



India and United Nations security council permanent membership: A reality or an illusion?

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Abstract

The enrolment and structure of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) have been among the most dubious and immovable issues considered by UN part states since the foundation of the association in the mid 1940's. A number of developing worldwide and territorial powers all through the world— including Japan, Germany, India, Brazil, Indonesia, Nigeria, South Africa, and Egypt have looked for lasting seats on the UNSC amid the previous couple of decades. In this article we try to understand the emergence of the UNSC, an organisation responsible for the world peace and security. It not only tries to understand the need for structural changes in UNSC but also analyses the stand of the developing countries and the role they play in the peace and security of the world. India's bid for permanent seat at the table of UNSC is age old. The article critically analyses the position that India holds in the 21st century and the strength of its bid for a permanent seat in UNSC.

Keywords: United Nations security council, UNSC, India & UNSC, reform, permanent member

1. Introduction

The United Nations Charter along with the Security Council established six main organs of the United Nations. It states that the primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security to the Security Council, which may meet whenever peace is threatened.

According to the Charter, the United Nations has four purposes:^[1]

- to maintain international peace and security;
- to develop friendly relations among nations;
- to cooperate in solving international problems and in promoting respect for human rights;
- and to be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations.

Every member of the United Nations must agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council. While all the other organs of the United Nations such as General Assembly, ECOSOC can only make recommendations to member states, it is the Security Council that has the power to make decisions which the member states are then obligated to implement in accordance with the Charter. The Security Council can be considered as the police headquarters of the United Nations with the fundamental obligation to the upkeep of peace and order, in other words for harmony and security, in the global community. Thus, it is accurate to say that it does not have its own forces to practice this duty. The thought is that the Council, as the event requires, should instruct the members to work as police.

1.1 Historical Background of UNSC

The origins of the Security Council can be traced back to the Atlantic Charter of 1941 in which the wartime allies, the

US, Britain and the Soviet Union agreed to establish the United Nations as a future guarantor of international peace and stability. But the Security Council as a part of the United Nations took final shape at the San Francisco Conference of 1945 attended by the fifty or so countries, which included British India as one of the founding members of UN, that by then were at war with Germany or Japan. The basic structure of the new body had already been set by the leaders of the three major powers - Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill^[2]. In particular they had agreed on a strong new instrument of collective security - the Security Council - on which they themselves, along with France and China, would have a major and permanent role^[3].

Roosevelt and Churchill believed that international stability would be guaranteed by both the universal character of the United Nations, as well as, in their view, including the five most powerful nations in the world at the time as permanent members of the Security Council^[4]. The US, USSR, Britain, France and China would act as an international police force to keep the international peace through the mechanism of the Security Council^[5]. Upon dissolution of USSR or the Soviet Union, president of the Russian Federation, Boris Yeltsin, informed the United Nations Secretary-General in a letter dated December 24, 1991, that the that the membership of the Soviet Union in the Security Council and all other UN organs would continue to be held by the Russian Federation with the support of the remaining 11 member countries of the council.

² Noel Dorr, "The Security Council of the United Nations" (1986) Vol. 2 No. 2 Irish Studies in International Affairs 13

³ ibid

⁴ "Reform of the UN Security Council: A Comment on the South African Position." The Free Library. 2004 News World Communications, <<https://www.thefreelibrary.com/Reform+of+the+UN+Security+Council%3A+A+Comment+on+the+South+African...-a0130480051>> accessed on 04 April 2020

⁵ Albert Venter, "Reform of the United Nations Security Council: A Comment on the South African Position" (December 2003) Vol. 20 No. 4 International Journal on World Peace 29

¹ United Nations Peacekeeping, "ROLE OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL" <<https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/role-of-security-council>> accessed on 04 April 2020

1.2 Structure of UNSC

The structure of the United Nations was such that the General Assembly would represent all the member governments of the United Nation, but the real power lay with the Security Council as only the decisions of the Security Council were binding in nature.

The membership of the Security Council was firstly set at eleven but currently is at fifteen subsequent to an amendment to the Charter adopted in 1965. Out of these fifteen members five - China, France, Russia, UK and USA are permanent members. The other ten - the so-called 'non-permanent members' - are elected by the General Assembly in a secret ballot, each for a two-year term^[6]. The membership of the Security Council was deliberately spilt into two levels which demarcated the superpowers or elite states who have permanent membership as well as veto power over decisions of the Security Council, while ten other ordinary members would fill the positions on the Security Council by rotation^[7]. For the Security Council to function according to its purpose it is imagined as a tight and compact organ of the United Nations hence no question of democratic composition of the core membership of the Security Council was ever raised at the time of the formation. The big five mirrored the international balance of forces at that point in time. If anything, they imposed themselves as the ruling oligarchy of the United Nations. Indeed Roosevelt's initial idea was that of the 'four policemen' (the four big powers) - though the Security Council as it actually emerged gave effect to this idea only in modified form, since it diluted the core of permanent members by providing also for a number of elected, non-permanent members^[8].

