

## ***The Role of the United Nations in the Contemporary World***

Asoke Kumar Mukerji\*

It is generally accepted that the United Nations Charter of 1945 gives the United Nations (UN) a role in global governance. The UN is tasked to maintain international peace and security to use international cooperation to address global socio-economic, cultural and humanitarian issues, and to uphold respect for human rights and non-discriminatory fundamental human freedom.<sup>1</sup> These are often referred to as the three pillars of the UN system.

How has the UN performed this role? Preventing a third world war after 1945 has often been considered a success of the UN. On the other hand, by the end of 2016, more than 65 million people across the world have been displaced by war and violent conflict, the highest such figure since the end of the Second World War.<sup>2</sup> It is clear that keeping in view the major transformations in the world over the past seven decades, the effectiveness of the role of the UN has varied, depending upon the resilience and responsiveness of its structures.

### **A Brief Background**

The structures of the UN were conceptualised during the Second World War. The primary objective of the allied countries fighting against ‘Hitlerism’ in the War was to prevent the outbreak of another world conflict. Reconstruction and development of the socio-economic infrastructure of many countries impacted by the War became a priority.

---

*This article is an updated and revised version of a talk by the author, delivered at the Indian Institute of Technology (IIT), Delhi on 30 August 2017, under the Distinguished Lecture Series of the Public Diplomacy Division of the Ministry of External Affairs and is published under arrangement with them and with their permission.*

---

\*The author, Ambassador Asoke Kumar Mukerji, was till recently Permanent Representative of India to the United Nations.

On 1 January 1942, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt<sup>3</sup> of the United States (US) convened a conference of 26 'allied' nations in Washington D.C. The conference issued the 'Declaration by United Nations'. The intention of the Declaration was to create structures of global governance under the broad framework of the UN. These structures would secure, and sustain the peace that would follow the war.

The Washington conference broadened the scope of an agreement on post-war arrangements reached earlier between the US and the United Kingdom (UK) in August 1941,<sup>4</sup> contained in the Atlantic Charter. The inclusion of the 'right of all peoples to choose the form of government under who they will live', which was the third point of the Atlantic Charter, implicitly regulated the participation of countries like India at the Washington Conference.

India, then divided between British India and Indian Princely States, was represented at the conference by Sir Girija Shankar Bajpai, I.C.S. As India's Agent-General in the United States, Bajpai signed the Declaration on behalf of India. This effectively meant that India became one of the original stakeholders of the UN system.

Sustaining post-war peace by creating a holistic triad of structures to deal with financial, developmental, and trade policies became a priority for the participants of the Washington conference. Their broad goal was to overcome economic nationalism, which had given rise to conditions leading to the Second World War, and to facilitate the flow of capital for investments in reconstruction and development, especially of infrastructure, to sustain economic growth.<sup>5</sup>

Two specialised international organisations, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (or the World Bank) were established through negotiations conducted during July 1944 at Bretton Woods in the US among 44 participating nations.

Efforts to create the third international organisation to coordinate globally on trade policy issues, recommended by both the Bretton Woods Conference, and subsequently by the UN, foundered due to opposition in the Congress of the United States. A provisional arrangement, the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs or GATT, was reached by 23 countries in 1947. Their intention was 'to give an early boost to trade liberalisation, and to begin to correct the legacy of protectionist measures which remained in place from the early 1930s'.<sup>6</sup>

GATT's provisional arrangement was not legally enforceable. It was only on 1 January 1995 that agreement was reached on establishing a World Trade

Organisation (WTO). This structure was based on the two fundamental principles of equity, namely Most-Favoured-Nation (MFN) treatment and National Treatment, applied to trade in goods and services. The WTO has an enforceable dispute settlement mechanism.

As far as the UN itself was concerned, the first substantive discussions took place between the US, UK and USSR in October 1944 at Dumbarton Oaks in the US on the outlines of the UN Charter. These countries were later joined by the Republic of China. (France was proposed as a permanent member in 'due course' at the Dumbarton Oaks meeting.) While there was agreement among the four on the main provisions of the draft UN Charter including the role of a UN General Assembly (UNGA), an area of disagreement was decision-making by the proposed UN Security Council (UNSC).

The UNSC decision-making was discussed between the USSR, UK and US separately at a meeting in Yalta in February 1945. The result was the proposed 'veto' provision for the five permanent members in the proposed UN Charter.

