

## **Acceptance of Indian claim of permanent seat in United Nations Security Council in Pakistan**

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### **ABSTRACT**

In order to understand India or any of the other countries which include Japan, Brazil and Germany- the G4, who strive to secure a permanent membership in the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), it is of utmost importance to understand the backgrounder for such demands and the repercussions these demands have regionally. This becomes even more important to comprehend keeping in view the South Asia region which is already volatile owing to relationship India shares with neighbors; especially, India and Pakistan who have fought three wars in their seventy years of existence along with Kashmir conflict which has resurged in the wake of Burhani Wani's extra-judicial killing. Hence, international scale intervention is fundamental to escalate and later transform the acceptance in Pakistan of India's membership of the UNSC especially under Modi government. The principal attention of this research paper will essentially concentrate India's assertion to permanent seat in the UNSC with Modi heading the Indian government and Pakistan's position on this. Furthermore, in this international setup for demands for permanent seat will lead many stakeholders to come into action with respect to India's demand for permanent ; the following are the most important stakeholders; Pakistan, China, Japan and United States.

**Key Words:** United Nations, permanent seat, conflict resolution, stakeholders, regional

### **Introduction**

In order to understand India or any of the other countries which include Japan, Brazil and Germany who are striving to attain permanent seat which are also referred to as the G4 in the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), it is of utmost importance to understand the backgrounder for such demands and the repercussions these demands have regionally. This becomes even more important to comprehend keeping in view the South Asia region with perspective of Pakistan and India. Consequently, in the following analysis the structure of UNSC will be scrutinized in the form it consists at present and the changes that G4 is pushing for. Moreover, the Coffee Club later referred to as the Uniting for Consensus group of states

also known as UFC which comprise of, Italy, Argentina, Canada, Colombia and Pakistan represent a large group of countries who have counter proposals to that of G4 as these countries have issues especially pertaining to the regional repercussions each will have to face if G4 is granted with permanent states (G4 to meet "coffee club" on UN expansion issue, 2005). The focal attention of this research paper will fundamentally concentrate India's assertion to indefinite seat in the UNSC with Modi heading the Indian government and Pakistan's position on this. Furthermore, in this international setup for demands for permanent seat will lead many stakeholders to come into action with respect to India's demand for permanent seat; the following are the most important stakeholders; Pakistan, China, Japan and United States.

## **Historical Background**

The primary crisis management component of UN is the UNSC that has been authorized to enforce binding decisions on the 193 member states of the UN to sustain international peace. The Security Council's fifteen members (five permanent and ten elected) meet on a regular basis to evaluate threats to security; hence, following the fundamental principle of collective security on which UN's foundations are built upon, catering to issues diverse in nature that is man-made crisis as well as natural disasters such as natural catastrophes, civil wars, terrorism and arms control. It is important to highlight that the structure of UNSC largely remains unchanged since its inception in 1946, leading to debate among many members about its efficacy and legitimacy as an arbiter on matters of international security. Syrian civil war puts forward multifaceted challenges to the 'Security Council' which include serious concerns about regional's stability, proliferation of chemical weapons, and an escalating humanitarian crisis. The 'P5' that is the five permanent members of the SC include France, United States, Russia and the United Kingdom China, France, have the authority to veto a resolution which is not given to the elected ten member of the UNSC. The 'P5's' special status is primarily due to the international geopolitics of UN being founded as a result of WW II. The Soviet Union (current Russia) and the US were the triumphant states of the WWII, as well as the UK who had been their ardent ally, they formulated the post-WWII political setup of the world. Hence, UN came into existence, U.S. President Roosevelt asserted on 'Nationalist China's' inclusion in the UN, envisaging global security supervised by "four global policemen." Furthermore, British PM Churchill believed France strategic positioning as a 'European buffer' to counter possible Soviet or German aggression; hence, supported France's membership in UNSC (Laub, 2013). Thus, UNSC in 2015 depict a 1945 post WW II geopolitical setup freezing international politics in that times.

