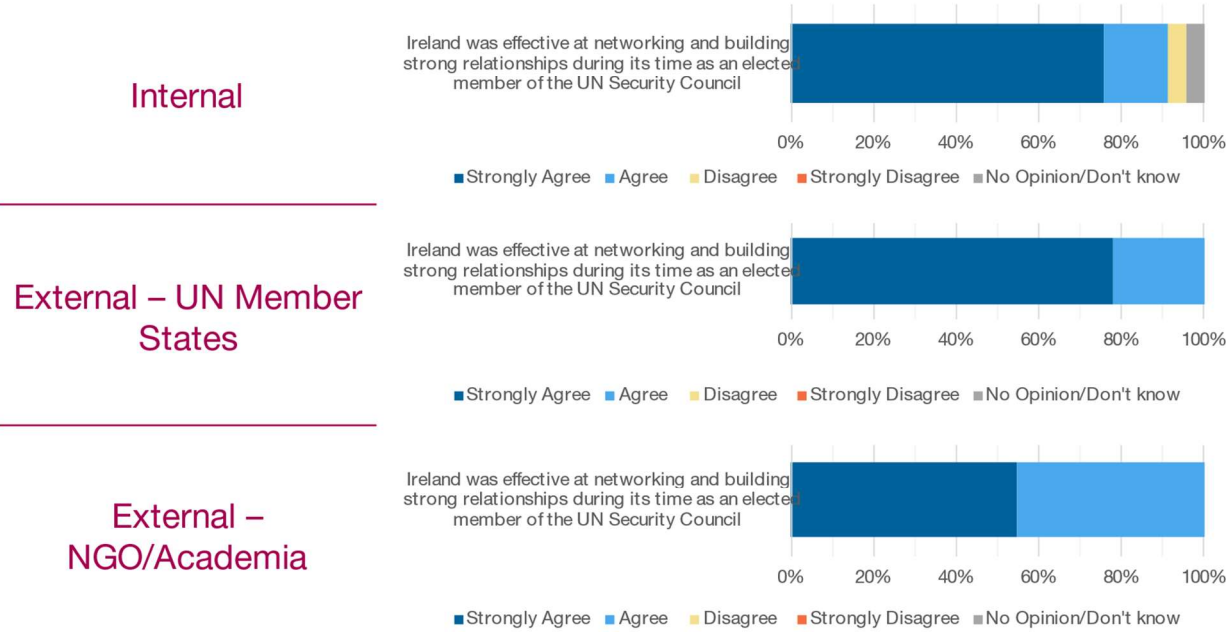
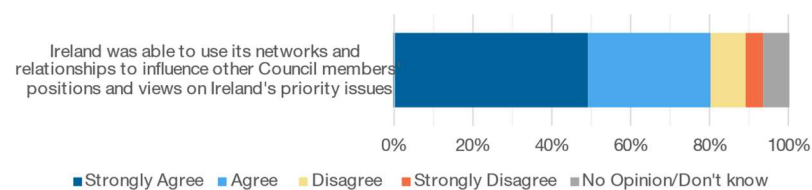


