

Whither The Moral Approach To United Nations Security Council Reforms – Revisiting Africa’s Position

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ABSTRACT: The article focuses on the moral rightness of Africa's position in relation to the UNSC reform. Africa has its own UNSC reform agenda adopted (Ezulwin consensus) in 2005, which seeks to give Africa two permanent seats and five non-permanent seats. This study explores debates like, does Africa have a moral duty to call for reform and does the moral act to reform likely to lead to good consequences. The paper discusses challenges to Africa's proposal and offers scholarly policy advice on how the reform process should be handled. The research found out that there are challenges despite Africa having a moral obligation to call for reform.

KEYWORDS: Moral, Security Council, Reforms, United Nations, Africa, Ethics

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I. INTRODUCTION

International politics has been seen as an amoral power game based exclusively on force. This paper seeks to defend the moral rightness of the Africa country’s call of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) reform. Four issues will be discussed, the Ezulwini Consensus of 2005, the ethical considerations of the proposal of Africa’s proposal for UNSC reform, the rightness of Africa’s call for reform, challenges to reform the UNSC and the need for Africa to reform and strengthen the African Union (AU) and its Regional Economic Communities (RECs). Lastly, the study shall offer scholarly and policy advice on the UNSC reform and AU reform.

II. OVERVIEW OF THE UNSC

The UNSC was established after World War Two in 1945 to address the failure of the League of Nations. It is one of the six principal organs of the United Nations (UN). UNSC is there to promote global peace and security, accepting new members of the United Nations (UN) and approving any changes to its Charter, peacekeeping operations, imposing international sanctions, authorizing military action through resolutions, and authorizing binding resolutions to member states. In Africa, the UNSC is documented to have authorized peacekeeping missions in Namibia, Rwanda, Sudan, Somalia and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) to mention just a few.

The UNSC consists of 5 permanent member states and 10 non-permanent members. The five members can veto any substantive resolution, including those on the admission of the member states or nominees for the office of Secretary-General. The 10 non-permanent are elected on a regional basis to serve a term of two years, the body presiding rotates monthly amongst its members. The UNSC has failed to dodge criticism because of its shortcomings. As such the African Union has drafted a proposal to call for UNSC reform which they are pushing. The African Proposal is called the Ezulwini Consensus of 2005. This paper is premised on the idea that what the African states are pushing is morally justified.

AFRICA’S CALL FOR REFORM (AFRICA’S PROPOSAL)

The reform coalition consists of the African group steered by the Committee of Ten (C-10), and operating under the Ezulwini Consensus of 2005, as displayed in General Assembly draft resolution A/59/L.67. The Ezulwini Consensus (2005) Swaziland (Eswatini) was adopted the same year at Sirte in Libya and an extraordinary session of the Executive Council of the AU in Ethiopia. The C10 is strategic to crack the hell gate of the UNSC reform process. Freiesleben (2008) noted that “it calls for an extended assembly of 26 members, with 6 new permanent veto-wielding seats and 5 new non-permanent seats, with the African States contained within among both the permanent with veto rights (two seats) and the non-permanent members (two seats)”. The numerical imbalance in the current UNSC setup is a disregard for the moral principle of fairness. Africa’s

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proposal is a continental initiative that is morally sound and should be applauded and supported. This study supports the view that a reform UNSC which is accommodative to other member states' ideas will be the green card to a peaceful universe.

The underrepresentation of Africa is visible to all, it contributes 54 countries to the UN. As Touray (2009) pointed out that, Africa is the only continent that is without a permanent seat in the UNSC, for this reason, Gowan and Gordon (2014) assumes that Africa is the heavyweight in the UNSC reform confab. The non-representation of the African continent is good reason enough to urge that Africa has a moral right to call for UNSC, an organization all the AU members are a part of.

Ezulwini arrangement demands to:

“Enlarge the Security Council in both the permanent and non-permanent categories and improve on its working methods; (b) Accord the new permanent members the same prerogatives and privileges as those of the current permanent members, including the right of veto; (c) Grant Africa two permanent and five non-permanent seats in the Security Council and increase its membership from fifteen to twenty-six with the eleven additional seats to be distributed as follows: (i) Two permanent seats and two non-permanent seats for the African States; (ii) Two permanent seats and one non-permanent seat for the Asian States; (iii) One non-permanent seat for Eastern European States (iv) One permanent seat and one non-permanent seat for Latin American and the Caribbean States; (v) One permanent seat for Western European and other States” (A/59/L.67, 18 July 2005).

