Chapter – 2

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS: COLD WAR AND BEYOND
India occupies a very important position in the world. She is a firm believer in Internationalism and World Peace. In the opinion of Toynbee "India is the connecting link of a vast land lying between Japan in North-East and Ireland in the North-West".¹ She is important in world politics not only because of her geographical position but also due to its ideological concern.

It can not be disputed that India has taken upon herself the responsibility of maintaining balance of power in the world divided into two rival blocks. Real democracy has been for the first time introduced in India among the Asian countries. If India deviates from her democratic stand today, it will create an inevitable reaction in Asia and Africa.

Even before Independence India had taken a respectable part in world politics. She was a strong supporter of the League of Nations and actively participated in its deliberations. His Highness the Agha Khan presided over the meetings of the League. India had also participated in various humanitarian and social activities of the League of Nations. As India at that time was only a dependency, naturally the British Government of India selected her representatives. However, with the inclusion of non-official in the Indian delegation, they naturally exercised some moral force over League deliberations.
The ineffective functioning and failure of the League of Nations led to Second World War in 1939. This war unleashed destruction and annihilation. A sizeable number of people lost their lives. A greater need for peace was felt by human mind. As the Indians are peace-loving people, they strongly felt for a world of peace and tranquility. These feelings of world people lead to search for an effective International alternative, to guarantee peace and security. They felt Nazism is more dangerous than Imperialism. So they actively participated in a war effort on the side of Allies.

**India and Atlantic Charter**

While the war was going on, the Allies started discussions, on the formation of New World Organization. The USA President Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Churchill, while travelling on ship in the Atlantic Ocean, discussed the problem of world peace and security and issued a ‘Eight Point Declaration’. The Charter promised self-government to all those who had lost it. But the British Prime Minister Churchill declared that the Atlantic Charter did not apply to the British Empire. This led to lot of discontentment among all sections of Indian people. The Atlantic Charter, thus become a symbol of hypocrisy and so Pearl Buck pointed that World War II "is no longer a fight for human freedom but only to save European civilization".²
The Indian National Congress demanded for the application of Atlantic Charter to India. The INC passed a resolution to that effect, it stated "We support the right of India to be a full and equal member of the UN in the fight for world freedom and the extension of the principles of the Atlantic Charter to all people everywhere."³ The INC also sent a message to Churchill and Roosevelt.

**India and San Francisco Conference**

Though the war was not yet over, for two months from 25<sup>th</sup> April 1945, the attention of the free world was on the meeting of the United Nations Conference of International Organization in San Francisco. There was lot of discussion in India and abroad, about the representation of India in the conference. The Indian Office in London was more concerned while its role in the drafting of the UN Charter on behalf of India, than India's then (British) Indian Government on the membership of the proposed world organization. The note of the India office stated that: "India should be made (without anticipating India's future status) an original member of the proposed organization, despite Dumborton Oaks proposals, basis of membership (of "sovereign equality") to be treated as a middle power (Like Canada) and given all privileges meant for such powers. India needs to secure direct representation in the (proposed) military staff committee to enable it to make full military or economic contribution of its resources."⁴
India was one of the non-sovereign Nation's represented at the conference. As Britain had promised India's Independence after the war, it would have been most impolitic for Britain to deny representation to the Jewel in the Crown. To avoid awkwardness Britain hand picked the representative even tried to prevent Indian journalists from traveling to San Francisco on the grounds of unavailability of transport.

The Indian delegation to the conference was headed by Ramaswamy Mudaliar. The Indians protested against the composition of Indian delegation, as it is unrepresentative. Mahatma Gandhi in a statement declared that such representation will be worse than no representation. Either India is represented at San Francisco by our elected representative or not represented at all. Indian Council of State (Upper House) passed a resolution to add non-official members to the delegation, Legislative Assembly (Lower House) also passed a resolution expressing its no confidence in the official delegation. But its resolution was disallowed.

Report of the Indian Delegation

The delegation to the San Francisco Conference played a part not only in consonance with the views of the Government of India but also according to its understanding, the sentiments of the Indian people. The Indian delegation expressed dissatisfaction for not including the principle
of Independence for all colonial peoples. At the end of the conference India duly signed the United Nations Charter on June 26th 1945 and also ratified the Charter later.5

But India had not become fully self-governing at the time of the San Francisco conference. So naturally her point of view could not be effectively placed before this August International body. But Indian leaders did appreciate the efforts of the conference in evolving an International Organization for the maintenance of International Peace and Security.