No decision could be taken at the Security Council without the consent of each of the permanent members or the big five (Article 27 of the Charter). Under Article 23 it comprises of eleven individuals, each having just a single delegate. On the view that, in the idea of the case, it should more often than not be the super powers that bear the weight of going about as universal caretakers of order, these have been given a favoured seat on the Council. The five super powers are the permanent members of the Security Council. The remaining ten are chosen by the General Assembly. In the decision of these the variables to be considered are^[9].

1. In the primary case the commitments of individuals from the United Nations to the upkeep of worldwide harmony and security and to different reasons for the association, and further
2. Fair geological dispersion.

The last factor makes its possible for smaller states with little to no power to be a part of the council subsequently making their voices heard. These variable at the most can be considered unique but not comprehensive thus,

demonstrating a non-restricting standard followed by the General Assembly. The decision taken by the General Assembly is valid for a term of two years. No resigning member can be immediately re-elected^[10]. Along these lines the course of action known from the League of Nations with semi-permanent participation to help certain conditions of fair size has been barred, and the likelihood of smaller states joining the gathering has been improved.

1.3 Scope and Nature of Powers of UNSC

The forces of the Security Council are limited to political issues yet involve all such, coercive measures as indicated by Chapter VII as well as the pacific settlement of debate as per Chapter VI. The Council bears the essential obligation regarding the upkeep of worldwide harmony and security (Article 24). This is appeared by the Council overshadowing the General Assembly in this field. Under Article 12 (1) the last can't make any suggestion in a debate or circumstance as long as the Security Council is practicing the capacities doled out to it by the Charter in the issue being referred to. Further the Council alone can settle on restricting choices concerning requirement activity as per Chapter VII. Consequently every inquiry that requires such activity is to be alluded to the Council by the General Assembly, Article 11 (2).

Contingent upon their substance the goals of the Council may have distinctive degrees of power. Goals under Chapter VI for the quiet settlement of question can never go past the phase of proposal. Then again, under Chapter VII the Council can settle on choices in a smaller sense, in other words legitimately restricting choices, requiring individuals' investment in authorization activity in case of an infringement or of a danger to the harmony. Under Article 25 the individuals have embraced to perceive and do the goals of the Security Council in this smaller sense.

Be that as it may, in another sense every one of the choices of the Council, proposals just as genuine goals, are authoritative. Article 24 expresses that the individuals have given on the Security Council the essential duty regarding the upkeep of harmony and security and that they are concurred that the Council in completing its obligations under this duty follows up for their sake. While it might know uncertainty be said about any organ that it follows up for the association, it is here set out that the Security Council follows up in the interest of the individual individuals. This regarding the previously mentioned duty presented on the Council must imply that the single individuals are bound by the choices of the Council, having hence postponed the privilege for example to oppose, politically, a suggestion by the Council for the settlement of a debate or something like that.

1.4 Voting Power in UNSC

The voting method of the Security Council was no uncertainty the point which offered arise to most analysis and struggle at the San Francisco Conference, and later to harshness and disillusionment. Endeavours are as yet being made to adjust the privilege of veto, and many are of the conclusion that until a change on this call attention to did there can be no prospect of the Security Council working in order to satisfy its commitments in the soul of the Charter. The Dumbarton Oaks recommendations contained no tenets

⁶ Noel Dorr, "The Security Council of the United Nations" (1986) Vol. 2 No. 2 Irish Studies in International Affairs 13

⁷ "Reform of the UN Security Council: A Comment on the South African Position." The Free Library. 2004 News World Communications, <<https://www.thefreelibrary.com/Reform+of+the+UN+Security+Council%3A+A+Comment+on+the+South+African...-a0130480051>> accessed on 04 April 2020

⁸ Noel Dorr, "The Security Council of the United Nations" (1986) Vol. 2 No. 2 Irish Studies in International Affairs 13

⁹ Axel Dreher, Matthew Gould, Matthew D. Rablen and James Raymond Vreeland, "The determinants of election to the United Nations Security Council" (2014) Vol. 158 No. 1 Public Choice 51-83

¹⁰ Art. 23(2) of the un charter

on this point, in light of the fact that the four incredible forces couldn't concur upon an answer. It was just at the gathering at Yalta in February, 1945 that an equation was settled whereupon is presently exemplified without correction in Article 27 of the Charter. Under this article three distinct guidelines can be connected to the appropriation of recommendations. The primary principle, coming into task if none of the deviations are demonstrated, is that for the appropriation of a proposition the certifiable votes of seven individuals are required, including positive votes of all the permanent members.

