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UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATION (U.N.O)

- An international organization (sometimes called international governmental organizations or IGOs) is an institution with formal procedures and a membership comprising three or more states. International organizations are characterized by rules that seek to regulate the relations amongst member states and by a formal structure that implements and enforces these rules.
- The United Nations is, without doubt, the most important international organization created to date. Established though **the San Francisco Conference** (April–June 1945), it is the only truly global organization ever to be constructed, having a membership of 193 states. The principal aims of the UN, as spelled out by its founding Charter, are as follows:
 - ✓ To safeguard peace and security in order ‘to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war’
 - ✓ To ‘reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights’
 - ✓ To uphold respect for international law
 - ✓ To ‘promote social progress and better standards of life’

PRINCIPLES OF UN

- Article 2 of UN charter contains the principles on which UN is based. The Organization and its Members shall act in accordance with the following Principles-
 - ✓ UN is based on the principle of the **sovereign equality** of all its Members.
 - ✓ All Members shall fulfil the obligations in accordance with the UN Charter
 - ✓ All Members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means
 - ✓ All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force
 - ✓ All Members shall give the United Nations every assistance in any action it takes in accordance with the present Charter, and
 - ✓ They shall refrain from giving assistance to any state against which the United Nations is taking preventive or enforcement action.
 - ✓ The UN shall ensure that states which are not Members of the United Nations act in accordance with these Principles.
 - ✓ **the UN shall not intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction** of any state but this principle shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under Chapter VII.

- However, the UN was not the first organization that was constructed to guarantee world peace; its predecessor, **the League of Nations**, had been founded at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919 with very similar goals, namely to enable collective security, to arbitrate over international disputes and to bring about disarmament. The League of Nations was inspired by US President Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points, established as the basis for long-term peace in post-WWI Europe. The League, nevertheless, suffered from major defects, which the later architects of the UN tried to take fully into account.

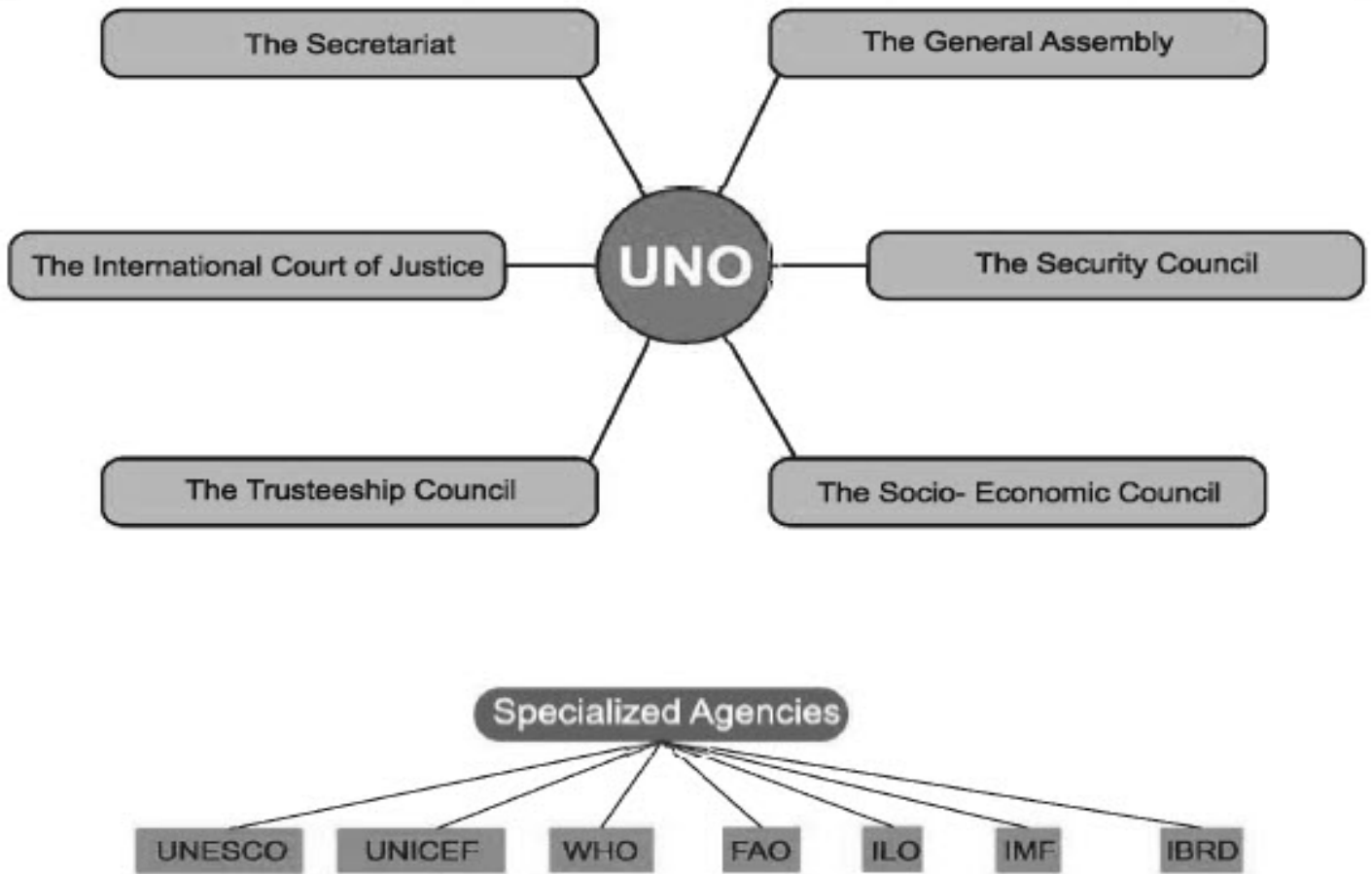
Collective security

Collective security is the theory or practice of states pledging to defend one another in order to deter aggression or to punish a transgressor if international order has been breached. **Its key idea is that aggression can best be resisted by united action taken by a number of states.** This is the only alternative to the insecurity and uncertainty of power politics. In other words, it is the idea or practice of common defence, in which a number of states pledge themselves to defend each other, **based on the principle of 'all for one and one for all'.**