Networking

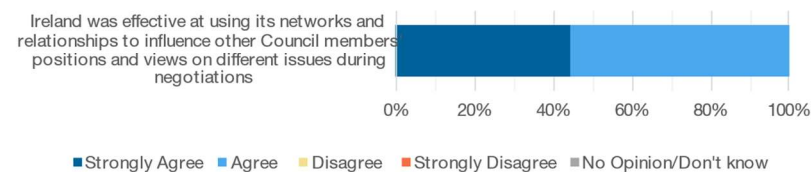


Use of Networks

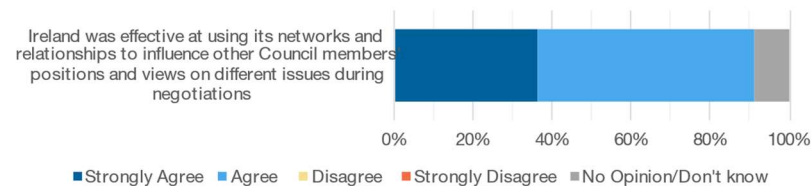
Internal



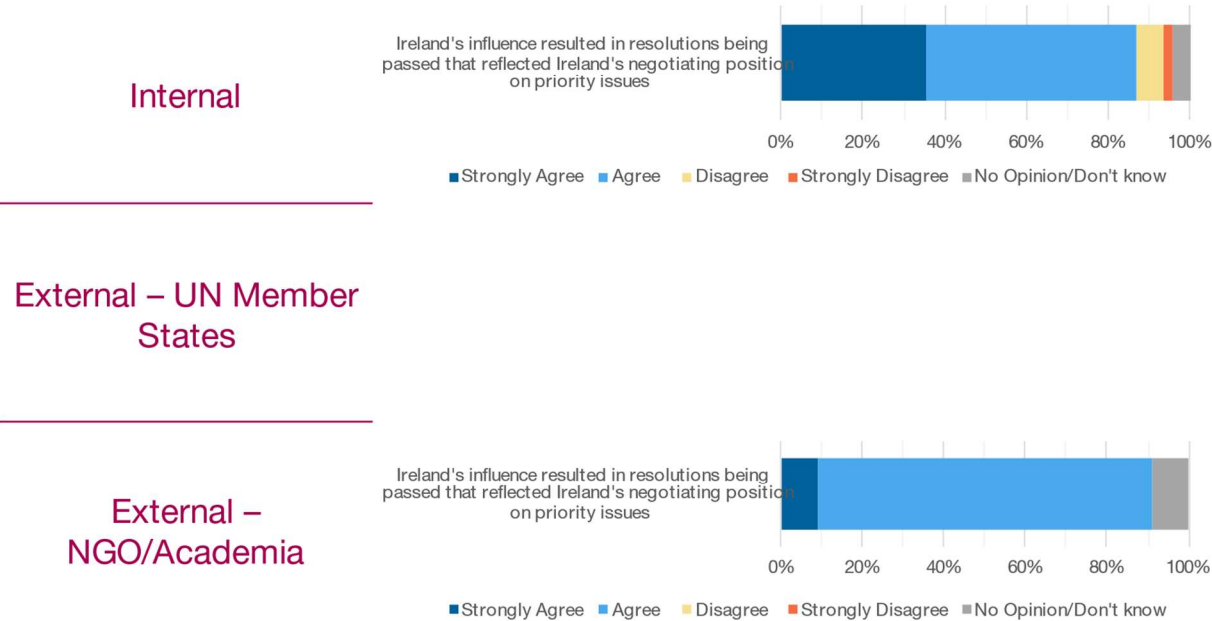
External – UN Member States



External – NGO/Academia



Resolutions Passed

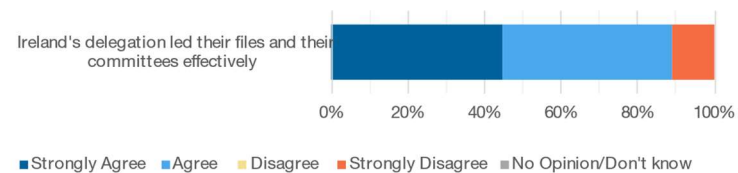


Leading of files and Committees

Internal

External – UN Member
States