Choices on recommendations concerning procedural issues require the agreed votes of seven individuals (no veto). Choices on proposition under Chapter VI and Article 52 (3), I. e. cases concerning the tranquil settlement of debate, require seven confirmed votes, including positive votes from all the lasting individuals from the gathering who are not gatherings to the question being referred to, while any part who is involved with the debate must refrain from casting a ballot (contingent veto). Henceforth in all cases a certified lion's share of seven out of eleven votes is required. What changes is only the privilege of veto.

The makers of the United Nations Charter considered that five nations — China, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) [which was prevailing in 1990 by the Russian Federation], the United Kingdom and the United States, on account of their key jobs in the foundation of the United Nations, would keep on assuming essential roles in the support of universal peace and security^[11].

The five Permanent Members have always had one weapon available which is not available to anyone else^[12]. They are conceded the extraordinary status of Permanent Member States at the Security Council, alongside a unique voting power known as the "right to veto". It was concurred by the drafters that if any of the five permanent members make a negative vote in the 15-part Security Council, the goals or choice would not be endorsed.

Every one of the five permanent members have practiced the privilege of veto at some time. On the off chance that a lasting part does not completely concur with a proposed goals but rather does not wish to cast a veto, it might decline, along these lines enabling the resolution to be received on the off chance that it gets the required number of nine positive votes.

2. Need for Change in UNSC

British historian Paul Kennedy, examining the initial first sixty years, stated the Security Council's existence had "glaring failures which not only accompanied the UN's many achievements, they overshadowed them", identifying the absence of will to stop ethnic massacres in Bosnia and Rwanda as its particular failures^[13]. It is felt that the permanent members of the UNSC, all nuclear powers, have created an private nuclear club which predominately addresses the strategic interests and political motives of these exclusive members who are non-other than the big

five, for example, protecting the oil-rich Kuwaitis in 1991 but failing to defend resource-poor Rwandans in 1994^[14]. The Security Council is considered to be the global pillar for apartheid by Titus Alexander, former chair of Westminster United Nations Association, as 3 of the 5 permanent members are European and 4 out of 5 permanent members are predominantly white^[15]. The effectiveness and relevance of the Security Council resolutions have almost always been questioned by some in most of the high profile cases as essentially there were no consequences to violating the resolutions. High profile cases such as the Darfur crisis, Janjaweed militias, allowed by elements of the Sudanese government, committed violence against an indigenous population, killing thousands of civilians. In the Srebrenica extermination, Serbian troops steered genocide against Bosnians, although Srebrenica had been acknowledged as a UN safe area, protected by 400 armed Dutch peacekeepers^[16]. Instances have been where the Security Council has been criticized for failure in resolving conflicts, including Cyprus, Sri Lanka, Syria, Kosovo and the Israeli - Palestinian conflict, reflecting the wider short-comings of the UN. At the 68th session of the UNGA the New Zealand PM John Key exceedingly criticized the inaction on the part of UNSC on the Syrian Civil War which took the lives of lakhs of innocent people^[17]. The world is changing, but not the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). The geo-political and economic scenario of the world is quite different from when the UNSC was established in the year 1945, nearly 75 years ago. The reforms are needed as a greater number of nations being decolonized and there are sharp contrast between the number of seats and the total number of member states. The democratic deficiency must be fulfilled so that a greater number of countries must have a more significant say in the matter. There is no equitable representation in the Security Council, it is the need of the present day to accommodate various unrepresented regions on a more permanent basis e.g. African, Asia Pacific, Latin America etc^[18]. A number of countries have been able to demonstrated the ability to carry the responsibilities of the principle UN organ hence should have legitimate representation in the council. The major problem with the resolutions of the UNSC is considered to be the permanent members which use its power of veto to often influence the resolutions making those countries to suffer, which relatively need a platform to grow. In such situation, the veto must be obliterated and by that time the use of veto should be restricted in case of vital national security issues. There are various groups which are formed among the countries which propose reforms in the UNSC to increase its

¹¹ Sally Morphet, "Resolutions and Vetoes in the UN Security Council: Their Relevance and Significance" Vol. 16, No. 4 (Oct., 1990) Review of International Studies pp. 341-359

¹² Sally Morphet, "Resolutions and Vetoes in the UN Security Council: Their Relevance and Significance" Vol. 16, No. 4 (Oct., 1990) Review of International Studies pp. 341-359

¹³ Kennedy 2006, pp. 101-103, 110. [Kennedy, Paul (2006). *The Parliament of Man: The Past, Present, and Future of the United Nations*. New York: Random House. ISBN 978-0-375-50165-4]

¹⁴ Rajan, SudhirChella (2006). "Global Politics and Institutions" (PDF). GTI Paper Series: Frontiers of a Great Transition. Tellus Institute. 3. Retrieved 11 December 2011.

¹⁵ Alexander 1996, pp. 158-160. [Alexander, Titus (1996). *Unravelling Global Apartheid: An Overview of World Politics*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Polity Press. ISBN 978-0-7456-1353-6.