- The basic blueprint for the new international organization was drawn up in August 1944 at Dumbarton Oaks, Washington DC, by delegates from the USA, the Soviet Union, China and the UK. The United Nations was established as the successor to the League of Nations when 50 states met in San Francisco to agree the terms of the UN Charter. The UN Charter was signed in San Francisco on 26 June 1945, with **the UN officially coming into existence on 24 October (since known as UN Day).**

STRUCTURE OF UNO

- The UN has six major organs
 - 1) The General Assembly.
 - 2) The Security Council.
 - 3) The Secretariat.
 - 4) The International Court of Justice.
 - 5) The Economic and Social Council.
 - 6) The Trusteeship Council



- The UN family also includes a range of specialized agencies, funds and programmes, including
 - ✓ the IMF,
 - ✓ the World Bank
 - ✓ the World Health Organization (WHO)
 - ✓ the UN Human Rights Council
 - ✓ the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the
 - ✓ UN Children's Fund (UNICEF) etc.

1) THE SECURITY COUNCIL

- **The Security Council is the most significant UN body.** It is headquartered at the UN headquarters in New York City. This is charged with the maintenance of international peace and security, and so is responsible for the UN's role as negotiator, observer, peacekeeper and, ultimately, peace enforcer. The Council has the power to pass legally-binding resolutions to
 - ✓ suspend or expel members,

- ✓ impose economic sanctions and
 - ✓ take military action to maintain or restore peace and security.
- The Security Council has 15 members. The Big Five (or P-5) – the USA, Russia, China, the UK and France – are permanent ‘veto powers’. The non-permanent members are elected on a regional basis for a two-year term by the General Assembly by a two-thirds vote. It is not possible to be re-elected immediately after holding a seat. The council's **presidency rotates every month** among its 15 members.
- When the Charter of the United Nations was adopted in 1945, the Security Council had only five permanent and six non-permanent members, a total of eleven in all. In 1963, the General Assembly decided to expand the Security Council by creating four additional non-permanent seats; this reform came into force in 1965. **The Security Council has existed in its present format since 1966.**

Voting process in UNSC

Article 27 of UN Charter states that:

1. Each member of the Security Council shall have one vote.
 2. Decisions of the Security Council on procedural matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of nine members.
 3. Decisions of the Security Council on all other matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of nine members including the concurring votes of the permanent members. However, any member, whether permanent or nonpermanent, must abstain from voting in any decision concerning the peaceful settlement of a dispute to which it is a party.
- The five permanent members **enjoy the luxury of veto power**; meaning that they can block decisions made by other members of the Council. When a permanent member vetoes a vote, the Council resolution cannot be adopted, regardless of international support. Even if the other fourteen nations vote yes, a single veto will beat this overwhelming show of support.
- If a permanent member does not fully agree with a proposed resolution but does not wish to cast a veto, it may choose to abstain, thus allowing the resolution to be adopted if it obtains the required number of nine favourable votes. **Abstention of a permanent member does not amount to veto.**
- Although, the veto can elicit paralysis, it also serves a useful function. This function is known as the **concert function**. By instituting the veto, the **UN was virtually ensuring the participation of all the Great Powers**. The veto allows the permanent members to manage their interactions in regard to their interests. When they all agree, action can be taken. When they disagree, action can be blocked. **Areas of contention are therefore avoided and the Great Powers are separated, effectively averting direct confrontation.**

- When the Security Council considers a threat to international peace, it first explores ways to settle the dispute peacefully under the terms of **Chapter VI** of the UN Charter. It can do so by negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means.
- The responsibilities and powers enshrined in **Chapter VII** of the Charter are central to the Security Council's ability to uphold international stability and peace by averting or ending conflicts. In the event of fighting, the Security Council tries to secure a ceasefire and may send a peacekeeping mission. The Council can also take measures to enforce its decisions under Chapter VII of the Charter, for instance through the imposition of economic sanctions, arms embargoes, or collective military action.
- The Council also makes recommendations to the General Assembly on the appointment of a new secretary-general and on the admission of new members to the UN.

2) THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

- This is the main deliberative organ of the UN, **sometimes dubbed the 'parliament of nations'**. The Assembly consists of all members of the UN, each of which has a single vote. The Assembly can do the following-
 - ✓ debate and pass resolutions on any matter covered by the Charter, and
 - ✓ has a specific responsibility to examine and approve the UN's budget,
 - ✓ determine the members' contributions, and
 - ✓ elect, in conjunction with the Security Council, the UN Secretary-General and the judges of the International Court of Justice.
- The General Assembly is made up of all UN member states, with one vote each. A two-thirds majority in the General Assembly is required for decisions on key issues such as
 - ✓ international peace and security,
 - ✓ the admission of new members, and
 - ✓ the UN budget.
- A simple majority is required for other matters. The decisions reached by the General Assembly have the status of recommendations, rather than binding decisions, so they cannot force action by any state. One of the few exceptions is the General Assembly's Fifth Committee, which makes decisions on the budget that are binding on members. The General Assembly can consider any matter within the scope of the UN Charter.
- The Assembly neither has a legislative role nor does it oversee or scrutinize, in any meaningful sense, the Security Council or the Secretariat.
- In other words, the UN General Assembly (UNGA) can only make non-binding recommendations, which is another reason for ineffectiveness of the UN and another important issue of UN reform.

Non-member states of UN

Two countries are not members of the U.N.:

- Palestine and
- the Holy See (Vatican City)

Both, however, are considered non-member States of the United Nations, which means they have permanent invitations to participate as observers of the General Assembly and are provided free access to documents of the United Nations. Non-member permanent observer status has been recognized as a matter of practice in the U.N. since 1946 when the Swiss Government was given the status by the Secretary-General.

More often than not, permanent observers later join the United Nations as full members when their independence has been recognized by more members and their governments and economy have stabilized.