External –
NGO/Academia

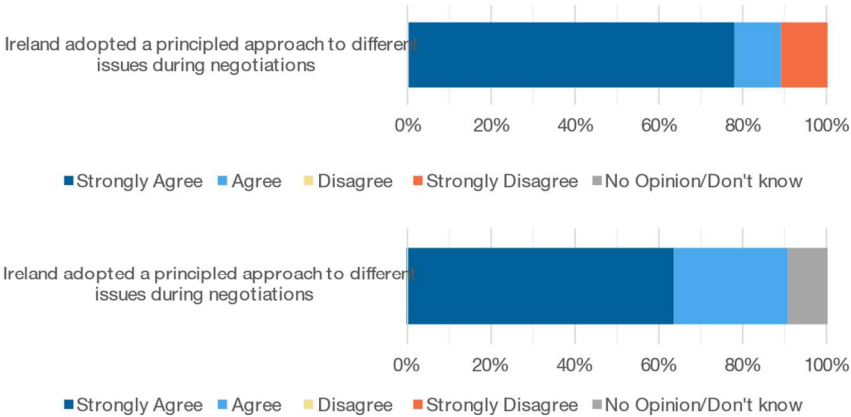


Principled Approach

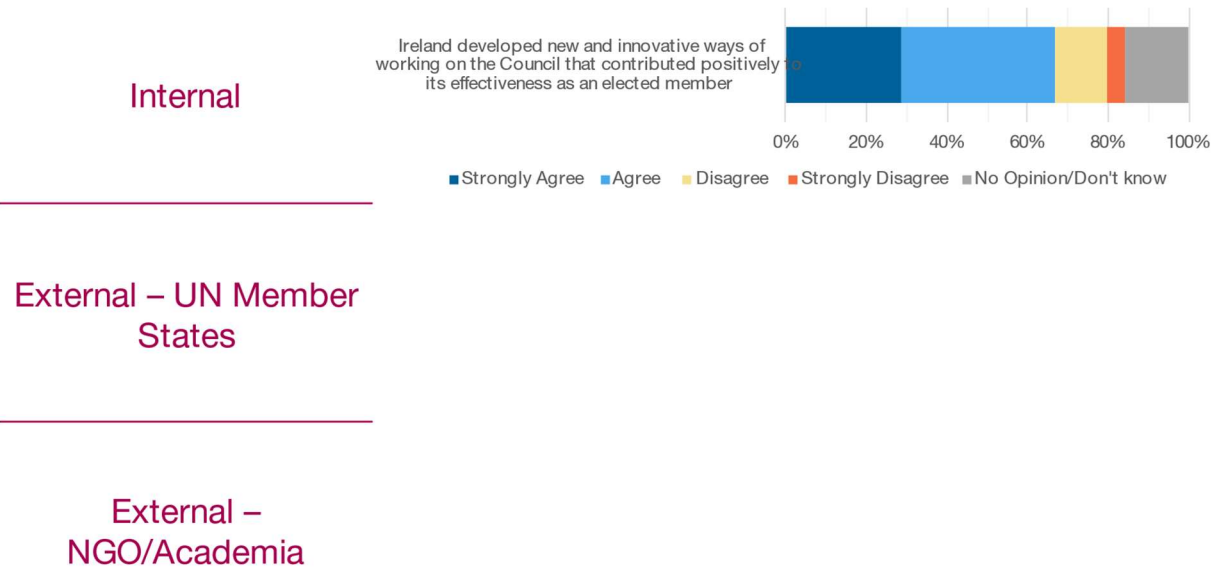
Internal

External – UN Member States

External – NGO/Academia

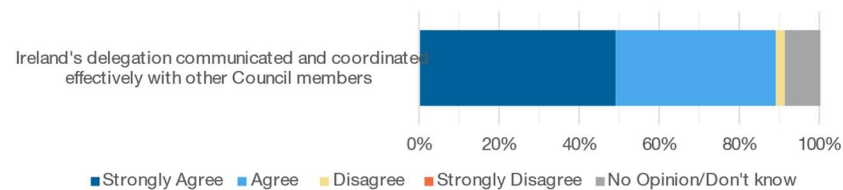


Ways of Working

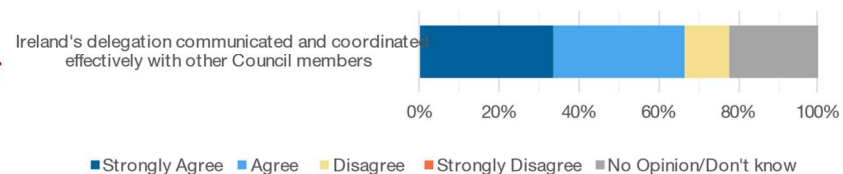


Communication/Coordination with other Council Members

