

Running head: UN REFORM

United in Progress:

A Proposal to Reform United Nations' Organizational Structure

Zack A. Tucker

University of Arkansas at Monticello

Abstract

This paper will attempt to look at the current structure of the United Nation and formulate proposed reform to better solve the three issues currently facing the UN as an international political organization. International Relation theory will be used to formulate structural changes to UN. The purpose of the structural re-organization of the UN will be to attempt to limit the availability of a small elite group of member states to control the UN; to halt the advancement of globalism as a threat to member states; and to enable the effectiveness of the UN to prevent conflict and to delivery and protect humanitarian services, by ensure trust in the UN organization.

United in Progress: A Proposal to Reform United Nations' Organizational Structure

"Every day we are reminded of the need for a strengthened United Nations, as we face a growing array of new challenges, including humanitarian crises, human rights violations, armed conflicts and important health and environmental concerns. Seldom has the United Nations been called upon to do so much for so many. I am determined to breathe new life and inject renewed confidence into a strengthened United Nations firmly anchored in the twenty-first century, and which is effective, efficient, coherent and accountable."

UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon

INTRODUCTION

Ban Ki-moon, Secretary-General of the United Nations, delivered an arousing address before the UN General Assembly in April 2008. The purpose of this address was to call for a “common understanding that UN reform was needed.” Early that year, Ban released his outline for “reforming” the UN management system, strengthening humanitarian aid, and peace and security throughout the world. A re-organization of the communication chain is not what most thought Ban meant when he called for “major UN reform.” Although, the actions of Ban’s secretariat in the UN has changed the way sub-organs communicate, ensuring smoother delivery and understanding of UN services, still many institutional issues overshadow a mailing chart on most’s priorities. (Ban 2008)

Every since the UN’s formation in 1949, the legitimacy and practicality of a “global organization” has been at question. Ban has not been the first to ‘call for reform’ in the some sixty years of the UN’s institution. Seven of the eight Secretary-Generals have promised and

established some form of UN reform, but the same problems of the effectiveness of the UN still stand. (Ban 2008)

The issues with the UN are as diverse as the member states themselves, but three major institutional problems with the UN do arise. The first is the belief that the UN produces, and maintains, a small elite group of member states to control the UN and world politics. The second is a question of the goals of the UN, the advancement of globalism is a constant threat of member states' sovereignty. Finally, there is a question of the effectiveness of the UN to prevent conflict and to deliver and protect humanitarian services. These questions of the UN's integrity and functionality are great problems for the United Nations; they de-legitimize the organization. (Ban 2008)

Today the United Nations is not taken very seriously by the majority of the world. Miguel d'Escoto Brockmann, President of the 63rd session of the UN General Assembly, delivered in his final statements of the session in September 2009, an explanation of the attitude in the world.

“Certain Member States think that they can act according to the law of the jungle, and defend the right of the strongest to do whatever they feel like with total and absolute impunity, and remain accountable to no one. They think nothing of railing against multilateralism, proclaiming the virtues of unilateralism while simultaneously pontificating unashamedly from their privileged seats on the Security Council about the need for all Member States conscientiously to fulfill their obligations under the Charter, or be sanctioned (selectively of course) for failing to do so. The sovereign equality of all Member States and the obligation to prevent wars are, for them, minor details that need not be taken very seriously.”

In his speech before the UN General Assembly, Father d'Escoto talked of the two attitudes of the member states with the current function of the UN. Smaller member states have lost hope in the UN; they believe two or three stronger member states have control of the entire organization and their vote, their voice, is “worthless.” The larger member states, although their governments’ support the UN, their people do not. Citizens of most of the stronger member states are afraid participation in the UN will compromise their nation’s legitimacy and sovereignty. (d'Escoto 2009)

With both of these lines of thought in the majority of the international community, the effectiveness of the UN is compromised. A new question arises; if very little countries don’t have a negative idea about the UN, why does anyone participate in it. The organization operates on an average of \$10 billion a year, a big chunk of change to most member states, but all member states justify spending the cash. Never in the history of the UN, just like any nation, has the General Assembly spend less than the year before. The addition of spending, and participation as a whole, Erskine Childers of Hesburgh Centre for International Studies states, “the purpose and cause the UN is fully support by the world, it is the structure, and organs of the UN that are in question; not the UN.” (Childers 1983) This is very true, too many times do academics, or critics, discuss the removal of the UN because of their disapproval of its functions; a more focus on the functions of the UN should be made.

This paper will attempt to look at the current structure of the United Nation and formulate proposed reform to better solve the three issues currently facing the UN as an international political organization. International Relation theory will be used to formulate structural changes to UN. The purpose of the structural re-organization of the UN will be to attempt to limit the

availability of a small elite group of member states to control the UN; to halt the advancement of globalism as a threat to member states; and to enable the effectiveness of the UN to prevent conflict and to delivery and protect humanitarian services, by ensure trust in the UN organization.