Hence, UNSC faces criticism from its member states which particularly includes the underdeveloped states' grievance that the SC's structure is outdated. Security Council was enlarged in 1965 from 6 elected members to 10, and 'People's Republic of China' was awarded permanent membership which had been

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previously held by the 'Republic of China (Taiwan)', in 1971. However, after this expansion the UNSC structure has remained stagnant. The emerging economic and military powers which comprise of states of Japan, Nigeria, Germany, Brazil, India and South Africa actively strived for the enlargement of the Council expansion as well as permanent seats for themselves. Furthermore, questions were raised for a common European seat rather than French and British both being permanent members because the European Union has strived for a mutual security strategy. Apart from this other criticism comes from advocates of Research to Prevention- 'R2P', who state the veto provides extreme deference to the vested geopolitical security of the 'P5', leading to ineffective or no action at all in the face of mass acts of brutality. Moreover, 'P5' members have displayed hesitation to employ force but beyond China and Russia, other contenders for permanent seats include India, Germany and Brazil, also have specific views on sovereignty and intervention which are striking with those of the US. Furthermore, questions regarding 'Security Council' and its members' lack of political will in response to mass atrocities where war was given a chance in the wake of hope that it was part of the process towards peace as had been witnessed historically in the Western Europe as well as UN's conflict-management capability, with particular reference to the 1990s peacekeeping crises in the previous Yugoslavia, Somalia, along with Rwanda (Weller, 2015). Another instance often cited is the response to eighteen Army rangers killed in 1993 in Somalia in an endeavor to arrest a guerrilla leader, when the US as well as other global powers prevented an active action; another contested UN response in Rwanda, where approximately 800,000 people were executed in genocide of one particular ethnic group, Tutsis in 1994. The reasons behind these missions being undermined were two major factors that is logistical and political problems, including unclear mandates causing legitimacy crisis for an action to be done or not, inadequate resources, and the vested interests of the leading powers of the world (Laub, 2013).

### **Stakeholders and Conflict Resolution Agents' Role and Involvement**

Consequently, it is important to comprehend that United Nation has a unique roles as conflict resolving authority even if its success is debatable. However, it is important to highlight that the role of UN in conflict resolution is primarily that of third- party intervention but the interventions holds legitimacy as UN holds recognitions of nation states who voluntarily subjugate to rules and regulations of UN by adhering to its resolutions and charters to which they are signatories and thus, are bound to uphold. The techniques employed UN to attain its aspirations of collective peace include; working on conflict prevention means; 'peacekeeping, helping parties in conflict make peace; creating conditions to allow peace to hold and flourish'. These undertakings often intersect each other and must strengthen one another, to generate desired results (Maintain International Peace and security, 2015). This means that being part of such an organization with a say in its

workings as a permanent participant of its SC is a significant position to be held by any country.

Thus, in the recent wake of India's dramatic economic as well military progress with huge investments in Central Asia, Iran and South China Sea, has not only attracted attention of the world powers as it offers them a big market where 1.2 billion consumers which they can avail to their advantage. This brewing situation essentially refers to the fast changing dynamics of power distribution globally along with the rise of regional economies who want a greater share of pie of international clout. United Nations is fundamentally an institution of immense significance. Although it is a system nobody is satisfied with but yet it offers some piecemeal to keep these sovereign states part of this organization which contributes to its legitimacy. India's desire to become a power to be reckoned with is an old deep rooted wish which can be traced in the far history. India has been attempting to pursue a global recognition as one of the most influential player of the international power structure and to buttress its assertion on the foundation of its proficiency to undertake an agile, emphatic as well as an aggressive role in Central Asia, South Asia as well as Middle East which is pivotal to Indian burgeoning influence and for 'American anti-terrorism' campaign along with its quest of energy assets. Moreover, the most recent dynamic aspect is the current hostile Modi government aggressively striving for UNSC permanent seat has generated a rather heated debate in Pakistan as will be discussed in the following discourse.

### **Conflict Analysis with Application of Models**

For quite some time, some member-states have been advocating enlargement of the 'Security Council', asserting that addition of new members will provide remedy for the democratic and representative discrepancy which exists in the SC currently. Moreover, they argue that current Security Council is representation of international powers of 1945 and not of the current world. The difference of opinion on whether or not there should be new permanent members with 'veto power' has become the foremost impediment to UNSC reform. Germany, Brazil, Japan and India demand permanent membership in the SC and have issued threats of reducing their military troop and financial assistances to the 'UN' if they are not awarded permanent membership. African nations have also voiced the necessity for permanent membership of an African state in order to conclude the supremacy of northern industrialized nations in the UNSC (Global Policy forum, 2015). India justifies its demand for permanent membership in UNSC through numerous indicators of its eligibility which are still not completely recognized by the international system's key players. The eligibility indicators of India includes: India having the fourth largest economy in terms of the 'purchasing power', world's eighth leading 'industrial economy', fourth biggest army along with India having the largest human resource pool of engineers and scientists in the world and these arguments are (Jabeen, 2010).