Since the very inception of the U.N. India has played an active part in her deliberation. She has been closely associated with its working. There is a permanent Indian delegation at the Head Quarters of the U.N. Leading members in the Government, sometimes persons of cabinet rank, have gone to represent India at the U.N. India is freely expressing its views on the important world issues from time to time. Basing on the merits and demerits of the issues it continuously gathering the support of other member-states, on different world issues.

United Nations and Cold War

The United Nations and the Cold War-developed simultaneously. Since a period of peace between World War II and the Cold War had
been missing, the United Nations had naturally become an arena of Cold War before maturing itself as an institution of peace. The UN charter asserts the unanimity of the permanent members of the Security Council as the deepest and surest foundation for the effective functioning of the organization. But the phenomenon of the Cold War, characterized by permanent alliance system, organized and pitted against each other endowed with ideological conflicts and institutionalized suspicions, distrusts, and hatred, resulted in the breaking of the Great Power understanding which paralysed the Security Council. The Organisation, however, showed enough resilience and, thus, survived this invalidation of the fundamental assumption of the Charter.

The United Nations manifested remarkable capacity for pragmatic adoption to situations (Interim Committee, 1947); (United For Peace Resolution, 1950); secured collective legitimizing of Human Rights, decolonisation, anti-racialism, peaceful co-existence, and non-interference; and served as the legitimizing authority for agreements concluded bilaterally outside the organization (Package Deal on Membership, 1950). Moreover both the Super Powers had their own reasons in not going out of the organization: the Soviet Union might have realized how its absence on the eve of the Korean War enabled the United States to use the United Nations for its purpose at the cost of the Soviet interests. The USA might have the similar considerations in not responding to public pressures of clearing the organization of communist influence.
Thus the Super Powers were ordained to cooperate with each other during the Cold War as they were destined to clash on many issues. As such the functioning of the United Nations both benefited from and was affected by the Cold War. Such limitations and possibilities of the Organisation were prominently reflected in the issue of veto, membership, and security.

**Korean War**

Before the World War II Korea was occupied by Japan. After the end of the World War both the American and the Russian troops entered Korea and took over the territory. Korea was divided in to two parts between the U.S.A. (South Korea) and U.S.S.R. (North Korea). The efforts to unite Korea continued, but U.S.S.R. opposed it. The U.S.A. brought the Korean issue before the U.N. General Assembly in September 1947. The General Assembly proposed to form a government for the whole of Korea through election. The USSR refused it. In June 1950 North Korea attacked South Korea.

The Indian representative in the United Nations made certain proposals on behalf of India to solve the Korean issue. The proposals were endorsed by the U.S.A. After the end of the war the responsibility of the exchange of prisoners of war was entrusted to a commission under the chairmanship of India. It was through the instrumentality of India that the task of repatriation of the prisoners of war was satisfactorily solved.
The Indonesian Question

Since India's Independence, India stands for freedom and racial equality for Asia as well as Africa. India is convinced that unless the basic problem is solved there can be no world peace. The part played by India in the solution of the Indonesian question illustrated how India is compelled by circumstances to support the freedom movement in Asia.

In the third quarter of 17th century Dutch established its authority in Indonesia. After the Second World War the Indonesian people intensified the struggle to establish self-government in the country. The Nationalists gained control over some territories. The Dutch Government has taken military action, to suppress the Nationalists. India complained the Dutch military action to the Security Council.

B.R. Sen, the Indian representative in American Embassy was called upon by the Government of India to represent India in the Security Council debate on India's complaint against the Dutch military action in Indonesia. This was an event of great historical significance and aroused much concern in India. Nehru instructed the ministry of External Affairs to discuss the question in U.N. Security Council. 6

A Conference of Asian and South - East Asian Countries was convened at Delhi in 1949 to consider the situation which had arisen in
Indonesia by the UN justified action of the Dutch. True to her loyalty to the United Nations, India, which led the deliberation at the conference, was careful to see that no steps were taken which would tend to show that the authority of the Security Council or the United Nations was being bypassed.