3) THE SECRETARIAT

- This services the other principal organs of the UN and administers the programmes and policies laid down by them. Although its main activities are located in the UN's headquarters in New York, it has offices all over the world and a total staff of about 40,000.
- At its head is the Secretary-General, who functions as the public face of the UN as well as its chief administrative officer. He is appointed by the Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council for a five-year, renewable term. The Secretary-General deals with a multifaceted bureaucracy staffed by civil servants from various states and cultures. It tries to maintain the UN's independence, often in a context of rivalry amongst P-5 states. Nevertheless, Secretaries-General have some capacity to influence the status and policy direction of the organization.
- António Guterres from Portugal was sworn in as the ninth secretary-general in January 2017. On the recommendation of the other bodies, the Secretariat also carries out a number of research functions and some quasi-management functions. Yet the role of the Secretariat remains primarily bureaucratic. The only exception is the power of the secretary-general, **under Article 99 of the Charter**, to bring situations that are likely to lead to a breakdown of international peace and security to the attention of the Security Council. This article was the legal basis for the remarkable expansion of the diplomatic role of the secretary-general, compared with its League predecessor.

4) ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

- This consists of 54 members elected by the General Assembly. Its chief role is to coordinate the economic and social work of the UN and the UN family of organizations. This involves overseeing the activities of a large number of programmes, funds and specialized agencies. These include the so-called '**three sisters**' – the World Bank,

-the IMF and

-the WTO –

- This supervision also bodies such as the –
 - International Labour Organization (ILO),
 - the World Health Organization (WHO),
 - the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and
 - the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF).
- The expansion of the UN's economic and social institutions occurred largely along functionalist lines, bodies being created or further developed as specific economic and social problems emerged.
- The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), under the overall authority of the General Assembly, coordinates the economic and social work of the United Nations and the UN family of organizations. It also consults with non-governmental organizations (NGOs), thereby maintaining a vital link between the United Nations and civil society. ECOSOC's subsidiary bodies include Functional Commissions, such as the Commission on the Status of Women; Regional Commissions, such as the Economic Commission for Africa; and other bodies.
- The Economic and Social Council has been criticized, as it has become overshadowed by institutions such as the IMF and the World Bank which are lacking democratic processes, transparency, and accountability.

5)THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

- The International Court of Justice (ICJ) is the principal judicial organ of the United Nations (UN).It also known as the World Court. It was established in June 1945 by the Charter of the United Nations and began work in April 1946.m
- The seat of the Court is at the Peace Palace in The Hague (Netherlands). Of the six principal organs of the United Nations, it is the only one not located in New York (United States of America).
- The International Court of Justice is composed of 15 judges elected to nine-year terms of office by the United Nations General Assembly and the Security Council. The Court may not include more than one national of the same State. Moreover, the Court as a whole must represent the main forms of civilization and the principal legal systems of the world. These organs vote simultaneously but separately. In order to be elected, a candidate must receive an absolute majority of the votes in both bodies.
- In order to ensure a measure of continuity, one third of the Court is elected every three years. Judges are eligible for re-election. It is assisted by a Registry, its administrative organ. Its official languages are English and French.

- Presently Justice Dalveer Bhandari is an Indian judge serving in the ICJ. He is the fourth judge to serve the ICJ after B.N Rau, Nagendra Singh and R.S.Pathak.
- The Court decides disputes between countries. Participation by states in a proceeding is voluntary, but if a state agrees to participate, it is obligated to comply with the Court's decision. The Court also provides **advisory opinions** to other UN organs and specialized agencies on request.
- The court's judgment is final and without appeal. The court itself has no powers of enforcement, but according to article 94 of the UN Charter, *if any party to a case fails to perform the obligations incumbent upon it under a judgment rendered by the Court, **the other party may have recourse to the Security Council***. The Security Council, if it deems necessary, make recommendations or decide upon measures to be taken to give effect to the judgment. In general, however, enforcement is made possible because the court's decisions are viewed as legitimate by the international community.

Compulsory jurisdiction of ICJ

Each State which has recognized the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court has in principle the right to bring any one or more other States, which have accepted the same obligation, before the Court, by filing an application instituting proceeding with the Court. Conversely, it undertakes to appear before the Court should proceedings be instituted against it by one or more other such States.

The nature of legal disputes in relation to which such compulsory jurisdiction may be recognized are listed in Article 36, paragraphs 2-5, of the Statute, which are as follows-

- (a) the interpretation of a treaty;
- (b) any question of international law;
- (c) the existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of an international obligation;
- (d) the nature or extent of the reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation.

Kulbhushan Jadhav case

India was involved in a case at the ICJ on six different occasions including 'Kulbhushan Jadhav case'. Pakistan was the opposite party on four of these six occasions.

The Vienna Convention on Consular Relations is an international treaty that defines consular relations between independent states. **Article 36** of the Vienna Convention states that foreign nationals who are **arrested or detained** in the host country must be given notice without delay of their right to have their embassy or consulate notified of that arrest. India and Pakistan are signatories to **Optional Protocol to Vienna Convention on Consular Relations concerning the Compulsory Settlement of Disputes**. According to this protocol, all disputes relating to interpretation or application of this convention falls under compulsory jurisdiction of the ICJ.

Kulbhushan Jadhav, an Indian national, was sentenced to death by a Pakistani military court on charges of espionage and terrorism in April 2017. India had challenged the verdict in the **International Court of Justice (ICJ)**, the top UN court. It accused Pakistan of **violating Vienna Convention on Consular Relations 1963** by failing to provide Jadhav with consular access despite repeated Indian requests. In its interim order in May 2017, the ICJ stayed Jadhav's death sentence until the ICJ's final judgment in the case. The Court upheld India's stand about non- grant of consular access to Kulbhushan Jadhav was a violation of the Vienna Convention.

On 17 July 2019 the International Court of Justice (ICJ) delivered its final verdict on the Kulbhushan Jadhav case. With a 15-1 majority decision in India's favour, the court found that Pakistan had breached its obligations under the 1963 Vienna Convention on Consular Relations (VCCR). The ICJ ruled that Pakistan must undertake an "effective review and reconsideration" of the conviction and sentence of Mr, Jadhav and also to grant consular access to India without further delay.

6)THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL

- It was established to provide international supervision for 11 Trust Territories administered by seven member states, and to ensure that adequate steps were taken to prepare the territories for self-government or independence. By 1994, all the Trust Territories had attained self-government or independence, either as separate states or by joining neighbouring independent countries. The last to do so was the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, Palau, which had previously been administered by the United States.