It is crucial to point out that the Ezulwini Consensus' persistence on the veto is arguably the single most important obstacle to overcome to reform the UNSC. A different obstacle to overcome for the AU is the decision of which African countries ought to occupy the two permanent seats that the AU demands. This study's main hypothesis is that Africa is morally right to propose for the UNSC reform. The paper does not deny that the national interests of African countries are a factor in this debate and reform process however Africa as an equal partner in the UN, its proposal should be on ethical considerations which will then help them to defend and promote African interests in a reform UNSC.

UNDERSTANDING THE MORAL CONCEPTUALIZATION TO AFRICAN'S CALL FOR UNSC REFORM.

Long and Sedly (1987) define morality as the differentiation of intentions, decisions, and actions between those that are distinguished as proper and those that are improper. This understands morality as a body of principles that defines the rightness or wrongness of any action. Koggel (2006) noted that “Kant defines moral action as that which human beings have a duty to perform irrespective of particular motives, desires, and inclinations. Kant provides several formulations of the categorical imperative, the first and most well-known of which is, act only on that rule that you would be willing to make into a universal law for everyone to follow”. As Koggel (2006) noted morally right action is that which results in the greatest amount of happiness for the greatest number of people. This research is in support with the view that a morally right action is determined by calculating the amount of happiness and unhappiness in terms of quality rather than mere quantity and the lives of each person affected by the action. As such, if successful a call for reform from African countries will result in the pleasure of all of them. Consequently, Africa's plea is morally right.

The Ubuntu philosophy and the African ethics principle of Communalism advise us to consider morals not personal interests when making decisions. If Africa's call is based on the interest of the continent in particular and the global village in general then it is morally right to call for UNSC reform. Kwamwangamalu, (1999) assumes that “Ubuntu could be described as a community-based mindset in which the welfare of the group is greater than the welfare of a single individual in the group”. Van Binsbergen (2001) argues that “Ubuntu recognizes four attributes of being human, these are human dignity, equality, universal brotherhood, and sacredness of life, and these provide the most desirable state of life in community-based living”. Broodryk (2002) noted that the communal African worldview (Ubuntu) contrasts with the more individualistic and self-centered one of Western culture. Communalism at the core of Ubuntu implies that the interests of the individual are subordinate to that of the group. The community will focus on the interests of each member and those activities and behaviors that will ensure the good of the group. Mokgoro (1997) believes that “Ubuntu is collective solidarity, meaning that individuals will align their interests, activities, and loyalties to the group's cause and well-being”. Tutu (2004) lamented that “Ubuntu speaks about wholeness and compassion, a person with Ubuntu is someone welcoming, hospitable, warm, and generous and willing to share”. According to the argument above, Ubuntu stands for a communitarian morality. This Ubuntu concept informs this study in the sense that cooperation for a good cause as what Africa is doing in the quest for UNSC reform is moral.

The principle of communalism can lead to universal success if adhered to. Collective security is the answer to the current global crisis, climate change, conflict, HIV and AIDS, migration, human and drug trafficking, terrorism, organized crimes, and natural disasters. These need collective efforts and moral considerations for us to have a peaceful world. For the interests of the global village, a UN where all nations are

treated equally in practicality not theoretical will suitable development, and reduces the gap between the poor and rich nations. The communitarian principle of African ethics gives the call by African states for UNSC reform a moral justification.

African states have to strengthen the continent's position in global politics. Utilitarianism ethical thought says we have an impersonal reason to try to fix the world (maximize the good). The African states therefore must advocate for the UNSC reform if they feel that it is a council that lacks credibility. Utilitarianism emphasis the need to make sure that every moral action pleases the majority or provides happiness to the greater majority. Africa has 54 countries in the UN out of 193 member states. If the UNSC reform can't please all African states against the 5 permanent members, clearly the call for the UNSC is morally justified

The UNSC has Permanent five members (P5) who use the UNSC resolutions and international law to pursue interests. Africans can also use the same laws to justify their call of UNSC reform. Inversely laws should not be reduced to some personal utilitarian perspective or limited to subject use or benefit. Girardin (2012), echoed that when politics is seen in personal terms, declared motivations, intentions, and promises are put in the limelight, whereas the merit of ethics in a social context is measured mainly by consequences and results. The critics and respect the laws get are because of their outcome and impact, not their objectives. The laws which govern the interaction of states in the international system have not been favorable to Africa as indicated by the failures of the UNSC. Africa should call for UNSC reform because laws should aim at being broadly equitable, acceptable, and just. The UNSC which is unbalanced in decision making and less tolerable inequities should be reformed.