At the session of the General Assembly in April-May 1949, Indian conjunction with Australia brought the matter before the Security Council and also before the General Assembly. There is no doubt that the threat to bring the matters to a discussion in the General Assembly brought pressure to bear on the Dutch and greatly accelerated the solution of the question. The transfer of power to Indonesia has since been made on 27th December 1949.  

**Kashmir Issue in the United Nations**

The United Nations has continued to be concerned with the decades-old dispute between India and Pakistan over Kashmir. The issue dates back to the 1940's when the state of Jammu and Kashmir, one of the princely states that became free - under the partition plan and the Indian Independence act of 1947 to accede to India or Pakistan. Most of the inhabitants of the state of Jammu & Kashmir are Muslims, but it was ruled by a Hindu Maharaja. The ruler of Kashmir signed his state's Instrument of Accession to India in 1947. The Security Council first
discussed the issue in 1948, following India's complaint that tribesmen and others with Pakistan's support and participation invading Kashmir and that fighting has taking place. Pakistan denied the charges and declared Kashmir is accession to India as illegal. The Council recommended measures to stop the fighting, including the use of observers, and to create conditions for a plebiscite. It established The United Nations on a cease fire and troop withdrawals, and proposed that the issue be decided by plebiscite. Both sides accepted, but could not agree on the modalities for the plebiscite. Since 1949, the United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP) has been observing the cease-fire in Kashmir. Following 1972 India - Pakistan agreement defining a Line of Control in Kashmir, the parties undertook to settle their differences peacefully and achieve a final settlement. After the agreement, India maintained that the mandate of UNMOGIP had lapsed a position not accepted by Pakistan. The Secretary General has maintained that only the Security Council can terminate the mission, and has consistently expressed his readiness to facilitate the search for an overall solution.

Both India and Pakistan submitted frequent complaints of violations of the cease-fire to the Security Council. The Kashmir question of course remained on the Council's agenda while the Council, the
Secretary General, and other UN agencies and representatives were helpful in bringing about a cease-fire and in preventing a renewal of hostilities, but they could not persuade India and Pakistan to resolve the issues, notably the Kashmir question, which had bedeviled their relations since Independence and which also led to war between the countries in 1965 and 1971.8

India's Support for the Cause of Tibet in U.N.

In 1949 Communist China occupied the Tibet and installed a communist Government there. Dalailama lodged protest with the UN. India refused to accept China's claim of sovereignty over Tibet. In 1951 Tibet declared its complete Independence. The Chinese forces ruthlessly suppressed the upsurge and occupied the whole of Tibet. Dalailama along with some of his followers took shelter in India. India along with other members raised the issue in UN General Assembly.

In October 1959 the UN General Assembly debated on the issue of Tibet. A resolution of the Assembly endorsed the human rights of the Tibetans and their cultural and religious freedom. It has also pointed out in the resolution that the affairs of Tibet had been increasing international tension at the time when attempts for world peace had been proceeding. The resolution scored 45 votes. Britain and some other states abstained from voting and they argued that there has enough doubt about the
question whether the UN General Assembly had the legal right of discussing the Tibetan affair according to the UN Charter. 9

**Suez Crisis**

Under the term of treaty signed between the Republic of Egypt and Britain, the latter agreed to withdraw her army from the Suez canal within the stipulated period. But when in 1955 the Egyptian President Nasser announced the nationalization of the canal and froze the canal company's funds in Egypt, Britain and France jointly accused Egypt in the Security Council for the violation of the treaty.

A war became inevitable between Britain and Egypt when the latter in 1956 nationalized the Suez Canal. India played a very important part in maintaining peace between the two and India strongly protested against the joint Anglo-French-Israel attack upon Egypt. The decision of the UN to send an International army for the restoration of peace in Egypt was hailed by India and she also contributed a contingent to the international force.

**Bhutan Issue**

India has been keen to see that Bhutan should discard the policy of isolation and come in the midst of world community. The king of Bhutan had raised the question of UN membership for his country when he
visited India in 1966. India then agreed to sponsor its application for UN membership. It has only in 1969 that Bhutan's National Assembly adopted a resolution appealing to the Indian government and the UN General Assembly for membership of the World Organization. When Bhutan formally applied for UN membership in December 1970, India took up its case. The admission committee of the Security Council accepted and recommended the application. India welcomed the decision of Security Council. The Council gave the permission to Bhutan for joining as a member of the UN in 1971.

