986, South Africa attacked Angola, Zambia, Botswana and Zimbabwe for which a draft resolution was proposed for the condemning but UNSC could not make resolution because of USA and UK veto.^{liv} The USA used his veto in the draft resolution regarding condemn for extra-judicial killing of Ahmed Yassin who is the leader of Hamas along with six other Palestinians. A draft resolution is not passed for USA veto.^{lv}

On 12 December 2023, UNGA made a resolution for a ceasefire between Israel and Hamas to reduce the human crisis in the important area of Gaza. UNGA resolution presented SC, one of the powerful body, can pass legally binding resolution but SC cannot make a cease-fire resolution due to the USA veto. A long history of USA has using veto for saving the Israel from any resolution against Israel.^{lvi}

On 13 October 2017, The UN SC took initiative to make resolutions for imposing economic or military sanctions against Myanmar but veto of China and Russia blocked this resolution ^{lvii}

Russia always had exercised veto in the draft resolution of UNSC about its military activities in the Ukraine from 2014 to 2022. “The USA ambassador stated that if permanent members use veto to defend its own country aggression, the country loses the moral authority of UN”. Ukrainian delegate wanted special emergency session in the UNGA on the remedy and reparation for war damages upon Ukraine. Russia used veto to stop this resolution.^{lviii}

These sceneries of using veto of permanent members show that how veto power damages the International Human Rights, International Humanitarian Law, International Criminal Law and also main object of UN.

Abuse of veto for preventing UN peacekeeping and peacemaking

Veto is applied to stop peacekeeping mission by the permanent members for the sake own country and friendly country if it is against the moral of objet of UN. The sixty-year history of the UN, permanent members of UNSC do threat to use their veto in the closed door discussion which is partially responsible for the some failure of UN regarding peacekeeping and peacemaking. For example, Rwanda genocide in 1994 was one of the largest genocides in the world which was going on just four months but almost 800000 people lost their life. UNSC wanted to interfere in the horrible massacres and sent the peacemaking mission but the resolution was not passed for the veto of France and USA and they also played opposite role when the massacre was tried to consider as genocide under international law. They avoided term of genocide in the unexpected massacre.^{lix} Almost similar situation was happened between 1998 and 1999 in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

When big fighting happened between Serbs and Albanese Kosovars for ethnic cleansing, thousands of individuals fled from their own homes for saving the life. In this situation UN

wanted to make resolution for sending peacekeeping troop, but China and Russia clearly disagreed to send the armed force by UN.^{lx}

Russia and China blocked a resolution which tried to make for sending peacemaking mission in the area of Sudan in 2004. Both countries knew that Arab military killed and raped civilian in the large scale but these permanent members blocked the resolution for protecting the Arab so that they could sustain their commercial relationship. China is the owner 40 percent share of Sudan oil field.^{lxi}

After the end of the Cold War, the USA always keeps in concern any resolution between Palestine and Israel conflict. USA used veto to stop a resolution which mandated to send UN peacekeeping in 2002 in Bosnia.^{lxii}

Others Controversial misuse of Veto

The above categories are the most disputable use of veto but these lists are not exhaustive regarding abuse of veto of UNSC permanent members. In addition to, another two controversial matter need to be discussed "The first is the recourse to the veto by a permanent member which intervenes in a third country in contravention with the prohibition on the use of force of Article 2(4) UN Charter" but permanent members do not follow this principle. For Examples, Russia performed veto to stop the making resolution for the attacking in 1956 in Hungary and in 1980 in Afghanistan.^{lxiii}

Secondly, UNSC permanent members used veto more than 43 times for appointment of secretary general. The vetoes of appointment of Secretary General were casting in the private session of council. These vetoes do not count like above mansion vetoes. To make an example, in 1981 Kurt Waldheim would not be re-elected as a secretary general due to veto and Boutros-Ghali could not be as a secretary general for veto in 1996.^{lxiv}

Various Types of UNSC Reform Proposals

Razali Plan Reform Proposal of UNSC

The first significant reform proposal of UNSC is the Razali Plan that was presented by the working group.^{lxv} The main purpose of this proposal was to increase the UNSC members.

