

## Contents

<b>Introduction: The UN Security Council's Four Defining Fields of Tension</b>	
<i>Christian Marxsen</i>	<i>page 1</i>
I. The UN Security Council's Functions in the Peace and Security Architecture	1
II. The Changing Political Environment	3
III. Past Responses	7
A. Formal Reform	7
B. Empowering Other UN Organs	9
C. Informal Mechanisms	11
D. Authority of External Actors	12
IV. Trajectories of and Tensions in the Security Council's Operation	13
V. Three Voices in a Trialogue	14
<b>1. The UN Security Council: Maintaining Peace during a Global Power Shift</b>	
<i>Congyan Cai</i>	18
I. Introduction	18
II. The UN Security Council: Between Politics and Law	24
A. The Relationship between Politics and Law at the International Level	25
B. The Politics of Legal Privileges and the Great Powers	29
C. Legal Restraints on the Great Powers	31
D. A Politicised Institution and Legalised Actions	33
III. How Power Politics Influence the Workings of the Security Council	42
A. The Cold War	42

	B. The ‘New World Order’	48
	C. A ‘New Cold War’?	53
	D. The Security Council for International Peace – or for Peace between Only the Great Powers?	60
IV.	Novel Threats and the Response of the Security Council	61
	A. International Public Health Crisis	62
	B. Extremism	64
	C. Cyber-Attacks	68
V.	China’s Ascension and the UN Security Council	72
	A. A General Observation	75
	B. How the New Power Constellation Influences China’s Behaviour in the Security Council	79
	C. How Chinese International Legal Policies Influence China’s Security Council Behaviour	82
	D. China’s Normative Role in the Security Council	87
VI.	The Future Trajectory of Security Council Reforms: Revisiting the Universal and Regional Approaches	98
	A. The Universal Approach	99
	B. The Regional Approach	103
VII.	Conclusions	107
<b>2.</b>	<b>The UN Security Council: A Reflection on Institutional Strength</b>	
	<i>Larissa van den Herik</i>	109
	I. Introduction	109
	II. An Institutionalist Perspective: Limits to the Security Council	115
	III. Bolstering the Security Council’s Institutional Environment	118
	IV. Disputed Uses of Force and the Importance of Inclusive Processes	123
	A. Resolution 1973 and Wavering International Consensus	123
	B. Proposals to Refine Decision-Making and Discourse on the Use of Force	131
	V. Sanctions Outside and Inside the UN Institutional Framework	155
	A. Non-UN Sanctions as a Challenge to the Security Council’s Prerogative?	156
	B. UN Sanctions and the Development of Procedures and Remedies	159

<i>Contents</i>		ix
VI.	Security Council Action on Terrorism and Extremism: Stretching Prerogatives beyond Breaking Point?	169
VII.	Future Trajectories and Unconventional Global Threats	175
VIII.	Concluding Reflections	181
<b>3.</b>	<b>The UN Security Council: Between Centralism and Regionalism</b> <i>Tiyanjana Maluwa</i>	186
I.	Introduction	186
II.	The United Nations and Regional Organisations: Partnering for the Maintenance of Peace	191
A.	Historical Debates of Centralism versus Regionalism	191
B.	Partnership Peacekeeping as a Return of Regionalism	192
C.	Relevance of the International Rule of Law in the Security Council's Operations and Decision-Making Processes	194
III.	The Security Council's Practice in Selected Partnership Peace Operations with the African Union	196
A.	Article 4(h) of the Constitutive Act of the African Union and the Primacy of the Security Council	197
B.	The Security Council, the African Union, and the Libyan Conflict of 2011	203
C.	China's Position in the Security Council Regarding UN Peacekeeping in Africa	231
D.	Russia's Rising Presence in Africa	238
E.	AU–UN Collaboration in Fighting International Terrorism through Peace Operations	242
IV.	Continuing Challenges, Future Trajectories, and the Need for Reform	254
A.	The African Quest for Permanent Seats on the Security Council	254
B.	The Russian Invasion of Ukraine: Ramifications for African Perceptions of the Security Council	258
C.	The Problem of Security Council Inaction and Failure to Decide	264
D.	Unconventional Global Threats: The Climate Crisis and Climate Security	268
V.	Conclusion	274

**Conclusion: Power, Procedures, and Periphery – The UN Security Council in the Ukraine War**

<i>Anne Peters</i>	278
I. Introduction	278
II. Law and Power	279
III. Procedure and Substance	285
A. The Power and Powerlessness of Procedures	285
B. Checks and Balances, and Accountability	287
C. Procedural Arguments against Manifestly Obstructive Vetoes	289
IV. Centre and Periphery	291
V. Conclusions: The Embedded Security Council	294
<i>Index</i>	299