

APPENDIX A
*Voting Strengths of a Proposed
 UN Security Council^a*

Table 1. *Country and constituency voting strengths on proposed UN Security Council*

<i>Countries</i>	<i>Factors determining voting strength</i>				<i>Result</i>
	<i>Contribution to global public goods budget</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>GDP</i>	<i>Military capacity</i>	<i>Weighted vote</i>
Permanent members					
United States	0.22000	0.04684	0.26662	0.39584	23.233
Japan	0.19468	0.02086	0.16712	0.05411	10.919
China	0.02053	0.20881	0.03306	0.03798	7.509
India	0.00421	0.16949	0.01468	0.01812	5.162
Russian Federation	0.01100	0.02377	0.01117	0.01786	1.595
EU and official candidates (28)					
Germany	0.08662	0.01352	0.07994	0.04553	5.640
France	0.06030	0.00972	0.05341	0.05628	4.493
United Kingdom	0.06127	0.00965	0.03949	0.05198	4.060
Italy	0.04885	0.00951	0.03626	0.03479	3.235
Spain	0.02520	0.00675	0.02141	0.01119	1.614
Netherlands	0.01690	0.00263	0.01487	0.01009	1.112
Turkey	0.00372	0.01125	0.00562	0.01250	0.827
Sweden	0.00998	0.00146	0.00832	0.00754	0.683
Belgium	0.01069	0.00169	0.00950	0.00505	0.673
Austria	0.00859	0.00134	0.00798	0.00247	0.510
Greece	0.00530	0.00174	0.00428	0.00925	0.514
Poland	0.00461	0.00634	0.00425	0.00490	0.503
Denmark	0.00718	0.00088	0.00614	0.00397	0.454
Portugal	0.00470	0.00165	0.00389	0.00359	0.346
Finland	0.00533	0.00085	0.00493	0.00229	0.335
Ireland	0.00350	0.00063	0.00334	0.00128	0.219

a. Note that as the weights change over time, the resulting weighted vote could also change.

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<i>Countries</i>	<i>Factors determining voting strength</i>				<i>Result</i>
	<i>Contribution to global public goods budget</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>GDP</i>	<i>Military capacity</i>	<i>Weighted vote</i>
Czech Republic	0.00183	0.00168	0.00169	0.00175	0.174
Romania	0.00060	0.00368	0.00102	0.00125	0.164
Hungary	0.00126	0.00167	0.00167	0.00110	0.143
Slovak Republic	0.00051	0.00089	0.00070	0.00055	0.066
Bulgaria	0.00017	0.00130	0.00039	0.00051	0.059
Slovenia	0.00082	0.00033	0.00071	0.00044	0.057
Luxembourg	0.00077	0.00007	0.00074	0.00024	0.045
Lithuania	0.00024	0.00057	0.00026	0.00031	0.035
Cyprus	0.00039	0.00012	0.00033	0.00000	0.021
Latvia	0.00015	0.00039	0.00020	0.00011	0.021
Iceland	0.00034	0.00005	0.00027	0.00000	0.016
Malta	0.00014	0.00006	0.00012	0.00004	0.009
Other Europe (19)	0.02509	0.02031	0.02191	0.03437	2.542
Switzerland	0.01197	0.00119	0.01007	0.00415	0.684
Israel	0.00467	0.00104	0.00315	0.01281	0.542
Ukraine	0.00039	0.00806	0.00143	0.00772	0.440
Norway	0.00679	0.00074	0.00511	0.00461	0.431
Belarus	0.00018	0.00164	0.00044	0.00194	0.105
Yugoslavia, Federal Republic	0.00019	0.00175	0.00000	0.00158	0.088
Croatia	0.00037	0.00072	0.00068	0.00083	0.065
Azerbaijan	0.00005	0.00133	0.00011	0.00000	0.037
Bosnia and Herzegovina	0.00003	0.00067	0.00020	0.00028	0.029
Georgia	0.00003	0.00086	0.00008	0.00011	0.027
Moldova	0.00001	0.00070	0.00009	0.00005	0.021
Albania	0.00005	0.00052	0.00010	0.00005	0.018
Estonia	0.00012	0.00022	0.00019	0.00014	0.017
Armenia	0.00002	0.00051	0.00012	0.00000	0.016
Macedonia, Former Yugoslav Republic	0.00006	0.00033	0.00015	0.00010	0.016
Liechtenstein	0.00005	0.00000	0.00000	0.00000	0.001
Andorra	0.00005	0.00001	0.00000	0.00000	0.002
Monaco	0.00003	0.00000	0.00000	0.00000	0.001
San Marino	0.00003	0.00000	0.00000	0.00000	0.001
Latin America, Caribbean and Canada (35)	0.08158	0.09046	0.08196	0.04258	7.414
Brazil	0.01523	0.02830	0.02362	0.01985	2.175
Canada	0.02813	0.00510	0.02123	0.01074	1.630

<i>Countries</i>	<i>Factors determining voting strength</i>				<i>Result</i>
	<i>Contribution to global public goods budget</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>GDP</i>	<i>Military capacity</i>	<i>Weighted vote</i>
Mexico	0.01883	0.01632	0.01101	0.00339	1.239
Argentina	0.00956	0.00615	0.00829	0.00539	0.735
Colombia	0.00155	0.00707	0.00290	0.00000	0.288
Chile	0.00223	0.00253	0.00245	0.00262	0.246
Ecuador	0.00019	0.00211	0.00642	0.00000	0.218
Peru	0.00092	0.00433	0.00181	0.00000	0.176
Venezuela	0.00171	0.00404	0.00001	0.00000	0.144
Guatemala	0.00030	0.00192	0.00054	0.00024	0.075
Dominican Republic	0.00035	0.00140	0.00052	0.00000	0.057
Cuba	0.00043	0.00184	0.00000	0.00000	0.057
Uruguay	0.00048	0.00055	0.00061	0.00000	0.041
Bolivia	0.00009	0.00140	0.00024	0.00020	0.048
El Salvador	0.00022	0.00105	0.00033	0.00014	0.044
Haiti	0.00003	0.00134	0.00009	0.00000	0.036
Paraguay	0.00012	0.00088	0.00028	0.00000	0.032
Costa Rica	0.00030	0.00064	0.00045	0.00000	0.035
Honduras	0.00005	0.00108	0.00014	0.00000	0.032
Panama	0.00019	0.00048	0.00033	0.00000	0.025
Nicaragua	0.00001	0.00085	0.00000	0.00000	0.022
Jamaica	0.00008	0.00043	0.00017	0.00000	0.017
Trinidad and Tobago	0.00022	0.00022	0.00021	0.00000	0.016
Bahamas	0.00013	0.00005	0.00012	0.00000	0.008
Barbados	0.00010	0.00004	0.00007	0.00000	0.005
Guyana	0.00001	0.00013	0.00002	0.00000	0.004
Suriname	0.00001	0.00007	0.00001	0.00000	0.002
Belize	0.00001	0.00004	0.00002	0.00000	0.002
Saint Lucia	0.00002	0.00003	0.00002	0.00000	0.002
Antigua and Barbuda	0.00003	0.00001	0.00002	0.00000	0.001
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	0.00001	0.00002	0.00001	0.00000	0.001
Grenada	0.00001	0.00002	0.00001	0.00000	0.001
Dominica	0.00001	0.00001	0.00001	0.00000	0.001
Kiribati	0.00001	0.00002	0.00000	0.00000	0.001
Saint Kitts and Nevis	0.00001	0.00001	0.00001	0.00000	0.001
Other Asia (40)	0.05035	0.17932	0.06655	0.06391	9.003
Republic of Korea	0.01796	0.00777	0.01894	0.01435	1.475
Indonesia	0.00142	0.03431	0.00641	0.00156	1.092
Australia	0.01592	0.00318	0.01388	0.00965	1.066