SPECIALIZED AGENCIES OF UNO

- Specialized Agencies are legally independent international organizations with their own rules, membership, organs and financial resources, were brought into relationship with the United Nations through negotiated agreements.
- Some of the agencies existed before the First World War, some were associated with the League of Nations, others were created almost simultaneously with the United Nations and yet others were created by the United Nations itself to meet emerging needs.
- Given the diversity of their respective fields of action, history and experience, each agency has its own needs and concerns, not to speak of corporate culture. Some of these specialized agencies are as follows-

International Labour Organization (ILO)

The International Labour Organization (ILO) was founded in 1919, its Constitution forming part of the Treaty of Versailles. The ILO became the first specialised agency of the UN in 1946.

Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO)

The aim of the Food and Agriculture Organization, as defined in its Constitution, is to:

- ✓ raise levels of nutrition and standards of living;
- ✓ secure improvements in food production and distribution;
- ✓ better the conditions of rural people and;
- ✓ contribute toward an expanding world economy and ensure freedom from hunger.

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)

The UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) was established in 1945 to promote the aims set out in article 1, para. 3 of the UN Charter. Its purpose, as stated in article 1 of its Constitution, is to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among nations through education, science and culture.

International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO)

The Convention on International Civil Aviation, which provided for the establishment of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), was signed in Chicago in 1944. The Organization came into existence on 4 April 1947 after 26 states had ratified the Convention. Under article 44 of the Convention, the ICAO is charged with developing the principles and techniques of international air navigation, and fostering the planning and development of international air transport to ensure the safe and orderly growth of international civil aviation throughout the world.

World Health Organization (WHO)

Representatives of 61 states adopted the World Health Organization (WHO) Constitution in 1946. The Organization formally came into existence on 7 April 1948 and became a UN specialized agency on 10 July 1948. Article 1 of the Constitution defines the WHO's objective as "the attainment by all peoples of the highest possible level of health". The detailed functions are set out in article 2 of the Constitution.

International Telecommunication Union (ITU)

The International Telecommunication Union (ITU) was founded in 1865 in Paris as the International Telegraph Union. The 1932 Madrid Plenipotentiary Conference decided the current name, which came into

force on 1 January 1934. The ITU is an inter-governmental organization that brings together governments and industry to coordinate the establishment and operation of global telecommunication networks and services.

World Meteorological Organization (WMO)

The World Meteorological Organization (WMO) is the successor to the International Meteorological Organization, which was established in 1873. It formally came into existence in 1950 and became a UN specialised agency in 1951.

International Maritime Organization (IMO)

The International Maritime Organization (IMO) is the UN specialised agency responsible for the safety of life at sea, maritime security and the protection of the marine environment through prevention of sea pollution caused by ships. It facilitates cooperation among governments to achieve the highest practicable standards of maritime safety and security, and efficiency in navigation.

World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO)

The World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) is dedicated to developing a balanced and accessible international intellectual property (IP) system that rewards creativity, stimulates innovation and contributes to economic development while safeguarding the public interest.

World Tourism Organization (UNWTO)

UNWTO is the UN's specialised agency in the field of tourism. It provides leadership and support to the tourism sector in the advancement of sustainable policies, practices and actions. Through the promotion and development of responsible, sustainable and universally accessible tourism, UNWTO endeavours to maximise tourism's contribution to socio-economic growth, job creation, development, environmental conservation, cultural enrichment and international understanding, while minimizing negative social or environmental impacts. It pays particular attention to the interests of developing countries.

ASSESSMENT OF UNO

Criticism

- The principal aim of the UN is ‘to maintain international peace and security’ (Article 1), with responsibility for this being vested in the Security Council. Indeed, the performance of the UN can largely be **judged in terms of the extent to which it has saved humankind from deadly military conflict.**
- This, nevertheless, is difficult to judge. On the one hand, the fact that the two world wars of the twentieth century have not been followed by **World War III has sometimes been seen as the supreme achievement of the UN.** It is as well as demonstrating a clear advance on the performance of the League of Nations). On the other hand, critics have argued that the absence of global war since 1945 has had little to do with the UN. It is more **a consequence of the ‘balance of terror’** that developed during the Cold War as a nuclear stalemate developed between the USA and the Soviet Union. Ultimately, how global and regional conflict would have developed and whether ‘cold’ wars would have become ‘hot’ ones in the absence of the UN, is an unanswerable question.
- The UN is **fundamentally flawed** because it was designed as a supranational body whose role is to police the international system. The UN therefore has all the drawbacks of a would-be world government –
 - ✓ a lack of legitimacy,
 - ✓ accountability and
 - ✓ democratic credentials.
- Not only does the UN interfere in the affairs of nation-states (as is demonstrated by its declining support for state sovereignty), but it also disrupts the workings of the balance-of-power system, thereby endangering peace and stability.
- It is, nevertheless, evident that **the UN has only had limited and intermittent success in establishing a system of collective security** that can displace a reliance on violent self-help.
- The capacity of the UN to enforce a system of collective security is **severely limited by the fact that it is essentially a creature of its members: it can do no more than its member states, and particularly the permanent members of the Security Council, permit.** As a result, its role has been confined essentially to providing mechanisms that facilitate the peaceful resolution of international conflicts. Even in this respect, however, its record has been patchy.
- During the Cold War, **the UN was routinely paralyzed by superpower rivalry** that led to deadlock in the Security Council, a consequence of the veto powers of its permanent members. The Cold War ensured that, on most issues, the USA and the Soviet Union (the P-2) adopted opposing positions, which prevented the Security Council from taking decisive action. The only occasion on which the

Security Council agreed on measures of military enforcement was in relation to **the Korean War in 1950**, but the circumstances surrounding this were exceptional. UN intervention in Korea was only possible because the Soviet Union had temporarily withdrawn from the Council, in protest against the exclusion of 'Red China' (the People's Republic of China).