Trias politica, a model for the governance used since the Roman Republic, and in more modern terms, Latin for separation of powers. Separation of powers, was a Greek invention of government popularized by the Romans, in order to check a single power in a governmental, or organizational, system from dominating. Typical under separation of powers the government is divided in to branches or estates (an executive, a legislature, and a judiciary), each estate being given as much equally authority as possible in the system. The European Union adopted an estates format when organizing the EU. There are five institutions of the European Union; the European Commission acts as an independent executive, the European Parliament is one half of the legislative branch, the Council of the EU, itself, acts both as the second half of the legislative branch and also holds some executive functions, the European Court of Justice acts as the independent judicial branch, and the European Court of Auditors, is an independent auditory authority. This system ensures that no single group can become dominate; across the playing field all member states will get opportunities to check the action of any other member states. (Fabrini 2005)

The UN functions under a similar system. The UN General Assembly acts like a legislative body, however, it has no actual authority to enact resolutions. The Security Council which is a legislative body acts also as an executive body; all resolution of the General Assembly must be approved by the Security Council; and the Security Council sets the agenda for the Secretariat. The Secretariat is the official administrator of the UN, but cannot act without

approval from the Security Council. There is also the Economic and Social Council which makes suggestions to the General Assembly and Security Council; and the the International Court of Justice which acts as the judiciary of the organization. One can see some problem with the current UN's use of separation of powers; out of the five organs of the UN, only the Security Council has actual authority. There seems to be a lack of balance of power throughout the organization.

Dividing the government into estates is not the only form of separation of powers; there is also federalism. Federalism exists when powers are divided between a central authority and constituent political units. The European Union has many of the characteristics of federalism. The European federalists campaigned in favor of a directly elected European Parliament (est. 1979), and were among the first to put a European Constitution on the agenda. Opponents of European federalists are both those in favor of a lesser role for the EU and those who wish for the EU to be ruled by the member states rather than with a directly elected parliament. (Knüpling 2009)

The UN lacks any form of federalism in its organizational structure. Federalism is one of the major components to ensure the maximum amount of participation, thus being more democratic. (Dahl 1983) By allowing more participation at different level, as the EU (people & member states have participation roles), the more legitimate the UN can become. Several movements have been created to push for more participation in the UN. The most involved is a currently ongoing, is a movement to form a UN Parliament.

The Campaign for the Establishment of a United Nations Parliamentary Assembly is a global network of more than 150 non-governmental organizations and 550 parliamentarians from around 120 countries devoted to establishing a UN Parliamentary Assembly. A directly elected

UN Parliament would allow, just as the EU does, the “people of the world” to have participation in the UN’s functions. The majority of the advocates against a UN Parliament, just as the EU, state a directly elected parliament would remove sovereignty and control of the organization from the member states’ governments. A directly elected parliament would remove some control of the member states’ governments, but it would be putting that authority in the hands of the people of those governments. As for the remove sovereignty, this is not so, the elected officials to the UN Parliament would act in the interest of the member states, as the currently appointed position in the UN act. (UNPAC 2009)

Now the simple establishment of a UN Parliamentary Assembly, will not be the salvation of the UN, still there are problems with the Security Council, and elitism within the UN structure. The establishment of more participation is needed.

A second layer of federalism can be added, in the form of regionalism. Regional influences have worked in Europe and South America, but the rest of the world seems to be lacking in this area. “Nations of the world must learn to cooperate and strategize in regional blocs, together a region can be stronger than any US or [Russia].” (Carr: 1978) By establishing regional influences in the world, the member states of each region can grow inward to produce a more effective world political system. The UN could be a forum to force states to work together more within their regional neighborhoods. The creation of a UN Provincial Senate could be very beneficial to the UN and world politics.

Currently the UN structure includes a form of regional blocing, but is very ineffective. The UN has five groups: African States, Asian States, Eastern European States, Latin American & Caribbean States, and Western European & Other States. These groups only come into play when appointing members of the Economic and Social Council (certain groups get a specific

number of seats on the Council) and an unofficial rotation of electing the President of the General Assembly. These groups are based on cultural and political association; basically nation already working together. There is now outside UN benefit of this groups system.

Regional groups should be based on continental divides. This would allow regional blocs to work on resources, trade, and services within their regional groups; and become stronger as a region, then being more successful to work at a world stage. The world should be divided into seven World Provinces: the North American World Province, the South American World Province, the Western European World Province, the Eastern European World Province, the Southern Asia World Province, the African World Province, and the Oceania World Province.

A question of member state sovereignty is made again when discussing regional organizations like the EU; and the same justification can be applied. The proposal of the World Province system, just like the UN itself, is not to replace the nation with a regional government, but to allow the member states to have more a participation in the process, therefore it is not removing a nation's sovereignty by enhancing it, within world politics.

Increase participation in the UN, has potential to solve several problems within the organization; including the availability of a small elite group of member states to control the UN; the advancement of globalism as a threat to member states; and the effectiveness of the UN to prevent conflict and to delivery and protect humanitarian services, by ensure trust in the UN organization.

EU FEDERALISM ON STEROIDS

Federalism is inherently unstable, and most federations fail (Lemco 1991). Federalism can be defined as an institutional arrangement in which (a) public authority is divided between

state governments and a central government, (b) each level of government has some issues on which it makes final decisions, and (c) a high federal court adjudicates disputes concerning federalism (Kelemen 2003). In some sense every federal system is a house divided. Each level of government may have powerful incentives to undermine the federal system, and as a result, all federal systems (the EU included) face ‘two fundamental dilemmas’ (De Figueiredo and Weingast 2005). The first is federal overreach federal governments may undermine federalism by aggrandizing their authority and gaining more competences that the federal bargain had reserved for states. Taken to the extreme, this could transform a federal system into a de facto unitary system, in which state governments are mere administrative appendages.