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<i>Countries</i>	<i>Factors determining voting strength</i>				<i>Result</i>
	<i>Contribution to global public goods budget</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>GDP</i>	<i>Military capacity</i>	<i>Weighted vote</i>
Iran, Islamic Republic	0.00157	0.01059	0.00328	0.01620	0.791
Pakistan	0.00055	0.02322	0.00216	0.00444	0.760
Bangladesh	0.00010	0.02189	0.00152	0.00094	0.611
Thailand	0.00209	0.01005	0.00517	0.00243	0.494
Philippines	0.00095	0.01286	0.00270	0.00000	0.413
Singapore	0.00388	0.00068	0.00328	0.00639	0.356
Vietnam	0.00021	0.01306	0.00092	0.00000	0.355
Malaysia	0.00203	0.00391	0.00332	0.00250	0.294
Myanmar	0.00010	0.00793	0.00000	0.00000	0.201
New Zealand	0.00221	0.00063	0.00210	0.00082	0.144
Democratic People's Republic of Korea	0.00010	0.00367	0.00000	0.00198	0.144
Sri Lanka	0.00017	0.00308	0.00049	0.00098	0.118
Uzbekistan	0.00014	0.00412	0.00038	0.00000	0.116
Kazakhstan	0.00025	0.00245	0.00076	0.00112	0.114
Afghanistan	0.00002	0.00447	0.00000	0.00000	0.112
Nepal	0.00004	0.00387	0.00017	0.00008	0.104
Cambodia	0.00002	0.00201	0.00012	0.00011	0.056
Kyrgyz Republic	0.00001	0.00081	0.00006	0.00031	0.030
Turkmenistan	0.00005	0.00089	0.00026	0.00000	0.030
Tajikistan	0.00001	0.00103	0.00008	0.00000	0.028
Papua New Guinea	0.00003	0.00086	0.00014	0.00000	0.026
Lao People's Democratic Republic	0.00001	0.00089	0.00007	0.00000	0.024
Brunei Darussalam	0.00034	0.00006	0.00017	0.00000	0.014
Mongolia	0.00001	0.00040	0.00003	0.00003	0.012
Fiji	0.00004	0.00013	0.00007	0.00000	0.006
Bhutan	0.00001	0.00014	0.00001	0.00000	0.004
Timor-Leste	0.00001	0.00012	0.00000	0.00000	0.003
Solomon Islands	0.00001	0.00007	0.00001	0.00000	0.002
Maldives	0.00001	0.00005	0.00002	0.00000	0.002
Vanuatu	0.00001	0.00003	0.00001	0.00000	0.001
Samoa	0.00001	0.00003	0.00001	0.00000	0.001
Micronesia	0.00001	0.00002	0.00001	0.00000	0.001
Tonga	0.00001	0.00002	0.00001	0.00000	0.001
Marshall Islands	0.00001	0.00001	0.00000	0.00000	0.001
Palau	0.00001	0.00000	0.00000	0.00000	0.000
Nauru	0.00001	0.00000	0.00000	0.00000	0.000
Tuvalu	0.00001	0.00000	0.00000	0.00000	0.000

<i>Countries</i>	<i>Factors determining voting strength</i>				<i>Result</i>
	<i>Contribution to global public goods budget</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>GDP</i>	<i>Military capacity</i>	<i>Weighted vote</i>
Africa (43)	0.00472	0.10327	0.01090	0.00834	3.181
Nigeria	0.00042	0.02132	0.00098	0.00279	0.638
South Africa	0.00292	0.00710	0.00524	0.00332	0.464
Ethiopia	0.00004	0.01081	0.00023	0.00000	0.277
Democratic Republic of Congo	0.00003	0.00860	0.00013	0.00000	0.219
Tanzania	0.00006	0.00566	0.00020	0.00000	0.148
Kenya	0.00009	0.00505	0.00030	0.00037	0.145
Uganda	0.00006	0.00374	0.00024	0.00020	0.106
Ghana	0.00004	0.00324	0.00025	0.00008	0.090
Mozambique	0.00001	0.00297	0.00011	0.00018	0.082
Côte d'Ivoire	0.00010	0.00269	0.00036	0.00000	0.079
Cameroon	0.00008	0.00250	0.00031	0.00000	0.072
Madagascar	0.00003	0.00262	0.00012	0.00000	0.069
Zimbabwe	0.00007	0.00210	0.00021	0.00032	0.068
Angola	0.00001	0.00222	0.00021	0.00000	0.061
Burkina Faso	0.00002	0.00190	0.00009	0.00008	0.052
Senegal	0.00005	0.00160	0.00018	0.00012	0.049
Mali	0.00002	0.00182	0.00010	0.00000	0.048
Niger	0.00001	0.00184	0.00007	0.00000	0.048
Zambia	0.00002	0.00169	0.00012	0.00000	0.046
Malawi	0.00001	0.00173	0.00005	0.00002	0.045
Guinea	0.00003	0.00124	0.00014	0.00010	0.038
Rwanda	0.00001	0.00130	0.00007	0.00011	0.037
Burundi	0.00001	0.00114	0.00003	0.00020	0.034
Chad	0.00001	0.00130	0.00005	0.00000	0.034
Benin	0.00002	0.00106	0.00008	0.00000	0.029
Botswana	0.00012	0.00028	0.00021	0.00031	0.023
Sierra Leone	0.00001	0.00084	0.00002	0.00000	0.022
Togo	0.00001	0.00076	0.00004	0.00000	0.020
Eritrea	0.00001	0.00069	0.00002	0.00000	0.018
Central African Republic	0.00001	0.00062	0.00004	0.00000	0.017
Namibia	0.00006	0.00029	0.00013	0.00014	0.016
Republic of Congo	0.00001	0.00051	0.00007	0.00000	0.015
Liberia	0.00001	0.00053	0.00002	0.00000	0.014
Gabon	0.00009	0.00021	0.00016	0.00000	0.012
Mauritius	0.00011	0.00020	0.00016	0.00001	0.012
Lesotho	0.00001	0.00034	0.00003	0.00000	0.010
Gambia	0.00001	0.00022	0.00002	0.00000	0.006

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<i>Countries</i>	<i>Factors determining voting strength</i>				<i>Result</i>
	<i>Contribution to global public goods budget</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>GDP</i>	<i>Military capacity</i>	<i>Weighted vote</i>
Swaziland	0.00002	0.00018	0.00005	0.00000	0.006
Guinea-Bissau	0.00001	0.00020	0.00001	0.00000	0.005
Equatorial Guinea	0.00002	0.00008	0.00002	0.00000	0.003
Cape Verde	0.00001	0.00007	0.00002	0.00000	0.003
Seychelles	0.00002	0.00001	0.00001	0.00000	0.001
São Tome and Principe	0.00001	0.00002	0.00000	0.00000	0.001
Arab League (21)	0.01788	0.04646	0.01430	0.05790	3.414
Saudi Arabia	0.00713	0.00351	0.00419	0.03748	1.308
Egypt, Arab Republic	0.00120	0.01070	0.00239	0.00333	0.441
Syrian Arab Republic	0.00038	0.00272	0.00039	0.00666	0.254
Morocco	0.00047	0.00479	0.00124	0.00219	0.217
Algeria	0.00076	0.00506	0.00147	0.00000	0.182
United Arab Emirates	0.00235	0.00049	0.00126	0.00223	0.158
Sudan	0.00008	0.00520	0.00031	0.00000	0.140
Oman	0.00070	0.00041	0.00046	0.00378	0.134
Iraq	0.00016	0.00390	0.00000	0.00000	0.101
Yemen	0.00006	0.00296	0.00017	0.00062	0.095
Tunisia	0.00032	0.00159	0.00073	0.00052	0.079
Kuwait	0.00162	0.00034	0.00081	0.00000	0.069
Jordan	0.00011	0.00083	0.00024	0.00108	0.056
Libya	0.00132	0.00089	0.00000	0.00000	0.055
Somalia	0.00001	0.00149	0.00000	0.00000	0.038
Lebanon	0.00024	0.00072	0.00037	0.00000	0.033
Mauritania	0.00001	0.00045	0.00004	0.00000	0.013
Bahrain	0.00030	0.00011	0.00021	0.00000	0.016
Qatar	0.00064	0.00010	0.00000	0.00000	0.018
Djibouti	0.00001	0.00011	0.00001	0.00000	0.003
Comoros	0.00001	0.00009	0.00001	0.00000	0.003

Notes and sources: Contribution to global public goods budget is the member contribution to the UN regular budget for 2004. Population is that of member states in 2001, from the World Bank, *World Development Indicators*, and the CIA Factbook. GDP is in constant 1995 US dollars, from the World Bank, *World Development Indicators*. Military capability is based on military expenditure in constant 1998 US dollars, from the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI).