- It was also unable to prevent the Soviet invasions of Hungary (1956), Czechoslovakia (1968) and Afghanistan (1979), or to curtail the USA's escalating military involvement in Vietnam during the 1960s and 1970s. Similarly, the UN had only a very limited influence on the succession of Arab–Israeli wars.
- **A further difficulty was that the UN was never able to develop an armed force of its own**, so that it has always had to rely on troops supplied by individual member states. This has meant that when the UN has authorized military action it has either been subcontracted, for example, to
 - ✓ US-led forces (Korean War and Gulf War) or
 - ✓ to regional bodies such as NATO (Kosovo) or the African Union (Darfur), or
 - ✓ it has been carried out by a multinational force of so-called 'blue helmets' or 'blue berets' contributed by member states.

Thus, one of the key conditions for an effective collective security system – the availability of permanent UN troops to enforce its will – has remained unfulfilled. Its impact on matters of peace and security was therefore strictly limited.

- Whereas the **Council is criticized for being poorly representative and dominated by great powers**, the Assembly, in a sense, is over-representative, a highly decentralized body that often serves as little more than a propaganda arena. This division between the two bodies became increasingly clear from the 1960s onwards as a result of the growing influence of newly independent, developing countries in the Assembly, and the effective retreat of the P-5 to the Council.
- The end of the Cold War, however, produced optimism about the capacity of an activist UN to preside over a 'new world order'. **The UN's intervention in the Gulf War of 1991**, being only the second time (after Korea) that the UN authorized large-scale military action, seemed to demonstrate a renewed capacity to fulfil its obligation of deterring aggression and maintaining peace.
- Also in a few short years, the number of **UN peacekeeping operations** had doubled, and the annual budget for peacekeeping had quadrupled. Since 1990, the Security Council has approved non-military enforcement measures on numerous occasions – for instance, in relation to Afghanistan, Angola, Ethiopia and Eritrea, Haiti, Iraq, Rwanda, Somalia, the former Yugoslavia and so on – and measures of military enforcement, usually linked to peacekeeping operations have become much more common.
- **The term 'peacekeeping' is not found in the UN Charter.** Nevertheless, over the years, peacekeeping has come to be the most significant way in which the UN has fulfilled its responsibility

to maintain international peace and security. Falling somewhere between the UN's commitment to resolve disputes peacefully through means such as negotiation and mediation (Chapter Six) and more forceful actions to maintain security (Chapter Seven), **peacekeeping was described by the second UN Secretary-General, Dag Hammarskjöld, as belonging to 'Chapter Six and a Half'.**

- However, early hopes for a UN-dominated 'new world order' were quickly disappointed. This was evident not only in sometimes high-profile peacekeeping failures, **as in Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia.** But most significantly it was in the USA's decision to go ahead with the invasion of Iraq in 2003, despite opposition from leading members of the Security Council.

Peacekeeping

Peacekeeping is defined by the UN as 'a way to help countries torn by conflict create conditions for sustainable peace'. It is therefore essentially a technique **designed to preserve the peace**, however fragile, where fighting has been halted, and **to assist in implementing agreements achieved by the peacemakers.** 'Traditional' or classical peacekeeping amounts to monitoring and observing the peace process in post-conflict situations, with peacekeepers being deployed after a ceasefire has been negotiated. It has no expectation of **fighting except in the case of self-defence.**

Peace-building

Peace-building is a long-term process of creating the necessary conditions for sustainable peace by **addressing the deep-rooted, structural causes of violent conflict** in a comprehensive manner. Strictly speaking, peacebuilding is a phase in the peace process that occurs after peace making and peacekeeping have been completed. However, these activities invariably overlap to a greater or lesser degree, meaning that peace-building resembles what is often called **multi-dimensional peacekeeping.**

Peacebuilding as long-term conflict resolution involves a wide range of strategies, economic, political and social as well as military. These include the following:

- ✓ economic reconstruction,
- ✓ repairing or improving the economic and social infrastructure,
- ✓ de-mining,
- ✓ the demobilization and retraining of former combatants,
- ✓ the reintegration of displaced peoples,
- ✓ establishing community organizations etc.

Although the military remain the backbone of most peacekeeping operations, the many faces of peacekeeping now include administrators and economists, police officers and legal experts, deminers and electoral observers, and human rights monitors and specialists in civil affairs and governance.

- Hopes for a more effective UN in the post-Cold War period were also dashed, largely by a declining willingness of states, freed from East–West tensions, to accept neutral, multilateral intervention, and by the eroding support, both financial and military, of the USA.
- Despite some genuine successes in peacekeeping (such as in Mozambique and El Salvador) and in peace-building (East Timor), the UN's reputation was badly damaged by its failure to prevent large-scale slaughter in **Rwanda and Bosnia in the mid-1990s**.
- The USA led 'coalition of the willing' invaded Iraq in March 2003 bypassing UNSC. The then UN Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, declared **explicitly that the invasion had not been sanctioned by the Security Council, and was not in accordance with the principles of the UN Charter**. It was a clear breach of international law. The Iraq War demonstrated how the **UN could be reduced to the role of a bystander** in a world dominated by a hegemonic USA. Nevertheless, although the bypassing of the UN dealt the organization a significant blow to its standing. Unilateral US action taken without UN authorization and against the opposition of key P-5 states undoubtedly weakened the USA's 'soft' power.
- The UN has also been subject to a variety of other criticisms-
 - ✓ It can be said that the UN has a lot to do but **it has too little money**, as it is in a permanent financial crisis due to the unwillingness of many members to pay their contributions on time. As long as the UN's budget remains tightly constrained, it cannot be effective.
 - ✓ Others claim that **it is little more than a debating society**, due to the fact that it can do no more than its member states, and particularly the P-5, allow it to do.
 - ✓ Further criticisms focus on the **complex and deeply bureaucratic nature of the organization itself, and its tendency towards inefficiency and mismanagement**. This was exposed not least by the 2003 Oil-for-Food scandal.

SIGNIFICANCE OF UN

- The United Nations will celebrate its 77th anniversary this year. **Its survival is its biggest success**.
- The United Nations is a genuinely global body that has a unique international character. On the basis of its founding Charter, the organization can take action, in theory, in an unlimited range of areas. The main achievements of the United Nations have been in the economic and social sectors.
- However, its key role is widely accepted to be the maintenance of international peace and security, particularly as carried out through the Security Council's ability to issue binding resolutions. This is backed up, at least in theory, by the ability to impose non-military and military sanctions in the event of non-compliance. **This makes the UN the primary source of international law**.
- For all its flaws and failures, one central fact must be borne in mind: the world is a safer place with the UN than it would be without it. Although the UN will never be able to prevent all wars and resolve all

conflicts, **it provides an indispensable framework for cooperation**, should the international community choose to use it. The UN serves, however imperfectly, to increase the chances that international conflict can be resolved without the resort to war and, if war breaks out, that military conflict will quickly lead to peace making and peace-building.