### **The UN Charter**

The UN Charter was adopted on 26 June 1945 in San Francisco by 51 founding members. Article 18 of the Charter endorsed the democratic principle of majority decision-making, with the principle of one-country-one-vote in the UNGA and its subsidiary bodies. Decisions on specified important questions required a two-third majority vote. All structures in the UN system were placed under the UNGA.

The Charter created the UNSC to 'secure' peace. Initially consisting of five self-selected permanent members (France, the Republic of China, the United Kingdom, United States and Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), and six non-permanent members elected by the UNGA, who would rotate every two years, the UNSC was given the "primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security" by the Charter. Unlike in the UNGA, Article 27.3 of the Charter stipulated that decisions by the UNSC on non-procedural issues could be taken only with the 'concurring votes' of all its five permanent members.<sup>7</sup> This has major implications for the role of the UN in the contemporary world.

The UN Charter anticipated the importance of 'sustaining' peace through equitable socio-economic development after the Second World War. It created the Economic and Social Council or ECOSOC, which is elected by the UNGA.

Article 62 of the Charter identified the main functions of the ECOSOC as relating to all international economic, social, cultural, educational, health and related matters, and gave it a coordinating role in respect of the UN's 14 specialised agencies. Article 65 provided for the ECOSOC to assist the UNSC if the latter requested it.<sup>8</sup>

British India's signatory on the UN Charter, the Indian politician Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, was elected the first President of the ECOSOC by the UNGA in 1946, and chaired three out of its first four sessions. Initially structured to accommodate 18 out of the 51 original members of the UN General Assembly, the Charter has been amended twice, in 1963 and 1971, to expand the ECOSOC membership to 54 members. These members are democratically elected and accountable to the UNGA, following the UNGA's decision-making power through majority voting without any member having the veto.

The Charter created the Trusteeship Council, which was meant to regulate issues related to the listed territories held in trust by the UN and colonial powers as they moved to independence or self-government. Palau was the last of these territories to become independent in 1994, after which the Trusteeship Council was suspended since it had successfully delivered on its mandate given by the Charter.<sup>9</sup>

The International Court of Justice (ICJ) is another important structure created by the UN Charter as the 'principal judicial organ of the United Nations'. All members of the General Assembly are *ipso facto* parties to the Statute of the ICJ.<sup>10</sup>

### **The UN in the Contemporary World**

It would be fair to say that since the UN was created in 1945, the political landscape of the world has undergone a radical change. This is illustrated by the membership of the UNGA, which was 51 in 1945 and stands at 193 today. The main driver of this has been the process of decolonisation, which was accelerated by the independence of India in August 1947. Despite the Cold War, the UNGA agreed to admit scores of newly independent developing countries after 1960, who today form the majority in the UNGA.<sup>11</sup>

The second broad change that has occurred since 1945 is the steep rise in the numbers and aspirations of people across the world for a more prosperous life, which has been accelerated by emerging technologies.

The third big change for the UN is linked to the first two, focusing on asserting human rights and empowerment.

Today, the UN is required to deal with trans-boundary, global issues, involving both state and non-state actors, which make its core function of international cooperation more relevant than ever before. This includes challenges posed by terrorism, organised crime, and humanitarian disasters. It is the only body dealing with issues of the global commons in the maritime, cyber and outer space domains.

### **Sustainable Development**

How have the structures created by the UN responded to these major developments? Over the past seven decades, the biggest visible success of the UN has been in responding to the challenges of socio-economic development, which is the UN's 'second pillar', through the ECOSOC and UNGA. The ECOSOC has relied on UN specialised agencies, which were created under Article 57 of the Charter for this purpose, as well as structures responsible for specific programmes approved by the General Assembly under Article 22 of the Charter.<sup>12</sup>

In this context, the UN's response to the twin demands of equitable socio-economic development and environmental protection, encapsulated by the concept of 'sustainable development', stands out as a major achievement. In 1966, the UN Development Programme (UNDP), which operates currently in 177 member states of the UNGA, was established to accelerate global socio-economic development. In June 1972, the first UN Conference on the Human Environment was held in Stockholm. It identified 'environmental protection' as a major challenge for the world. The then Indian prime minister, Indira Gandhi, the only head of government to attend this Conference, remarked, '...poverty is the biggest polluter'. Her statement was widely criticised as an attempt to evade the obligation of countries to act more responsibly to safeguard our planet.<sup>13</sup>

These parallel objectives of achieving socio-economic development and sustaining the environment were initially dealt with separately within the UN structure. It was only following the Rio+20 UN Summit of 2012 that they coalesced into the UN's Agenda 2030 on Sustainable Development.<sup>14</sup> Adopted by world leaders in September 2015, the main difference in the UNGA's response was to replace the top-down approach of implementing the eight Millennium Development Goals or MDGs<sup>15</sup> for the social sector attempted by the UN's Millennium Summit, by a ground-up, multi-stakeholder negotiation that resulted in Agenda 2030.