The second dilemma is state shirking. Constituent states may shirk on their commitments by refusing to comply with federal law, failing to contribute required resources (i.e. taxes) to the center or infringing the rights of neighboring states. Taken to the extreme, such behavior could lead to the breakdown of the system, with state governments splitting apart to form entirely separate polities. Unfortunately, institutions that help to resolve one of the dilemmas of federalism often exacerbate the other.

One might attempt to wish away these dilemmas by simply including detailed ‘competence catalogues’ in federal constitutions and mandating norms of ‘federal comity.’ But sadly, constitutions do not enforce themselves, and ultimately the institutional arrangements that underpin federalism must provide state and federal political actors with incentives to abide by the rules of the federation.

In practice there is a continuous “ebb and flow” of authority between states and the center authority (De Figueiredo and Weingast 2005). The danger is that these ebbs and flows may quickly turn into torrents and healthy tensions may grow into conflict. To be durable, a

federation must provide for a rigid enough division of authority to prevent one level of government from gaining more of the authority of the others, while remaining flexible enough to allow for shifts in the division of authority in response to economic and political developments (De Figueiredo and Weingast 2005).

As James Madison recognized in the Federalist Papers, participation of state governments in federal policymaking can provide an important structural safeguard against federal overreach (Kelemen 2003). Giving representatives of state interests a voice in the federal legislative process puts them in a position to defend their prerogatives against “self-aggrandizing federal authorities.” The most powerful means by which to safeguard state interests structurally is to represent state governments in a powerful upper legislative house. Other structural safeguards may involve giving states a role in the appointment of federal officials, such as federal judges or bureaucrats, or simply over representing small states in the lower legislative house.

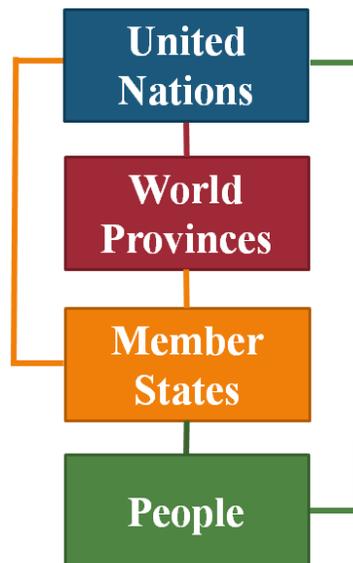
The EU has extremely powerful structural safeguards. Member states’ governments are directly represented in the EU’s ‘upper house, the Council of EU. Member states’ governments appoint the European Commission President and the College of Commissioners. Member states’ governments also appoint European Court of Justice. Finally, member states’ governments both monitor the implementation of EU policies by the Commission and control the implementation of most policies at the state level. These powerful structural safeguards for state interests make fears of a European “superstate” utterly implausible. However, the structural safeguards that limit federal overreach offer little protection against state shirking. (Kelemen 2003).

The same safeguards used in the EU can flow over to be used in the United Nations. In the UN member states’ governments directly appoint members of the General Assembly (proposed to be the UN upper house). Member states’ governments will also appoint member to

the Provincial Senate (one of the UN lower houses). Member states' governments appoint their members to elected Security Council positions Member states' governments will also have right to withdraw from the organization as a safeguard against the UN.

The federalist layers of the proposed UN structure will similar of the EU's, just on steroids. At the basic level the "people of the world" will be allowed to directly elect members of an UN Parliamentary Assembly. The member states' governments will continue to be allowed to appoint a member to the UN General Assembly and, if elected, members to the Secerity and Social and Economic Councils. Member states' governments will also be allowed to appoint, if elected, members to the UN Provincial Senate. Then, of course, the UN bureaucracy carries out the day to day functions and will of the United Nations.

PROPOSED NEW UNITED NATIONS STRUCTURE'S USE OF FEDERALISM



BALANCE OF POWER THROUGH A MULTI-POLAR WORLD

In the game of world politics, one finds a constant struggle between one or two players to gain super power of the others. The actions of a nation, or group of nations, protecting itself against another nation, or group of nations, by matching its power against the power of the other side, is referred to by Morton Kaplan as the struggle for a balance of power. States can pursue a policy of balance of power in two ways: by increasing their own power, as when engaging in an armaments race or in the competitive acquisition of territory; or by adding to their own power that of other states, as when embarking upon a policy of alliances.

The balance of power from the early 20th century onward underwent drastic changes that for all practical purposes destroyed the European power structure as it had existed since the end of the Middle Ages. Prior to the 20th century, the political world was composed of a number of separate and independent balance-of-power systems, such as the European, the American, the Chinese, and the Indian. (Kaplan 1957)

But World War I and its attendant political alignments triggered a process that eventually culminated in the integration of most of the world's nations into a single balance-of-power system. This integration began with the World War I alliance of Britain, France, Russia, and the United States against Germany and Austria-Hungary. The integration continued in World War II, during which the fascist nations of Germany, Japan, and Italy were opposed by a global alliance of the Soviet Union, the United States, Britain, and China.

World War II ended with the major weights in the balance of power having shifted from the traditional players in western and central Europe to just two non-European ones: the United States and the Soviet Union. The result was a bipolar balance of power across the northern half of the globe that pitted the free-market democracies of the West against the communist one-party

states of Eastern Europe. More specifically, the nations of Western Europe sided with the United States in the NATO military alliance, while the Soviet Union's satellite-allies in central and eastern Europe became unified under Soviet leadership in the Warsaw Pact.