**Bangladesh Issue**

The Indian sub-continent was divided into two parts in 1947 India and Pakistan. In 1971 a new country and a new nation has emerged in this sub continent and the new country is Bangladesh.

The people living in East Pakistan (present Bangladesh) suffered by the Non-Bengali Pakistan rule. In provincial Assembly elections Shaik Mujibur Rahman of Awami League party got overwhelming majority. But Pakistan Military Junta refused to share power. People protested against this and the military track down the protesters. In spite of military action the people of East Pakistan declared Independence and named their homeland as Bangladesh in the year 1971.
A war broke out between India and Pakistan on Bangladesh issue on 3, Dec. 1971. On 6, Dec. the Government of India accorded recognition to the Republic of Bangladesh. The Security Council adopted a resolution on 21 Dec. 1971 demanding that the India and Pakistan cease-fire to be strictly observed and remain in effect until withdrawal take place as soon as possible. The resolution also called upon all member states to refrain from any action, which might aggravate the situation in the sub-continent or endanger international peace. It further called for international assistance to the relief of suffering and rehabilitation of refugees and their return to their homes.

The Security Council on 10th August 1972 took up the application of Bangladesh for the admission to the UN with China opposing its consideration in the present circumstance. But the India, along with Soviet Union and Yugoslavia pressed for an early favourable decision on the application. The hectic activities of India in UN proved successful, when the Council allowed the admission of Bangladesh in the year of 1974.

Palestine Issue

Palestine was the most outstanding problem before the second session of the General Assembly in 1947. India had stopped against the partition of the country and the creation of an Independent Israel state in
the midst of the Middle East populated by Arabs and Muslims and ruled by a number of Arab states. India's attitude meant no unfriendliness to the Jews. She had a considerable Jewish population of her own. What she disapproved of were measures which were bound to unstaibilze the Middle East and turn it into a bed of rivalries and conflicts. She was a member of the Palestine Commission. \(^12\)

India expressed that however imperative the need of the Jews for a homeland of their own, it was not proper that the United Nations should force a partition of the country on the unwilling majority constituted by the Arabs. Fully sympathizing with the Jewish desires and aspirations, she voted against the partition in the General Assembly sessions of 1947. She maintained this position even at the first part of the third session of the Assembly held in Paris in 1948. The inexorable logic of events has forced a division of the country much against the will of the Arab states. The state of Israel is an accomplished fact. The state is now a member of the United Nations. India was among the first to welcome her as a member at the second part of the third session of the Assembly in May 1949. The General Assembly adopted four resolutions on 10\(^{th}\) December, 1982 calling for continuance of UN machinery to promote the establishment of a Palestine state on territory under Israel occupation. The Assembly adopted a resolution asking the Palestine Rights.
Committee to keep the situation relating to the question of Palestine under review and making suggestions to the Assembly against the resolution. India voted in favour of UN resolution. Consistent India's support along with other Nations led the formation of Palestine.  

Racial Discrimination in South Africa

India played a major role in respect of two questions that came up before the UN General Assembly, racial discrimination against people of Indian origin in South Africa and the question of race conflict in the same country. She took the problem to the United Nations in 1946. The General Assembly passed a resolution expressing its opinion that the treatment of Indians in South Africa was contrary of the principles of the Charter and the terms of treaty obligations existing between India and South Africa and recommended that two Governments should meet in order that measures may be decided to put an end to such treatment. The South African Government refused to meet India's representatives for a discussion and on the basis of the terms of this resolution India passed the matter again at the 1947 session. Though a resolution was adopted by the political committee it failed to obtain the necessary two-third majority in the General Assembly. Not with standing this India again brought the matter before the 1948 session of the General Assembly. In May 1949, the General Assembly passed a resolution in effect requiring South Africa to conform to the principles of the Charter in the matter of its treatment of the Indian population in its territory. India raised its voice in UN until
power was transferred to people in 1992. Thus India has endeavored, notwithstanding delays and discouragement, to bring to a solution this question so vital to its honour and prestige, through the instrumentality of the United Nations.

United Nations in the Post Cold War Era

The end of Cold War has brought about drastic changes: super Power framework and bi-polar system collapsed; bloc rivalry and intense military and political tension evaporated, Western Europe integrated, Soviet Union disintegrated, Eastern Europe tilted towards market economy, Military Alliances reduced to hallowed regimes, and the ideology marginalized. In short the entire 1945 world has gone with the wind.