More importantly, if the call for reform can lead to a good outcome for African states in particular and all UN members in general, then it is morally correct to call for reform. Consequentialism is another very important ethical thought to this study, it is a moral rightness agent depend on the consequences for an individual or limited group, one takes into account how the consequences of an act will affect all the parties involved. Moral rightness depends on the consequences for all affected people sentient beings. We should choose the available action with the best overall consequences and we should always strive to promote the best consequences. As a result, it is ethically right for arguably the most undermined continent to have a voice in the UNSC decision making process.

Africans as state members of the UN, have a moral duty to call for the UNSC reform. Deontology ethical thought means duty or obligation. Deontology assumes that decisions should be made considering the factors of one's duties and one's rights. Scmuel (1988) assumes that the "deontology concept can only be justified concerning the consequences of having those rights". In international relations states have to pursue national interests for survival, duty for self-determination, territorial integrity, independence, and duty to promote international relations, an obligation to cooperate, and integrate with others whenever they feel that their national interests are best served. African states being members of the UN have to raise concerns whenever they feel they are being undermined. The Ezulwini Consensus is justified to safeguard the interests of Africans in the global set up.

Africa should simultaneously be calling for UNSC reform and reform the AU and sub-regional institutions (Southern African Development Community (SADC), Economic Community of West Africa States (ECOWAS), Common Market of Southern Africa (COMESA), Eastern African Community (EAC), Inter-Governmental Authority for Development (IGAD), and Arab Maghreb Union). Virtue ethics teaches us that a self-aware person will act completely to his capabilities while an ignorant will encounter difficulties. It is therefore noble for African countries to also put their house in order at the same time calling for UNSC reform. Hursthoude (2003) illustrates that that "Virtue ethics may initially be identified as the one that emphasis the virtues, or moral character in contrast to the approach that emphasizes duties (deontology) and approaches that emphasize the consequences of action (consequentialism). The AU has been described as an all talk no action club. Virtue ethics assumes that self-awareness is necessary for success. If Africa does not know herself then the call for UN reform will not fly. Africa should be united for a common cause. A reformed UNSC and a reformed and strengthened AU will initiate a successful and prosperous African continent.

THE MORAL JUSTIFICATION TO THE REFORM AGENDA

International relations is an arenas were all countries pursue national interests, it is dangerous for a country not to be part of decisions making process when her issues are being dissected. Approximately, more than 75% of UNSC's engagements are on African affairs; However, the 55 nation continent has a representation of only 3 non-permanent members. Africa knows her problems more than any other continents and her voice deserves to be heard on a global scale when African issues are being debated. The absence of Africa as a permanent member is equivalent to the petition of Africa at the 1974-1975 Belin Conference. Morally speaking denying Africa a permanent city is justice denied and delayed.

Morally, Africa should be an equal partner in global politics, Article 2 of the UN Charter notes that the organization is based on the principle of the sovereignty equality of all its members. Assuming that this was to ensure to all of them the right and benefits resulting from benefits. In terms of international law, the African has

a moral right basing on the fact that there is equally a member to an organization which they feel disgruntled being is thus the call for reform will lead to good results, from a consequentialist ethical thought it is morally right for UNSC to reform.

The UNSC is a neo-imperialistic instrument used by Europeans to continue dominance over African states. The P5 still maintains a vote on all decisions. Simply put this means that out of the total UN membership of 193 states, only one permanent member can block all action, this equates to 1/193 equals to 0,52% need to block a vote. Daniel (2016) argues that UNSC is a theater of power in which no one likes to give the leading role to the others. In regards to global distributive justice, it will be disregarding the principles of fairness and equity not to award a permanent seat to Africa.

It is not time to damage multilateralism by taking increasingly unilateralists steps, there is a need to end the monopoly of a small number of nations and promote the collective leadership of countries that aim to resolve key global issues. NATO's intervention in Libya is one mistake that raised eye bows on how collectively decisions should be taken in global issues. Libya in the post-Gadhafi era is more unstable and inhuman than the Gadhafi era. Western powers used NATO as a tool to pursue their national interests because they wanted oil from Libya and at the same time they feared Gadhafi's influence on other Africans was now a threat to their hegemonic powers. To end this victimization of Africans by other civilizations, the highest decision making organization should bore down to Africa's reform demands.