Because the balance of power was now bipolar and because of the great disparity of power between the two superpowers and all other nations, the European countries lost that freedom of movement that previously had made for a flexible system. Instead of a series of shifting and basically unpredictable alliances with and against each other, the nations of Europe now clustered around the two superpowers and tended to transform themselves into two stable blocs. (Papayoanou 1996)

In the late 20th century, some Third World nations resisted the advances of the superpowers and maintained a nonaligned stance in international politics. The breakaway of China from Soviet influence and its cultivation of a nonaligned but covertly anti-Soviet stance lent a further complexity to the bipolar balance of power.

The most important shift in the balance of power began in 1989–90, however, when the Soviet Union lost control over its eastern European satellites and allowed noncommunist governments to come to power in those countries. The breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991 made the concept of a European balance of power temporarily irrelevant, since the government of newly sovereign Russia initially embraced the political and economic forms favored by the United States and Western Europe. Both Russia and the United States retained their nuclear arsenals, however, so the balance of nuclear threat between them remained potentially in force. (Papayoanou 1996)

These recent shifts from a bipolar world system to a new multipolar system, allows many to compare the two. In a bipolar system, states are limited in the choices of alliances. Many states

did not agree with the foreign policies tactics of the US during the Cold War, but, since they agreed less with the USSR's policies, they sided with the US. In a bipolar world, non superpower states, the rest of the world, has to put all person identity aside and align with one of the two superpowers. This system limits the participation a state has in world politics and discourages it from attempting to participate.

However, a multipolar system allows more choices for a state to participate. First of all, a multipolar world has more superpowers, allowing more states to participate as a influence in the world leading smaller states. Secondly, smaller states have more of an opinion to which superpower they wish to align. Thirdly, the smaller will have s better chance at influencing the superpower in it policies and action. All three of the benefits allow the state to be more engaged in world politics. (Papayoanou 1996)

Creating regional bloc of nation, through the UN, are ways of insuring the existence of a multipolar system. The proposed model creates a UN Provincial Senate, in which is based on the creation of seven World Provinces, bases on continental divide. The use of World Provinces as a means of representation, allows for member states to participate at extra regional level. Since the UN will have a main organ of the organization, using these regional bloc, member states will be forces to work together. It is most certain that a single member state will rise up in each regional bloc, and act a power for the bloc; this is not a bad thing. By the creation of several powers in regional sphere operating closely with regional states, the birth of a secure multipolar playing field will be born.

REFORMING THE UNITED NATION

Every since the UN's formation in 1949, the legitimacy and practically of a "global organization" has been at question. Ban has not been the first to 'call for reform' in the some sixty years of the UN's institution. Seven of the eight Secretary-Generals have promised and established some form of UN reform, but the same problems of the effectiveness of the UN still stand.

The issues with the UN are as diverse as the member states themselves, but three major institutional problems with the UN do arise. The first is the belief that the UN produces, and maintains, a small elite group of member states to control the UN and world politics. The second is a question of the goals of the UN, the advancement of globalism is a constant threat of member states' sovereignty. Finally, there is a question of the effectiveness of the UN to prevent conflict and to deliver and protect humanitarian services. These questions of the UN's integrity and functionality are great problems for the United Nations; they de-legitimatize the organization.

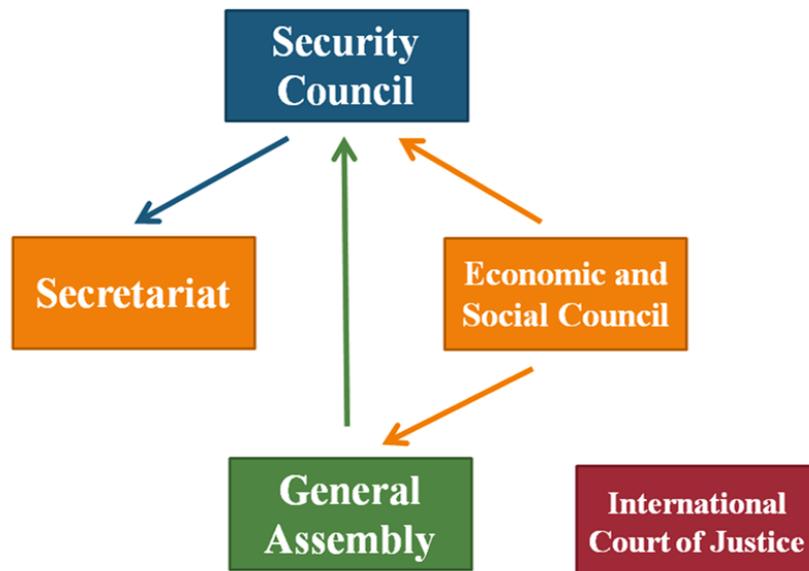
This paper attempts to propose a new structure for the UN, in which would correct the three established problems with the UN currently. As this paper has mention above, today's UN act similar to several federalism, but with some major counterproductive aspects.

Within the current UN structure the UN General Assembly acts like a legislative body, however, it has no actual authority to enact resolutions. The Security Council which is a legislative body acts also as an executive body; all resolution of the General Assembly must be approved by the Security Council; and the Security Council sets the agenda for the Secretariat. The Secretariat is the official administrator of the UN, but cannot act without approval from the Security Council. There is also the Economic and Social Council which makes suggestions to the

General Assembly and Security Council; and the the International Court of Justice which acts as the judiciary of the organization. One can see some problem with the current UN's use of separation of powers; out of the five organs of the UN, only the Security Council has actual authority. There seems to be a lack of balance of power throughout the organization.