According to this proposal, UNSC would be consisted of 24 members. Additional 5 members included as permanent members without veto and remaining 4 members would be added as non-permanent members. Three permanent seats reserved for the three continents Such as Africa, Asia and Latin America. Rest of two new permanent seats went to industrial countries. New non- permanent members would be taken from Africa, Asia, Eastern Europe and Latin American the Caribbean. Most of the member states reflected negative views regarding Razali Plan because council veto power was still undemocratic.

As new permanent members did not get veto power, new permanent members cannot work strongly like original permanent members.^{lxvi} Finally, the reform proposal was unsuccessful because the reform proposal was passed in the UNGA for enhancing the UNSC members. After that, this reform proposal was presented in the UNSC conference for extending and UNSC needed at least two- third majority to pass with concurring vote of permanent members.^{lxvii} Razali Reform Paper did not get enough support from the permanent members.

Kofi Annan`s UNSC Reform Proposal

Kofi Annan, who is the Secretary General of UN, presented a proposal for reform UNSC. He presented his plan in UNGA. His report is called “In Larger Freedom” in which he included the terrorism, financing for development, enlarging the UNSC members and location of Human right commission.^{lxviii}

He proposed extending the UNSC by adding more representatives from the international community. He proposed two models for succeeding the plan and to increase UNSC members from 15 to 24.

His divided his models in the name of model A and model B. in the Model A, he suggested adding 6 permanent members without veto power and 3 non-permanent members from major regional area where UNSC members are missing according to present charter. Two permanent seats for Africa, two for Asia and the pacific were fixed and one for Europe and one for the American were reserved. The Model B recommended a new system of four year term renewable 8 members and plus one non- permanent member.^{lxix}

Mister Annan expected that world leaders would accept his plan with the due respect. It was a wonderful reform proposal. However, the USA and others permanent members

criticized some portion of the proposal. UN officially said that the reform proposal made an international debate. So it never made organization more important and effective in the twenty-first century.^{lxx} This reform proposal was not implemented for permanent members criticizing.

Reform Proposal of “the Group of Four” for UNSC

The Group of four (G4) is consisted of taking four countries namely Brazil, Germany, India and Japan. They advised to add new permanent members in the UNSC and these members had to take from the economically strongest and influential countries. The members of G4 officially proposed themselves as main candidates for the new permanent members in 2005.^{lxxi}

G4 suggested that the members of UNSC should enhance from 15 to 25 with new 6 permanent members and 4 non-permanent members. The new members such as permanent and non-permanent should add from the various area of the world. To make an example, two permanent members took from the African states and two from the Asia. One permanent member joined from the Latin America and Caribbean and one from the Western Europe whereas the new non-permanent members were added from consecutively one from Africa, Asia, Eastern Europe, and Latin America and the Caribbean.^{lxxii} “The G4 plan would not extend the veto to the new permanent members until a review of the entire plan as implemented fifteen years after such implementation.”^{lxxiii}

Uniting for Consensus Reform proposal of UNSC

The Uniting for Consensus (UFC) formed at the end of 1990s that is known as The Coffee Club. Main idea of this reform proposal was improving the working methods of UNSC as well as enhancing the council seats.^{lxxiv} UFC is established by the group of countries like Italy, Argentina, and Pakistan among others. UFC thinks if the permanent members increase in the UNSC, the effectiveness of UNSC will be reduced in the decision making within UNSC.^{lxxv}

UFC reform proposal raised again in march 2024 the UNGA. The UFC presented a model for prolonging the non- permanent member, improving the accountability and ensuring the participation every corner of the world in the UNSC.^{lxxvi} UFC suggested increasing the council members from 15 to 25. UFC never discuss about the permanent members of UNSC. The

number of non-permanent members increased from 10 to 20. They are elected for two years and they would be eligible for immediately re-election.^{lxxvii}

The proposal did not get support among the rest of UN members because they considered this proposal as a just counter-response of the G4 proposal.^{lxxviii} This group was not concerned with the important undemocratic veto power. Group was concern just enlargement of council members which was only non-permanent members.^{lxxix}

Reform proposal of African Union for UNSC

Some African states had been member of the UN since establishment these countries are South Africa, Liberia, and Ethiopia. They signed the UN Charter in 1945. That is why, they are considered as original members of UN. During the 1960s, the largest regional countries of UN came from Africa and Asia. Nowadays, 54 countries of African Union (AU) have been members of UN and they are around 30% representative of UNGA.^{lxxx}

AU proposed to add eleven (11) seats with 6 permanent and five non-permanent members in the UNSC. AU proposal recommended that two permanent and non-permanent members were taken from AU with privileges and power like original permanent members. AU holds the position based on the percentage because Africa is lack of representation in the present UNSC existing structure. The AU proposal is only favorable for ensuring the Africa's continent representation of in the UNSC.