Agenda 2030 has 17 Sustainable Development Goals or SDGs at its core. Significantly, the first of the SDGs is the Eradication of Poverty, which is the over-arching Goal of Agenda 2030, vindicating the position taken by India in 1972. World leaders recognise today that unless poverty is eradicated, the impact of achieving other parameters of development cannot be sustained.

The SDGs incorporate the MDGs, and add climate change aspirations, as well as economic objectives such as infrastructure and employment, which are of direct relevance to developing economies such as India.<sup>16</sup> Implementing Agenda 2030 is a challenge facing the international community, especially in ensuring the flow of financial resources and technologies to accelerate the achievement of the SDGs. To meet this challenge, the UNGA created the structure of a High Level Political Forum under the ECOSOC. The Forum meets in a multi-stakeholder format annually to review progress in the implementation of Agenda 2030.<sup>17</sup>

### **Human Rights**

The UN's role in upholding fundamental human rights and freedom has been somewhat mixed. While the UN has succeeded in putting together an impressive corpus of framework of human rights documents- both treaties and policies, it has so far made limited progress in ensuring the universal application of this framework.

Endorsing the principle of non-discrimination has been a success story of the UN, requiring over 40 years of patient multilateral diplomacy to fructify. Initially, the UNGA considered issues relating to the upholding of human rights, exemplified by its resolution on racial discrimination in South Africa, which was moved by India in 1946. This merged into the anti-apartheid movement in the UNGA. Forty years later, a multi-racial South Africa led by President Nelson Mandela finally took the stage at the UNGA in 1994.<sup>18</sup>

Another early initiative taken by the UNGA was to prevent the commission of mass atrocity crimes such as genocide. India, along with Panama and Cuba, sponsored the UNGA resolution in 1946, which mandated the negotiation of the 1948 Convention on Genocide.<sup>19</sup> While the role of the UN has been successful in creating the legal framework against genocide, shortfalls in preventing such mass atrocity crimes have occurred due to the compromised nature of the functioning of the UNSC. Bangladesh in 1971, Cambodia between 1975 and 1979, Rwanda in 1994, and several crises currently underway in Africa and Asia are examples of this.

The track record of the UNGA to initiate and sustain a focus on gender equality counts as one of UN's success stories so far. Member states have undertaken legal obligations under the first human rights treaty of the contemporary era, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), adopted by the UNGA in 1948. The gender-neutral concept of 'all human beings are equal', found in Article 1 of the UDHR, was proposed by Hansa Mehta of India, and endorsed by the chairperson of the drafting committee, Mrs Eleanor Roosevelt (widow of President Roosevelt).<sup>20</sup>

The UDHR acted as the foundation for the UNGA to support gender equality and the empowerment of women through a rights-based approach, beginning with the 1975 Mexico Conference on Women.<sup>21</sup> This process eventually led the UNGA in 2010 to establish UN-Women,<sup>22</sup> which brings together all the stakeholders involved in upholding gender equality and empowerment of women.

Another success of the UNGA's role in upholding human rights is its decision in March 2006 to create the UN Human Rights Council (UNHRC). The Geneva-based UNHRC is composed of 47 states,<sup>23</sup> and was established in response to heightened concerns about human rights issues by the international community. Its member-states are democratically elected for three-year terms, and are accountable.<sup>24</sup> Decision-making in the UNHRC is through majority voting, without any country having the veto.