The P5 are exploiting Africa's resources right under the watchful eye of the UNSC. The USA is stoking DRC conflict to contain China Eurasia's future. The DRC's Katanga region is one of the most geo-strategical significant countries in the world right now, and the cost comes off the American-Chinese struggle for influence here will largely determine the course of new cold war. The USA wants to create an obstacle to China's hitherto unrestricted access to cobalt. As the victim of exploitation, Africa's voice should be allowed in the UNSC decision making forums. This justifies the moral rightness of the Ezulwini Consensus. Africa needs a voice in the UNSC to make sure that the continent is not used as a battleground for power politics by other civilizations.

Some regimes like that USA in Afghanistan and NATO in Libya have even carried out genocides without facing consequences. They carried out crimes against humanity without facing any consequences, either by engaging in wars or supporting rebel groups as they pursue their national interests. Equality of opportunity in the international system is just an empty slogan. Deni (2007) pointed out that in most high profile cases there are essentially no consequences for violating a Security Council resolution. However, during the Darfur crisis, Janjaweed militias, allowed by elements of the Sudanese government, committed violence against an indigenous population killing thousands of civilians. In the Srebrenica massacre, Serbia troops committed genocide against Bosnians although Srebrenica had been declared a UN safe area. The UN has failed in the Israel and Palestine conflict. More so UN's shortcomings are being exposed in the Syrian crisis. The only way to strengthen a failing organization is to reform it, accordingly, Africa's appeal for UNSC is morally all-encompassing.

The equivalency of the Belin conference of 1974-1975 and the lack of Africa permanent representation at the UNSC, is evidenced by a continent of a billion people denied a voice in issues which primarily affect them. It should be noted that surprisingly a continent of over a billion people has no voice/ veto powers in the UNSC. If a morally right action should please the greatest majority, this study does not understand how a decision at UNSC will bring happiness to Africa and it's over a billion people when they are not represented.

It is morally justified to call for UNSC reform because in 1945 when the UN was established there were no independent African states. All African states were illegitimately under colonial rule. The five permanent members rewarded themselves with these permanent representatives after their victories in the Second World War. They were exercising power as a sign of victory. Power is an important tool in international relations. It can be urged that they gave each other these seats to keep each other in check. The realist school of thinking assumes that in international politics there are no permanent friends and it is a self-help arena. It is therefore crucial to point out that all P5 members have those seats in UNSC as tickets to secure their nations. The aforementioned justifies the moral importance of Africa calling for the UNSC reform

The British and France were once very powerful political players in the international system at one time but their significance has been momentarily abridged. Even Russia's economic, political, and military capabilities are not as capable as that of the former Soviet Union which it replaced, and which comprised not only Russia but also other 14 former Soviet Republics which now are members of the UN. The call for reform by the African countries is right in the sense that an unreformed UNSC is not only a catastrophe to Africa but the whole world. The UNSC reform will please the majority, an assumption well supported by the moral principle of utility that morally right actions will lead to the greater happiness of the majority. The above evidence justifies why Africa's position on UNSC reform is ethical.

The UNSC is irrelevant without the voice of all member states. The 2018 UN General Assembly in New York City on September 25's main theme was "making the UN relevant to all". There is no relevance to all when P5 members dedicate the operations and the space of a 193 member group. The mantra that numbers don't lie makes intellectual sense here. This justifies way not only Africa is calling for the UNSC reform, all so Italy,

Turkey, Pakistan, India, Germany, and others are also lamenting for UNSC reform. The UNSC seem relevant to its P5 and their allies. The UNSC is relevant to those who use this organization as a neo-imperialist tool, not to those who are suffering from the wrath of neo-colonialism. Honorably Africa should together with other members who are not satisfied with the UNSC's current set continue actively lobbying for the reform agenda for the universal benefit to all. The UNSC reform will sustainably please the majority.

The composition of the Security Council does not reflect the realities of the 21st century. The UN needs to reflect the reality that the geographical context has changed. The composition is outdated and must adapt to match the changing world in the 21st century in recent decades. The ineffectiveness of the UN in Rwanda, Syria, Somalia, Darfur, Libya, DRC, and many others makes it clear that reform needs to take place. Under the watchful eye of the UNSC in 1981 Israel formally annexed the Golan Height territory, fast forward to 2019 USA recognized Golan Heights as Israeli territory. This contravenes international law. Syria is calling on the UNSC to hold an urgent meeting on the USA's decision to recognize the Golan Heights as Israeli territory. Israel is a strategic ally of the USA, which explains why the P5 is silent. The injustice is evidence enough to suggest the moral rightness to reform the UNSC.

