

INDIA AND UN SECURITY COUNCIL

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Abstract:

United Nation Organization was established on 24 October 1945 in San Francisco conference¹ and since than an important part of world politics. Its primary concern was to remove war and maintain peace and security. Since its inception there were five permanent members enjoying veto power and this veto power where as India is advocating structural reform of UN, to make it more democratic and more representative of all the regions. In many respect India deserves permanent seat in the in the restructured U.N security council. Any reforms to this effect need amendment of the Charter as per Article 108 of the Charter. So realizing this Ban Ki-moon, the former Secretary General of UNO remarked that “The U.N Security Council reform, being debated since two decades is too long overdue and the necessary expansion must be made considering how much the world has changed.”

Key Words:

Reforms, Veto Power, Big power, P-5, Permanent seat, U.N. Security Council, Restructured, Democratization, Proper Representation.

Introduction:

United Nation Organization was established on 24 October 1945 in San Francisco conference¹ and since than an important part of world politics. As it was born under the war and tension, so its primary concern was to remove war and maintain peace and security. Security Council with its five permanent members entrusted with the above duties in two ways i.e. by peacefully or forcefully. Chapter 6th and 7th of UN Charter deals with peaceful settlement of dispute and Action with respect to danger to peace, its violation and aggression. Since its inception there were five permanent members enjoying veto power and this veto power was abused by U.S.S.R and U.S.A during the cold war period which drew flak from other countries. India is advocating structural reform of UN, to make it more democratic and representative of all the regions.² In order to give adequate representation to the third World countries, India with other G-4 countries proposed that UN must undertake reforms to make it true representative while enhancing its credibility and effectiveness in general and the composition of the Security Council need to change thereby reflecting contemporary realities in particular³. However Reforms of UN Security Council involves five key issues: Categories of membership, questions of veto power, regional representation, the size of expanded Council and its working methods and the Security Council- General Assembly relationship. Such type of reforms requires the agreement of at least two-third of UN member states and all p-5 with their veto power. The geopolitical realities have changed drastically since 1945 but the Security Council has changed very little and yet the charter of UNO is shaped by the winners of Second World War in their national interest, dividing the permanent seats and veto power amongst themselves. Any reforms to this effect need amendment of the Charter as per Article 108 of the Charter. So realizing this Ban Ki-moon, the former Secretary General of UNO remarked that “The U.N Security Council reform, being debated since two decades is too long overdue and the necessary expansion must be made considering how much the world has changed.”

The demand for reforming UNSC- It should be reform because of the following grounds.

Firstly, UN Security Council still has five permanent members in spite of increase of membership from 51 nations in 1945 to over 194 nations at present.

Secondly, the distribution of permanent membership is neither democratic nor proper representation of continent.

Thirdly, At the time of establishment UN was designed to maintain world peace and security but today multi-dimensional issue like-human rights, gender issue, international terrorism, environmental issue, regional politics etc have emerged and need to be addressed.

Fourthly, Emergence of Regional Block like ASEAN, EU, BRICS, IBSA, G-77, and G-4 influencing the functioning of the UNO and world politics.

Fifthly, in crisis management UN can play useful and effective role but now problem is that the specific actions dealing with these crisis situations are not based on appropriate consultations and a genuine consensus among the member-states. Hence the rationale for restructuring the Security Council and making it more democratic and representatives of vastly increased nations.

India probably has the strongest case for becoming permanent member in United Nation Security Council because:

1. India is a third largest ⁴ and a regular constant contributor of troops to UN peacekeeping mission. The Foreign Policy Magazine states that India's international identity has long been shaped by its role in UN peacekeeping force, with more than 100,000 Indian troops having served it in UN missions during the past 50 years. Today, India has 8500 peace keepers in the field more than twice as many as the UNs five big powers combined. India participated in more than 43 mission and 157 Indian peacekeepers sacrifice while serving in UN mission⁵.
2. It's the world's largest democracy and second most populous state that will eventually eclipse of China and must lead the drive in making UN Security Council more democratic and more represented.
3. India is the world's largest Hindu nations and the World's second-Largest Muslim nation. It's relatively trusted by the Muslim states and can be used by Security Council to negotiate in the Middle East.
4. It is part of an otherwise under-represented region, with large unrepresented religion i.e. Hinduism and Islam. It frequently serves as Non-permanent member, and usually supports of almost all member states in its bids for non-permanent positions.
5. It has the backing of some major player (like France, Russia, UK, US or president Obama anyway) a number of European, Asian and Latin American nations and the African Union too.
6. It can take effective step to control Terror manufactured from Pakistan.
7. India is the leader of NAM during cold war period and showed its courage and moral strength. It is also the leader of third world countries and can put their grievances in a better manner and within the UN system a leading advocate of the concerns and aspirations of developing countries and the creations of a more equitable international economic and political order. Again it is known for its foreign Policy of Panchsheel and Non-Violence.
8. India play the role of a big brother in South Asia (except Pakistan for obvious reason) India supports and honours every countries Sovereignty. It can ensure peace in that area and as an observer and epicenter for economic transactions.
9. India is always being peaceful nation who never attacks any country for the first time and also always a peacekeeper So India is a rightful nation to become a permanent member in UNSC.
10. India is the third largest military power and potentiality to combat terrorism. Being victims and having capacity to help in the war against terrorism it has a major role to play against Terrorism.
11. As a nuclear state it can help to reduce the arms and ammonization and thereby reduce the tension in the World.
12. India was one of the original members of the League of Nations and a founding member of UN in October 1945 though it was not independent at that time. Independent India viewed its membership at the UN as an important guarantee for maintaining international peace and security. India strongly supported UN years of struggle against Colonialism and Racial Apartheid. India was among the most outspoken critics of apartheid and racial discrimination in South Africa, being the first country to have raised the issue in the UN in 1946.
13. India is one of the main contributors of the UN regular budget. Indian contribution to UN's Democracy Fund was USD 16 million for 2009.
14. The UN General Assembly on 11 December 2014 adopted a resolution commemorating 21st June as the International Yoga Day⁶ recognizing the benefits of this time less practice with the principles and values of the United Nation.