Internal

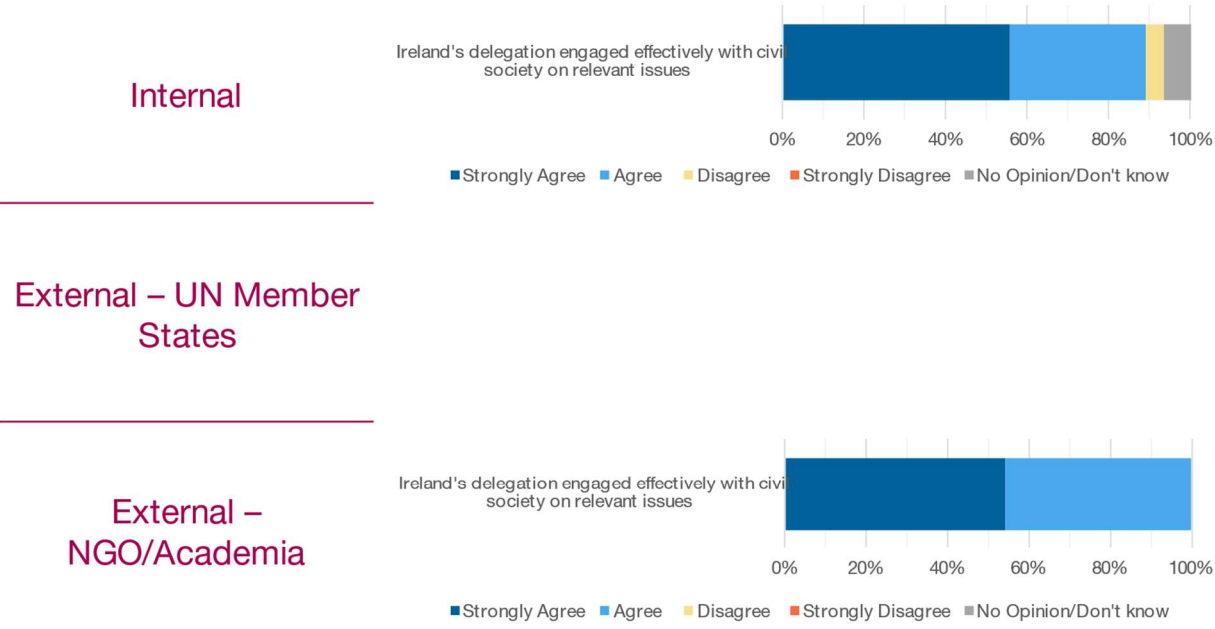


External – UN Member States

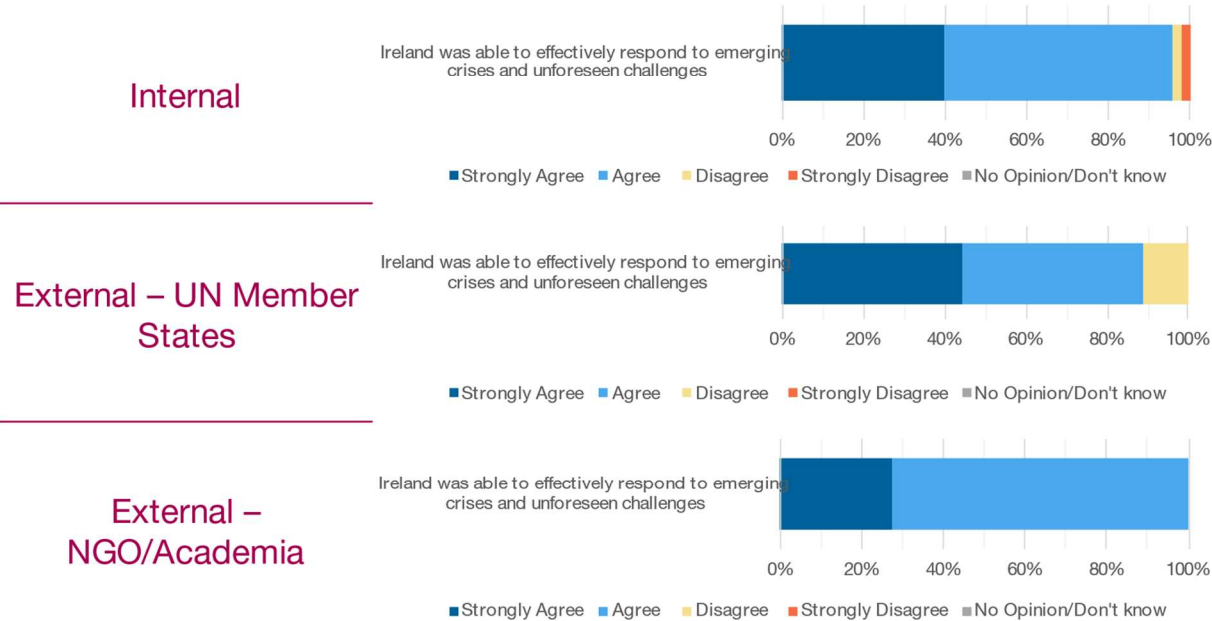


External – NGO/Academia

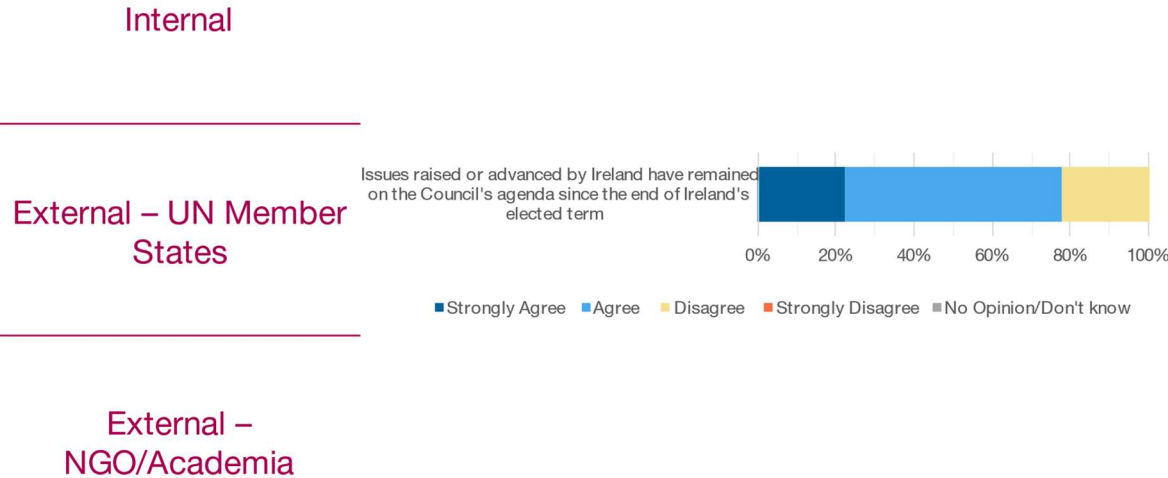
Civil Society Engagement



Crises Response

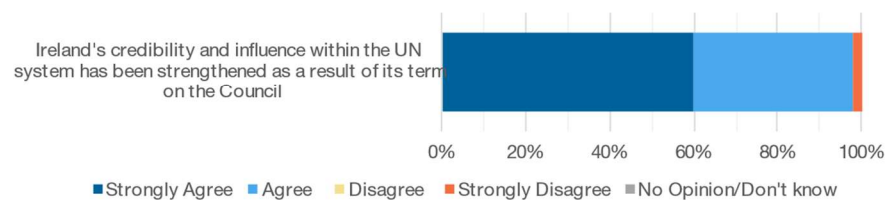


Issue Durability

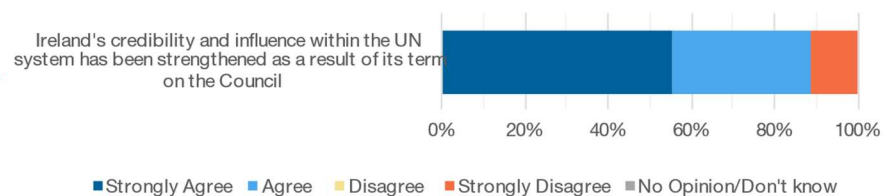


Ireland's Credibility and Influence