The UNHRC's major achievement to date has been to conduct Universal Periodic Reviews or UPRs, of human rights issues in all 193 UNGA member states between 2008 and 2012. Under the UNGA, the primary responsibility for promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedom is that of the UNHRC today. This aspect needs to be recognised and used more vigorously by governments and stakeholders, who sometimes tend to take human rights issues straight to the UNSC to initiate robust humanitarian interventionist action under Chapter VII of the Charter.<sup>25</sup>

### **Maintaining International Peace and Security**

The UN's role in maintaining international peace and security has become increasingly ineffective. Since the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, the nature and number of crises affecting international peace and security have mushroomed, imposing huge human and material costs. Under the UN Charter, the responsibility for this situation lies squarely with the UNSC.<sup>26</sup>

This problem was addressed by world leaders during the UN's 2005 Summit. They unanimously mandated 'early reform' of the UNSC to 'make it more broadly representative, efficient and transparent and thus to further enhance its effectiveness and the legitimacy and implementation of its decisions'.<sup>27</sup>

The expansion of the UNSC by the UNGA in 1963 was in response to the entry of a large number of developing countries into the UNGA.<sup>28</sup> Expansion of the UNSC by additional four non-permanent rotating members did not have any impact on the veto-power on decision-making given to the five permanent members of the UNSC. The control of the permanent members in UNSC decision-making has been codified by the UNSC, without reference to the UNGA or the Charter. All five permanent members have agreed to this practice of 'pen-holdership' on specific issues on the UNSC agenda.<sup>29</sup>

On 14 November 1979, India's Permanent Representative Brajesh Mishra led a successful effort of 10 developing countries to inscribe greater equity in decision-making and representation in the UNSC on the agenda of the UNGA.<sup>30</sup> Since then, both the process and parameters of UNSC reform have been agreed to in the UNGA. Contrary to assertions by countries like China and Pakistan, the UNGA unanimously decided in December 1998 that UNSC reform requires 'the affirmative vote of at least two thirds of the Members of the General Assembly'<sup>31</sup>, and not the complete consensus of all 193 countries.

The UNGA has taken three unanimous initiatives to implement the mandate given by the 2005 UN World Summit for UNSC reform. First, it launched inter-governmental negotiations (IGN) in 2007.<sup>32</sup> Second, it decided in 2008 on five interlinked issues for negotiations: categories of membership, viz. the question of the veto; regional representation; size of an enlarged Security Council and working methods of the Council; and the relationship between the Council and the General Assembly.<sup>33</sup> Third, on 14 September 2015, it adopted a draft negotiating text on these five areas submitted by 122 countries.<sup>34</sup> The next step for the UNGA is to adopt a resolution on these five areas, so that the UN Charter can be appropriately amended. 129 members of the UNGA need to support such a resolution.

Currently, momentum on UNSC reforms in the UNGA has faltered. This is due to the 'missed opportunities by pro-reform States',<sup>35</sup> and the aggressive diplomacy of China,<sup>36</sup> which has reportedly used 'levers of power and influence, including economic pressure'<sup>37</sup> in backtracking on its participation in the unanimous UNGA decision of September 2015. The result has seen an abrupt change of the IGN's successful Chairman, a distortion of the agreed parameters of text-based negotiations,<sup>38</sup> and, most significantly, a visible

dilution<sup>39</sup> in the rock-solid African Group support for the 14 September 2015 document.

While the structure of the UNSC remains frozen in the Charter, its ineffectiveness on ground, due mainly to its decision-making provisions, undermines the role of the UN in maintaining international peace and security. In security terms, the result of this shortfall has been felt in the two areas that the UNSC has actively involved itself in UN peacekeeping and countering terrorism.

UN peacekeeping, especially in Africa, has increasingly become ineffective, unable to prevent conflicts that jeopardize the lives of millions of civilians as well as UN peacekeepers mandated to protect civilians.<sup>40</sup> None of the five permanent members have been able to prevent or resolve ongoing crises, nor have they taken the help of troop-contributing countries not represented in the UNSC, as provided for in Article 44 of the UN Charter,<sup>41</sup> on making such missions more effective based on ground realities.

The UNSC's response to global challenges to international peace and security, posed by terrorism has been ineffective. Despite having adopted more than 40 counter-terrorism resolutions and created sanctions regimes,<sup>42</sup> the UNSC has been unable to prosecute and penalise terrorists, including those who have killed<sup>43</sup> or taken hostage UN peacekeepers<sup>44</sup> deployed under the Council's mandate in Africa and Asia.

### **Conclusion**

Due to the interdependent relationship between the UN's three pillars, it is clear that until the UN becomes more effective in maintaining international peace and security, the ambitious targets it has set for socio-economic development and upholding fundamental human rights will not be met. This requires prioritising the reform of the UNSC by amending the UN Charter through a UNGA resolution.

The current opaqueness of the IGN on UNSC reform in the UNGA needs to be addressed for such a resolution to be tabled. One option for the UNGA is to convert the UNSC reforms into a multi-stakeholder format, as was done for negotiating the ambitious SDGs of Agenda 2030.<sup>45</sup> Multi-stakeholder participation, which is webcast live, will make the negotiations more representative, and bring accountability and transparency to the process.