The communication revolution, the revolution of rising expectation, the rise of transnational corporations, the increasing migration, the economic integration and the global nature of economic and environmental problems have transcended the national boundaries. The increasing lack of control and inability to solve the pressing problems like corruption, societal violence, population growth, transmigration, environmental degradation, terrorism, narcotic menace, demographic imbalance, food security, food scarcity, etc. have considerably imbalance food security to and not providing for the welfare of their constituencies. It further eroded the authority of states.
The benefits of democracy and fruits of market economy have not yet reached to developing world. As a result peoples are driven back to their historical identities – ethnic, racial, tribal, and religious. Each such identity chisels away at the state system but ironically seeks the state status. The developing world is under constant fear that major nations would use the eroding sovereignty, as a result of upheaval within to legitimise a new kind of colonialism.

The very nature of conflicts has changed from global to regional, inter state to intra state, regular to irregular, linear to non-linear. Such conflicts are difficult to resolve by military intervention of external actors. Even during cold war, the United States discovered, painfully, this reality in Vietnam, Soviet Union in Afghanistan, and France in Indo-China and Algeria.15

Unlike Cold War, in the post-cold war phase, conflicts remain no more the attributes of rival claims. As such, today, the commitment of leading states has become shallow, evasive, unsustainable, and even reversal if challenged at home. Disinterested and half-hearted efforts are unlikely to produce a real solution to such conflicts.

Another significant development is the emerging global economy. Its impact is so devastating and pervasive that even the name of the game
in international politics has changed from sphere of influence to world market share. Today states can not so easily control production that is aimed at world market and that does not necessarily take place within their frontiers. Under the impact of internationalization of production a Global Business Civilisation is being emerged. Now the capital movement rather than the trade has become the driving force of world economy. The days have gone when governments could manipulate their national capital market. Now the global markets are masters over, at least, the weaker and developing countries.

Multinationals and states are competing for share from the common pool. Multinationals are mobile and their mobility coincides with the capital movement. They borrow for investment in trade, earn enormous profits without hindrance from state, and as such have the capability to return back. They are, therefore, the creditable patron and natural ally of world economy. Quite contrary, state are static entities and their static character do not match with the capital movement. Moreover they borrow to supplement taxes, solve their fiscal problems, and invest on welfare. Such investments give no return. As such they lack the capability to return what they borrow and therefore remain in debt.

The global market is more concerned with the well-being of the capital rather than people its operation is unaccountable, unregulated,
uncontrollable, regressive disruptive and speculative. As such it is responsible for sharp fluctuation in economic stability and affect trade flows, the dynamics of economic growth, employment levels and welfare benefits.¹⁶

It is most likely that state may become, more and more, vulnerable, less in a position to bargain, still less to dictate and more likely to play the role of supplicant to foreign firms.

Thus the changes, arising out of war of conscience and revolution of rising expectation, are basically Intra-State and essentially non-military sources of instability in the social, economic, humanitarian and ecological fields. The World economy is emerging without reference to state system and as such contributing to gradual erosion of state-ism. In the post cold war era, both these developments of Intra-State and Extra-State characters have become threat to peace and security, but can not be controlled by traditional military might. Vision is required to provide direction to these sources of insecurity, change of attitude is needed to manage them effectively.

Implications for United Nations

These changes are of far reaching consequences for the United Nations. Initially changes created illusion. The post cold war has brought
about favourable atmosphere to attain international cooperation and harmony. There is a great opportunity for the Security Council, previously paralysed, to effectively maintain peace and security; there is better chance to initiate the process of restructuring the United Nations so that it can play the central role in tackling the global problems.