Internal

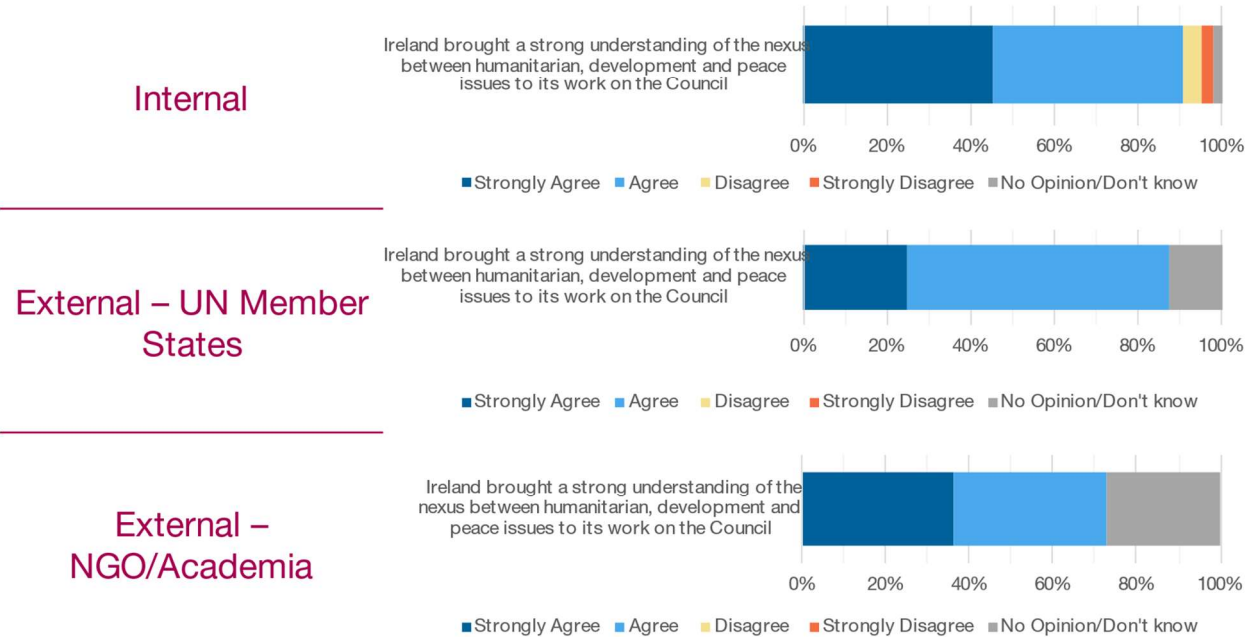


External – UN Member States



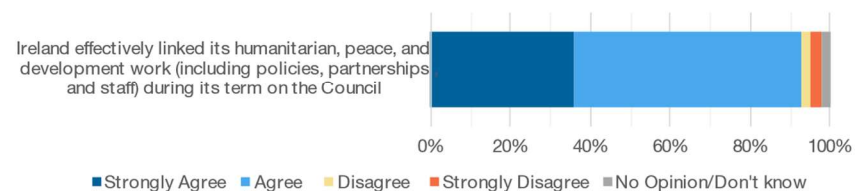
External – NGO/Academia

Nexus Understanding

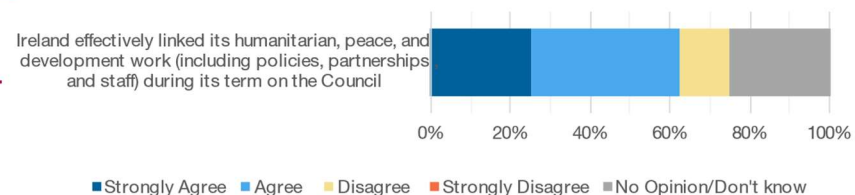


Nexus Implementation

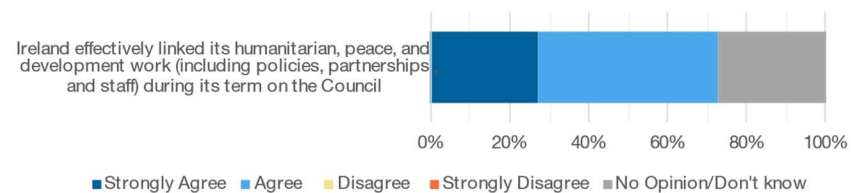
Internal



External – UN Member States