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The expansion reforms of the Security Council in relation to the category of the permanent membership had become the central contentious issue in the current debate on possible reform in the Security Council. President Obama, reaffirmed the US' support for India's selection for permanent membership in the enlarged UNSC. The following are established words President Obama used: "I look forward to a reformed UN Security Council that includes India as a permanent member." (Editorial, 2010). In reaction to this 'Pakistan's Foreign Office' spokesman objected the endorsement. Pakistan has acute reservations with India getting the permanent seat of UN SC. 'Pakistan Foreign Office' (FO) representative Tasnim Aslam claims that India is under-qualified to be awarded full membership of the SC given its history of violating UN resolutions especially relating to 'Jammu & Kashmir' (The News Tribe, 2015). In addition to this Pakistan fears Indian hegemony in the region given India becomes a permanent member of UN SC. According to Professor Slaughter's analysis 2025 the UNSC body would be extended from its present 15 members to 25 or 30 with Turkey, Brazil, South Africa, India, Egypt, Nigeria or Japan and Indonesia as its permanent members and Pakistan's status would be reduced to a "third-rate state" (PakistanToday, 2011). This bleak scenario could have far-reaching implications for Pakistan's foreign policy and national security and hence needs to be taken-up seriously by Pakistan's government and other institutions.

Applying the 'three world's model' conceptualized by Jayne Seminar on this conflict, it will be accurate to deduce that the conflict regarding India's permanent membership with a veto power in UN Security Council has multifaceted implications which in the symbolic world will be source of psychological crisis with tangible ramifications in the material world. The psychological conflict's reason is deep rooted with India and Pakistan clashing in the symbolic world since the partition again i.e. lack of mutual trust and cooperation. This is because Pakistan's creation is viewed as a loss by Indians while Pakistan's people view it as victory with constant fear of formidable ambush attack from its neighbor which is five times bigger than itself. Moreover, since Bhartya Janta Party came into power with Narendra Modi leading it and in the wake of LoC (line of control) skirmishes which have started since his government has made the relations very tense. Consequently, Modi government's aggressive policies for a permanent seat in UNSC will be countered by Pakistan. Hence, with such psychological state of minds of both the neighbors, Pakistan cannot afford India's admission to UN Security Council as with this Pakistan's biggest nightmare that India can veto any resolution moved on the Kashmir issue which is against their national interest. Moving onto the material world and the social world, Pakistan already lacks in it. Pakistan has weaker diplomatic ties as compared to India with other states and India being a huge market has been an attraction to revive their stagnant economies for West. This is another source of conflict. To counter this weakness and Indian coercive diplomacy, Pakistan doesn't allow Indian access to Central

Asia through its region which again contributes to the already existing ill-will between the two nuclear empowered but at loggerheads neighbors .

The conflict regarding Pakistan's acceptance of India's permanent seat has aggravated especially under Modi government due to the increased hostility due to border skirmishes as well as the latest statement of India's defense minister Manohar Parikar used the following words: "kante se kanta nikalna (removing a thorn with a thorn) that is we (Indians) have to neutralize terrorists through terrorists only. Why can't we do it? We should do it. Why does my soldier have to do it?" he said, refusing to elaborate ('Have to Neutralise Terrorists Through Terrorists': Defence Minister Manohar Parrikar, 2015). Keeping in view the terrorist activities that have recently happened in Pakistan such statements not only escalate hostile relations but also may raise suspicions and by employing the pyramid model, it can be evaluated that the top-leadership i.e. the international actors are playing a mixed role in this scenario. USA, the superpower is showing its inclination towards India and has on several occasions affirmed them of reformation of UN SC and their permanent seat may not be the most effective response with regards to the region's stability. The recent US-India defense pact added further to the conventional asymmetry and undermines the regional stability. It is important to keep in view that with Modi government in power and the hostility implied by India especially through the middle-range leadership of Pakistan i.e. political parties, parliament, and the media and foreign policy experts have hardly held any discussions on this issue and the public is ill-informed of this conflict's consequences (PakistanToday, 2011).

Moreover, when Maire Dugan's Nested Model for Conflict Analysis also known as the intervention model is applied, it will be evident that when a third party intervenes than the relationship issues as well as the larger systemic and structural issues may be resolved along with immediate concerns. For instance, World Bank mediated Indus Water Treaty and Russian's brokered Tashkent Pact were able to sustain some semblance to avoid farther deepening of both conflicts that is water resources and 1965 Pak-Indo war. The current water crisis Pakistan faces is primarily because Pakistan has been inefficient in putting its case forward to the mediators that is the World Bank. Hence, coming back to the topic under consideration it is essential that UN must take a step forward mediate the Kashmir conflict so that the fears of the smaller state Pakistan may be resolved that India's seat in UN would not be the end of their national interests. However, the UN haven't or for that matter and as discussed earlier America in order to counter China has taken a certain position but the most important aspect for these stakeholders to realize is to curb this conflict as soon as possible for the regional stability as well as the international peace.