CURRENT STRUCTURE OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Simplified Diagram



Economic and Social Council

The new structure proposed by this paper, starts by correcting this flaw in organizational power. In the new structure the Economic and Social Council is given more authority within the UN. In the UN Charter, the role of the Economic and Social Council is “make or initiate studies and reports, discussion, and maintenance of international economic, social, cultural, educational, health, and related matters.” The Security Council, role was original very similar to the

Economic and Social Council; only the discussion and maintenance of international peace and security. Only later in UN Charter is it laid out that "the Members of the United Nations agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council in accordance with the present Charter." This clause gives the Security Council power that was never delegated to the Economic and Social Council, the authority of make decisions on behalf of the UN organization; leaving the Economic and Social Council simply as a suggestion and research body and with no power.

The Economic and Social Council, as mentioned above, consists of 54 member states, elected in references to regional member grouping. The current five (5) regional member groups are African States, Asian States, Eastern European States, Latin American & Caribbean States, and Western European & Other States. Now, with the changes in UN use of the proposed World Province system (which has seven (7) groups), there is some need to change the structure of the Economic and Social Council.

The new proposal simply uses direct ratio-ing to determine Council size and representation. The current system has a total of 54 members for 5 regional groups; the new proposal uses 7 groups for a total of 75 members. Under the current system representative seats are divided with 14 allocated to African States, 11 to Asian States, 6 to Eastern European States, 10 to Latin American and Caribbean States, and 13 to Western European and other States. Using the same direct ratio-ing method, the new proposed system allocates 19 seats to the African World Province, 11 seats to the Southern Asia World Province, 10 seats to the Eastern European World Province, 11 seats to the Western European World Province, 8 seats to the South American World Province, 9 seats to the North American World Province, and 7 seats to the Oceania World Province; again with a total of 75 member seats.

The final change to the Economic and Social Council, relates to the original flaw of the council; it has no power. The new proposal changes this, allowing the Economic and Social Council the same authority as the Security Council, only in its respective focuses. The Economic and Social Council, just as the Security Council, will be allowed to make decisions on behalf of the UN organization and set the agenda of the Secretariat in the areas of “international economic, social, cultural, educational, health, and related matters.” This structural change allows more voices to have input in major decision of the UN’s soft power interests; the delivery and protection of humanitarian services.

UN Parliamentary Assembly

Earlier the paper discusses how the use of federalism is best means to fixing several of the established structural flaws of the UN. The UN lacks any form of federalism in its current organizational structure. Federalism is one of the major components to ensure the maximum amount of participation, thus being more democratic. (Dahl: 1983) By allowing more participation at different level, as the EU (people & member states have participation roles), the more legitimate the UN can become. Several movements have been created to push for more participation in the UN. The most involved is a currently ongoing, is a movement to form a UN Parliament.

The Campaign for the Establishment of a United Nations Parliamentary Assembly is a global network of more than 150 non-governmental organizations and 550 parliamentarians from around 120 countries devoted to establishing a UN Parliamentary Assembly. A directly elected UN Parliament would allow, just as the EU does, the “people of the world” to have participation in the UN’s functions. The majority of the advocates against a UN Parliament, just as the EU,

state a directly elected parliament would remove sovereignty and control of the organization from the member states' governments. A directly elected parliament would remove some control of the member states' governments, but it would be putting that authority in the hands of the people of those governments. As for the remove sovereignty, this is not so, the elected officials to the UN Parliament would act in the interest of the member states, as the currently appointed position in the UN act.

This proposal suggests using directly elected members of a UN Parliamentary Assembly, using the Penrose Method of allocating seats or votes this body. Developed by Lionel Penrose, the method is based from taking square root of the population of the representative's district or state. According to INFUSA, "The square-root method is more than a pragmatic compromise between the extreme methods of world representation unrelated to population size and allocation of national quotas in direct proportion to population size; Penrose showed that in terms of statistical theory the square-root method gives to each voter in the world an equal influence on decision-making in a world assembly." Under the Penrose method, the 14 most populous nations get fewer seats than they would under a "one man, one vote;" the other nations get more seats. (UNFUSA 2009)

Penrose is a great mathematical formula for the word compromise. In one man, one vote, seats allocation if base solely on a nation's population. This leaves a small percent of member states will a huge allocation of votes. Under one man, one vote: China would have 20.30% of the seats, India with 16.78% of seats, and the United States with 7.62% of the seats; smaller states like Australia with 0.31% of the seats, the Netherlands with 0.25% of the seats, and Greece with 0.17% of seats. With the Penrose method: China would have 5.01% of the seats, India with 4.56% of seats, and the United States with 2.39% of the seats; smaller states like Australia with

0.62% of the seats, the Netherlands with 0.56% of the seats, and Greece with 0.45% of seats. (UNFUSA 2009)

Using the Penrose methods attempts to ensure elitism in the Parliamentary Assembly does not arise. This proposal extended the effort by allocating at least one seat in the Parliamentary Assembly to each member state. The proposed Parliamentary Assembly will include a total of 738 seats, with equal representation per population.