But as the ramification of the changes show, there is no cause of being euphoric. The Cold War ended but not the attitude and perception of nations. The sea changes, described above, contain negative factors and disturbing trends which have the potential of menacing world peace and cooperation among nations. The long suppressed forces of ethnic strife, nationalism, economic inequalities and border disputes have manifested dangerous potentialities of conflicts. Economic integration marginalized the state system. The local and regional wars are erupted as a result of absence of cold war constraints.\textsuperscript{17}

In short the nature and consequences of change, the varied and new dimensions of security and economic problems, the inherent deficiencies of the UN system deficiency as well as in respect to new assignments under the changed conditions are the inter-linked complex situation, the proper understanding of which requires Visionary Realism. Most of the nations, ironically major ones, fall short of this stature.
India’s response to the post cold war developments can be underlined with India’s reaction to the disintegration of the Soviet Union. It may be recalled that Soviet Union was one of the major states with which India had close economic, cultural and technological relations. India had several defense deals and Soviet Union was the largest arms exporter to India. India recognized the break away states of Soviet Union without delay and tried to establish diplomatic contacts with Russia’s political leadership. India tried to develop the same level of relationship which India shared with Soviet Union. In this effort India tried to adjust with new developments in International Relations. This type of realism between India an erstwhile Soviet states was not out of the international context and the external pressures on Russia can be seen in various defense deals. Russia’s stand on rocket technology is a case in point.

The second issue which needed careful attention is India’s foreign policy posture of non-alignment, which has lost its ideological hite after the post cold war development. After U.S. becoming the sole power in international relations India’s response to U.S. reactions, both at international and regional levels become more important. India’s reaction to Gulf crisis is the one where India took up non-political stand in U.N. Security Council. It provided refueling facility to U.S. Aircrafts in Bombay and showed its tilt towards U.S. Even after the gulf crisis

**India opposes continued sanctions against Iraq as on 21.12.2000**

India has sounded the members of the UN sanctions committee for Iraq for their support to its strong case under a special provision of the world body's charter for purchase of large quantity of crude from that country than is possible under the present limited arrangement.

Under the existing oil-for-food programme, India gets 1.5 million tones at the normal OPEC price, while its requirement of Iraqi crude is of the order of 14 million to 15 million tones. The five permanent members of the Security Council constitute the committee.  

As a result of the recent discussions, the final round of which was held during the Iraqi Vice-President, Mr. Taha Yassin Ramadhan's visit to India in 2000, Baghdad is willing to meet India's needs to a very large extent, at lower than the prevailing market rates. This however is possible only if the sanctions committee gives clearance, under Articles 50 of the UN Charter. Under it, if the UN sanctions against a state create special economic problems for any other country, the latter shall have the right to consult the Security Council with regard to a solution of those the special provision, while other countries secretly get supplies from Baghdad. This
is done at a sizeable scale and as such could not have escaped the notice of those responsible for enforcing sanctions.

The special economic problems, confronted by India because of the UN sanctions against Iraq, have been brought to the notice of the sanctions committee. The cumulative effect of the lost trade and project opportunities being to tune of $20 billion to $30 billion, apart from the blocked funds of $ one billion of Indian enterprises that had taken up projects in Iraq. Added to this is the heavy burden of the hike in international price of oil, so much that India's export bill this year may go up by $ six billion.19

As against that, India had a large surplus of food grains, which could be bartered for Iraqi oil. Some 27 million tones of wheat, costing Rs.6000 crores, were stored in warehouses in various parts of the country. Iraqis like Indian wheat and its supply would, on the one hand, meet a major humanitarian need and on the other enable India to make use of the stored stocks to meet its oil requirements. While seeking to invoke the special provision of the UN Charter, India continued to voice its opposition to the continuation of sanctions against Iraq, which has caused untold suffering to the people there. Mr.Ramadhan's discussion at Delhi centered on the establishment of the frame work for strategic and long-term relationship with India. Iraq had invited India to take part in

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developing an oil field there—a highly promising proposition with immense potential of gain to both countries. 20

United Nations and International Organizations

The United Nations (UN) is presently in the process of restructuring and reforming both in terms of institutions and concepts. India’s efforts during 1994-95 were directed at influencing these changes in accordance with her world view and her perceptions of the role of the UN. India put forward concrete and forceful proposals at the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), World Hearings on Development and at the General Assembly. The revised Agenda for Development represents a success of the Indian diplomacy.

India constituted a National Committee for Commemoration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the UN and undertook a substantive year-long programme to mark the event. The celebration was inaugurated on 30th October, 1994 by Prime Minister Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao address to the nation and a cultural programme, coupled with a photographic exhibition.