Responsiveness to public pressures and perceptions has always played a role in reforming the UN. The most recent successful example of this was

the election of Antonio Guterres as the new Secretary General after several rounds of transparent public interactions. In his vision statement circulated in April 2016, Secretary General Guterres informed the member states of the United Nations that he is committed to restoring the core vision of the UN Charter by strengthening the ‘nexus between peace and security, sustainable development and human rights policies - a holistic approach to the mutually-reinforcing linkages between its three pillars’.<sup>46</sup>

In conclusion, we need to ask ourselves the question: has the vision of the UN Charter been overtaken by the changes in the world over the past seven decades? The most appropriate answer was given by Dag Hammarskjöld when he was Secretary General of the UN. He said, ‘Do we refer to the purposes of the Charter? They are expressions of universally shared ideals which cannot fail us, though we, alas, often fail them’.<sup>47</sup> These ideals include non-violence, faith in fundamental human rights, the equality of nations large and small, and a holistic approach to the world around us, based on the equitable rule of law. Continuing to focus on these values will enhance the role of the UN in the contemporary world.

#### **Notes :**

- <sup>1</sup> Charter of the United Nations, Chapter 1, Article 1. Published by the Department of Public Information, the United Nations, New York. Available at <http://www.un.org/en/charter-united-nations/>
- <sup>2</sup> ‘Figures at a Glance’, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. Available at <http://www.unhcr.org/figures-at-a-glance.html>.
- <sup>3</sup> 1942: The Declaration of The United Nations. United Nations, New York. Available at <http://www.un.org/en/sections/history-united-nations-charter/1942-declaration-united-nations/index.html>.
- <sup>4</sup> The Atlantic Conference and Charter, Office of the Historian, US Department of State. Available at <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1937-1945/atlantic-conf>.
- <sup>5</sup> The Indian delegation to the Bretton Woods Conference included Sir C.D. Deshmukh, then Governor of the Reserve Bank of India. Sir Deshmukh became finance minister of independent India in 1950, and presided over the Joint IMF-World Bank meeting in Paris that year. See also Report of the Indian Delegation to the United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference at Bretton Woods (July 1 to July 22, 1944), Government of India Press, 1945. Available at <http://dspace.gipe.ac.in/xmlui/handle/10973/41143?show=full>.
- <sup>6</sup> ‘The GATT years: from Havana to Marrakesh’, World Trade Organization, Geneva. Available at [https://www.wto.org/english/thewto\\_e/whatis\\_e/tif\\_e/fact4\\_e.htm](https://www.wto.org/english/thewto_e/whatis_e/tif_e/fact4_e.htm). Sir N.R.

Pillai, I.C.S., who became secretary general in India's Ministry of External Affairs, and subsequently, India's first cabinet secretary in 1950, led India's GATT negotiations.

<sup>7</sup> See note 1 above.

<sup>8</sup> United Nations Economic and Social Council. More details are available at <https://www.un.org/ecosoc/en/>

<sup>9</sup> Trusteeship Council. More details are available at <http://www.un.org/en/sections/about-un/trusteeship-council/>

<sup>10</sup> For more details on the Court, see <http://www.icj-cij.org/en/history>.

<sup>11</sup> See 'The United Nations and Decolonization' available at <http://www.un.org/en/decolonization/history.shtml>.

<sup>12</sup> There are 50 such bodies listed by the UN. For details see <https://www.unsceb.org/alpha>.

<sup>13</sup> 'Climate Change and Poverty: Why Indira Gandhi's speech matters', *The Guardian*, 6 May 2014. Available at <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development-professionals-network/2014/may/06/indira-gandhi-india-climate-change>.

<sup>14</sup> 'Transforming our world: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development', available at <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/post2015/transformingourworld>.

<sup>15</sup> For details regarding the implementation of the MDGs, see <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/bkgd.shtml>.

<sup>16</sup> The SDGs of Agenda 2030 include priority issues such as affordable and clean energy, employment, infrastructure and manufacturing, smart cities and urban growth, and responsible consumption, highlighted by countries like India. Agenda 2030 represents a universal, collaborative framework for SDGs, which are national objectives.

<sup>17</sup> High Level Political Forum on Sustainable Development details are available at <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/hlpf>.

<sup>18</sup> 'The United Nations and Apartheid Timeline 1946-1994'. Available at South African History Online..