- **Most studies show that UN peacekeeping operations are more often successful than unsuccessful.** At an operational level, there are clearly functions that the UN is better at performing than any other body, including small-scale peacekeeping, the provision of humanitarian aid and the monitoring of elections. The shift towards **multidimensional peacekeeping** has also been beneficial.
- The UN did not fossilize around its initial mission, but it has, rather, **succeeded in adapting and redefining itself** in the light of new global challenges. Not only has the UN developed into the leading organization promoting economic and social development worldwide, but it has also **helped to shape the agenda as far as new global issues** are concerned, ranging from climate change and gender equality to population control and dealing with pandemics.
- In relation to human rights, **the UN has been highly successful in creating a detailed body of international human rights legislation**, and also in producing bodies that can observe and authoritatively report on adherence to global human rights norms. However, given the range of interests that operate in and through the UN, it has been less easy to ensure that these bodies act in a robust way. The much-criticized Commission on Human Rights may have been replaced by the Human Rights Council. But its unwillingness to criticize Sri Lanka in 2009 for the conduct of its civil war against the Tamil Tigers demonstrated, serious human rights violations can still escape sanction.
- The UN nevertheless continues **to exert significant ‘soft’ power, particularly in the developing world**, where it is viewed as the leading institution providing support for economic and social development. The UN remains the only international organization that approximates to a form of global governance, providing, at minimum, a framework through which the international community can address concerns ranging from
 - ✓ peace and security,
 - ✓ disarmament and non-proliferation
 - ✓ to environmental protection,
 - ✓ poverty reduction,
 - ✓ gender equality and
 - ✓ emergency relief.
- The principal vehicle responsible for global development policy is the UN Development Programme (UNDP), created in 1965. The UNDP has a presence in some 166 countries, working with them on their own solutions to global and national development challenges. It also helps developing countries attract and use aid effectively. **Annual Human Development Reports (HDRs)** focus the global

debate on key development issues, providing new measurement tools (such as the Human Development Index or HDI). By focusing on the notions of ‘human development’, the UNDP has also promoted **innovative thinking about poverty and deprivation**, moving away from a narrowly economic definition of poverty. The desire to reinvigorate the UN’s Development Programme led to the unveiling in 2000 of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and subsequently to **Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in 2015. The UN has done more than any other organization or single state to alleviate the economic and social problems of developing countries.**

Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)

The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, adopted by all United Nations Member States in 2015, provides a shared blueprint for peace and prosperity for people and the planet, now and into the future. At its heart are the **17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)**, which are an urgent call for action by all countries - developed and developing - in a global partnership. They recognize that ending poverty and other deprivations must go hand-in-hand with strategies that improve health and education, reduce inequality, and spur economic growth – all while tackling climate change and working to preserve our oceans and forests.

Some of these goals are-

- ✓ End poverty and hunger in all forms and ensure dignity and equality
- ✓ Protect our planet’s natural resources and climate for future generations
- ✓ Ensure prosperous and fulfilling lives in harmony with nature
- ✓ Foster peaceful, just and inclusive societies
- ✓ Build resilient infrastructure, promote inclusive and sustainable industrialization and foster innovation

- In view of the UN’s unique role and moral authority, few would disagree with the view that if it did not exist it would need to be invented.

- Despite its imperfections, it is absurd to suggest that the UN is unreformable.

1) Reforming the UN Security Council

- Calls for the reform of the Security Council focus on two keys, if interrelated, issues:
 - 1) the veto powers of its permanent members, and
 - 2) their identity
- Permanent membership and the power to veto Council decisions means that the UN is dominated, as far as the core issue of peace and security is concerned, by great power politics. **Some UN members are clearly more equal than others.**
- **The requirement of unanimity amongst P-5 states** has also effectively neutered the UN as the basis for collective security, apart from exceptional circumstances (Korea and the Gulf War).
- Moreover, **the membership of P-5 is widely seen to be outdated**, reflecting the great powers of the immediate post-1945 period. If the Council is to have permanent members, few would challenge the right of the USA, China or Russia (at least in terms of its nuclear capability) to be among them, but **France and the UK have long ceased to be states of first-ranking status.**
- At different times, cases have been made out for the inclusion of Japan and Germany, in view of their economic strength, and, more recently, for emerging powers such as India, Brazil, Nigeria, Egypt and South Africa. The Council's present composition is no longer representative of a world that has seen 142 new countries join the United Nations since 1945.
- Certainly, **the existing membership reflects a regional imbalance**, with no representation for Africa or for Latin America among its permanent members. The case for a revised membership is that a more representative and up-to-date Council would enjoy wider support and influence, helping to make the UN a more effective peacemaker and peacekeeper.
- However, **the prospect of the reform of the Security Council is remote**, with the **veto being the major obstacle standing in the way.** Veto status could not be removed without the unanimous agreement of the P-5 states, and it is unlikely that any of them would voluntarily abandon their privileged position. Moreover, the continued existence of permanent veto powers is, anyway, a (possibly vital) way of ensuring that the UN retains the support of the world's leading states.
- The enlargement or change in membership of the P-5 is also difficult to bring about because-
 - ✓ In the first place, it is highly likely to be opposed, and blocked, by existing P-5 states, especially the most vulnerable ones, France and the UK.
 - ✓ Other P-5 members may also fear the different configuration of interests and influences that a reformed Council might bring about.

- ✓ Furthermore, there is significant resistance outside the P-5 to the candidacy of particular would-be members. For example,
 - many European states oppose the inclusion of Germany;
 - South Africa opposes the inclusion of Nigeria and vice versa;
 - Argentina opposes the inclusion of Brazil,
 - China opposes candidature of Japan
 - Pakistan opposes inclusion of India and so on.
- ✓ Finally, a revised membership may require **the introduction of regular membership reviews**, as the distribution of global power is always changing.