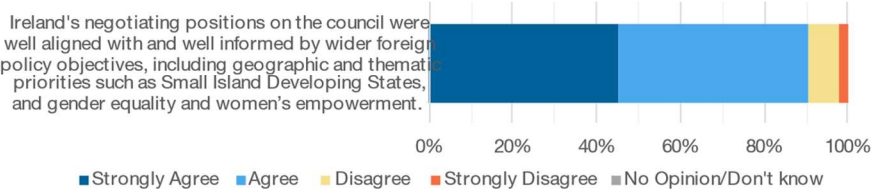


External – NGO/Academia



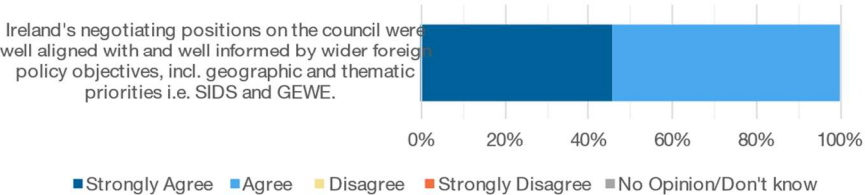
Alignment with Foreign Policy

Internal

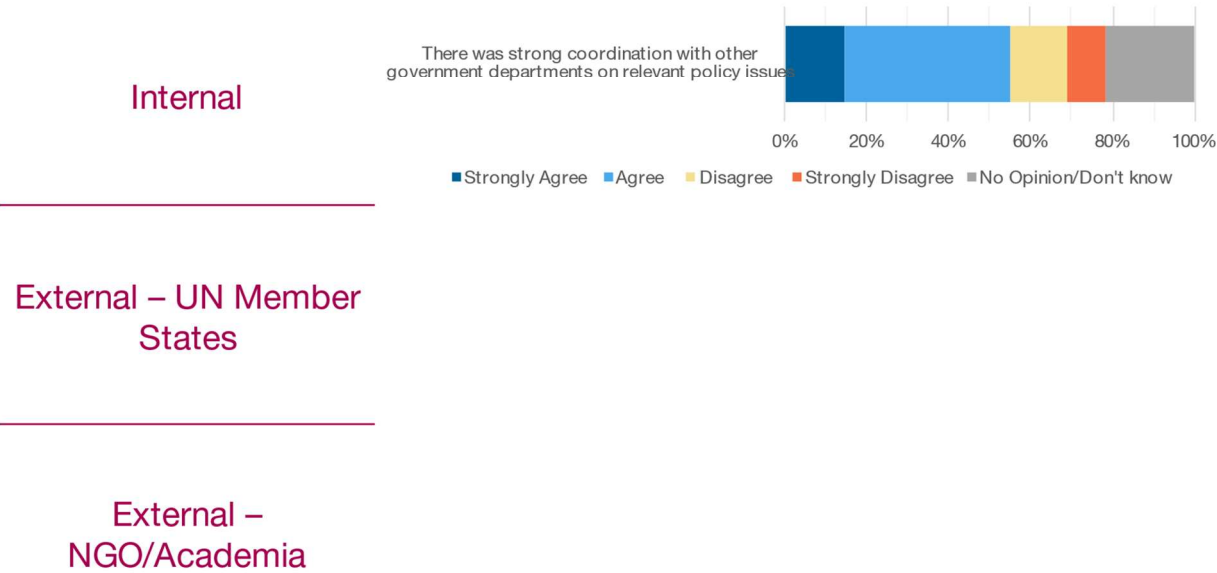


External – UN Member States

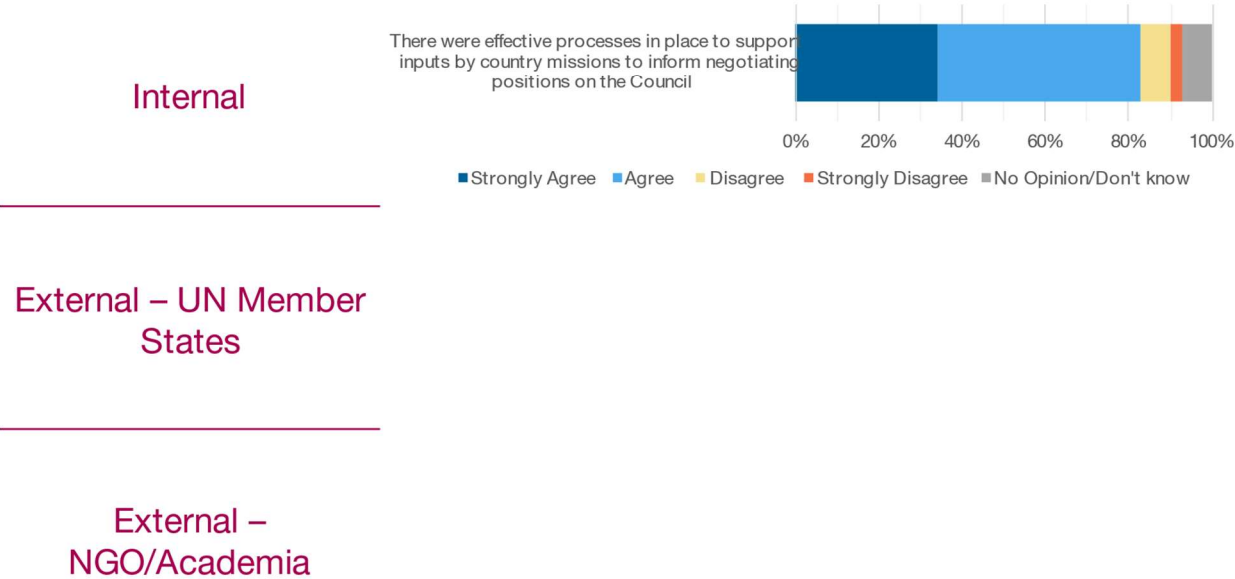
External – NGO/Academia



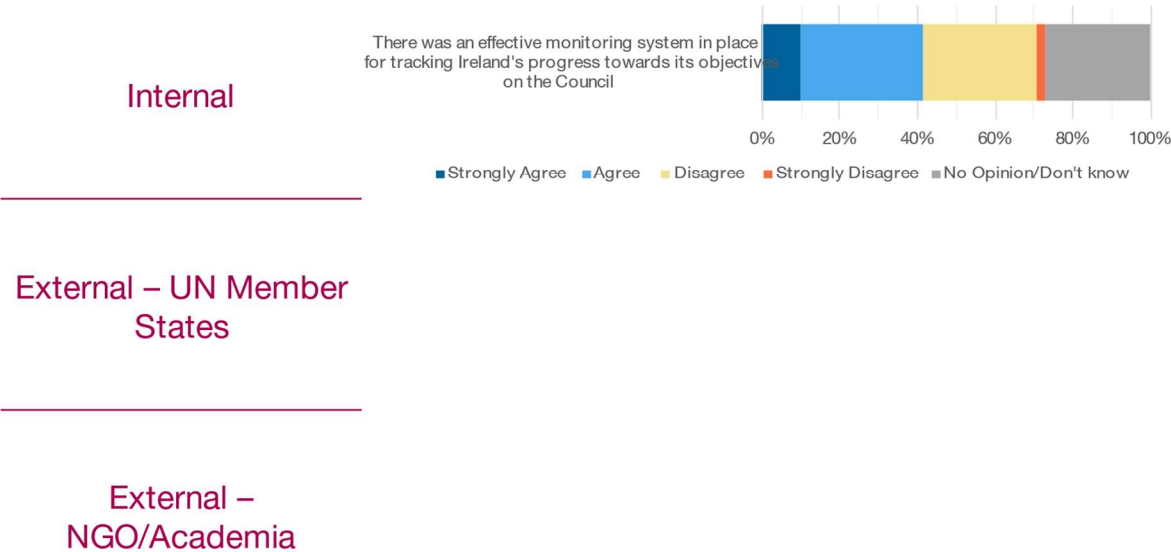
Coordination with Other Gov. Departments