Table 2. *Country and constituency voting strengths on proposed UN Security Council, adjusted for quality of democracy*

<i>Country</i>	<i>Freedom House index</i>	<i>Weighted vote</i>	<i>Transformed Freedom House index</i>	<i>Weighted vote adjusted for democracy</i>
Permanent members				
United States	1	23.2325	1.5	26.8570
Japan	1	10.9191	1.5	12.6226
China	7	7.5094	0.5	2.8936
India	2	5.1623	1.3	5.3046
Russian Federation	5	1.5951	0.8	1.0244
EU and official candidates (28)		26.0280		29.8550
Germany	1	5.6403	1.5	6.5202
France	1	4.4926	1.5	5.1935
United Kingdom	1	4.0599	1.5	4.6933
Italy	1	3.2352	1.5	3.7399
Spain	1	1.6137	1.5	1.8654
Netherlands	1	1.1123	1.5	1.2858
Turkey	3	0.8273	1.2	0.7439
Sweden	1	0.6825	1.5	0.7890
Belgium	1	0.6733	1.5	0.7784
Austria	1	0.5095	1.5	0.5890
Greece	1	0.5143	1.5	0.5946
Poland	1	0.5026	1.5	0.5810
Denmark	1	0.4543	1.5	0.5252
Portugal	1	0.3456	1.5	0.3995
Finland	1	0.3352	1.5	0.3875
Ireland	1	0.2189	1.5	0.2530
Czech Republic	1	0.1736	1.5	0.2007
Romania	2	0.1637	1.3	0.1683
Hungary	1	0.1425	1.5	0.1648
Slovak Republic	1	0.0664	1.5	0.0767
Bulgaria	1	0.0591	1.5	0.0683
Slovenia	1	0.0573	1.5	0.0662
Luxembourg	1	0.0455	1.5	0.0526
Lithuania	1	0.0345	1.5	0.0399
Cyprus	1	0.0211	1.5	0.0244
Latvia	1	0.0212	1.5	0.0245
Iceland	1	0.0163	1.5	0.0189
Malta	1	0.0091	1.5	0.0106

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<i>Country</i>	<i>Freedom House index</i>	<i>Weighted vote</i>	<i>Transformed Freedom House index</i>	<i>Weighted vote adjusted for democracy</i>
Other Europe (19)		2.5420		2.6045
Switzerland	1	0.6845	1.5	0.7912
Israel	1	0.5417	1.5	0.6263
Ukraine	4	0.4401	1.0	0.3391
Norway	1	0.4313	1.5	0.4986
Belarus	6	0.1049	0.7	0.0539
Yugoslavia, Federal Republic	3	0.0879	1.2	0.0791
Croatia	2	0.0649	1.3	0.0667
Azerbaijan	6	0.0373	0.7	0.0192
Bosnia and Herzegovina	4	0.0294	1.0	0.0226
Georgia	4	0.0268	1.0	0.0207
Moldova	3	0.0212	1.2	0.0190
Albania	3	0.0180	1.2	0.0162
Estonia	1	0.0170	1.5	0.0196
Armenia	4	0.0162	1.0	0.0125
Macedonia, Former Yugoslav Republic	3	0.0161	1.2	0.0145
Liechtenstein	1	0.0014	1.5	0.0016
Andorra	1	0.0015	1.5	0.0018
Monaco	2	0.0009	1.3	0.0009
San Marino	1	0.0009	1.5	0.0010
Latin America and Caribbean (35)		7.4144		7.5370
Brazil	2	2.1749	1.3	2.2349
Canada	1	1.6300	1.5	1.8843
Mexico	2	1.2388	1.3	1.2729
Argentina	3	0.7350	1.2	0.6608
Colombia	4	0.2879	1.0	0.2219
Chile	2	0.2458	1.3	0.2526
Ecuador	3	0.2181	1.2	0.1961
Peru	2	0.1763	1.3	0.1812
Venezuela	3	0.1440	1.2	0.1295
Guatemala	4	0.0750	1.0	0.0578
Dominican Republic	2	0.0567	1.3	0.0583
Cuba	7	0.0568	0.5	0.0219
Uruguay	1	0.0411	1.5	0.0475
Bolivia	2	0.0482	1.3	0.0495
El Salvador	2	0.0437	1.3	0.0449
Haiti	6	0.0363	0.7	0.0186
Paraguay	4	0.0322	1.0	0.0248

<i>Country</i>	<i>Freedom House index</i>	<i>Weighted vote</i>	<i>Transformed Freedom House index</i>	<i>Weighted vote adjusted for democracy</i>
Costa Rica	1	0.0345	1.5	0.0399
Honduras	3	0.0318	1.2	0.0286
Panama	1	0.0249	1.5	0.0288
Nicaragua	3	0.0216	1.2	0.0194
Jamaica	2	0.0168	1.3	0.0173
Trinidad and Tobago	3	0.0161	1.2	0.0144
Bahamas	1	0.0076	1.5	0.0088
Barbados	1	0.0053	1.5	0.0061
Guyana	2	0.0039	1.3	0.0040
Suriname	1	0.0023	1.5	0.0027
Belize	1	0.0018	1.5	0.0021
Saint Lucia	1	0.0016	1.5	0.0018
Antigua and Barbuda	4	0.0015	1.0	0.0011
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	2	0.0009	1.3	0.0010
Grenada	1	0.0009	1.5	0.0011
Dominica	1	0.0007	1.5	0.0008
Kiribati	1	0.0007	1.5	0.0008
Saint Kitts and Nevis	1	0.0007	1.5	0.0008
Other Asia (40)		9.0029		7.2742
Republic of Korea	2	1.4755	1.3	1.5161
Indonesia	3	1.0925	1.2	0.9822
Australia	1	1.0659	1.5	1.2322
Iran, Islamic Republic	6	0.7911	0.7	0.4065
Pakistan	6	0.7595	0.7	0.3902
Bangladesh	4	0.6113	1.0	0.4711
Thailand	2	0.4936	1.3	0.5072
Philippines	2	0.4128	1.3	0.4242
Singapore	5	0.3558	0.8	0.2285
Vietnam	7	0.3546	0.5	0.1366
Malaysia	5	0.2939	0.8	0.1888
Myanmar	7	0.2008	0.5	0.0774
New Zealand	1	0.1439	1.5	0.1664
Democratic People's Republic of Korea	7	0.1439	0.5	0.0555
Sri Lanka	3	0.1179	1.2	0.1060
Uzbekistan	7	0.1159	0.5	0.0446
Kazakhstan	6	0.1143	0.7	0.0587
Afghanistan	6	0.1123	0.7	0.0577
Nepal	4	0.1041	1.0	0.0802

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<i>Country</i>	<i>Freedom House index</i>	<i>Weighted vote</i>	<i>Transformed Freedom House index</i>	<i>Weighted vote adjusted for democracy</i>
Cambodia	6	0.0565	0.7	0.0290
Kyrgyz Republic	6	0.0300	0.7	0.0154
Turkmenistan	7	0.0299	0.5	0.0115
Tajikistan	6	0.0278	0.7	0.0143
Papua New Guinea	2	0.0258	1.3	0.0265
Lao People's Democratic Republic	7	0.0243	0.5	0.0094
Brunei Darussalam	6	0.0142	0.7	0.0073
Mongolia	2	0.0118	1.3	0.0121
Fiji	4	0.0061	1.0	0.0047
Bhutan	6	0.0040	0.7	0.0020
Timor-Leste	3	0.0033	1.2	0.0030
Solomon Islands	3	0.0022	1.2	0.0020
Maldives	6	0.0018	0.7	0.0009
Vanuatu	1	0.0013	1.5	0.0015
Samoa	2	0.0012	1.3	0.0012
Micronesia	1	0.0009	1.5	0.0010
Tonga	5	0.0008	0.8	0.0005
Marshall Islands	1	0.0005	1.5	0.0006
Palau	1	0.0004	1.5	0.0005
Nauru	1	0.0003	1.5	0.0003
Tuvalu	1	0.0003	1.5	0.0003
Africa (43)		3.1808		2.4615
Nigeria	4	0.6378	1.0	0.4916
South Africa	1	0.4644	1.5	0.5369
Ethiopia	5	0.2770	0.8	0.1779
Democratic Republic of Congo	6	0.2190	0.7	0.1125
Tanzania	4	0.1479	1.0	0.1140
Kenya	4	0.1451	1.0	0.1118
Uganda	6	0.1061	0.7	0.0545
Ghana	2	0.0899	1.3	0.0924
Mozambique	3	0.0817	1.2	0.0734
Côte d'Ivoire	6	0.0787	0.7	0.0405
Cameroon	6	0.0722	0.7	0.0371
Madagascar	3	0.0693	1.2	0.0623
Zimbabwe	6	0.0677	0.7	0.0348
Angola	6	0.0610	0.7	0.0313
Burkina Faso	4	0.0520	1.0	0.0401
Senegal	2	0.0489	1.3	0.0502