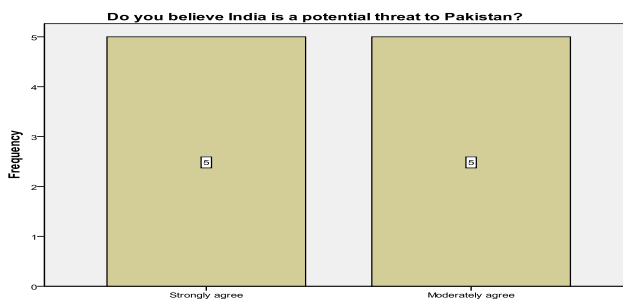
However, apart from international and global scale intervention is fundamental to escalate and later transform the acceptance in Pakistan of India's membership of the UNSC especially under Modi government. Nonetheless, intervention at all levels is needed in Pakistan and India such as curricula revision and prejudice reduction programs in both countries.

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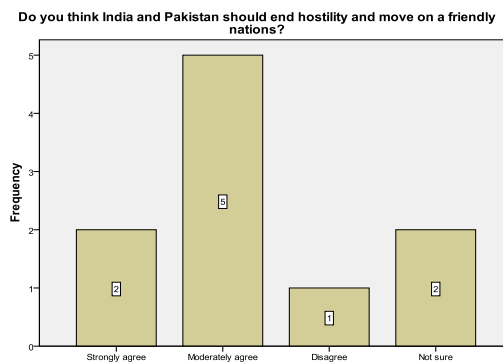
### **Primary Research- Data Analysis**

Hence, after a thorough analysis of the conflict, as conflict resolution practitioner I conducted a survey based on the following questions discussed in the “Results of the Questionnaires” amongst university students to understand their view and understanding on this particular conflict which may then be employed to devise a better mediation strategy.

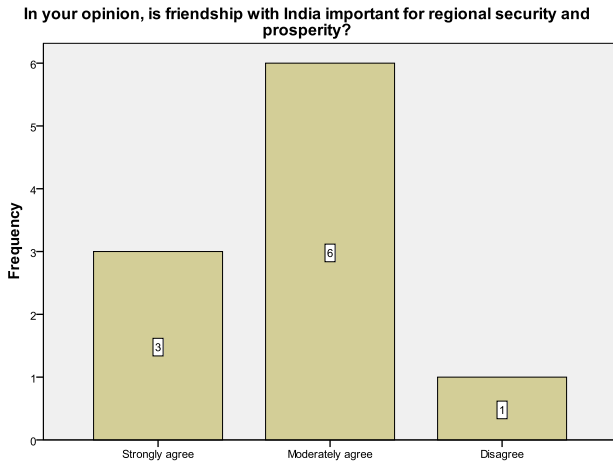
### **Results of the Questionnaire**



The above question which was the first question of the questionnaire was asked from the respondents to gauge whether or not the respondents believe India to be a threat to Pakistan. The results are alarming as 100% respondents with 50% strongly and 50% moderately believe India to be a potential threat to Pakistan. Hence, the deep seated mistrust of educated youth of Pakistan is very much evident.

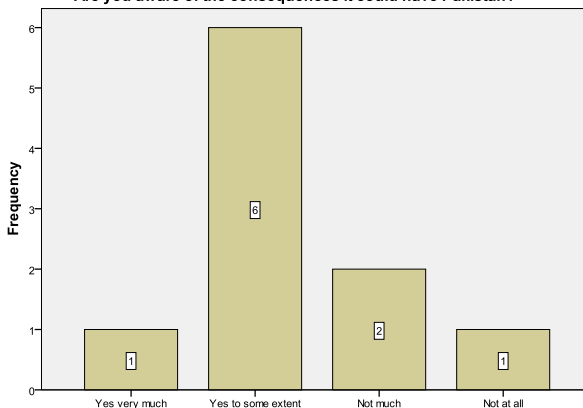


This question was asked to judge if given option will friendship be preferred over hostile relations and the results prove to be encouraging as despite of 100% respondents believing India to be a threat 70% of these respondents still prefer to pursue friendly relations with India.