During his visit to India in September 1994, the UN Secretary-General, Boutros-Boutros Ghali expressed his gratitude for India’s contribution to the UN peace-keeping activities. The President of the 48th Session of the General Assembly also visited India.
India continued to play a leading role in UN peace-keeping activities. Indian battalion to UN Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ) has returned home India's 5,000-strong contingent to UN Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II) whose commendable performance was acknowledged by the UN, the various factions in Somalia, the NGOs working of humanitarian relief, and the people of Somalia, returned home after their successful mission. India has provided a battalion to the UN Assistance Mission in Rwanda (UNAMIR) and has also agreed to contribute a brigade group to UN Stand by forces, and to provide 100 doctors, engineers and trainers to UN Mission in Haiti (UNMIH), Phase II, in addition to a company of paramilitary forces.

At the 49th session of the UNGA, Commerce Minister stated that India deserves to be a permanent member of the Security Council and also announced her candidature to the non-permanent seat in the Security Council for the year 1996-97.

Pakistan move for an increase in the strength of UNMOGIP observers on both sides of the Line of Control has not found support in the Security Council. The UN Secretary-General stressed his willingness to exert every possible effort to facilitate a search for a solution to the outstanding problems between India and Pakistan. India has made it very clear that she remains committed to the Shimla Agreement, which calls
for resolution against India in the First Committee of the UNGA through an OIC Contact Group. However, prompt and effective countermeasures initiated by India forced Pakistan to abandon the move.21

India had played a major role in the negotiations leading to the agreement related to implementation of Part XI of the UN Convention of the Law of the Sea concerning deep sea-bed mining and exploration, which was adopted unanimously by the resumed 48th session of the UNGA in June 1994.

In keeping with her long-standing approach to nuclear disarmament as the first step towards general and complete disarmament, India was actively associated with global measures for the elimination of nuclear weapons. In January 1994, an ad hoc Committee of the Conference on Disarmament on Nuclear Test Ban (NBT) with a full negotiating mandate to conclude a Comprehensive Tests Ban Treaty (CTBT) was established. The Indian delegate is the Friend of Chair (FOC) on Seismic Methods under the Working Group on Verification. A draft rolling text of the CTBT was finalized in September 1994. India tabled a resolution on the subject of a Convention on the Prohibition of the Use and Threat of Use of Nuclear Weapons which the First Committee of the UN adopted with 98 votes in favour. India also co-sponsored a new resolution calling for a step-by-step reduction of the nuclear weapons which was adopted by the
First Committee with 91 votes in favour. India's proposal for the convening of a Fourth Special Session of the General Assembly devoted to Disarmament (SSOD-IV) taken up enthusiastically by NAM and presented as a NAM initiative at the last session of the UNGA. A consensus resolution agreeing to the convening of such a session in 1997 was adopted by the First Committee of the UNGA.²²

India was also actively involved in UN expert groups on the Register on Conventional Arms, the Inhumane Weapons Convention, and Verification in All Its Aspects. India continued her principled opposition to ad hoc export control regimes such as the Australia Group, Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) and the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) in various international for called for their conversion into universal, transparent, non-discriminatory treaties which clearly distinguish between civilian and military applications. An MTCR Quad team consisting of representations of Switzerland, US, UK and Australia visited India on 30th August, 1994 for official level discussions.

A Special Conference of the State parties of the Biological Weapons Convention (BWC) was held at Geneva in September 1994 in which India participated actively as one of the Vice-Presidents. An ad-hoc group of experts was set up to consider verification measures for the BWC.
India continued bilateral dialogues on disarmament, non-proliferation and security-related issues with the USA, France and Germany. Bilateral initiatives resulted in (i) the issuance of a joint statement by Prime Minister Shri P.V. Narismha Rao and President Clinton in May 1994 offering their strong support for efforts toward non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery and towards the progressive reduction with the goal of elimination of such weapons; and (ii) a joint declaration issued by Prime Minister Shri P.V. Narsimha Rao and President Yeltsin reiterating their commitment to all measures aimed at the complete and universal eliminations of the weapons of mass destruction. India also utilized these dialogues to effectively project her position that her security concerns cannot be addressed in the narrow framework of India-Pakistan relations but as part of a global problem which would require a global solution.