The organizational purpose (authority) of the UN Parliamentary Assembly will be to act as a lower house to the General Assembly. Just as in many multi-cameral legislative bodies around the world, the Parliamentary Assembly will be an origin of UN initiative and policy. Parliamentary Assembly will make recommendation to the UN General Assembly who will then, upon approval, make a recommendation to the Security Council or Economic and Social Council (depending of the recommendation's content) to be acted on by the UN organization.

UN Provincial Senate

Now the simple establishment of a UN Parliamentary Assembly will not be the salvation of the UN, still there are problems with the Security Council, and elitism within the UN structure. The establishment of more participation is needed.

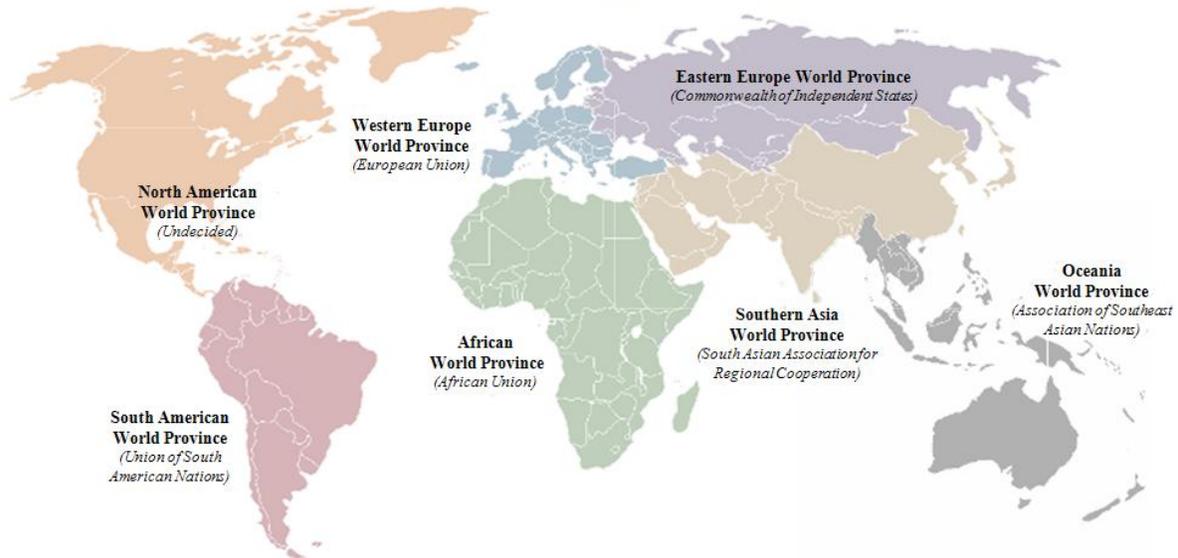
A second layer of federalism can be added, in the form of regionalism. Regional influences have worked in Europe and South America, but the rest of the world seems to be lacking in this area. "Nations of the world must learn to cooperate and strategize in regional blocs, together a region can be stronger than any US or [Russia]." (Carr: 1978) By establishing regional influences in the world, the member states of each region can grow inward to produce a more effective world political system. The UN could be a forum to force states to work together

more within their regional neighborhoods. The creation of a UN Provincial Senate could be very beneficial to the UN and world politics.

Currently the UN structure includes a form of regional blocing, but is very ineffective. The UN has five groups: African States, Asian States, Eastern European States, Latin American & Caribbean States, and Western European & Other States. These groups only come into play when appointing members of the Economic and Social Council (certain groups get a specific number of seats on the Council) and an unofficial rotation of electing the President of the General Assembly. These groups are based on cultural and political association; basically nation already working together. There is now outside UN benefit of this groups system.

Regional groups should be based on continental divides. This would allow regional blocs to work on resources, trade, and services within their regional groups; and become stronger as a region, then being more successful to work at a world stage. The world should be divided into seven World Provinces: the North American World Province, the South American World Province, the Western European World Province, the Eastern European World Province, the Southern Asia World Province, the African World Province, and the Oceania World Province.

UNITED NATIONS WORLD PROVINCES (and Observed Representative Intergovernmental Organizations)



The UN Provincial Senate will, just as the Parliamentary Assembly does, act as a lower house to General Assembly. Provincial Senate will make recommendation to the UN General Assembly who will then, upon approval, make a recommendation to the Security Council or Economic and Social Council (depending of the recommendation's content) to be acted on by the UN organization. Unlike the Parliamentary Assembly, the Provincial Senate will not be based on population nor be directly elected by the member states' citizens. However, the seats of the Provincial Senate will be filled by member states elected by their region; similar how seats are elected on the Economic and Social Council.

In this proposal, the UN will official recognizes seven regional intergovernmental organizations to represent each World Province. The intergovernmental organizations will elected the member states to fill the fifteen Provincial Senate seats each World Province is allocated. Suggestions are also made in the proposal for intergovernmental organizations to represent each World Province.

The most obvious, and easiest selection was for the Western European World Province – the European Union. Certain justifications were made to selecting the EU over the Council of Europe. The main reason stand in the two factors, outside regional membership, and works toward regional identify. In the Council of Europe member states such as Russia, Canada and the United States, counteract the purpose of region representation. Members of other regional should not have a vote in the selection of other regions delegates.