However, India faces few obstacles:

1. China-China's position has always been not clear regarding India's demand for permanent seat in UN Security Council. Though India-China relations are better now than before, yet China is not prepared to approve India's permanent membership. China oppose Japan's bid, which India supports as a member of G-4 countries. Again, China will likely not supports India as long as India continues to support Japan.
2. The United States – as per American official policy America oppose India's permanent membership on the security council because India refused to sign the Nuclear nonproliferation treaty, and India become a nuclear state in 1998 which processes nuclear weapon – a source of great annoyance to the US. In spite of this American president Barak obama has declared support for India's permanent membership in UN Security Council. Yet it's not clear what the US position will be in near future.
3. The structure of the UN Security Council: - This is by far the biggest problem for India because though India has verbal support of all the p-5, yet it requires the amendment of the UN charter which means the support of two –third members of United Nation General assembly and all the p-5. Again, P-5 will likely raise the issue that allowing one country to join the permanent members club set a precedent that might open a floodgate and upset the balance of power. It would again legitimate the bids for other countries like Japan, Germany, Brazil, etc who support each other' bids as G-4 nations. Why they should change things when they are comfortable the way they are (though inefficient)? Again the UN is reluctant to raise the number of non-permanent member of Security Council, an issue that has been on the table for some time and yet to be decided.

After highlighting India's stand for permanent membership in UN Security council as well as some obstacles face by it, it is desirable to discuss the stand points of AU, G4 and the Coffee Club.

African Union (AU) and UN Security Council

Though Africa is the second largest and second most-populous continent⁷, yet it has no permanent seat in the Security Council whereas Europe has two i.e. United Kingdom and France. As it has the largest grouping in UN after Asia, so the countries of Africa demand for accurate and democratic representation in the UN Security Council in favour of Egypt, Nigeria and South Africa on continental basis⁸. About 60% of the agenda of the Security Council relates to African states therefore, it is the responsibility of the AU to select Africa's share in UN. AU wants veto power for new permanent members and suggests 6 new permanent members with veto power and another 5 non-permanent members there by raising the strength of the council to 26⁹.

G-4 and UN Security Council

G-4 is a group of four countries i.e. India, Brazil, Japan and Germany.¹⁰ they seek permanent representation with veto power. According to their proposal, UN Security Council should be expanded beyond the current 15 members to 25 members so as to give representation to developing nations rather than the existing P-5¹¹. The United Kingdom, France and Russia support G-4 membership in Security Council. While U.S.A support Japan, China oppose it on political grounds .India's case is supported by Britain, France, Russia and America but China's visions are not clear .There is no unanimity among big-5 regarding the representation of G-4 in the Security Council. India stakes its demand on continental level, population, democracy and its role in UN peace keeping operation. While Brazil's claim is based on continent i.e. South America, Japan's claim is based on developed and industrialized nation and its contribution to United Nations' budget. Again, Germany justifies its claim on the basis of her industrial might and contribution to UN. However, it is opposed by the Coffee Club, which does not want any type of permanent seat in the Security Council with a veto power. But this was categorically rejected by India in General Assembly by stating that new permanent seat without veto would not balance the weight of existing permanent members.¹²

Coffee Club and UN Security Council

While G-4 and AU are trying to reform UN Security Council, but Coffee club oppose permanent membership with veto power in the same by being motivated with regional politics. The club is also known as "Uniting for Consensus group"(Group of 13) which is composed primarily of nations who are regional and economic rivals of G-4. The Coffee Club is led by Italy and Spain (opposing Germany), Mexico, Colombia and Argentina (opposing Brazil), Pakistan (opposing India), and South Korea (opposing Japan)

besides Turkey, Indonesia and others. Since 1992 Italy and other members have proposed semi-permanent seats or the addition of 10 non-permanent members. They oppose increase of permanent membership in the Security Council because it will bring inequality and instability in the world. They prefer for elections of members for two years as it ensures the chances of re elections.¹³ it is interesting to note that both group G-4 and Coffee Club are without permanent seat in Security Council.¹⁴