<i>Country</i>	<i>Freedom House index</i>	<i>Weighted vote</i>	<i>Transformed Freedom House index</i>	<i>Weighted vote adjusted for democracy</i>
Mali	2	0.0484	1.3	0.0498
Niger	4	0.0479	1.0	0.0369
Zambia	4	0.0458	1.0	0.0353
Malawi	4	0.0452	1.0	0.0348
Guinea	6	0.0377	0.7	0.0194
Rwanda	7	0.0371	0.5	0.0143
Burundi	6	0.0345	0.7	0.0177
Chad	6	0.0341	0.7	0.0175
Benin	3	0.0289	1.2	0.0260
Botswana	2	0.0228	1.3	0.0234
Sierra Leone	4	0.0219	1.0	0.0169
Togo	6	0.0205	0.7	0.0105
Eritrea	7	0.0180	0.5	0.0069
Central African Republic	5	0.0167	0.8	0.0107
Namibia	2	0.0156	1.3	0.0161
Republic of Congo	6	0.0148	0.7	0.0076
Liberia	6	0.0139	0.7	0.0071
Gabon	5	0.0115	0.8	0.0074
Mauritius	1	0.0119	1.5	0.0138
Lesotho	2	0.0096	1.3	0.0098
Gambia	4	0.0061	1.0	0.0047
Swaziland	6	0.0061	0.7	0.0031
Guinea-Bissau	4	0.0055	1.0	0.0042
Equatorial Guinea	7	0.0030	0.5	0.0011
Cape Verde	1	0.0026	1.5	0.0030
Seychelles	3	0.0012	1.2	0.0011
São Tome and Principe	1	0.0009	1.5	0.0011
Arab League (21)		3.4135		1.5655
Saudi Arabia	7	1.3078	0.5	0.5039
Egypt, Arab Republic	6	0.4405	0.7	0.2263
Syrian Arab Republic	7	0.2539	0.5	0.0979
Morocco	5	0.2171	0.8	0.1394
Algeria	6	0.1824	0.7	0.0937
United Arab Emirates	6	0.1581	0.7	0.0812
Sudan	7	0.1398	0.5	0.0539
Oman	6	0.1338	0.7	0.0687
Iraq	7	0.1015	0.5	0.0391
Yemen	6	0.0953	0.7	0.0490
Tunisia	6	0.0791	0.7	0.0406
Kuwait	4	0.0691	1.0	0.0532

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<i>Country</i>	<i>Freedom House index</i>	<i>Weighted vote</i>	<i>Transformed Freedom House index</i>	<i>Weighted vote adjusted for democracy</i>
Jordan	6	0.0565	0.7	0.0290
Libya	7	0.0552	0.5	0.0213
Somalia	6	0.0375	0.7	0.0193
Lebanon	6	0.0333	0.7	0.0171
Mauritania	5	0.0126	0.8	0.0081
Bahrain	5	0.0155	0.8	0.0100
Qatar	6	0.0185	0.7	0.0095
Djibouti	4	0.0033	1.0	0.0025
Comoros	5	0.0028	0.8	0.0018

Notes and sources: Democracy variable is the Political Rights Index from the Freedom House Index, "Freedom in the World 2004," www.freedomhouse.org. For other variables, see sources for appendix table 1.

Table 3. *Country and constituency voting strengths in transition phase of proposed UN Security Council*

<i>Countries</i>	<i>Factors determining voting strength</i>				<i>Result</i>
	<i>Contribution to global public goods budget</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>GDP</i>	<i>Military capacity</i>	<i>Weighted vote</i>
Permanent members					
United States	0.22000	0.04684	0.26662	0.39584	22.909
Japan	0.19468	0.02086	0.16712	0.05411	9.827
China	0.02053	0.20881	0.03306	0.03798	8.758
India	0.00421	0.16949	0.01468	0.01812	4.646
Russian Federation	0.01100	0.02377	0.01117	0.01786	3.436
EU and official candidates (28)					
Germany	0.08662	0.01352	0.07994	0.04553	5.076
France	0.06030	0.00972	0.05341	0.05628	6.043
United Kingdom	0.06127	0.00965	0.03949	0.05198	5.654
Italy	0.04885	0.00951	0.03626	0.03479	2.912
Spain	0.02520	0.00675	0.02141	0.01119	1.452
Netherlands	0.01690	0.00263	0.01487	0.01009	1.001
Turkey	0.00372	0.01125	0.00562	0.01250	0.745
Sweden	0.00998	0.00146	0.00832	0.00754	0.614
Belgium	0.01069	0.00169	0.00950	0.00505	0.606
Austria	0.00859	0.00134	0.00798	0.00247	0.459
Greece	0.00530	0.00174	0.00428	0.00925	0.463
Poland	0.00461	0.00634	0.00425	0.00490	0.452
Denmark	0.00718	0.00088	0.00614	0.00397	0.409
Portugal	0.00470	0.00165	0.00389	0.00359	0.311
Finland	0.00533	0.00085	0.00493	0.00229	0.302
Ireland	0.00350	0.00063	0.00334	0.00128	0.197
Czech Republic	0.00183	0.00168	0.00169	0.00175	0.156
Romania	0.00060	0.00368	0.00102	0.00125	0.147
Hungary	0.00126	0.00167	0.00167	0.00110	0.128
Slovak Republic	0.00051	0.00089	0.00070	0.00055	0.060
Bulgaria	0.00017	0.00130	0.00039	0.00051	0.053
Slovenia	0.00082	0.00033	0.00071	0.00044	0.052
Luxembourg	0.00077	0.00007	0.00074	0.00024	0.041
Lithuania	0.00024	0.00057	0.00026	0.00031	0.031
Cyprus	0.00039	0.00012	0.00033	0.00000	0.019
Latvia	0.00015	0.00039	0.00020	0.00011	0.019
Iceland	0.00034	0.00005	0.00027	0.00000	0.015
Malta	0.00014	0.00006	0.00012	0.00004	0.008

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<i>Countries</i>	<i>Factors determining voting strength</i>				<i>Result</i>
	<i>Contribution to global public goods budget</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>GDP</i>	<i>Military capacity</i>	<i>Weighted vote</i>
Other Europe (19)	0.02509	0.02031	0.02191	0.03437	2.288
Switzerland	0.01197	0.00119	0.01007	0.00415	0.616
Israel	0.00467	0.00104	0.00315	0.01281	0.488
Ukraine	0.00039	0.00806	0.00143	0.00772	0.396
Norway	0.00679	0.00074	0.00511	0.00461	0.388
Belarus	0.00018	0.00164	0.00044	0.00194	0.094
Yugoslavia, Federal Republic	0.00019	0.00175	0.00000	0.00158	0.079
Croatia	0.00037	0.00072	0.00068	0.00083	0.058
Azerbaijan	0.00005	0.00133	0.00011	0.00000	0.034
Bosnia and Herzegovina	0.00003	0.00067	0.00020	0.00028	0.026
Georgia	0.00003	0.00086	0.00008	0.00011	0.024
Moldova	0.00001	0.00070	0.00009	0.00005	0.019
Albania	0.00005	0.00052	0.00010	0.00005	0.016
Estonia	0.00012	0.00022	0.00019	0.00014	0.015
Armenia	0.00002	0.00051	0.00012	0.00000	0.015
Macedonia, Former Yugoslav Republic	0.00006	0.00033	0.00015	0.00010	0.014
Liechtenstein	0.00005	0.00000	0.00000	0.00000	0.001
Andorra	0.00005	0.00001	0.00000	0.00000	0.001
Monaco	0.00003	0.00000	0.00000	0.00000	0.001
San Marino	0.00003	0.00000	0.00000	0.00000	0.001
Latin America, Caribbean and Canada (35)	0.08158	0.09046	0.08196	0.04258	6.673
Brazil	0.01523	0.02830	0.02362	0.01985	1.957
Canada	0.02813	0.00510	0.02123	0.01074	1.467
Mexico	0.01883	0.01632	0.01101	0.00339	1.115
Argentina	0.00956	0.00615	0.00829	0.00539	0.661
Colombia	0.00155	0.00707	0.00290	0.00000	0.259
Chile	0.00223	0.00253	0.00245	0.00262	0.221
Ecuador	0.00019	0.00211	0.00642	0.00000	0.196
Peru	0.00092	0.00433	0.00181	0.00000	0.159
Venezuela	0.00171	0.00404	0.00001	0.00000	0.130
Guatemala	0.00030	0.00192	0.00054	0.00024	0.067
Dominican Republic	0.00035	0.00140	0.00052	0.00000	0.051
Cuba	0.00043	0.00184	0.00000	0.00000	0.051
Uruguay	0.00048	0.00055	0.00061	0.00000	0.037