The same factors played in the section of the all of the intergovernmental organizations. For the Eastern European World Province a suggestion of the Commonwealth of Independent States is made; since they have the same membership. For the African World Province, the African Union, of course; for the South American World Province, Union of South American Nations; for the Southern Asia World Province, the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation; for the Oceania World Province, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations. No suggestion is made for the North American World Province. The only strong intergovernmental within North America is NAFTA, which only includes three of the thirty-seven members states and does not act in equal role as the other North intergovernmental organizations do.

UN Security Council

The final major change to the structure of the UN organization is to the currently most import organ of the organization itself. Currently the Security Council is the only body in which has authority of make decisions, actions, and agendas on behalf of the organization. This changes with the above mention structural change of the Economic and Social Council. But it should be made mentioned that no authority, or power, is being proposed to be taken away from the

Security Council; the areas of security and peace, just as before, the Security Council will continue to make decisions, actions, and agendas on behalf of the UN.

One the three major established problems with the current structure of the UN, pertains to the organization's alleged production of elite groups of member states that control the UN and world politics. As mentioned above, this main evolves from the establish one permanent seats in the Security Council. Five member states (the US, UK, France, China, and Russia) have permanent status in the Security Council. Now the function of the permanent seats, is beneficial of the organization. Currently there are fifteen member of the Security Council, in order for a resolution of pass is must receive nine votes, including all permanent members. The privilege and function of the permanent seats are that all must agree on the action to be approved. The actions of the Councils are legally binding within the organization; permanent seats are a safeguard to insure frivolous resolutions are not passed. Although the permanent member privileges have been accused of blocking reform or needed action, the benefits of the safeguard outweigh the harms.

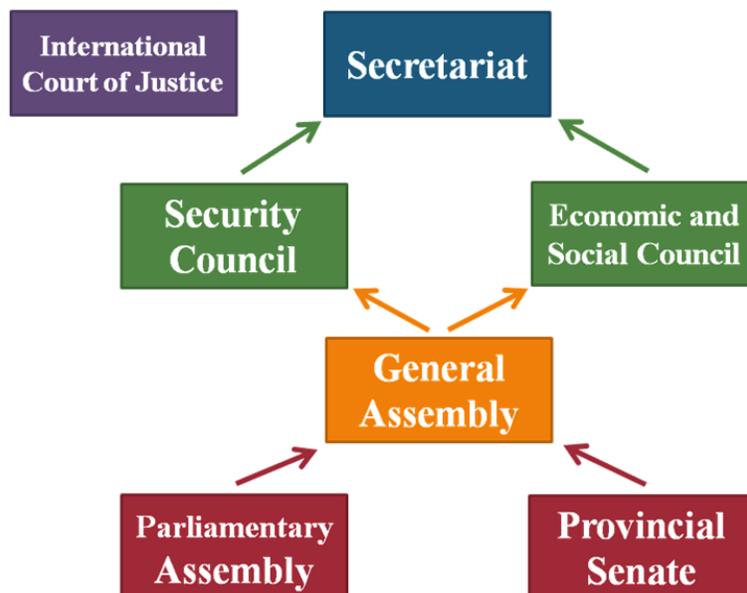
Structural changes to Security Council can be made to better ensure abuse of power, and the establishment of regions and World Province take foot hold within the UN. The proposal suggests the creation to two more permanent seats, however, none the permanent seats of the Security Council will be promised to individual member states, but World Provinces. In the proposed structural change each World Province will have a permanent seat on the Security Council, with all the privileges and functions of the current permanent seats.

The seats will be filled by a member states elected by their respective World Province delegation (excluding the World Province's Economic and Social Council delegates). Example; the North American World Province seat will filled by a member states elected by its World

Province delegation from the General Assembly, Parliamentary Assembly, and World Provincial Senate. The North American World Province has 37 member states, therefore, it has 37 members in the General Assembly; it has 15 members in the World Provincial Senate, as does all World Provinces; and the 37 member states have a total of 71 seats in the Parliamentary Assembly. These 173 delegates from the North American World Province would elect one member state to set on the Security Council for a three year term, representing the World Province as a whole.

PROPOSED NEW STRUCTURE OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Simplified Diagram



CONCLUSION

This paper began with a quote from Ban Ki-moon, Secretary-General of the UN, UN calling for reform. From Ban speech we can establish three major problems with the UN current

structure. These issues with the UN are as diverse as the member states themselves, but three major institutional problems with the UN do arise. The first is the belief that the UN produces, and maintains, a small elite group of member states to control the UN and world politics. The second is a question of the goals of the UN, the advancement of globalism is a constant threat of member states' sovereignty. Finally, there is a question of the effectiveness of the UN to prevent conflict and to deliver and protect humanitarian services. These questions of the UN's integrity and functionality are great problems for the United Nations; they de-legitimize the organization.

However, when Ban released his outline for "reforming" the UN management system, strengthening humanitarian aid, and peace and security throughout the world. A re-organization of the communication chain is not what most thought Ban meant when he called for "major UN reform." Although, the actions of Ban's secretariat in the UN has changed the way sub-organs communicate, ensuring smoother delivery and understanding of UN services, still many institutional issues overshadow a mailing chart on most's priorities.

Real steps toward reforming the UN organization's functions is needed. This paper attempted to look at the current structure of the United Nation and formulate proposed reform to better solve the three issues currently facing the UN as an international political organization. International Relations theory was used to formulate structural changes to UN; theories on balance of power, multi-polarism, regional spheres of influences, federalism, and participation were used.