The quillion dollar question is, Is Europe such an important part of the world as it was 1945? If the follow-up question must be important to who? Europe has manipulated the UNSC since its formation. It has manipulated the UNSC to accumulate power, to amass resources, to strengthen its position in the international system, to continue dominance over other continents. Chella (2006) urged that "UNSC is ineffective and interested only in preserving the strategic interests of the permanent members, such as by protecting the oil-rich Kuwait in 1991, but poorly protecting resource-poor Rwandans in 1994. The misuse of the UNSC council can only be corrected but a reform that respects the decision of all other member states. There should be a global distributive justice in the decision making of the UNSC operations. Equality and equity will only make this union credible. All nations are equal under the UN charter and this should be observed through the fair representation of all continents across the globe. Justice is an important ethical tree consequently it is morally vindicated for Africa to call for the UNSC reform.

The P5 constitute 2.5% of the UN member states. In 2013 Turkey launched a campaign to stress that the "world is bigger than five" permanent members. Numerically the UNSC is unjust. Considering that 97.5 percent have no veto power is absurd. It is incongruous to see others objecting to UNSC reform on the bases of national interest rather than moral consideration. Support from all African group countries on a reform initiative would provide 54 votes making up to 42% of the 129 votes required to pass a UN General Assembly resolution to expand. The UN needs to reform because it is suffering from an unprecedented crisis of credibility. The critical masses are that the UNSC is not pleased with the UNSC setup and a divide of people is not healthy for the universal successes of the world. Undoubtedly Africa's noise for UNSC reform is a noise worth listening to.

It should be noted that there are general concerns that the UNSC's should be reformed to increase African presence and influence, but power intrigues within and outside African nations in the UNSC could have grave consequences. According to realist thinking, the international setup is an arena where there is competition for power. This paper assumes that to balance this power at a global level, all countries should be treated equally in the UNSC. Africa as a regional arrangement has a right and duty to voice its concerns when it feels it is being unfairly treated. All countries when joining institutions they join with a fraction of their interests. It is, therefore, crucial to point out that, the fact that Africa's sentiment is that its regional interests are not being collectively served by the UNSC, is a good reason to justify the rightness of Africa's proposal to UNSC reform.

The UN resolutions are binding on all members states, that means it has wide-ranging powers and can if necessary take actions, for example, the imposing of sanctions the encroach on state sovereignty (if resolutions are to be respected and implemented by all countries, the councils need to have the necessary authority and legitimacy-this means it has to be representative). This paper assumes that when a binding resolution is decided by only five members out of 193, it is similar to imprisoning someone without trial. This is injustice is unethical. Morally it is right for Africa to fight to correct this global injustice.

It is clear that the UN which was intended to be the beating heart of humanity has no pulse, The UN has also failed to take necessary steps to ease the suffering of refugees, The UN also failed millions of children suffering from extreme poverty and malnutrition, child solders amongst others. Child soldiers' definition is education, freedom of association, right to live and freedom of choice denied. African states have a moral duty as UN member states to protect their citizens for the continent to achieve sustainable development. As a moral duty, they are guided by law in form of international, regional, and sub-regional arrangements, acts, chapters, and protocols to promote peace and security both at home and abroad. Therefore the morality of Africa's call based on international law should not be questioned.

The UN's top decision-making body neither prevented atrocities nor brought to justice those responsible for the heinous crimes perpetrated within its jurisdiction. Failure to keep its promise of the promotion of peace and security around the world, from Bosnia, Rwanda, Syria, DRC, Yemen and Palestine, and Libya is a mirror image of UNSC's shortcomings. (UNGA, 2004) Rwanda suffered the equivalent of three 11 September 2001 attacks every day for one hundred days, in a country with a population that was only one

thirty-sixth that of the US, but the UNSC did nothing. Two weeks into the genocide, the UNSC withdrew the majority of its peacekeepers in that country. The withdrawal was not a good moral act because it led to negative consequences.

The Libyan case study is arguably the worst case of Responsibility to Protect (R2P). This study assumes that there was a lack of focus given to civil society voices, humanitarian requirements, and alternate methods of pacific settlements. The interval of time between the UNSC resolution 1973 that called for a ceasefire in Libya and totting to take all obligatory measures to protect civilians and civilian endangered areas of Libya was curiously very short. The P5 abusively used this regional instrument to pursue their national interests in Libya. Africa's call for reform is to correct these legal, political, and technical shortcomings the organization is facing. Communalist principles allow for accommodation of other people's ideas, the individualist tendencies amongst the P5 has been detrimental to global security. A reformed UNSC aligned with the communalist not individualist principles will stimulate happiness to the majority of the continents. It will be a reform act leading to good results and a duty well performed by the ones taking part in the reform process. Africa is fighting a good cause and it should be commended for that morally right action they have taken since 2005.