<i>Countries</i>	<i>Factors determining voting strength</i>				<i>Result</i>
	<i>Contribution to global public goods budget</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>GDP</i>	<i>Military capacity</i>	<i>Weighted vote</i>
Bolivia	0.00009	0.00140	0.00024	0.00020	0.043
El Salvador	0.00022	0.00105	0.00033	0.00014	0.039
Haiti	0.00003	0.00134	0.00009	0.00000	0.033
Paraguay	0.00012	0.00088	0.00028	0.00000	0.029
Costa Rica	0.00030	0.00064	0.00045	0.00000	0.031
Honduras	0.00005	0.00108	0.00014	0.00000	0.029
Panama	0.00019	0.00048	0.00033	0.00000	0.022
Nicaragua	0.00001	0.00085	0.00000	0.00000	0.019
Jamaica	0.00008	0.00043	0.00017	0.00000	0.015
Trinidad and Tobago	0.00022	0.00022	0.00021	0.00000	0.014
Bahamas	0.00013	0.00005	0.00012	0.00000	0.007
Barbados	0.00010	0.00004	0.00007	0.00000	0.005
Guyana	0.00001	0.00013	0.00002	0.00000	0.004
Suriname	0.00001	0.00007	0.00001	0.00000	0.002
Belize	0.00001	0.00004	0.00002	0.00000	0.002
Saint Lucia	0.00002	0.00003	0.00002	0.00000	0.001
Antigua and Barbuda	0.00003	0.00001	0.00002	0.00000	0.001
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	0.00001	0.00002	0.00001	0.00000	0.001
Grenada	0.00001	0.00002	0.00001	0.00000	0.001
Dominica	0.00001	0.00001	0.00001	0.00000	0.001
Kiribati	0.00001	0.00002	0.00000	0.00000	0.001
Saint Kitts and Nevis	0.00001	0.00001	0.00001	0.00000	0.001
Other Asia (40)	0.05035	0.17932	0.06655	0.06391	8.103
Republic of Korea	0.01796	0.00777	0.01894	0.01435	1.328
Indonesia	0.00142	0.03431	0.00641	0.00156	0.983
Australia	0.01592	0.00318	0.01388	0.00965	0.959
Iran, Islamic Republic	0.00157	0.01059	0.00328	0.01620	0.712
Pakistan	0.00055	0.02322	0.00216	0.00444	0.684
Bangladesh	0.00010	0.02189	0.00152	0.00094	0.550
Thailand	0.00209	0.01005	0.00517	0.00243	0.444
Philippines	0.00095	0.01286	0.00270	0.00000	0.372
Singapore	0.00388	0.00068	0.00328	0.00639	0.320
Vietnam	0.00021	0.01306	0.00092	0.00000	0.319
Malaysia	0.00203	0.00391	0.00332	0.00250	0.265
Myanmar	0.00010	0.00793	0.00000	0.00000	0.181
New Zealand	0.00221	0.00063	0.00210	0.00082	0.130

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<i>Countries</i>	<i>Factors determining voting strength</i>				<i>Result</i>
	<i>Contribution to global public goods budget</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>GDP</i>	<i>Military capacity</i>	<i>Weighted vote</i>
Democratic People's Republic of Korea	0.00010	0.00367	0.00000	0.00198	0.130
Sri Lanka	0.00017	0.00308	0.00049	0.00098	0.106
Uzbekistan	0.00014	0.00412	0.00038	0.00000	0.104
Kazakhstan	0.00025	0.00245	0.00076	0.00112	0.103
Afghanistan	0.00002	0.00447	0.00000	0.00000	0.101
Nepal	0.00004	0.00387	0.00017	0.00008	0.094
Cambodia	0.00002	0.00201	0.00012	0.00011	0.051
Kyrgyz Republic	0.00001	0.00081	0.00006	0.00031	0.027
Turkmenistan	0.00005	0.00089	0.00026	0.00000	0.027
Tajikistan	0.00001	0.00103	0.00008	0.00000	0.025
Papua New Guinea	0.00003	0.00086	0.00014	0.00000	0.023
Lao People's Democratic Republic	0.00001	0.00089	0.00007	0.00000	0.022
Brunei Darussalam	0.00034	0.00006	0.00017	0.00000	0.013
Mongolia	0.00001	0.00040	0.00003	0.00003	0.011
Fiji	0.00004	0.00013	0.00007	0.00000	0.005
Bhutan	0.00001	0.00014	0.00001	0.00000	0.004
Timor-Leste	0.00001	0.00012	0.00000	0.00000	0.003
Solomon Islands	0.00001	0.00007	0.00001	0.00000	0.002
Maldives	0.00001	0.00005	0.00002	0.00000	0.002
Vanuatu	0.00001	0.00003	0.00001	0.00000	0.001
Samoa	0.00001	0.00003	0.00001	0.00000	0.001
Micronesia	0.00001	0.00002	0.00001	0.00000	0.001
Tonga	0.00001	0.00002	0.00001	0.00000	0.001
Marshall Islands	0.00001	0.00001	0.00000	0.00000	0.000
Palau	0.00001	0.00000	0.00000	0.00000	0.000
Nauru	0.00001	0.00000	0.00000	0.00000	0.000
Tuvalu	0.00001	0.00000	0.00000	0.00000	0.000
Africa (43)	0.00472	0.10327	0.01090	0.00834	2.863
Nigeria	0.00042	0.02132	0.00098	0.00279	0.574
South Africa	0.00292	0.00710	0.00524	0.00332	0.418
Ethiopia	0.00004	0.01081	0.00023	0.00000	0.249
Democratic Republic of Congo	0.00003	0.00860	0.00013	0.00000	0.197
Tanzania	0.00006	0.00566	0.00020	0.00000	0.133
Kenya	0.00009	0.00505	0.00030	0.00037	0.131
Uganda	0.00006	0.00374	0.00024	0.00020	0.095
Ghana	0.00004	0.00324	0.00025	0.00008	0.081

<i>Countries</i>	<i>Factors determining voting strength</i>				<i>Result</i>
	<i>Contribution to global public goods budget</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>GDP</i>	<i>Military capacity</i>	<i>Weighted vote</i>
Mozambique	0.00001	0.00297	0.00011	0.00018	0.073
Côte d'Ivoire	0.00010	0.00269	0.00036	0.00000	0.071
Cameroon	0.00008	0.00250	0.00031	0.00000	0.065
Madagascar	0.00003	0.00262	0.00012	0.00000	0.062
Zimbabwe	0.00007	0.00210	0.00021	0.00032	0.061
Angola	0.00001	0.00222	0.00021	0.00000	0.055
Burkina Faso	0.00002	0.00190	0.00009	0.00008	0.047
Senegal	0.00005	0.00160	0.00018	0.00012	0.044
Mali	0.00002	0.00182	0.00010	0.00000	0.044
Niger	0.00001	0.00184	0.00007	0.00000	0.043
Zambia	0.00002	0.00169	0.00012	0.00000	0.041
Malawi	0.00001	0.00173	0.00005	0.00002	0.041
Guinea	0.00003	0.00124	0.00014	0.00010	0.034
Rwanda	0.00001	0.00130	0.00007	0.00011	0.033
Burundi	0.00001	0.00114	0.00003	0.00020	0.031
Chad	0.00001	0.00130	0.00005	0.00000	0.031
Benin	0.00002	0.00106	0.00008	0.00000	0.026
Botswana	0.00012	0.00028	0.00021	0.00031	0.020
Sierra Leone	0.00001	0.00084	0.00002	0.00000	0.020
Togo	0.00001	0.00076	0.00004	0.00000	0.018
Eritrea	0.00001	0.00069	0.00002	0.00000	0.016
Central African Republic	0.00001	0.00062	0.00004	0.00000	0.015
Namibia	0.00006	0.00029	0.00013	0.00014	0.014
Republic of Congo	0.00001	0.00051	0.00007	0.00000	0.013
Liberia	0.00001	0.00053	0.00002	0.00000	0.013
Gabon	0.00009	0.00021	0.00016	0.00000	0.010
Mauritius	0.00011	0.00020	0.00016	0.00001	0.011
Lesotho	0.00001	0.00034	0.00003	0.00000	0.009
Gambia	0.00001	0.00022	0.00002	0.00000	0.006
Swaziland	0.00002	0.00018	0.00005	0.00000	0.005
Guinea-Bissau	0.00001	0.00020	0.00001	0.00000	0.005
Equatorial Guinea	0.00002	0.00008	0.00002	0.00000	0.003
Cape Verde	0.00001	0.00007	0.00002	0.00000	0.002
Seychelles	0.00002	0.00001	0.00001	0.00000	0.001
São Tome and Principe	0.00001	0.00002	0.00000	0.00000	0.001
Arab League (21)	0.01788	0.04646	0.01430	0.05790	3.072
Saudi Arabia	0.00713	0.00351	0.00419	0.03748	1.177
Egypt, Arab Republic	0.00120	0.01070	0.00239	0.00333	0.396
Syrian Arab Republic	0.00038	0.00272	0.00039	0.00666	0.229