After questions of the use of federalism as a means to enhance member state participation and balance power within the organization, the paper looked at means of establishing a securing a multi-polar world. Both of these goals were achieved with the creation of a two tiered, three

part legislative system within the UN. The use people, states, regions, and world stages as federalist format, allowed the creation of a UN Parliamentary Assembly and a UN Provincial Senate.

In the proposed structure, all initiatives of the UN originate in one to the two lower house of the UN legislative system. After approval by one of Parliamentary Assembly or Provincial Senate, the initiative is made as recommendations to the General Assembly, which will act as the upper house of the UN legislative system.

The next major change is in the establishment of a two tiered, three part executive system. After approval of the General Assembly, the initiative is sent to either the Security Council or economic and Social Council, depending of the content of the initiative. Both Councils have authority to make decisions on behalf of the UN organization. Once approve by either Council, it will be sent the Secretariat to “carryout the will of the UN organization.”

Internal structure change to the organs of the UN, help secure the establishment of regional influences, and more fair multi-polar world. The structures of both Councils are proposed to allow the role of World Provinces and increase participation from member state.

Structural changes to Security Council can be made to better ensure abuse of power, and the establishment of regions and World Province take foot hold within the UN. The proposal suggests the creation to two more permanent seats, however, none the permanent seats of the Security Council will be promised to individual member states, but World Provinces. In the proposed structural change each World Province will have a permanent seat on the Security Council, with all the privileges and functions of the current permanent seats.

The Economic and Social Council, as mentioned above, consists of 54 member states, elected in references to regional member grouping. The current five (5) regional member groups

are African States, Asian States, Eastern European States, Latin American & Caribbean States, and Western European & Other States. Now, with the changes in UN use of the proposed World Province system (which has seven (7) groups), there is some need to change the structure of the Economic and Social Council. This includes increase the number of member to the Economic and Social Council from 54 to 75.

These proposed structural changes establish three major problems with the UN current structure. Although, no one has crystal ball, and promising the successfulness of the proposal changes is not possible. But the background, and theatrical support, of the proposal is sound in several International Relations theory; theories on balance of power, multi-polarism, regional spheres of influences, federalism, and participation were used. The use of actual International Relations theory, to construct the proposal better legitimates the UN structure and is process.

Returning back, a final time, to Secretary-General Ban's speech on UN reform, one can see that clear complete reform is needed. The past reform has been made, only nothing that fixes the established three problems with origination. The proposal answers just that need, proposing major structure reform to attempt to correct those problems. By enhancing member states' participation and the use of regional influences, these proposal attempts to increase the UN's integrity and functionality problems for the United Nations; it focuses on re-legitimizing the United Nations.

- Dahl, Robert A. (1983). *Federalism and the Democratic Process*. in J. R. Pennock and J. W. Chapman, eds., *NOMOS XXV: Liberal Democracy*. 95-108. New York: New York University Press.
- Childers, Erskine. (1994). *Symposium on The United Nations at Fifty: Creating a More Democratic and Effective UN*. Hesburgh Centre for International Studies University of Notre Dame Conference December 2, 1994
<http://globalpolicy.org/component/content/article/228/32395.html> (accessed 12/10/09)
- Kelemen, Daniel (2007). *Built to Last? The Durability of EU Federalism*. Network of European Union Centers of Excellence Conference. January 23, 2007
- Fabrini, Sergio (2005) *Democracy and Federalism in the European Union and the United States: Exploring Post-national Governance* Foreign Affairs. ed. Hoffmann, Stanley .
- Knüpling, Felix (2009). *Federalism and Multi-Level Governance: Comparing The EU With Other Federal States*.
- Ban, Kimoon (2008). *Reform Under Ban Ki-moon: A Stronger United Nations for a Better World*. United Nations General Assembly Records.
<http://www.un.org/reform/> (accessed 12/10/09)
- d'Escoto, Miguel (Brockmann). (2009). *Closing statement by the President before the General UN Assembly*. United Nations General Assembly Records.
<http://www.un.org/ga/president/63/presskit/president.shtml> (accessed 12/10/09)
- Dahl, Robert (1983). *Dilemmas of pluralist democracy: autonomy vs. control*. Yale University.
- Carr, E.H. (1973). *What Is History?* Palgrave Macmillan Limited. New York.
- Lemco, Jonathan (1991). *Political Stability in Federal Governments*. Praeger Pub Text. New York.

DeFigueiredo Rui & Weingast, Barry. (2005) *Self-enforcing federalism: solving the two fundamental dilemmas*. Volume 1 of Working paper. Center for German and European Studies, University of California.

Kaplan, Morton (1957). *System and Process in International Politics* University of Chicago Press. New York.

Papayoanou, Paul (1996) *Interdependence, Institutions, and the Balance of Power: Britain, Germany, and World War I*. *International Security*, Vol. 20, no. 4 Spring 1996.

UNPAC (2009). *Appeal for the establishment of a Parliamentary Assembly at the United Nations*. Campaign for the Establishment of a United Nations Parliamentary Assembly. <http://en.unpacampaign.org/appeal/> (accessed 12/10/09)

UNFUSA (2009) *Appeal to the United Nations General Assembly to Consider the Proposal for a UN Second Assembly*. International Network for a United Nations Second Assembly. <http://www.earthrights.net/archives/gpa/uns.html> (accessed 12/10/09)