It was pertinent to demonstrate the political will of the entire UN membership to redress the historical injustice imposed on Africans through a comprehensive reform of the Security Council. Morally speaking a member of the group should have a part to play in the group. The UNSC should respect the principle of global distributive justice. Even though Africa is opposed in principle to the veto provision, the continent is of the view that so long as it exists and as a matter of common justice, veto power should be made available to all members of the UN. From a morality point of view for the world to be the winner, justice should always be respected and allowed to prevail.

On the UN's watch, authoritative regimes around the world have used conventional weapons and weapons of mass destruction against innocent civilians. In Syria conflict, chemical weapons were used despite the military ethics and international humanitarian law's position that chemical weapons should not be used and the killing of innocent civilians is prohibited. A collective security approach is a way to go in a modern-day international system, global participation can only be achieved by accommodation all members of the UNSC in the decision-making process. Africa as an equal partner is morally right for calling for UNSC reform.

AFRICAN HURDLES TO REFORM ITINERARY

African Union is not united as a bloc, therefore chances of pushing the reform agenda collectively are very questionable. There is various practical evidence to support that there is disunity amongst African states. When the West invoked the no flying zone in Libya in 2011 during NATO's intervention, countries like Zimbabwe where against the no flying zone whilst the African UNSC non-permanent member states like Gabon, South Africa, and Nigeria voted in support of the no flying zone. In March 2019 regional leaders met in South Africa to express solidarity with the Western Saharawi Republic which is under Moroccan occupation whilst at the same time others were attending a parallel summit convened by Morocco. Angola, Madagascar, Zambia, Malawi, DRC, Tanzania, and Eswatini being among the 38 who honor the Moroccan invitation. The above is a clear picture of a divided continent making it so difficult for the continent to fight with one strong voice when pushing African agendas in the international arena.

The Ezulwini consensus suggests that Africa should be responsible for the selection of the African representatives, however, it is silent on who should occupy the permanent seat. Xinhua (2007) voiced that, the recommendation of the African group also hides the national interests of the larger African countries, such as Nigeria, Egypt, and South Africa, which are more likely to occupy the proposed permanent seats. However, other African nations such as Senegal, Algeria, and Kenya, also have expressed an interest in being considered for the permanent seats. It should be pointed out that the probabilities of a hegemonic contest amongst AU member states are likely to play out. South Africa once tried to upstage Nigeria in Ivory Coast by projecting as a peace broker during the Qattara and Gabgo political tensions and in opposition to the ECOWAS, a move that did not seat well with Nigeria. In the case of the AU and C-10 reform coalition, the logic of consequences as well as the logic of appropriateness can be observed. On one hand, several key players among them Egypt, Nigeria, or South Africa are driven by strategic interests (to position themselves as the hegemonic powers in Africa) and obtaining a permanent seat, not only for Africa but primarily for their national prestige and leverage.

This study assumes that ending disaster abroad should be capable of tackling disaster at home. AU is failing to deliver peace and security in Africa and affect the continent's progression. It should be noted that African has lost and still losing decades of opportunities as thousands of young Africans are being swallowed by the Mediterranean Sea as they seek the green card to be enslaved in Europe, Libya is burning, South Sudan is at war, the Central Africa Republic is in flames, Africa's maritime security is sharking, Boko Haram and Al-Shabaab groups are preying on their fellow Africans, DRC is at tension, Mali is unsettled and Lesotho is unpredictable. A failure to curb conflict and insecurities in the continent does not reflect well on a continent trying to have representation at a global organization.

It should be pointed out that it has always been Africa's time. Kagame (2017) lamented that "the question at any time, is whether we chose to be present and develop the institutional capacity needed to seize the available advantages". This study believes that it is possible, EAC and ECOWAS have already made freedom of movement a reality within their region. AU is built on the ideals of African Unity and in the value of solidarity thus AU should practically work together to achieve concrete improvements in state security and human security in member states. This is not attainable working as individual entities. The unfortunate fact is that Africa is currently not adequately prepared to respond to current crisis events. According to Paul Kagame (2017), Africa still has to be made fit for purpose. Visibly from a moral point of view, Africa should push for the UNSC reform at the same time strengthening the AU and its RECs,

Some African states have called on the AU to make pliable their position concerning the extension of the veto. (Swart and Von Freiesleben 2013) quoted, former Nigerian president Obasanjo "who cautioned AU of the consequences if they did not compromise, the main issue before us, he said, is to decide either that Africa will join the rest of the world, or the majority of the rest of the world, in conveying to a conclusion petition for UN reform, or if Africa will stand on an immutable position which will certainly irritate the reform efforts". The reform effort will irritate the P5 however this paper argues that the above assertion is to a lesser extend meaningful because Africa is rightfully demanding what's due to them, the concerns are genuine. It's either Africa fight for the reform till the end or perishes as a continent of all talk no action. Surely the political terrain has changed since 1945 when the UN was formed.