¹⁶ Deni 2007, p. 71: "As Serbian forces attacked Srebrenica in July 1995, the [400] Dutch soldiers escorted women and children out of the city, leaving behind roughly 7,500 Muslim men who were subsequently massacred by the attacking Serbs.

¹⁷ General Assembly of the United Nations General Debate H.E. Mr. John Key, Prime Minister of New Zealand <<https://gadebate.un.org/en/68/new-zealand>> accessed on 04 April 2020

¹⁸ Archita Anand, "Need for the Reforms in the Unsc in the Changing Political and Economic Times" (February. 2018) Volume 23, Issue 2, Ver. 1 IOSR Journal of Humanities And Social Science (IOSR-JHSS) PP 62-65

relevance in today's world. The main reform groups are: ^[19].

1. The Group of 4 - G4 which comprises of Brazil, Germany, India and Japan. This group of four countries are one of the most leading reform groups which proposes an increased number of permanent members of the Council. It supports the idea of an expanded SC of 25 members, among which 6 are considered to be new permanent members (G4 members and 2 African states) and 4 as newly elected non-permanent members.
2. The Group "Uniting for Consensus" (UFC) – this reform group is lead by Italy, Argentina, Pakistan, Mexico which supports an extended Council of 25 members, with the addition at the level of non-permanent members rather than an expansion of permanent members and /or the introduction of a new group of members, the semi-permanent members. This group are completely against the reforms proposed by the G4 countries.
3. African Union ("Ezulwini Consensus") supports an expanded SC of 26 members. Africa will receive two permanent seats, accompanied by the right to veto, which is also supported by the G4 and 2 non-permanent seats for more adequate representation of the African union. The African union prefers that the veto vote be abolished in totality but so long as it is present would propose that all the permanent members have it including the newer additions ^[20].
4. ACT represents a Trans-Regional group of 21 states such as Ireland, Switzerland, Peru, Uruguay and Liechtenstein. This group solely concentrates on the need for a review of the working methods of the Council, in order to increase its members' responsibility in front of the entire UN membership and the transparency of its work.

Even though it is felt for a long time that the present structure is flawed it is out of reach for a consensus among the permanent members or even the aspirants of a seat at the big table ^[21]. The conclusion that can be drawn from the demands of the various reforms groups is the controversy is related to the total number of seats of a reformed Security Council and their distribution on categories of either permanent or non-permanent members.

3. Permanent Membership of UNSC

Power is a fundamental concept in international relations. It is the determining factor for position and status of a state in global system ^[22]. To the extent power is concerned, policy makers and investigators have for some time been considered inquiries of its sum and nature since global power all in all is questionable. There are distinctive presumptions and decisions about the power of a state. A few states act effectively while others in a powerless way.

With respect to as power is concerned, it is characterized in both the ways. In positive term, control is the capacity to impact other's conduct in a way wanted by one using power while in negative sense, it is a capacity to keep other from applying effect on its conduct. In the two structures, it is connected to control the more fragile and to keep up the notoriety of the more grounded.

Kenneth Waltz provided a useful definition of power as the "extent that affects other, more than they affected on self" ^[23]. A state's power can thus be understood as combination of its capacities to influence others and to behave as it wants them to do and conversely, to resist the unwelcome influence of others ^[24].

The most boundless and customary methods for deciding the status of states is the power that they have. The segments of intensity of a state incorporate its geographic area, size of populace, industry and common assets. As such, these are the capacities of the state to decide its status on the planet request and to gauge its quality.

3.1 Criterion for permanent membership

Since the passing of UNGA Resolution 47/62 agreeing the need for reform of the Council, the criteria that a state might meet in order to gain permanent membership have been widely debated. Putative criteria for the selection of new members (and the retention of existing ones) have been inferred from the nature of the Council itself, and the implication that its permanent members need to possess the attributes of a great power. If one criterion for permanent membership was being a major economic player, both Germany and Japan would satisfy that. If a second criterion were military capability, this might imply that France should retain its seat because of its contribution to UN peacekeeping operations. The contribution of states to the UN budget might be third criterion. On this count, Japan and Germany – as second and third highest contributors respectively – would have a strong case for a permanent seat. A fourth criterion might be population size: this would support India's case without any doubt, but would bring into contention states like Indonesia, with 230 million, while Germany, France and Britain, with populations smaller than 100 million, might seem less qualified on that count. A fifth criterion might be possession of nuclear weapons, which club now includes Israel, Pakistan and possibly North Korea.