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<i>Countries</i>	<i>Factors determining voting strength</i>				<i>Result</i>
	<i>Contribution to global public goods budget</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>GDP</i>	<i>Military capacity</i>	<i>Weighted vote</i>
Morocco	0.00047	0.00479	0.00124	0.00219	0.195
Algeria	0.00076	0.00506	0.00147	0.00000	0.164
United Arab Emirates	0.00235	0.00049	0.00126	0.00223	0.142
Sudan	0.00008	0.00520	0.00031	0.00000	0.126
Oman	0.00070	0.00041	0.00046	0.00378	0.120
Iraq	0.00016	0.00390	0.00000	0.00000	0.091
Yemen	0.00006	0.00296	0.00017	0.00062	0.086
Tunisia	0.00032	0.00159	0.00073	0.00052	0.071
Kuwait	0.00162	0.00034	0.00081	0.00000	0.062
Jordan	0.00011	0.00083	0.00024	0.00108	0.051
Libya	0.00132	0.00089	0.00000	0.00000	0.050
Somalia	0.00001	0.00149	0.00000	0.00000	0.034
Lebanon	0.00024	0.00072	0.00037	0.00000	0.030
Mauritania	0.00001	0.00045	0.00004	0.00000	0.011
Bahrain	0.00030	0.00011	0.00021	0.00000	0.014
Qatar	0.00064	0.00010	0.00000	0.00000	0.017
Djibouti	0.00001	0.00011	0.00001	0.00000	0.003
Comoros	0.00001	0.00009	0.00001	0.00000	0.003

Notes and sources: See appendix table 1.

APPENDIX B

Voting Strengths of a Proposed UN Economic and Social Security Council

Table 1. *Country and constituency voting strengths on the proposed UN Economic and Social Security Council*

<i>Countries</i>	<i>Factors determining voting strength (% of total)</i>			<i>Result</i>	<i>Comparison</i>
	<i>Contribution to global public goods</i>				<i>Weighted vote</i>
	<i>Population</i>	<i>GDP</i>			
United States	0.22000	0.04684	0.26662	17.78	16.39
Japan	0.19468	0.02086	0.16712	12.76	7.86
China	0.02053	0.20881	0.03306	8.75	2.78
India	0.00421	0.16949	0.01468	6.28	2.78
Russian Federation	0.01100	0.02377	0.01117	1.53	2.78
EU and official candidates (28)	0.36996	0.09042	0.31173	25.74	29.13
Germany	0.08662	0.01352	0.07994	6.003	4.49
France	0.06030	0.00972	0.05341	4.114	4.30
United Kingdom	0.06127	0.00965	0.03949	3.681	4.30
Italy	0.04885	0.00951	0.03626	3.154	2.78
Spain	0.02520	0.00675	0.02141	1.779	1.75
Netherlands	0.01690	0.00263	0.01487	1.147	2.21
Turkey	0.00372	0.01125	0.00562	0.687	0.53
Sweden	0.00998	0.00146	0.00832	0.659	0.94
Belgium	0.01069	0.00169	0.00950	0.729	1.81
Austria	0.00859	0.00134	0.00798	0.597	0.70
Greece	0.00530	0.00174	0.00428	0.377	0.12
Poland	0.00461	0.00634	0.00425	0.507	0.69
Denmark	0.00718	0.00088	0.00614	0.473	0.85
Portugal	0.00470	0.00165	0.00389	0.341	0.35
Finland	0.00533	0.00085	0.00493	0.370	0.54
Ireland	0.00350	0.00063	0.00334	0.249	0.34
Czech Republic	0.00183	0.00168	0.00169	0.173	0.41

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<i>Countries</i>	<i>Factors determining voting strength (% of total)</i>				<i>Comparison</i>	
	<i>Contribution to global public goods</i>			<i>Result</i>	<i>Voting power of World Bank members^a (% of total)</i>	
	<i>Population</i>	<i>GDP</i>	<i>Weighted vote</i>			
Romania	0.00060	0.00368	0.00102	0.177	0.26	
Hungary	0.00126	0.00167	0.00167	0.153	0.51	
Slovak Republic	0.00051	0.00089	0.00070	0.070	0.21	
Bulgaria	0.00017	0.00130	0.00039	0.062	0.34	
Slovenia	0.00082	0.00033	0.00071	0.062	0.09	
Luxembourg	0.00077	0.00007	0.00074	0.053	0.12	
Lithuania	0.00024	0.00057	0.00026	0.036	0.11	
Cyprus	0.00039	0.00012	0.00033	0.028	0.11	
Latvia	0.00015	0.00039	0.00020	0.025	0.10	
Iceland	0.00034	0.00005	0.00027	0.022	0.09	
Malta	0.00014	0.00006	0.00012	0.011	0.08	
Other Europe (19)	0.02509	0.02031	0.02191	2.244	4.56	
Switzerland	0.01197	0.00119	0.01007	0.774	1.66	
Israel	0.00467	0.00104	0.00315	0.295	0.31	
Ukraine	0.00039	0.00806	0.00143	0.329	0.69	
Norway	0.00679	0.00074	0.00511	0.422	0.63	
Belarus	0.00018	0.00164	0.00044	0.075	0.22	
Yugoslavia, Federal Republic	0.00019	0.00175	0.00000	0.065	0.19	
Croatia	0.00037	0.00072	0.00068	0.059	0.16	
Azerbaijan	0.00005	0.00133	0.00011	0.050	0.12	
Bosnia and Herzegovina	0.00003	0.00067	0.00020	0.030	0.05	
Georgia	0.00003	0.00086	0.00008	0.032	0.11	
Moldova	0.00001	0.00070	0.00009	0.027	0.10	
Albania	0.00005	0.00052	0.00010	0.022	0.07	
Estonia	0.00012	0.00022	0.00019	0.018	0.07	
Armenia	0.00002	0.00051	0.00012	0.022	0.09	
Macedonia, Former Yugoslav Republic	0.00006	0.00033	0.00015	0.018	0.04	
Liechtenstein	0.00005	0.00000	0.00000	0.002	—	
Andorra	0.00005	0.00001	0.00000	0.002	—	
Monaco	0.00003	0.00000	0.00000	0.001	—	
San Marino	0.00003	0.00000	0.00000	0.001	0.05	
Latin America, Caribbean and Canada (35)	0.08158	0.09046	0.08196	8.467	11.74	
Brazil	0.01523	0.02830	0.02362	2.238	2.07	
Canada	0.02813	0.00510	0.02123	1.815	2.78	