Regarding human rights, India's consistent stand in the UN fora was that it should be pursued in the Vienna spirit of cooperation and consensus. During 1994-95, the National Human Rights Commission was established through an Act of the Parliament. A number of envoys visited Jammu and Kashmir which reflect India's policy of transparency in protection and promotion of human rights. During the 50th session of the Commission on Human Rights in Geneva in March 1994, a resolution on
Human Rights and Terrorism was adopted by consensus. India participated as an observer in the 46th Session of the UN Sub Commission on Prevention of discrimination and protection of Minorities in August 1994. Pakistani moves to float a resolution were successfully thwarted, while the adoption at the 49th UNGA Declaration on Measures to Eliminate International Terrorism was an achievement of India’s diplomacy in the United Nations. It called upon all States to take effective measures to prevent, combat and eliminate terrorism.

**Economic Social Council and India**

India continued to play an active role in the ECOSOC, the governing Boards of the specialized agencies, various international meetings on the issue of promotion and protection of environment, and in the Second Committee of the United Nations.

**Commission on Sustainable Development**

The Second of the Commission on Sustainable Development, including the High Level Segment, held in May 1994 in New York was attended by the Minister of State for Environment and Forests. India was elected to the Bureau and became a Vice-Chairman, representing Asia. India was also elected as the Chairperson of the Working Group 1 of the CSD.
India signed the Convention to Combat Desertification with Special Reference to Africa which was finalized at the Fifth Meeting of the Intergovernmental Negotiating Committee in Paris in 1994.

In the Second session of the Inter-Governmental Committee on Convention on Bio-Diversity held in Nairobi in June 1994, India was able to seek endorsement from the G-77 and effectively project her views on the issue of conclusion of a protocol on Bio-Safety, Farmers Rights collections of CGIAR system, criteria for selection of the Secretariat, funding of the Secretariat, etc. India also circulated a Draft Agenda for the First Meeting of the Conference of Parties which was used for finalizing the agenda of the Conference of Parties by the Secretariat.

G.E.F.

As recognition of the prominent role played by India, the Indian member was unanimously elected as the first Chairman of the GEF Executive Council. India is a donor and recipient nation and has contributed SDR six million (US dollar 8.5 million approximately) to the total GEF corpus of US dollar two billion.24

ESCAP

India hosted the 50th session of the ESCAP in New Delhi in April 1994 and also continued to take an active part in various activities for the
International Conference on Population Development

At the third International Conference on Population and Development held in Cairo in September 1994, India pointed out that the problem of demographic growth could only be addressed through integrated solutions, encomprising health, family welfare, education, women empowerment, employment, and eradication of poverty.

PREPCOM

India participated actively in the discussions in the second and the third sessions of the PREPCOM for the World summit for Social Development held in New York in August-September 1994 and in January 1995.

India was a member of the ad hoc Group established to investigate fraud within the UN system, and also remained a member of the Board of Auditors of the UN and voice concerning the mounting expenditure on peace-keeping operations and the delayed or non-payment of assessments by the member States. It was elected/nominated to the Commission on Transnational Corporations; the Inter-governmental Working Group of Experts on International Standards of Accounting and Reporting; the Committee on Non-Governmental Organizations; the Executive Board of UNICEF; the Committee for UN Population Award; the UN
Administrative Tribunal; the Commission on Human Rights of ECOSOC; the Postal Operations Council and Consultative Council for Postal Studies of the Universal Postal Union; the Administrative Council of the International Telecommunications Union, the Human Rights Committee of the International Covenant of Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). India was also elected as the Vice Presidents of the 49th Session of the UN General Assembly and the Commission on Sustainable Development and as the Chairman of several of the International meetings held in the region under ESCAP.
Inference

As, the largest democracy in the world, India is playing important role in world politics. Even during colonial rule, India participated in the deliberations of League of Nations and other International Conferences.

While war was going on, the leaders of U.K. and U.S.A. declared Atlantic Charter, to form a new world. The charter guaranteed self-rule to all. But the U.K. Prime Minister Winston Churchill was declared that the charter is not applicable to India. By this attitude Indians were disappointed. The feelings of Indians were assuaged, when the non-officials were included in Indian delegation to take part in San Francisco Conference. After the birth of UN in 1945, India became the founder member. During the cold war era India actively participated to reduce tensions during Korean War. The role of India with regard to Tibet issue, Bangladesh issue, Palastine issue, Racial discrimination in South Africa, is laudible. India strongly defended its policy on Kashmir, when the problem was raised in UN General Assembly Sessions. In the Post-Cold war era India constantly made demands of restructuring of UN Security Council. Which will pave the way for expansion of operations by the United Nations.
References


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