African member-states are more driven by identity-related factors than strategic thinking, which signals the logic of appropriateness. Most African states link the pursuit of permanent and non-permanent membership for correcting historical injustices. One can link the struggle over Council reform to the decade long fight against colonialism. Danchin and Fischer (2010), the "current quest for permanent seats is similar to the past quest for being recognized as a world leader, not altruistic values" this is somewhat of an overgeneralization. The AU makes clear that it bears in mind the undeniable fact that in the year 1945, when the United Nations was being formed, most of Africa was not represented and that, as a result, Africa remains to this day the only continent without a permanent seat in the Council. Since most current UN peacekeeping operations are located on the African continent, yet Africa has a mere three non-permanent seats, this claim is aptly justified.

There is a lot of debate in the international relations circles on whether or not, the call for reform is just power politics. Every effort at reform has fallen foul to power politics. Are the world powers willing, especially the big five that have dominated world affairs since 1945, to accede to Africa's demands. National interests form the basis of realist thinking. To that extend the UNSC is being used by the P5 for power politics. There is no governing body in the International system to govern the interactions of states and non-states actors. Dalsan Radio (Mogadishu) (2006) reported that "UN is giving 10 percent of humanitarian aid to terrorists to grant safe passage of food and other suppliers in war-torn regions controlled by the deadly militia group...estimates placing annual budgets for aid for Somalia at \$120 million, the amounts earned by the terrorists disguised as funding for the capacity building would be \$12million". The above assertion is a visible example of how the P5 members are abusing the UN organs for their gains. The trajectory to reform is not an easy one in an anarchical system.

Advocating for the UNSC reform has become an ingrained norm. Schaefer 2016 pointed out that "the reform process does not only accentuate that states remain actively committed to reform of the Council, although they remain committed for varying motivations; the process also highlights that talking about reforming the Security Council at the UN has become an ingrained norm". States that are against the reform process cannot denounce the reform agenda publically without facing social justice. Finnemore and Sikkink (1998) noted that "a norm is generally described as "a standard of appropriate behavior". The passageway to reform the UNSC, which happens to be a very significant tool to the P5 in the contemporary political game of logistical and political potholes.

It should be noted that national interests have been the rationale behind China, Russia, and the United States of America (USA) not interested in moving towards reforming the UNSC. All member states advocate for the reform but surprisingly nothing seems to materialize. In Africa, countries seem not to be united for a common cause. The AU Peace and Security Council in March 2011 condemned the violence of the Libyan state established a panel led by Jacob Zuma the then South African President and rejected any foreign military intervention, resolving to go to Tripoli on a peace mission. Zuma conflictly voted in support of a no flying zone imposed on Libya by western powers. Consequently, the double standards by South Africa is an emblem which shows that in international politics moral are irrelevant and only interests are relevant.

In detail, some states even though overtly be in favor of reform, they rather keep silent and be content with the status quo. Schaefer (2016) writes that "this does not only apply to the P5 but also states such as Pakistan, which arguably prefers the status quo overseeing a reformed Council with, for example, India as a permanent member". Some members privately they don't want to see the reform agenda being successful. Like Pakistan, they have employed as a strategy to ally themselves with one of the P5 which is the USA, for survival in the international system. Pakistan has assured a USA support whenever there is a decision which indirectly or

directly involves her in UNSC resolutions. As a result of the above, the reform flight is not going to be an easy gallop.

There is organized hypocrisy in contemporary world politics which is a hurdle to the reform process. Finnemore and Sikkink (1998) suggested that “socialization is the dominant mechanism of a norm cascade...and socialization can be seen as a mechanism through which new states are induced to change their behavior by adopting those norms preferred by an international society of states”. The international system is an anarchical field if any members are to publically support the reform agenda she is likely to experience political, economic, and social losses to those that are against the reform process. Nonetheless, some members routinely use reform progression as a contrivance to legitimize the corroding power of the UNSC by camouflaging that they approve reform and are actively appealing the matter. Schaefer (2016) pointed out that, this process is called organized hypocrisy.