<i>Countries</i>	<i>Factors determining voting strength (% of total)</i>			<i>Result</i>	<i>Comparison</i>
	<i>Contribution to global public goods</i>				<i>Voting power of World Bank members^a (% of total)</i>
	<i>Population</i>	<i>GDP</i>	<i>Weighted vote</i>		
Mexico	0.01883	0.01632	0.01101	1.539	1.18
Argentina	0.00956	0.00615	0.00829	0.800	1.12
Colombia	0.00155	0.00707	0.00290	0.384	0.41
Chile	0.00223	0.00253	0.00245	0.240	0.44
Ecuador	0.00019	0.00211	0.00642	0.291	0.19
Peru	0.00092	0.00433	0.00181	0.235	0.34
Venezuela	0.00171	0.00404	0.00001	0.192	1.27
Guatemala	0.00030	0.00192	0.00054	0.092	0.14
Dominican Republic	0.00035	0.00140	0.00052	0.076	0.14
Cuba	0.00043	0.00184	0.00000	0.076	-
Uruguay	0.00048	0.00055	0.00061	0.055	0.19
Bolivia	0.00009	0.00140	0.00024	0.058	0.13
El Salvador	0.00022	0.00105	0.00033	0.053	0.02
Haiti	0.00003	0.00134	0.00009	0.048	0.08
Paraguay	0.00012	0.00088	0.00028	0.043	0.09
Costa Rica	0.00030	0.00064	0.00045	0.046	0.03
Honduras	0.00005	0.00108	0.00014	0.042	0.06
Panama	0.00019	0.00048	0.00033	0.033	0.04
Nicaragua	0.00001	0.00085	0.00000	0.029	0.05
Jamaica	0.00008	0.00043	0.00017	0.022	0.17
Trinidad and Tobago	0.00022	0.00022	0.00021	0.021	0.18
Bahamas	0.00013	0.00005	0.00012	0.010	0.08
Barbados	0.00010	0.00004	0.00007	0.007	0.07
Guyana	0.00001	0.00013	0.00002	0.005	0.08
Suriname	0.00001	0.00007	0.00001	0.003	0.04
Belize	0.00001	0.00004	0.00002	0.002	0.05
Saint Lucia	0.00002	0.00003	0.00002	0.002	0.05
Antigua and Barbuda	0.00003	0.00001	0.00002	0.002	0.05
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	0.00001	0.00002	0.00001	0.001	0.03
Grenada	0.00001	0.00002	0.00001	0.001	0.05
Dominica	0.00001	0.00001	0.00001	0.001	0.05
Kiribati	0.00001	0.00002	0.00000	0.001	0.04
Saint Kitts and Nevis	0.00001	0.00001	0.00001	0.001	0.03
Other Asia (40)	0.05035	0.17932	0.06655	9.874	9.80
Republic of Korea	0.01796	0.00777	0.01894	1.489	0.99
Indonesia	0.00142	0.03431	0.00641	1.405	0.94
Australia	0.01592	0.00318	0.01388	1.100	1.53

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<i>Countries</i>	<i>Factors determining voting strength (% of total)</i>			<i>Result</i>	<i>Comparison</i>
	<i>Contribution to global public goods</i>				<i>Voting power of World Bank members^a (% of total)</i>
	<i>Population</i>	<i>GDP</i>	<i>Weighted vote</i>		
Iran, Islamic Republic	0.00157	0.01059	0.00328	0.515	1.48
Pakistan	0.00055	0.02322	0.00216	0.865	0.59
Bangladesh	0.00010	0.02189	0.00152	0.784	0.32
Thailand	0.00209	0.01005	0.00517	0.577	0.41
Philippines	0.00095	0.01286	0.00270	0.550	0.44
Singapore	0.00388	0.00068	0.00328	0.261	0.04
Vietnam	0.00021	0.01306	0.00092	0.473	0.08
Malaysia	0.00203	0.00391	0.00332	0.309	0.52
Myanmar	0.00010	0.00793	0.00000	0.268	0.17
New Zealand	0.00221	0.00063	0.00210	0.165	0.46
Democratic People's Republic of Korea	0.00010	0.00367	0.00000	0.126	—
Sri Lanka	0.00017	0.00308	0.00049	0.124	0.25
Uzbekistan	0.00014	0.00412	0.00038	0.154	0.17
Kazakhstan	0.00025	0.00245	0.00076	0.115	0.20
Afghanistan	0.00002	0.00447	0.00000	0.150	0.03
Nepal	0.00004	0.00387	0.00017	0.136	0.08
Cambodia	0.00002	0.00201	0.00012	0.072	0.03
Kyrgyz Republic	0.00001	0.00081	0.00006	0.029	0.08
Turkmenistan	0.00005	0.00089	0.00026	0.040	0.05
Tajikistan	0.00001	0.00103	0.00008	0.037	0.08
Papua New Guinea	0.00003	0.00086	0.00014	0.034	0.10
Lao People's Democratic Republic	0.00001	0.00089	0.00007	0.032	0.03
Brunei Darussalam	0.00034	0.00006	0.00017	0.019	0.16
Mongolia	0.00001	0.00040	0.00003	0.015	0.04
Fiji	0.00004	0.00013	0.00007	0.008	0.08
Bhutan	0.00001	0.00014	0.00001	0.005	0.05
Timor-Leste	0.00001	0.00012	0.00000	0.004	0.05
Solomon Islands	0.00001	0.00007	0.00001	0.003	0.05
Maldives	0.00001	0.00005	0.00002	0.002	0.04
Vanuatu	0.00001	0.00003	0.00001	0.002	0.05
Samoa	0.00001	0.00003	0.00001	0.002	0.05
Micronesia	0.00001	0.00002	0.00001	0.001	0.05
Tonga	0.00001	0.00002	0.00001	0.001	0.05
Marshall Islands	0.00001	0.00001	0.00000	0.001	0.04
Palau	0.00001	0.00000	0.00000	0.001	0.02
Nauru	0.00001	0.00000	0.00000	0.000	—
Tuvalu	0.00001	0.00000	0.00000	0.000	—

<i>Countries</i>	<i>Factors determining voting strength (% of total)</i>			<i>Result</i>	<i>Comparison</i>
	<i>Contribution to global public goods</i>				<i>Voting power of World Bank members^a (% of total)</i>
	<i>Population</i>	<i>GDP</i>	<i>Weighted vote</i>		
Africa (43)	0.00472	0.10327	0.01090	3.963	5.30
Nigeria	0.00042	0.02132	0.00098	0.758	0.80
South Africa	0.00292	0.00710	0.00524	0.509	0.85
Ethiopia	0.00004	0.01081	0.00023	0.369	0.08
Democratic Republic of Congo	0.00003	0.00860	0.00013	0.292	0.18
Tanzania	0.00006	0.00566	0.00020	0.197	0.10
Kenya	0.00009	0.00505	0.00030	0.181	0.17
Uganda	0.00006	0.00374	0.00024	0.135	0.05
Ghana	0.00004	0.00324	0.00025	0.117	0.11
Mozambique	0.00001	0.00297	0.00011	0.103	0.07
Côte d'Ivoire	0.00010	0.00269	0.00036	0.105	0.17
Cameroon	0.00008	0.00250	0.00031	0.096	0.11
Madagascar	0.00003	0.00262	0.00012	0.092	0.10
Zimbabwe	0.00007	0.00210	0.00021	0.080	0.22
Angola	0.00001	0.00222	0.00021	0.081	0.18
Burkina Faso	0.00002	0.00190	0.00009	0.067	0.07
Senegal	0.00005	0.00160	0.00018	0.061	0.14
Mali	0.00002	0.00182	0.00010	0.065	0.09
Niger	0.00001	0.00184	0.00007	0.064	0.07
Zambia	0.00002	0.00169	0.00012	0.061	0.19
Malawi	0.00001	0.00173	0.00005	0.060	0.08
Guinea	0.00003	0.00124	0.00014	0.047	0.10
Rwanda	0.00001	0.00130	0.00007	0.046	0.08
Burundi	0.00001	0.00114	0.00003	0.039	0.06
Chad	0.00001	0.00130	0.00005	0.045	0.07
Benin	0.00002	0.00106	0.00008	0.039	0.07
Botswana	0.00012	0.00028	0.00021	0.020	0.05
Sierra Leone	0.00001	0.00084	0.00002	0.029	0.06
Togo	0.00001	0.00076	0.00004	0.027	0.08
Eritrea	0.00001	0.00069	0.00002	0.024	0.05
Central African Republic	0.00001	0.00062	0.00004	0.022	0.07
Namibia	0.00006	0.00029	0.00013	0.016	0.11
Republic of Congo	0.00001	0.00051	0.00007	0.020	0.07
Liberia	0.00001	0.00053	0.00002	0.019	0.04
Gabon	0.00009	0.00021	0.00016	0.015	0.08
Mauritius	0.00011	0.00020	0.00016	0.015	0.09
Lesotho	0.00001	0.00034	0.00003	0.013	0.06