Premises of universal relations order the states based on their capacities. It isn't the measure of express that issues however reliance and relationship with different states just as its relative quality and capacities decide its status. It is contended that the states are practically comparable regarding needs yet their capacities for accomplishing them differ. The situation of states as far as gaining the abilities, decides the status of states on the planet request. The scope of interests of the super and extraordinary forces is naturally worldwide while interests of frail and medium states get peripheral significance because of their constrained scope of intensity. Norwegian paper characterized the capacities in four measurements, "mirroring the range from hard to

¹⁹ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Romania "Reform of the UN Security Council" <<https://www.mae.ro/en/node/16885>> accessed on 04 April 2020

²⁰ Ville Lättilä, "A New Proposal For UN Security Council Reform" (Oxford Research Group, 28 May 2019) <<https://www.oxfordresearchgroup.org.uk/blog/a-new-proposal-for-un-security-council-reform>> accessed on 04 April 2020

²¹ Kennedy 2006, pp. 101–103, 110. [Kennedy, Paul (2006). *The Parliament of Man: The Past, Present, and Future of the United Nations*. New York: Random House. ISBN 978-0-375-50165-4]

²² Mussarat Jabeen, 'Indian Aspiration of Permanent Membership In The UN Security Council And American Stance' (2010) 25 A Research Journal of South Asian Studies.

²³ Mussarat Jabeen, 'Indian Aspiration of Permanent Membership In The UN Security Council And American Stance' (2010) 25 A Research Journal of South Asian Studies.

²⁴ Mussarat Jabeen, 'Indian Aspiration of Permanent Membership In The UN Security Council And American Stance' (2010) 25 A Research Journal of South Asian Studies.

delicate power, including:

1. Military
2. Economy/innovation
3. Demography
4. Culture

These four measurements are not dispersed similarly among the states and there is a need to investigate these measurements cautiously. In the present history, control is multidimensional. The more measurements a state contains, the more it can draw control and will be on the present worldwide scene by making an interpretation of intensity into impact.

3.2 Positioning of States on the Basis of Power

One set never fits to characterize a wide range of states, along these lines; distinctive criteria is connected to decide the situation of states in worldwide field. Examiners and scholars have given diverse view focuses on the intensity of states, nonetheless; there are five classes of states, "superpowers, extraordinary forces, centre forces, little powers and smaller than expected states". To assess the overall position of the states based on their attributes, isn't simple as power isn't precisely measured or organized in the worldwide framework. Generally, the single measuring stick to quantify the state control was its monetary abilities with the extent of population and in such manner the "effective population" was imperative that could be furnished appropriately with various skills to work and run the system. To assess the genuine quality of a state, economic and military structure of a nation is noteworthy. Military power is a definitive instrument of state's capacity yet on events, it is connected in wrong way and may end up being counter-profitable. Qualifying the status of an incredible power, a state needs to rank high in practically all regions of solidarity. Jack Levy characterizes an extraordinary power that "assumes a noteworthy job in the global governmental issues concerning the security related issues and the incredible power can be separated from different states by their military power, their interests, their conduct, by and large cooperation with different forces, other impression of them and some formal criteria"^[25].

As per another definition, "An incredible power is a state which cannot be crushed in war by some other state or alliance of states without it demanding the similar expenses from its rivals" (Vital, 1971). National security and national job are likewise attached to the obtaining and support of the capacities of a noteworthy power and empower it to ensure its security and job. This self-rule is vital regarding the military power and "real powers are those states that are least helpless against the immediate military intimidation or assault and are most equipped for hindering any potential assault and shielding their security from other major and minor forces" (Nayer and Paul, 2003: 3).

After the World War II, the US and the Soviet Union rose as superpowers. The champ gatherings of the war ended up lasting individuals from the Security Council under the UN sanction having veto control. In 1972, the Socialist China was presented upon this status in the UN. Japan and Germany lost their status of real power after the World War

II, notwithstanding outperforming in military and monetary capacities than present P-5 (permanent five members from Security Council). Spain, Portugal and Netherland lost this status in the eighteenth century. After the World War I, following thrashing or loss of provinces, Austria-Hungary was denied from this status and was expelled from the rundown of significant forces (Nayer and Paul, 2003: 3). The European states stayed busy with the thought of intensity as they were the incredible countries of the world before the development of bipolarity which decreased their status to second-positioning forces.

They have been working unaltered and no new expansion is made regardless of the fall of Soviet Union and shortcoming of Russia since 1990. It was normal that these forces would keep up and protect the world harmony. These incredible forces have extraordinary military and atomic powers as well as are perceived by different states as the predominant power with a capacity to settle on choice about the worldwide strategies through their investment in meetings and congresses.

China, India and Brazil rose as the nations with tremendous region and immense populace after the World War II. China got the status of a superpower while India and Brazil stayed provincial power. After the World War II, European states felt that for getting driving job in superpowers-overwhelmed world, they should pool their assets and direct joined remote and security arrangement, else they would stay reliant on the US for their resistance. Therefore, European Union was built up. Yet, in the Gulf War, when Kuwait was assaulted by Iraq, they needed to keep a watch out what US would do and after that tailed it (a similar strategy was received on account of 9/11).

As per a definition "a super power is the one, over which the joint military endeavours of all non-super powers would be unfit to accomplish a military triumph in light of the fact that the last are not liable to endure an atomic attack, at the end of the day, a superpower is invulnerable power regarding military" (Reczei, n.d.: 73).