G4 GROUP

- The G4 is a grouping of Brazil, Germany, India and Japan which are supporting each other's bids for permanent membership of the UNSC. Each of these four countries have figured among the elected non-permanent members of the council since the UN's establishment.
- The G4 nations traditionally meet on the sidelines of the annual high-level UN General Assembly session.
- In 2005, G4 drew a draft resolution for Security Council reform which included the following elements:
 - ✓ Adding **six new permanent members** to the Security Council (two seats each for Asia and Africa and one seat for the Western European and Others Group and the Latin American and Caribbean Group respectively)
 - ✓ Adding **four or five non-permanent members** to the Security Council (one seat each for Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean, eastern Europe and one or two seats for Africa)
 - ✓ Support Africa's goal to be fully represented in all decision-making organs of the UN particularly the Security Council.
 - ✓ Reforming working methods.
 - ✓ **to work towards launching text-based negotiations** without further delay in the Inter-Governmental Negotiations (IGN), on the basis of a single document, with a view to its adoption in the General Assembly.
- G4's bids are often opposed by Uniting for Consensus movement or the Coffee Club

UNITING FOR CONSENSUS

- Uniting for Consensus (UfC) is a movement, **nicknamed the Coffee Club**, that developed in the 1990s in opposition to the possible expansion of the United Nations Security Council. Under the leadership of Italy, it aims to counter the bids for permanent seats proposed by G4 nations. It is calling for a consensus before any decision is reached on the form and size of the Security Council.

- **The prime movers of the club include Italy, Spain, Australia, Canada, South Korea, Argentina and Pakistan.**
- Most members of the club oppose bigger regional powers grabbing permanent seats in the UN Security Council-
 - ✓ Italy and Spain are opposed to Germany's bid
 - ✓ Pakistan is opposed to India's bid
 - ✓ Argentina is against Brazil's bid
 - ✓ Australia opposes Japan's.
 - ✓ Canada and South Korea are opposed to developing countries, often dependent on their aid, wielding more power than them at the UN.
- The Group "Uniting for Consensus" (UFC) supports an extended Council of 25 members, with the addition at the level of non-permanent members and /or the introduction of a new category of members, the semi-permanent members.

L.69 Group

- The L.69 Group is a group of developing countries from Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, Asia and the Pacific. They form a major bloc that is united by the common cause of achieving the lasting and comprehensive reform of the United Nations Security Council. The group currently has 42 countries as its members.

Intergovernmental Negotiations Framework (IGN)

This is composed of groups, working for reforms in the UN system. It articulates positions of different organisations vis-a-vis each other. The groups include G-4, CARICOM, African Union, Arab League, Ufc (Uniting for Consensus, also known as Coffee Club)

- The efforts for expansion of the UNSC and reforms were also made in the form of The General Assembly Task Force on Security Council Reform and 2005 Kofi Annan's Plan to expand to 24-member UNSC, with various combinations for equitable representation, but none of the initiatives has worked so far.
- Other important areas of reform are in **peace operations, development and human rights**. The operational and strategic approach to peacekeeping and the provision of humanitarian aid have both improved significantly in recent years, and further reforms could undoubtedly be introduced. For example,
 - ✓ UN agencies could be better coordinated;
 - ✓ the UN could confer legitimacy on international action, rather than always implementing action itself; and

- ✓ relationships with regional organizations could be strengthened.
- ✓ The 2000 Brahimi Report on Peacekeeping made a major contribution to reviewing UN peace operations, and provided the backdrop for the creation of the UN Peacebuilding Commission in 2005.
- ✓ An area of particular concern has been the need for the UN to have a 'rapid deployment capacity', the ability to send peacekeepers to different corners of the globe at short notice with the resources to act swiftly and effectively. The absence of such a capacity has often meant that UN peacekeepers are deployed late and are called upon to police highly difficult situations.
- ✓ The chief reform challenge facing the UN's development activities continues to be **how to improve coordination and reduce overlaps and duplication** amongst the several development-orientated bodies within the UN's 'dysfunctional family'. The goal of 'delivering as one' has been recognized within the UN, but the task of translating this into practice, in order to increase efficiency and reduce administrative costs has yet to be achieved.
- ✓ The Member States should **pay their contributions**, in full and on time, as delays in payments have caused an unprecedented financial crisis in the UN system. **Financial reforms hold the key to the future of the world body.** Without sufficient resources, the UN's activities and role would suffer.

- India has the distinction of **being a founder member of the United Nations**. It was not independent at that time but was allowed by the United Kingdom to participate in the proceedings at San Francisco in 1945. The Indian delegation participated enthusiastically in the deliberations and became an active member of the new organization even when it was still a British colony.

Role of India in UN

- As a founding member of the United Nations, **India strongly supports the purposes and principles of the UN and has made significant contributions to implementing the goals of the Charter**, and the evolution of the UN's specialized programmes and agencies. India's deepening engagement with the United Nations is based on its steadfast commitment to multilateralism and dialogue as the key for achieving shared goals and addressing common challenges.
- India was instrumental in reorienting the UN from a security organization **to a developmental and promotional body**. India stayed away from the cold war polarizing politics of power and activated the General Assembly by the sheer force of its ideas. India's foreign policy in the early years of the United Nations took up challenges like
 - ✓ decolonisation,
 - ✓ apartheid,
 - ✓ human rights,
 - ✓ nuclear disarmament,
 - ✓ equity in the international economic order and
 - ✓ in North-South relations,
 - ✓ nonalignment,
 - ✓ South-South cooperation and democracy.
- It gave these ideas to the United Nations at a time when the Security Council was stuck in sterile debates and inaction. These became the guiding principles of the General Assembly and opened new vistas for the United Nations.
- India was one of the first countries **to raise its voice against European colonialism** and made the UN the platform for its campaign. In 1960, by which time there were sufficient numbers of countries from Asia and Africa, the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution on decolonisation, the 'Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples'. The resolution declared that subjecting people to alien subjugation constitutes denial of human rights and is an impediment to attaining world peace.