This question was inquired keeping in mind the regional stability from perspective of the youth. The results demonstrate that 30% strongly agree while 60% moderately agree and 10% are completely against the proposition. Thus, these results indicate the fact that these neighbors' friendly relations will take the region's security a notch up according to 90% respondents.

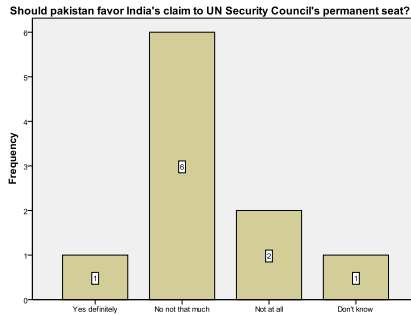
**India wants to gain the permanent seat at the United Nations Security Council. Are you aware of the consequences it could have Pakistan?**



This question was aimed with the objective to analyze whether or not this particular topic generates interests and the awareness in particular with the ramifications of Pakistan amongst the youth as they are future leaders. It was seen that 70% knew about the conflict which can have deep ramifications for Pakistan.



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This question was to analyze the level of acceptance the youth has for India's permanent seat in UNSC and the results demonstrate that 80% respondents clearly are not in favor of India being a permanent member of the UNSC.

Question No: 6. what do you think Pakistan should do to counter the situation and gain benefit out of it?

The last question of the questionnaire that is question 6 (which has been given above) was an open-ended question. The general trend of the response to this particular question was that Pakistan must raise its concern on all international forums especially with reference to the fact that India must fulfill its responsibilities in the region by resolving its conflicts with its neighbors. The gain Pakistan can achieve in this situation is to lobby and put international pressure on India so that they may demand India to resolve its regional conflicts with its neighbors which includes Pakistan.

### **Ongoing Conflict Resolution efforts**

Previously many attempts have been made to propose an expansion proposal but none have been agreed upon that is proposals were either rejected by G4 or the UFC. The most lobbied proposal was the G4 Draft in 2005 which garnered little support that is only 80 states supported the draft while others rejected in which Pakistan was also included (G-4's UNSC expansion proposal `zero-sum`: Pak, 2012). The above stated proposal was aiming only for the G4 countries to attain permanent seats with no heed was paid to the imbalance that will emerge in Security Council due to the change in numbers of the elected and non-elected members of the Security Council and the impacts it will have on the functioning of the UNSC. Other proposals include Pakistan and Italy's 'Green' and 'Blue' models which discussed increasing the numbers of participants in the non-permanent category (Pak and Italy propose new models for UNSC expansion, 2005). However, these models were also rejected.

## **Conclusion**

The above discourse provides the historical context of the conflict regarding accepting India's permanent seat in UNSC in Pakistan along with which the above analysis identifies the deep seated reason of the conflict also by clearly articulating the important stakeholders of the conflict and from this it can be accurately deduced that to prevent any further aggravation of conflict regarding the issue of reformation of UN Security Council (especial in context of India and Pakistan ) upon which all states agree but disagree to various methods proposed in the past and India's permanent seat needs a few balanced recommendation brought into consideration.

## **Recommendations**

- Any future proposal may keep in view the following recommendations in context of India and Pakistan.
- The first and foremost, issue being the Kashmir conflict which is the bone of contention between India and Pakistan , the prime reason behind Pakistan opposing India's permanent seat must be resolved.
- The Kashmir issue must be solved not only on emergency basis but it must be done prior to India attaining the permanent seat to Security Council so as to constrain India from using its veto power to annul or reject any bill or proposal on Kashmir and also to breed good-will between the two neighbors and in the region on whole so that India pacifies fears of its other small neighbors.
- Pakistan should also be striving on diplomatic forums to prevent the G-4 countries from getting permanent seats in the UNSC and there should be a highest-level commitment towards equitable UN reforms.
- Moreover, the most important goal that Pakistan must aim for is to become an extremely strong self-reliant economy so as to achieve the level of India and be able to claim a permanent seat in UN SC too.
- Moreover, Pakistan and India needs to communicate on this issue by regularly negotiating on this conflict. The prime mediator in this case could be UN which could come up with such reform proposals that satisfy both Indian as well as G4 and pacify Pakistan's reservation about it. Pakistan needs to be assured that Indian accession to permanent seat of UNSC would not hinder Kashmir resolution.
- On the other hand for India, instead of seeking support from the US, must first settle the ongoing regional disputes with its neighboring states especially Kashmir conflict which needs to be resolved corresponding with the wishes of Kashmiris. After the resolution of these conflicts in the region, India may attempt to pave its path to global power.

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