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<i>Countries</i>	<i>Factors determining voting strength (% of total)</i>				<i>Result</i>	<i>Comparison</i>
	<i>Contribution to global public goods</i>			<i>Weighted vote</i>		<i>Voting power of World Bank members^a (% of total)</i>
	<i>Population</i>	<i>GDP</i>				
Gambia	0.00001	0.00022	0.00002	0.008	0.05	
Swaziland	0.00002	0.00018	0.00005	0.008	0.04	
Guinea-Bissau	0.00001	0.00020	0.00001	0.007	0.05	
Equatorial Guinea	0.00002	0.00008	0.00002	0.004	0.06	
Cape Verde	0.00001	0.00007	0.00002	0.003	0.05	
Seychelles	0.00002	0.00001	0.00001	0.002	0.03	
São Tome and Principe	0.00001	0.00002	0.00000	0.001	0.05	
Arab League (21)	0.01788	0.04646	0.01430	2.621	6.87	
Saudi Arabia	0.00713	0.00351	0.00419	0.494	2.78	
Egypt, Arab Republic	0.00120	0.01070	0.00239	0.476	0.45	
Syrian Arab Republic	0.00038	0.00272	0.00039	0.117	0.15	
Morocco	0.00047	0.00479	0.00124	0.217	0.32	
Algeria	0.00076	0.00506	0.00147	0.243	0.59	
United Arab Emirates	0.00235	0.00049	0.00126	0.137	0.16	
Sudan	0.00008	0.00520	0.00031	0.186	0.07	
Oman	0.00070	0.00041	0.00046	0.052	0.11	
Iraq	0.00016	0.00390	0.00000	0.135	0.19	
Yemen	0.00006	0.00296	0.00017	0.106	0.15	
Tunisia	0.00032	0.00159	0.00073	0.088	0.06	
Kuwait	0.00162	0.00034	0.00081	0.092	0.84	
Jordan	0.00011	0.00083	0.00024	0.039	0.10	
Libya	0.00132	0.00089	0.00000	0.074	0.50	
Somalia	0.00001	0.00149	0.00000	0.050	0.05	
Lebanon	0.00024	0.00072	0.00037	0.044	0.04	
Mauritania	0.00001	0.00045	0.00004	0.017	0.07	
Bahrain	0.00030	0.00011	0.00021	0.021	0.08	
Qatar	0.00064	0.00010	0.00000	0.025	0.08	
Djibouti	0.00001	0.00011	0.00001	0.004	0.05	
Comoros	0.00001	0.00009	0.00001	0.004	0.03	

a. Regional totals do not represent World Bank member groupings; they are presented here for comparison.

Sources: Contribution to global public goods: members' contribution to the UN regular budget for 2004. Population: population of the member states in 2001, from World Bank, *World Development Indicators*, and the CIA Factbook. GDP in constant 1995 dollars, from World Bank, *World Development Indicators*. World Bank voting shares: members' percentage of total voting power as of June 30, 2004; information issued by the World Bank Corporate Secretariat.

APPENDIX C

*Summary of the Proposed
European Union Constitution*

In June 2004, agreement was reached on the text of a European Union constitution to replace the present European Community and European Union with a single European Union, give the union a single foundation for the first time by consolidating the numerous treaties by which it has developed to date, and define the reach of the EU's powers vis-à-vis its member states. The constitution leaves unchanged most of the EU's governing provisions and does not considerably extend the union's competences—indeed, Article 11 states that shared competences may be fully or partially transferred back to member states. But it does simplify decision making and improve the institutional arrangements of the EU. The constitution can only enter into force after it has been ratified by all member states, and its subsequent modification will require unanimous agreement of the member states.

The constitution establishes the principles of “subsidiarity” and “proportionality,” meaning that the union's powers are derived from its member states and it can act only in those policy areas where the member states have relinquished their authority under the treaty and when its action is necessary and adds value. The constitution classifies the EU's powers into four categories: (i) exclusive powers, covering areas where the union acts on behalf of the member states, including competition in the internal market or trade with third countries; (ii) shared powers, where the EU's actions add value to those of the member states, covering major policies such as the internal market, common agricultural policy, transport, the environment, asylum and immigration, and judicial and law enforcement cooperation; (iii) supporting powers, for which member states retain authority and the union can only support national policies, such as in the areas of culture, education, sport, and civil protection; and (iv) coordinating powers dealing with areas such as economic and

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employment policy, for which the EU coordinates national policies and ensures increasing harmonization without passing laws.

Extension of the EU's jurisdiction would essentially only occur in policy areas relevant to freedom, security, and justice, and even the concept for such areas is not new. The constitution calls for creating common policies on asylum and immigration; expanding the union's power to pass laws to ensure a high level of access to justice; eliminating the third pillar system for legislating judicial and law enforcement cooperation on criminal matters (whereby policies were arrived at through the intergovernmental decision-making arrangement) and instead grouping all policies under the union; establishing common penalties against cross-border offenses; enabling the adoption of framework laws regarding criminal procedure; and making the European Police Office accountable to the European Parliament and national parliaments.

In addition, the constitution contains a Charter of Fundamental Rights that ensures basic "rights, freedoms, and principles" for all EU citizens, though EU citizenship would continue to complement, not replace, national citizenship. The charter specifies rights ranging from civil and political rights to the right to proper administration, workers' rights, the protection of personal data, and bioethics. The charter's exact status will be amorphous until it is tested by the courts, and though all member states must abide by it, the British government, for instance, does not expect the charter to have a pervasive impact on national laws such as those dealing with industrial relations.

The EU institutional framework consists of the European Parliament, European Council, European Commission, Council of Ministers, Court of Justice, European Central Bank, and Court of Auditors. The constitution clarifies the respective roles of the European Council, Parliament, and Commission and also modifies them.

First, the constitution creates the post of an elected president of the European Council, instead of the council presidency rotating between member states every six months. The heads of state or government of EU nations will elect, by qualified majority voting (discussed below), a president for a 2½-year term. The president is allowed to be reelected once. The council president will chair the council and possess limited powers.

Second, the number of seats in the European Parliament is increased to 736, to be allocated by what is called "degressive proportionality," and the Parliament is given "codecision" with the Council of Ministers for all

policies requiring qualified majority voting. Therefore, under the constitution, the power that the European Parliament gradually accumulated organically is recognized and confirmed, as 95 percent of European laws must be adopted jointly by the Parliament and council, giving the Parliament the ability to block legislation. In this way the constitution augments the directly democratic nature of the union, because, unlike the other EU organs, the members of Parliament are elected by direct universal suffrage.

Finally, the constitution stipulates that the EU Commission, responsible for proposing legislation on which the European Parliament and Council then deliberate, will continue to consist of one representative from each member nation until 2014, at which point the number of commissioners will be reduced to a number corresponding to two-thirds of the member states. Some have strongly criticized this unanimity requirement arguing, rightly, that it will make changes in the constitution very difficult. It should be remembered, however, that this unanimity requirement already exists with reference to the existing treaties that are in force, so that the constitution does not make changes more difficult than they already are. Furthermore, there are provisions in the constitution providing some flexibility. A subgroup of member countries can decide on enhanced cooperation among themselves, such as agreeing to coordinate policies beyond what is already happening at the EU level, provided they constitute at least one-third of the member countries and provided they get approval of the EU Commission and of a qualified majority of the EU Council composed of all heads of government (see below).

Currently, the European Council provides the European Union with political impetus for development and reaches decision by consensus. The principle of co-decision, however, gives the Parliament equal footing with the council, thereby conveying a sense of dual legitimacy, with the Parliament representing the European general public (the people of Europe) and the council the member states themselves. A further significant legislative change is the constitution's introduction of double majority voting, or voting by qualified majority (QMV), within the council. Legislation must have the support of least 55 percent of the member states of the council, comprising at least 65 percent of the EU's population, in order to pass. This replaces the old system in which member states had specified voting weights. The scope of QMV is extensive, but member countries will retain vetoes (i.e., unanimity is required) in the fields of foreign policy,

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defense, and taxation, as well as partial veto powers on social policy. Guidelines are specified for what share of the total vote can block a decision by the council.

The constitution also specifies that the “Union shall have competence to define and implement a common foreign and security policy, including the progressive framing of a common defense policy.” However, every member state maintains the right to veto and go its own way with respect to external policy, and thus the constitution’s real aim in this area is simply to achieve as much agreement on foreign policy matters as possible. Moreover, the constitution also creates the post of European Union Minister of Foreign Affairs—to be elected by QMV by the European Council—who will represent the EU internationally. The foreign affairs minister will be the voice of common union foreign and security policies unanimously agreed upon and will be able to speak on behalf of the EU in the UN Security Council, although the voting foreseen in the constitution remains “national.” The position combines two existing posts and will serve to raise the EU’s prominence in trade and aid negotiations and encourage greater consistency in the EU’s external political and economic action. This should facilitate the treatment of the EU as a single entity in international organizations.

The constitution, additionally, explicitly endows the EU for the first time with a “legal personality,” enabling it as an organization to enter into international agreements (a right that the European Community had in fact possessed).

Finally, the constitution lays out a formal procedure for withdrawal from the European Union. Member states have always had the right to break from the EU, but by formalizing a mechanism for withdrawal, the constitution emphasizes the voluntary nature of the organization, while at the same time making withdrawal more difficult by requiring that it be agreed to on terms between the departing state and the European Union.