The US is satisfying this paradigm and directing the world with solid military capacities in every aspect of strength and on each of the four dimensions. Along these lines, notwithstanding weapons, or military businesses, different forces are unequipped for verifying their interests and reliance and hole between the extraordinary forces and superpower is enlarging. In this order of the states, US is at the top with huge atomic powers while other significant forces have no match. The atomic abilities as well as numerous different wellsprings of intensity are working available to its.

4. Indian Demand of Permanent Membership in the UN Security Council

India has demanded for reforms in the UNSC as it does not reflect the geopolitical realities and the emergence of a multipolar world order. The council does not represent the dynamic changes taking place in the 21st century around the world. India is fundamentally a regional power however endeavouring to characterize itself as a global power in keeping up the relationship to other real powers like US, China, Russia and European Union. India asks for permanent membership to the UNSC based on two reasons. Firstly, the veto power which comes as a privilege of permanent members, India could use to defend its interests both domestic as well as international. India can be the

²⁵ Mussarat Jabeen, 'Indian Aspiration of Permanent Membership In The UN Security Council And American Stance' (2010) 25 A Research Journal of South Asian Studies.

country which represents the interests of the third world countries which suffer the maximum due to the action as well as in action of the security council. India has always been a strong advocate of the pacific methods of dispute settlement, it has always been of the opinion that even sanctions should be used a method of last resort as it cripples the economy of the country thus, harming not the intended targets but the innocent civilian population. Second, the permanent membership will be an acknowledgment of India's rise as a global power, ready to play a key role in the council's objectives of international peace and security [26].

For a large portion of the twentieth century, India's relations with the remainder of Asia were constrained however it transformed them with its rising desire, and expanded its exchange inside Asia by changing economic dynamic step by step and endeavoured to make an interpretation of them into new political substances. Japan has occurred of China as the predominant monetary power while China has turned into the prevailing mainland control and is critical for a general strength in Asia. A large portion of the littler countries are rotating around these Asian forces. India is certainly not a worldwide power however is one of the top contenders of this race. India has the potential just as the desire to turn into a worldwide power in the coming occasions by satisfying the required criteria. For permanent participation of the UN Security Council, the request of states today comprises of the accompanying three classifications: [27].

1. Global Powers or Superpowers
2. Great or Regional Powers, yet with worldwide potential and
3. Great or Regional Powers.

India's inclination to turn into a noteworthy power is as old as the Indian state itself. As indicated by S. K. Ghosh, "This fantasy is pre-dated even the exchange of intensity from the British." In October 1946, when India was as yet a British state, Nehru had similar perspectives. While tending to armed force officers, he stated, "India is today among the four extraordinary forces of the world: other three being America, Russia, and China. Be that as it may, in purpose of assets, India has more noteworthy potential than China". He included that "India is probably going to overwhelm politically and financially, the Indian Ocean district" (Chapman, 2003: 28). India is attempting to look for global affirmation for its status of a noteworthy power and has reinforced its case based on its capacity to take a functioning, even mighty job in the two "break belts" of Middle East and Southeast Asia.

Russian Foreign Minister Lavrov has made a strong pitch for India's longstanding demand of becoming a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) [28]. "India's permanent seat in the UN Security Council is

merited. The United Nations ought to be re-created to present the geopolitical substances of the 21st century. India properly legitimize a permanent seat in the UN Security Council, due to being the biggest majority rule government on the planet, home to 1/6th of humankind of the world, fourth greatest economy [29]. We are convinced that the overriding trend of the global development is the objective process of the formation of new centres of economic might, financial power and political influence and India is obviously one of them [30].

This long struggle of India to get into the permanent membership, also supported by UK, Russia and France is being justified on following grounds:

- India, being the world's largest democracy has second largest population in the world. The current population of India is estimated around 1.3 Billion people. Being the second most populated country, it represents 1/6th of the world's population.
- Right from its independence, India has been one of the leading contributors of troops to UN peacekeeping missions. The Indian Army's participation in the UN peacekeeping operations spans a period of 57 years. More than 200,000 Indians have served in 49 of the 71 UN peacekeeping missions established around the world since 1948 [31]. Presently, India is ranked, as the third largest troop contributor to the UN [32]. There are around 6,700 uniformed peacekeepers from India, most of them in the Democratic Republic of Congo and in South Sudan [33].
- On the economic side, India is the 5th largest economy by nominal GDP and 3rd largest in the purchasing power parity [34]. India is considered to be an important market to the world economy.
- Indian Army has the world's largest ground force [35]. India ranks 4th in the Global Firepower 2020 list ranking the most powerful military nations in the world [36].