The proposal suggested for increasing the UNSC seats for Africa members than currently existing.^{lxxxi} The proposal with veto privileges for new permanent members did not get support from the permanent members' affirmative vote in UN General Assembly. Actually, the five permanent members (P5) never shared veto rights and power with new members and did not ratify the proposal giving this opportunity.^{lxxxii}

Propose Reform proposal "Democratic use of veto" for UNSC

A great number of reform proposals provided the idea about extending the UNSC members. All of the reform proposals mentioned above talked about permanent members and non-permanent enhancement. G4 dealt only about non-permanent member whereas three more reform proposal discussed about permanent members without veto. African Union Reform proposal talked about permanent member with veto.

I would like to propose a different reform proposal which ensures the democratic use of veto among the permanent members in UNSC. We all know that five permanent members of UNSC are the more powerful nations of the globe. Permanents have huge contribution for making a nice world. So, permanent members have rights to possess veto power. But it needs to reform for exercising veto. When any draft resolution is presented for making a completed resolution in the UNSC, or any recommendation is required for others organ of UN, more than 3 permanent members must exercise veto together to block the resolution or recommendation letter unlikely one member veto in the current UN charter. It is called democratic use of veto among the permanent members.

UNSC permanent members exercise veto not only in the UNSC but also other organs of the UN through the recommendation. UNSC should reform veto and exercise democratic use of veto to ensure more effective and successful UN. Democratic use of veto among the permanent members show respect to others permanent, non-permanent members and general member of UN. If any draft resolution is presented for passing, it cannot be blocked without more than 3 permanent members veto in UNSC and recommendation among others organ of UN. If democratic way of veto is used for blocking resolution, UNSC can properly fulfill its primary responsibility that is known maintaining the international peace and security.

Conclusion

Major findings

Notion of the veto accepted from the League of Nations (LN). Under article 5(1) of LN stated that regardless of coming decision of any meeting or conference, all participants had to be agreed. Without unified agreed, the League of Nations could not make any decision. This covenant technically avoids the term of veto. As all participants have veto power in the LN. That is why; most important decisions could not be taken within the proper time. Once upon a time, most countries lost their expectations on the LN.^{lxxxiii} LN was disappeared because of some controversial issues.

In the end of World War Two(WW2), Allies of WW2 were USA, UK , Soviet Union and also more than 23 others countries. They fought together against the Axis Powers. Allies of WW2 won that battle. WW2 allies wanted to make a peaceful world as well as lead the world. UN

was formed on 24 October 1945 officially with taking original 51 members in San Francisco. In the first formal meeting of UN, Poland could not present but signed it immediately later. That is why, Poland is considered as 51 numbers original members of UN.^{lxxxiv}

The UN established with six organs. UNSC is a one of the powerful and executive organs in the UN. UNSC started 11 members and it enlarged within 15 members later as permanent and non-permanent members.

LN could not work properly due to all participants' veto power. Then UN did not give all participants veto power. This power is given to only 5 permanent members UNSC. Here also is not mention the veto just describes concurring vote of UNSC permanent members regarding substantive decision. The UN charter provides veto only 5 permanent members for more effectiveness than the LN. Now, all UNSC decisions either positive or negative depend on fully upon the permanent members. Still, the veto power of UNSC is so undemocratic and unpopular.

Most of the UNSC draft resolutions are not made actual resolutions for exercising permanent members veto. The veto of UNSC permanent members is not only used in the UNSC but also in the others organs of UN by the recommendation in UNGA. Exclusive veto of permanent members stops making the resolution which is related maintaining international peace and Security. Maintaining international peace and security is the main responsibility of UNSC. Exclusive veto is the only impediment to fulfill the UN and UNSC object.