Coordination with Country Missions

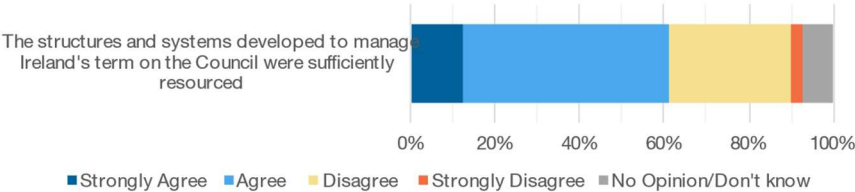


Monitoring System



Resourcing

Internal



External – UN Member States

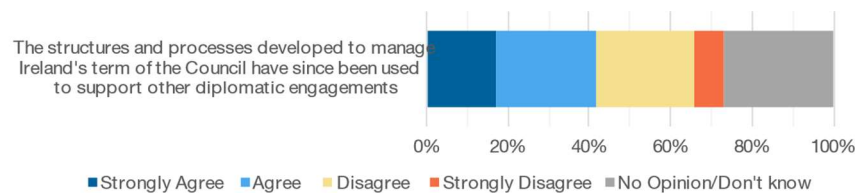
External – NGO/Academia

Ongoing Use of Structures and Processes

Internal

External – UN Member
States

External –
NGO/Academia

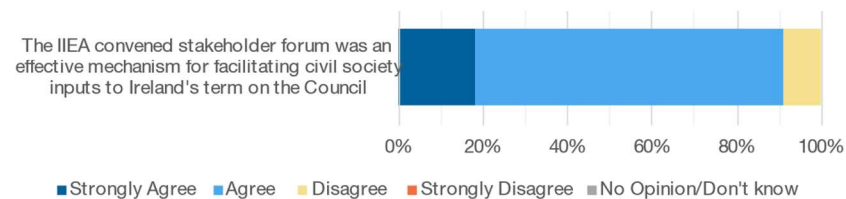


IIEA Stakeholder Forum

Internal

External – UN Member
States

External –
NGO/Academia

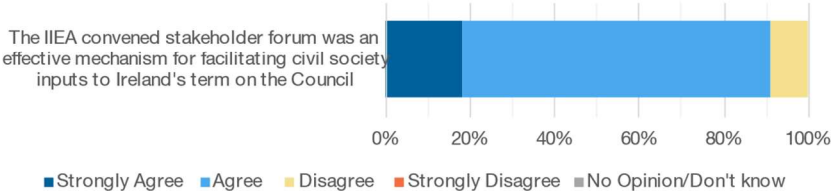


IIEA Stakeholder Forum

Internal

External – UN Member States

External – NGO/Academia



Annex 4: Literature Review

Overview

The UN Security Council holds primary responsibility within the UN for responding to threats to international peace and security. As such, its enforcement powers are centred around the peaceful settlement of a dispute or situation (Chapter VI of the UN Charter) and maintaining or restoring international peace and security once a threat has been identified (Chapter VII of the UN Charter).³⁰ Through recommendations made under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, it wields the power to make decisions which are legally binding on all UN member states. The Council is comprised of five permanent members (P5): USA, UK, France, China and Russia, alongside ten elected members (E10) elected for two-year terms by the General Assembly. At present, these elected members are: Algeria, Ecuador, Guyana, Japan, Malta, Mozambique, Republic of Korea, Sierra Leone, Slovenia and Switzerland.

The difference between permanent members and the elected positions is magnified by the voting structure, which gives permanent members the capacity to individually disallow a resolution via a negative vote, known as a “veto”. Elected members do not have access to a veto. This represents an advantage which permanent members hold, even without formally casting a negative vote. Formal vetoes have been rare since the end of the Cold War, however the informal veto (or threat of the veto) remains a key aspect of informal negotiations.³¹ The threat of the veto is often sufficient to table any issues or resolutions.

Supporting the work of the Council, the Secretariat Branch (SCSB) directly engages with its daily ongoings, especially the rotating monthly presidency, facilitating formal and informal meetings and other activities, managing the Council's monthly and daily programme of work, providing procedural advice and supporting Council missions to countries and regions of concern.³² The Secretariat does not have a vote in Council negotiations but alongside the Secretary-General, is regarded as the “second UN” through its legitimated authority and capacity for influencing decision-making.³³

Every member of the Council has the opportunity to influence the agenda when acting as Council president. The presidency rotates alphabetically on a monthly basis, giving every member, permanent or elected, a voice in what the Council discusses and debates. The agenda items considered by the Council vary but fall broadly into two major categories: national issues and thematic issues, the latter being those dealing with social, political, military, or economic issues that are not tied to a specific member nation. The thematic issues discussed in recent years cover a broad range of topics including climate change, HIV/AIDS non-proliferation, as well as a number of human security issues, as the concept of security itself has evolved over time.

Resolutions are the most recognisable and easily observable actions of the Security Council. These outcomes represent bargains struck by the members of the Council during public meetings and require

³⁰ Allen and Yuen (2022) Bargaining in the UN Security Council

³¹ Gifkins (2021) Beyond the Veto: Roles in UN Security Council Decision-Making

³² UNSC (2023) Secretariat Branch, available at: [Secretariat Branch | United Nations Security Council](#)

³³ Gifkins (2021) Beyond the Veto: Roles in UN Security Council Decision-Making

nine Council members to vote in favour, with no negative votes from any of the P5 members. Resolutions are also a product of the agenda selection process; no resolutions can pass on issues that do not make it onto the Council's agenda. Resolutions may involve actions such as: imposing sanctions, resolving military measures against offending states, establishing international tribunals, approving mandates of peacekeeping forces or imposing restrictive measures. During 2021-2022, 111 resolutions were passed from the 456 formal meetings which took place.³⁴

Enablers of, barriers to, and strategies of influence

Examining 'diplomatic influence' in the context of the Security Council necessitates a definitional understanding of the term. As such, this literature review adopts a definition borrowed from the wider literature: "When the behaviour of an elected member significantly shapes the council's decision-making process with respect to a particular institutional outcome".³⁵ Taking this into account elected members of the Security Council are usually perceived to exert minimal influence within decision-making processes, with power often solely ascribed to the P5 members and their right to veto. Whilst there are indeed barriers to the level of influence elected members have on the Council, avenues of influence, both formal and informal, exist for these states to inform decision-making and affect outcomes.

Examining these channels of influence in detail, important enablers of influence come to the fore. These include legitimacy dynamics, diplomatic capacity and favourable conditions. Legitimacy dynamics refers to the fact that the P5 need to the E10 to maintain the authority of the Council.³⁶ Without this legitimacy, convincing states to voluntarily abide by its decisions would prove to be challenging. Arguably the most effective means for the elected members to make use of legitimacy dynamics to strengthen their position in the Council is through their coalition-building capacity. Having support is crucial for a small state to be able to influence the UNSC. Examples of this include the Nordic countries (Norway, Sweden, Finland, Denmark, Iceland), who support each other by opting for one Nordic country in the Security Council every other two-year term. There is also the CANZ group, consisting of Canada, Australia and New Zealand. These three countries 'work to ensure that their candidacies prove mutually reinforcing and do not clash'.³⁷ Furthermore, the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), consists of 118 members. Members of these groups may be expected to exhibit a tendency to align policies with other partners.