²⁹ Kumar, Gudipati Rajendra "India's effort for permanent seat" *The Hans India* (2017, October 26)

<<https://www.thehansindia.com/posts/index/Young-Hans/2017-10-26/Indias-effort-for-permanent-seat/335518>> accessed on 04 April 2020

³⁰ PTI, "Major differences among UN members over India's permanent membership in UNSC: China" *Economic Times* (Jan 16, 2020) <<https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/politics-and-nation/major-differences-among-un-members-over-indias-permanent-membership-in-uns-c-china/articleshow/73304888.cms?from=mdr>> accessed on 04 April 2020

³¹ India: A long and deep tradition of contributing to UN peacekeeping <<https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/india>> accessed on 04 April 2020

³² Peace Keeping Operations, India Army GOI, UN Peace Keeping <<https://www.indianarmy.nic.in/Site/FormTemplate/frmTempSimple.aspx?MnId=WGq24S1PM+/AUn3QOzy80w==&ParentID=MqKK4eTFJNHtkUF6j/RACw==&flag=xh1e/nCZn5n9IEQDN+4xw==>> accessed on 04 April 2020

³³ India and the UN: Celebrating 70 years of invaluable service to the cause of peace <<https://news.un.org/en/story/2018/08/1016322>> accessed on 04 April 2020

³⁴ Joe Myers, "India is now the world's 5th largest economy" (World Economic Forum, 19 Feb 2020) <<https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2020/02/india-gdp-economy-growth-uk-france/>> accessed on 04 April 2020

³⁵ Sheesh Alex Philip, "Indian Army now world's largest ground force as China halves strength on modernisation push" *The Print* (17 March, 2020) <<https://theprint.in/defence/indian-army-now-worlds-largest-ground-force-as-china-halves-strength-on-modernisation-push/382287/>> accessed on 04 April 2020

³⁶ "Global Firepower 2020: Most powerful military nations of the world" *MSN news* (3rd February 2020) <<https://www.msn.com/en->

²⁶ Archita Anand, "Need for the Reforms in the Unsc in the Changing Political and Economic Times" (February. 2018) Volume 23, Issue 2, Ver. 1 IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science (IOSR-JHSS) PP 62-65

²⁷ Mussarat Jabeen, 'Indian Aspiration of Permanent Membership in the UN Security Council and American Stance' (2010) 25 A Research Journal of South Asian Studies.

²⁸ Geeta Mohan, "India should be permanent member of UN Security Council, Russian minister extends support" *India Today* (New Delhi, 15 January 2020) <<https://www.indiatoday.in/india/story/india-permanent-member-of-un-security-council-russian-minister-lavrov-1636951-2020-01-15>> accessed on 04 April 2020

- India has consistently supported the purposes and principles of the UN and has made significant contributions to implementing the goals of the UN Charter. Time and again, India has risked the lives of its soldiers in peacekeeping efforts of the United Nations, not for any strategic gain, but in the service of an ideal. India's ideal was, and remains, strengthening the world body, and international peace and security^[37].

4.1 Challenges faced by India to attain Permanent Membership in UNSC

One of the major claims made by India is the power it holds in the region however that is not valid. India and different states see permanent membership as a chance to control different countries through the veto control provided to the permanent members. Security Council is a definitive strengthening of NPT while India isn't a signatory to this arrangement and would place it in an ungainly position by supporting approval against the violators or utilizing veto or power against performing artists recently looking to gain atomic ability^[38]. This stance has however not fully been accepted by other regional actors. For India, the more prominent real political issue is China that is against an Indian seat due to the long-haul contention of picking up power in Asia. Beijing is additionally compassionate to Pakistan's requests of keeping India from being a permanent part of the Security Council. India has a violent history with Pakistan since freedom. Amid this period, both the nations have battled three noteworthy wars and one minor. Both the countries have always had rocky relation in addition the recent surgical strikes and changes to the Kashmir region has escalated the issue.

The epicentre of the contention is the regional question of Jammu and Kashmir area. The contention is still there and cannot resolve in spite of 40,000 individuals have lost their lives. India still has about 400 thousand troops positioned in the district. The contention is personally identified with Islam and Hindu patriotism which speak to an expanding risk to the interior soundness of the two nations. These relations are unbalanced in nature. Pakistan has recently raised the issue of Kashmir in the UNSC with the help of China after the Indian government decided to scrap the age-old article 370 of the Indian constitution. China which was sympathetic to the Pakistan's plea raised this issue in UNSC where most countries including 4 permanent members considered it a bilateral issue which did have a place in the UN^[39].

India and Pakistan appear to concede to the goal of a standardized relationship, yet they differ profoundly on the most proficient method to get it. Pakistan likes to manage Kashmir issue first, while India needs to give need on less delicate issues and is suspicious of the outsider contribution.

au/news/photos/global-firepower-2020-most-powerful-military-nations-of-the-world/ss-BBZEoLo?viewall=true#image=1 accessed on 04 April 2020
³⁷ Peace Keeping Operations, India Army GOI, UN Peace Keeping <<https://www.indianarmy.nic.in/Site/FormTemplate/firmTempSimple.aspx?MnId=WGq24S1PM+/AU3QOzy80w==&ParentID=MqKK4eTFJNHtkUF6j/RAcw==&flag=xh1e/ncZnD5n9IEQDN+4xw==>> accessed on 04 April 2020

³⁸ Mussarat Jabeen, 'Indian Aspiration of Permanent Membership In The UN Security Council And American Stance' (2010) 25 A Research Journal of South Asian Studies.