The UN is the most important international institution which always tries to ensure equal power to all countries but veto power of UNSC permanent members is fully unequal of 5 members. It is an exclusive power of five and this power is given by the UN charter. According to UN charter recognition, veto power of permanent members not only affects SC but also in the other organs indirectly by the recommendation in UN. Veto directly blocks UNSC council draft resolution and indirectly involves blocking some important issues such new member admission, nomination of UN general secretary, suspend and expel from UN members as well as selecting the case for considering ICJ.^{lxxxv}

UNSC permanent members can block most UN decisions directly as well as indirectly. For more effectiveness of the UN, permanent members' exclusive veto status should change and

democratic use of veto of permanent member should introduce. Democratic use of veto of permanent members' means for blocking resolution of SC has to support more than three permanent members. UN charter has to be amended for exclusive veto turn democratic use of veto by amending articles 108 & 109 of UN charter.^{lxxxvi}

In practical, there are huge facts regarding new admission members of the UN that have been blocked by one permanent member. It is a big obstacle for peace loving countries and it is the opposite of the universal principle of the UN. Most of the veto has been given by either Russia or the USA due to protect their own country benefits. Most of the time, SC cannot adopt resolutions for condemnation or economic sanctions against a countries which are a friend states of SC permanent members due to veto. UN could not take action against those countries if countries violated the object of the UN.

UNSC permanent members have been exercising veto since establishing the SC. That is why; most of the UN members are against exclusive veto or veto of permanent members. UN members have been trying to reform the veto power for sharing this power with more countries since beginning the UN.

The first UNSC was reformed in 1965 by the support of UNSC permanent members. The numbers of non-permanent members were enhanced from six to ten but permanent members were unchanged. So, exclusive veto power of SC still have possessed under permanent members. Finally, this amendment did not satisfy most UN members.

When we discuss various reform proposals we can see that each and every reform proposal deals about increasing UNSC membership. The Razali Plan, Kofi Annan and G4 proposal suggested increasing the SC from fifty to twenty-four and The Uniting for Consensus Reform proposal was 40 countries involving reform proposals with increasing non-permanent. But all of reform proposals except the African Union were silent about veto power. The Razali Plan, Kofi Annan, and G4 proposals wanted to enhance the permanent members without veto and non-permanent members. Proposals did not execute due to some UN members, they said super power were not being changed. UFC was fully silent regarding permanent members and veto power. This proposal wanted to increase non-permanent up to 20 members. 5 permanent members remain unchanged with veto power.

African Union Proposal was proposed by African group. AU reform proposal always tried to focus African area countries. This proposal talked about new permanent members with respected veto power.

Suggestions

All reform proposals, which are mentioned in above, wanted to increase the members of UNSC. Some proposal recommended extending the UNSC permanent members without veto and non-permanent members whereas only African Union reform proposal talked permanent members with veto.

However, one reform proposal has been proposed for democratic use of veto among the permanent members by the manuscript writer. SC permanent members' exclusive veto turns into democratic use of veto. At least 3 permanent members must support if any draft resolution is wanted to block.

This permanent members' democratic use of veto makes SC more effective. In this way, any permanent members cannot block resolutions solely which are against their own country as well as a friendly country. As single permanent members cannot block resolutions, SC can adopt huge resolutions as well as take decision easily in SC and other organ the UN. UNSC can do maintaining the international peace and security that is the primary and ultimate responsibility of UNSC.

Each of UN organs works following the UN charter. This charter allows veto power only for UNSC permanent members. It needs an amendment for allowing democratic use of veto among the permanent members despite exclusive veto or veto of permanent members. The UN charter amendment is not easy because according to the UN charter article 108 & 109 state that all permanent members of UNSC have to give positive votes for amending UN charter. According to author reform proposal never talk about increasing SC members and sharing veto power with other countries. This reform proposal discusses democratic use of veto among permanent member for more effective of SC.

After discuses and read the each of reform proposals mentioned earlier, SC permanent members do not want to share the veto power with more countries. That is why, No proposal has been accepted by the SC as well as UNGA. However, It is high possible that permanent

members will be interested to accept the reform given by the author because the reform proposal does not suggest to enhance the SC member rather this reform proposal recommends the democratic use of veto among the permanent members for the benefits of the world community as well as fulfill the primary responsibility of SC effectively. UNSC should amend the UN charter for democratic use of veto among permanent members to ensure international peace and security which is the first and final responsibility of UNSC directly and UN indirectly.

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