Looking at diplomatic capacity, an extensive diplomatic network is beneficial, particularly in the campaign for election to the Council where it can help to build a strong image and influence perception. However, having a well-resourced and strongly led mission is also important in responding decisively and swiftly to development, especially considering the often-substantial time difference between New York and HQ offices. Thus, a politically strong permanent representative who is either capable of making decisions independently or is not hesitant to make a phone call, often in the middle of the night, to the top political decision-makers back in the capital, is a vital asset.³⁸

³⁴ Permanent Mission of Ireland to the UN, New York (2023) Ireland UNSC Term 2021/22 Overview and Impact

³⁵ Farrall et al. (2020) Elected Member Influence in the United Nations Security Council

³⁶ Pay and Potolski (2022) Power and Diplomacy in the United Nations Security Council: The Influence of Elected Members

³⁷ Thorhallsson (2012) Small States in the UN Security Council: Means of Influence?

³⁸ Pay and Potolski (2022) Power and Diplomacy in the United Nations Security Council: The Influence of Elected Members

Furthermore, favourable conditions play a role in enabling influence, as hard power or diplomatic positioning may still be constrained by conditions out-with the control of the E10. Factors such as timing, particularly in regard to holding the rotating monthly presidency, and the composition of the Council in a given year affect the ability of elected members to influence the Council's decision-making. If these conditions prove to be favourable, they can substantially increase the influencing capabilities of elected members within the Council.

Other opportunities for elected members to exercise influence in the Security Council occur through both formal and informal channels. Examining the more formalised areas, the rotating monthly presidency is an important feature of the E10's membership and their ability to impact agenda-setting and Council proceedings. The Council presidency rotates every month, giving every member, permanent or elected, a voice in what issues the Council discusses and debates. This offers an opportunity for influencing through the use of the presidency to present a theme not formally on the agenda or to keep issues on the agenda. A prominent example of this being Ireland's previous term on the Council from 2001-2, where Ireland used its presidency, in the context of rising violence in the Middle East following the collapse of the Oslo peace agreement, to obtain unanimous agreement on a call "for immediate withdrawal of all Israeli forces" from Palestinian areas.³⁹ Another formal channel is the chairing of subsidiary organs, through which it is possible to influence sanctions committees and regimes in certain countries.

Informal mechanisms of influence are more centred around the use of 'soft power'⁴⁰ and intangible outcomes which help to build influence and reputation within the Council. Notable categories of soft power are centred around cultural, social, economic, political and, in the case of Ireland, human structures.⁴¹ These structures highlight the areas in which influence can be exerted through the building of relationships, involvement in coalitions, high-level engagement with regional and international actors and the wider influence of a diaspora with a connection to their homeland. Arria-formula meetings represent an important avenue of soft power within the Security Council for elected members. These are closed-door informal meetings which allow non-Council members to speak about issues on the Council's agenda. Informal meetings have become more frequent in recent years, allowing members to meet in an informal space through which networking and influencing activities can take place. Penholding is a further channel of influence, through the drafting and organisation process involved in underpinning a resolution.

The barriers to elected member influence are also worth noting, the most prominent of which being the lack of a veto (or threat of exercising the right to veto), which enables the P5 to wield substantial control over the direction of Council decision-making at critical moments.⁴² Institutional memory is also a key barrier. As E10 members have only two-year terms, they lack sufficient time to fully build capacity and do not have the muscle memory of the permanent members who are already familiar with the intricacies

³⁹ Thorhallsson (2012) Small States in the UN Security Council: Means of Influence?

⁴⁰ Nye (2004) Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics

⁴¹ O'Donovan (2020) Soft Power for the Hard Road - Assessing Ireland's Soft Power Resources in Europe

⁴² Langmore and Farrall (2016) Can Elected Members Make a Difference in the UN Security Council? Australia's Experience in 2013–2014

of the Council. This speaks to a structural imbalance within the Council, with the core institutional memory residing solely in the hands of the permanent members. However, it is possible to mitigate this to an extent through collaboration between incoming and outgoing E10 members who 'pass the baton' for ongoing issues.⁴³ Limited human and financial resources are further areas in which E10 members are constrained. This is especially important in terms of influence, as membership comes with a heavy administrative burden which impacts on the capacity of staff which, combined with limited resources, often means that states may have to make compromises and choose between presenting thematic issues within the Security Council and focusing on efficient participation in the daily work of the Council.⁴⁴

Similar types of influencing activities have been discussed in the context of research examining the influence of smaller states within the multilateral system.⁴⁵ Influencing through corporate governance processes, through fund allocation processes, through staff placements and other formal / informal channels all play an important role here and are relevant to mention in discussing avenues of diplomatic influence for elected members of the Security Council. Through this, these strategies of influencing across the multilateral system become apparent which are applicable in the context of the Security Council when examining governance participation, staff presence and networking and both formal and informal engagement in consultations and advocacy.

In discussing diplomatic influence, examples of 'successful influence' but also 'unsuccessful influence' are useful to frame how influencing activities can work (or not) in practice. As aforementioned, Ireland's previous term represented a strong example of influence through the use of the rotating presidency to maintain a decisive focus on an ongoing issue. A more unsuccessful approach to influence can be observed in Iceland's campaign for election to the Security Council in 2010. Bearing in mind the role of diplomatic capacity and the influence it holds over image and perception, Iceland's campaign for UNSC membership in 2010 tried to build on Nordic ideals of promoting human rights, development assistance and women's rights. However, Iceland's campaign was unsuccessful due, in part, to being seen as "free riding" on the Nordic image without previously having the experience and history of being an active promoter of the UN's ideals.⁴⁶ Therefore, it is clear that in order to be influential, the image-building process must be built in tandem with having the relevant skills and experience.

⁴³ Farrall et al. (2020) Elected Member Influence in the United Nations Security Council

⁴⁴ Thorhallsson (2012) Small States in the UN Security Council: Means of Influence?

⁴⁵ Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland (2020) Finnish Development Policy Influencing Activities in Multilateral Organisations

⁴⁶ Thorhallsson (2012) Small States in the UN Security Council: Means of Influence?