- India campaigned energetically for **banning nuclear testing and the elimination of nuclear weapons**.
- India's other big campaign in the United Nations was **against apartheid**. It launched this even before becoming independent. In 1946, it got the General Assembly to adopt a resolution against racial discrimination in South Africa. India continued the opposition to apartheid, leading to the imposition of sanctions against South Africa and Southern Rhodesia (now, Zimbabwe).
- India's status as a founding member of the Non-Aligned Movement and the Group of 77 cemented its position within the UN system as a leading advocate of the concerns and aspirations of developing countries and the creation of a more equitable international economic and political order. India was in the forefront of the UN taking the lead in **reforming the global economic order** and making development one of its goals. It was instrumental in the setting up of UNCTAD in 1964 for promoting trade and development. A declaration on setting up a new international economic order was adopted by the UNGA in 1974.
- Peacekeeping was a later innovation for the United Nations and India played a key role in its evolution, especially in the Congo mission from 1960 to 1964. **India has been the largest troop contributor to UN missions since inception**. It has provided about 240,000 personnel in 49 of the 71 UN peacekeeping operations so far. Currently, Indian personnel are participating in 9 out of 14 peacekeeping missions.



- India has been cautious in endorsing this aggressive concept of intervention in other countries to protect human rights, referred to variously as the Responsibility to Protect and humanitarian intervention. They went well beyond the security mechanism envisaged for the Security Council. **India had strong reservations on these military interventions because of their intrusive nature and the resort to force.**

- India has served in the UN Security Council eight times (1950-51, 1967-68, 1972-73, 1977-78, 1984-85, 1991-92 and 2011-12 and 2021-22). Mahatma Gandhi's ideas especially non-violence has deeply influenced the United Nations at the time of its inception. **In 2007, the United Nations declared 2 October, Mahatma's Gandhi's birthday, as the International day of non-violence.** In 2014, the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution commemorating **21 June as the International Yoga Day.** It recognizes the holistic benefits of this timeless practice and its inherent compatibility with the principles and values of the United Nations.
- **Terrorism** has become an important concern of the United Nations and India is in the forefront of this activity. India has been pressing for the adoption of a Comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism that can increase international cooperation and the effectiveness of the UN in combating cross border terrorism.
- India is also keen on the UN exercising responsibility in meeting **the global challenges of development, especially poverty eradication and climate change.** India is supportive of the UN efforts to promote the Sustainable Development Goals, as it was of the Millennium Development Goals earlier.

India and Reform of UNSC

- India strongly advocates the process of reform and restructuring of the UN to make it better equipped to effectively respond to the evolving needs of its membership, particularly developing countries. **The expansion of the Security Council and improvement of its working methods must be integral part of Security Council Reform.** Being a permanent member of the Security Council, India would assume the responsibility of international peace and security decision-making.
- India is eminently suited for permanent membership of the UN Security Council by any objective criteria, such as
 - ✓ Population- India constitutes 17% of the world's population
 - ✓ territorial size,
 - ✓ GDP,
 - ✓ economic potential,
 - ✓ civilizational legacy,
 - ✓ cultural diversity,
 - ✓ political system- India is the biggest democracy in the world
 - ✓ past and ongoing contributions to the activities of the UN—especially to UN peacekeeping operations.
- India's rising economic status has boosted Indian claims as well. India has been one of the fastest growing major economies in the world, and currently stands among the top 5 global economies.

Besides, India's status as de-facto **Nuclear Weapons State** also makes India a natural claimant as a permanent member. India has also developed a credible image as a responsible nuclear power based on its no first use policy.

- India sees itself carrying the necessary abilities, actual and potential, which entitles it to a permanent seat at the Council. **It would provide India the much-needed leverage to expand its geopolitical and geo-economic clout globally.** It would serve as a suitable counter-weight to increasing Chinese influence - an ever increasing strategic and security concern in India's immediate neighbourhood and beyond. Also, with regard to geo-political leadership role in Asia, India has always considered itself as a democratic alternative to authoritarian China.

Steps taken by India

- India has adopted a multi-pronged strategy. Towards this end, GOI has undertaken various initiatives aimed at building international support for India. The matter is consistently taken up during bilateral and multilateral meetings at all levels, including at the highest levels.
- Four out of the five permanent members (excluding China) of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) have bilaterally expressed official affirmations of support for India's candidature to a permanent seat in an expanded UN Security Council.
- China has not openly supported India's bid for UNSC membership. China's stand is ambiguous and has always said that the decisions should be taken through "comprehensive consensus". India has been consistently taking up the issue of UNSC reforms with China.
- **India has called for the abolition of veto, however, till it exists, it needs to be provided to all members of the permanent category of the Security Council.**
- India is also working alongside other reform-oriented countries through its membership in **G-4 and the L.69 Group** for building support among the UN Member States for expansion in both permanent and non-permanent categories. India hopes that its continued leadership of various Global South forums such as G 77 and NAM would garner much needed numbers in the UNGA.

Challenges to India's bid

- **The status quo bias among P5 remains** the overriding obstacle to adding permanent seats. Whilst all permanent members accept the reform in principle, they have often fought popular reform proposals. Articles 108 and 109 of the UN Charter grant the P5 members veto over any amendments to the Charter, requiring them to approve any modifications to the UNSC veto power that they themselves hold. So even if one member of P5 doesn't agree, the UNSC cannot go ahead.
- **China is the only P5 member which has not outrightly supported India's UNSC bid.** Given India's bitter experience in the past when India's NSG membership was blocked by China, there is very little

reason to believe that China will agree to India becoming a veto-wielding permanent member of UNSC and thus rival China in global stature.

- An informal "coffee club", comprising 40-odd members states, has been instrumental in holding back reforms to the United Nations Security Council over the past several years. It includes India's regional rival Pakistan.
- Also, India lacks resources for multilateral diplomacy. India had one of the smallest missions among all of the major powers in UNSC. In 2019-21, India is only the 21st largest contributor to the UN regular budget behind Germany, Japan, Brazil and Italy.

Conclusion

- The lack of reforms can push **the credibility crisis of the UN** to a degree that it becomes unsustainable for the UN to function, or incidences of sidelining the UN increase manifold. Former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan (2015) aptly said: "If the UN Security Council does not appoint new permanent members, then its primacy may be challenged by some of the new emerging countries."