This concept has become a highly contested topic in the field of international relations. Krasner (1999) branded the norm of sovereignty as organized hypocrisy that despite being extensively recognized was frequently being breached by influential states, as they pursue their national interests. Lipson (2007) echoed that “the concept of hypocrisy is plagiaristic from normative institutionalism, which underscores the significance of cultural characteristics of organizational environs in shaping the activities of organizations”. It should be noted that talk and decision should be matched, talking and not acting preferring the same *Stata quo* is naivety, and naivety in international politics is dangerous. A talk that is disconnected from a decision-making process and structure constitutes organized hypocrisy. This thesis suggests that all talk in theory without action in practice will not be beneficial to Africa concerning the reform debate. The challenge Africa is facing is of high sound nothing of a reform call from all those who are advocating for reform. In international politics, for states not to be considered hypocrites they should couple the talk with a political will so that there should be reforms. It should be noted that the majority of the African states in particular and non-African states, in general, they want reform. Others are calling for reform as foreign policy implementation. Nigeria and South Africa for instance may participate in the reform process, not because of a normative concern of improving the Council’s structure, but rather to prevent its regional rival from increasing its power. Swart and Von Freiesleben 2013 several sources have asserted that the Ezulwini Consensus was orchestrated by China, probably in an attempt to slow down Security Council reform”. China’s emerging influence is a foreign policy implementation in favor of its national interests, not African interests.

The UNSC reform might open a Pandora’s Box, and that by reforming the Security Council it is by no means guaranteed that the Council will function more effectively, gain legitimacy, or become more transparent and accessible as a whole. However more important the reform issue clearly shows that the Council is still valued by states, because the counter-factual that states turn away from the institution, sideline or neglect it, abandon the reform process, or even create rival organizations cannot be observed. If states would not remain committed to the SC and reform thereof, this would signal that the Council’s value is decreasing

III. CONCLUSION

Africa stands yet at another crossroads. It is time for Africa to guarantee its citizens a continent in which they can thrive. It is therefore morally correct for her to call for UNSC reform as she seeks to be an equal partner in the international system. Africa can no longer continue to commune with other civilizations as her citizens are inferior to other civilizations. It is time for Africa to reposition herself in international politics. The world will be a better place with Africa having a voice in the decision making of the UNSC.

The researchers look forward to seeing a reformed African so that the African dream will be realized. A very peaceful and conflict-free Africa will then initiate sustainable development in Africa. An Africa where Mozambique is a country with the largest and most productive Ports in the world, Africa where Kenya is the most tourists visited country in Africa, Africa where Botswana is the largest beef producer in the world, where Zimbabwe is the biggest maize, tea, tobacco producer in the world, where Mauritania is the biggest timber producer in the world, where Libya is the combined biggest producer of oil in the world, where Zambia is the biggest phones manufacturing country in the world, where South Africa is the biggest car manufacturing country in the world, where Nigeria is the biggest film and movie making country in the world, where Egypt is the most successful football nation in the world, where West Africa is regarded as the biggest cocoa producer and biggest manufacturer and exporter of cocoa made products, where DRC’s Inga dam is the largest inland Hydro-electricity generating producing dam in the world, where the Great Lakes region is the biggest fish producing and exporting region in the world rather than being known as the land of conflicts. Africa has the potential to demonstrate that he can achieve something tangible, African Unite should be the first step towards realizing development in Africa.

IV. RECOMMENDATIONS

African states should cooperate rather than compete for dominance in advancing critical continental issues Africa should develop a strategy and approach that deepens, strengthens and promotes African unity and solidarity, to be able to push the UNSC reform agenda with a strong and commanding voice

Africa should strengthen and improved the capacity of AU and on peace and security issues and her Regional Economic Committees (RECs). A strong AU will make a strong reform case at the UNSC level.

Africa should reclaim its political Independence rather than allowing external influences in their continental discussions and decisions.

Africa should commit to multilateralism, more attention should go towards ensuring Africa is more widely represented, including in the Permanent member category.

The priority should be to make that all geographical groups are representatives. The veto power undermines the council's work and renders it unable to preserve international peace and security so geographical group representation is necessary

There should be an increase in a public council meeting and intensive researches and intergovernmental consultations on the UNSC reform issues. The negotiations must be transparent, inclusive, and comprehensive and lead to consensus-based solutions.

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