³⁹ Geeta Mohan, 'China isolated on Kashmir issue at UNSC, 14 nations refuse discussion in big win for India' *India today* (New Delhi, 16 January 2020) <<https://www.indiatoday.in/india/story/china-pakistan-isolated-on-kashmir-issue-at-uns-1637238-2020-01-16>> accessed on 02 April 2020

Presenting this status in UNSC, India would be in a situation to obstruct any undesired arrangement on Kashmir by being a permanent member of it.

India and China additionally have various regional question. The 4500 km outskirts among India and China is as yet questioned. Chats on regional settlements have continued for a fourth of a century. The gridlock was halfway broken in 2003 when China stretched out acknowledgment to India for Sikkim and consequently, India perceived Tibet as a major aspect of China^[40]. Looking forward, India and China are reclassifying their vital jobs and embracing a confident military technique. Expanded Chinese nearness in the Indian Ocean is a test for the customary predominance of India in the locale. In this circumstance, China is developing as the predominant mainland power and US is looking for various nations on the Asian-Pacific Rim to reinforce its connection in the district. China-India relations is based more on the fear of confrontation than on any real agreement and mutual accommodation. Hence, it cannot produce any substantive progress on contentious bilateral issues^[41].

India is endeavouring to assume an adjusting job in the Indian Ocean where it needs to participate with other littoral states and powers. The contention is expanded by the triangular idea of Asian legislative issues as this triangular relationship is a key factor in the security dynamic of South Asia. That is the reason Indo-US concurrence on Civil Nuclear Cooperation drove Beijing to offer, the one to Pakistan. India's expanding association in Central-Asia might be found regarding its inclusion in Afghanistan. India's commitment in Afghanistan since 2001 has been of a non-military sort. Afghanistan has turned into a vital piece of Indian security analytics for South and Central Asian Region and a declaration of local challenge with Pakistan. Focal Asia has been re-attested as a locale of extraordinary geo-vital hugeness, because of the vitality assets as well as its area in neighbouring of Afghanistan and its development as a wellspring of territorial precariousness and a territory of expanding incredible power contention.

Conclusion

The present institutional structure of UNSC depends on the substances of Post-World War II period, which are required to change as per difficulties of 21st century. Since 90s, UN plan has been recommending changes and expansion of the Security Council with a desire for change in the current worldwide request. The key issue is to incorporate the every single developing force into worldwide framework. Among these forces, India is one of the top contenders of turning into a noteworthy power as it professes to have the potential and the aspiration to accomplish this status. In any case, the way to be a worldwide power, is yet a long ways and it relies upon countless and outer components. India needs to adopt a judicious strategy towards turning into a worldwide power.

Today, the world is going up against with various

⁴⁰ Ivan Lidarev, '2019: Reviewing a Passable Year in China-India Relations' (January 04, 2020) <<https://thediplomat.com/2020/01/2019-reviewing-a-passable-year-in-china-india-relations/>> accessed on 02 April 2020

⁴¹ Ivan Lidarev, '2019: Reviewing a Passable Year in China-India Relations' (January 04, 2020) <<https://thediplomat.com/2020/01/2019-reviewing-a-passable-year-in-china-india-relations/>> accessed on 02 April 2020

developing forces, all requesting a seat at the table. Obviously, it appears as a chance however it additionally implies new difficulties. Numerous difficulties today, are worldwide in nature. The occasions of 9/11 have changed the world and security challenge like psychological warfare has occurred of the regulation of socialism. India and Brazil were seen at removed and unimportant performers previously yet in ongoing circumstance, NATO's territory of tasks is contacting the Indian outskirts and dangers are being felt in Brazil similarly, as these are not local but rather worldwide in nature. Every one of the forces need to take part to unravel them as western nations alone are not in a situation to counter them. India is the no doubt possibility to help a worldwide design based on great administration and multilateralism and might be a section to unravel various key security issues, including Afghanistan, theft and psychological warfare. Thought there are various issues with obtaining a permanent seat at the table. The costs that comes with are to be considered by the country in accordance with the economic condition that the country is facing at this point. Along with this even though the country has the largest volunteer army in the world, modernisation has become an important aspect to it. Indian armed forces have had the idea to modernise since a long time but haven't been able to do so. One can understand the meaning of having a permanent membership at the most powerful council but a developing country like India must consider the consequences of the same. The economic contribution along with the pledging of more forces to the UN peacekeeping missions when there exist border disputes with Pakistan and China. India must resolve the internal issues in totality before considering taking on such a hugely important role in world security.

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