India needs permanent membership in UN Security Council because it gives certain rights and powers as follows:

- a. Veto power, which refers to the Veto power wielded solely by the P-5 of the UN Security Council thereby enhancing the prestige of nations in World politics.
- b. Investigating any situation threatening International peace.
- c. Recommend suggestion for peaceful resolution of a dispute.
- d. Call upon other member states to interrupt economic relations as well as Sea, air, postal and radio communications, or to sever diplomatic relations. It also enhance its decisions by others means.
- e. The counter-Terrorism Committee is a subsidiary body of the UN Security Council and a permanent member can play important role in combating International Terrorism.
- f. The Military Staff Committee (MSC) is the UN subsidiary body whose main function is to plan military operation and assist in the regulation of armaments.
- g. The permanent members of the Security Council are known as Permanent Five, Big Five, or P-5.

India's effort

India had been offered the permanent seat in UN Security Council in 1950's and if Nehru had pushed it through India would have had the clout that China has now but Nehru was soft on China by adhering to "Hindi-Chini-Bhai-bhai" diplomacy. He welcomed the China's membership in UN Security Council. In 2004, Thoroor released a book 'Nehru-The Invention of India' in a subsequent interview in The Hindu on January 10, 2004, and said "Jawaharlal Nehru declined United States offer to India to take permanent seat in the UN Security Council around 1953 and suggested that it be given to China." Again THoroor states that Nehru declined the offer as he turned down the Monroo Doctrine so that India can be neutral and follow independent foreign policy. But today Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi is trying his best to get India into limelight and securing a seat in the UN Security Council. The United States, Britain and France reaffirmed their support to India's permanent membership of the UN Security Council when Modi met US president Barack Obama, British Prime Minister David Cameron and the French President Francois Hollande. President Obama reiterated the support that he has publicly articulated in favour of India being a permanent member of the UN Security Council which is very significant for India.

India welcome UN move for Security Council Reforms at its 70th session in September 2015. India termed it as "historic" and "path-breaking", the adoption of the document changes the dynamics of the negotiations on achieving United Nations reforms.¹⁵ The Resolution was adopted with a consensus, without voting which is a first of its kind in the last seven years of inter-governmental negotiations conducted so far and without basis of any text. India's permanent representative to UN Ashok Mukharjee said "this is most positive and unique development so far; over the last seven years we have only been making statement in the air, or at each other, with easily deniable or disputable summaries, or at times compilation text [s], to register our endeavours."¹⁶ This is as clear and explicit as any mandate could ever be. India has maintained that the process to expand the powerful UN body a result-based timeline to achieve concrete outcome. Mention may be made that the world summit of 2005 stood for early reforms "Of the Security Council to make it more broadly representative, efficient and transparent and thus to further enhance its effectiveness, legitimacy and implementations of its decisions.

Conclusion

After analyzing the vision of AU, G-4, Coffee Club and P-5 and the rest, it reaffirmed the Hans J. Morgenthau's statement that International Politics is the politics of power and struggle for power. In present International Politics, besides P-5 there are many powerful countries like India (democracy), Japan (Technology), Germany (Industry) can play effective role and demand proper share in United Nations. The Big Five can delay but cannot ignore it. The UN Security Council must be reformed so that it can shouldered the responsibility of maintaining world peace and security: can make itself more democratic structure with equal representation of all regions and interest; can be more responsive to the emergent issues like human rights, women improvement, Sustainable development, environment and Terrorism.

Hence, in order to update UN, the Security Council should be reformed to increase permanent seat for the country like India.¹⁷

India is playing a very active role in maintaining good bilateral relations with nations who are supporting India's case, providing financial helps to countries like Afghanistan, Burundi, Myanmar and also African countries and India's role among the ASEAN, SAARC, and BRICS countries to get their support for this coveted status. Again India is the only nation with the support vote of every members of United Nations with the exception of Pakistan—the only nation which oppose India's entry into the Security. India has the support of four of the five permanent members of the Security Council i.e. the United States, the United Kingdom France and Russia. But China's support for Indian candidacy as a permanent member is based on the condition that India should revoked its support for Japanese candidacy for the permanent seat in the Security Council.

India has already entered to the 'Nuclear Club' when she successfully conducted nuclear test in 1998. It has also developed an independent capability to place Satellite in orbit, including production of necessary Launch Vehicle. The International Herald Tribune has stated: "Clearly, a seat for India would make it the body more representatives and democratic. With India as a member, the Council would be a more legitimate and thus a more effective body....." Thomas Fridman of the New York times, said "Sometimes I wish that the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council could be chosen with a vote by the fans..... then the Prem five would be Russia, China, India, Britain and the United States. That's more like it. India is the world's biggest democracy, the world's largest Hindu nation and the world's second-largest Muslim nation."¹⁸ The above statement bears absolute truth and India's bid for permanent seat in United Nation Security Council is fully justified.

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