<sup>19</sup> Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. UN Audiovisual Library of International Law. Available at <http://legal.un.org/avl/ha/cppcg/cppcg.html>.

<sup>20</sup> 'Values and Vision: the Indian Constitution and the Foundations of the United Nations' in India at the United Nations. Available at <http://www.unic.org.in/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/CharterDay2017.pdf>.

<sup>21</sup> First Conference on Women, 1975. United Nations. Available at <https://www.unsystem.org/content/first-world-conference-women-1975-0>.

<sup>22</sup> 'About UN-Women'. United Nations. Available at <http://www.unwomen.org/en/about-us/about-un-women>.

<sup>23</sup> 'UN creates new Human Rights body', BBC, 15 March 2006. Available at <http://>

news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4810538.stm.

- <sup>24</sup> In 2015 Pakistan, and in 2016 Russia, were unable to get re-elected to the Council during voting in the UNGA.
- <sup>25</sup> See *Perilous Interventions* by Hardeep Singh Puri, published by HarperCollins, ISBN-13: 978-9351777595, 2016.
- <sup>26</sup> See note 1. Article 24.
- <sup>27</sup> UNGA Document A/RES/60/1 dated 16 September 2005. Paragraph 153. Available at <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N05/487/60/PDF/N0548760.pdf?OpenElement>.
- <sup>28</sup> UNGA Resolution 1991 (XVIII) dated 17 December 1963. Available at <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/RESOLUTION/GEN/NR0/186/66/IMG/NR018666.pdf?OpenElement>. For a record of the voting on this resolution, see UN Document A/PV.1285 dated 17 December 1963.
- <sup>29</sup> Loraine Sievers and Sam Daws, *The Procedure of the UN Security Council* (4<sup>th</sup> Edition), Oxford University Press, 2014. Available online at <http://www.sprocedure.org/chapter-5-section-6b>.
- <sup>30</sup> 'Question of Equitable Representation on and Increase in the Membership of the Security Council', UN Document No. A/34/246 dated 14 November 1979, submitted by Algeria, Argentina, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Guyana, India, Maldives, Nepal, Nigeria and Sri Lanka to the UN Secretary General. Available at [http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view\\_doc.asp?symbol=A/34/246](http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/34/246).
- <sup>31</sup> 'Question of Equitable Representation on and Increase in the Membership of the Security Council and Related Matters', UNGA Resolution A/RES/53/30 dated 1 December 1998.
- <sup>32</sup> This group tabled a draft resolution for inter-governmental negotiations, bearing the number A/61/L.69/Rev.1, because of which it is called the L69 group in the negotiations on UNSC reform in the UNGA. See [http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view\\_doc.asp?symbol=A/61/L.69/REV.1&Lang=E](http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/61/L.69/REV.1&Lang=E).
- <sup>33</sup> 'Question of Equitable Representation on and Increase in the Membership of the Security Council and Related Matters', UNGA Decision 62/557 dated 15 September 2008. Available at <http://www.centerforunreform.org/sites/default/files/62%3A557.pdf>.
- <sup>34</sup> See Press Release by United Nations, 'General Assembly adopts, without vote, "landmark" decision on advancing efforts to reform, increase membership of Security Council', available at <http://www.un.org/press/en/2015/ga11679.doc.htm>.
- <sup>35</sup> E. Courtenay Rattray, 'A Security Council for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: Challenges & Prospects', *IDSA Issue Brief*, 20 July 2016. [http://www.idsa.in/issuebrief/a-security-council-for-the-21st-century\\_ecrattray\\_200716](http://www.idsa.in/issuebrief/a-security-council-for-the-21st-century_ecrattray_200716).
- <sup>36</sup> It is revealing, for example, that while the USA, UK, France and Russian Federation have endorsed India's permanent membership of the reformed UNSC, the PRC is the only permanent member not to have endorsed India's candidacy.

- <sup>37</sup> Ref. footnote 39 above.
- <sup>38</sup> See letter of the PGA to member states, dated 17 May 2016. [http://www.un.org/pga/70/wp-content/uploads/sites/10/2015/08/17-May\\_Security-Council-Reform-17-May-2016.pdf](http://www.un.org/pga/70/wp-content/uploads/sites/10/2015/08/17-May_Security-Council-Reform-17-May-2016.pdf).
- <sup>39</sup> In October 2015, for example, the common position of India and Africa in favour of additional permanent seats in a reformed Security Council could not find any mention in the Delhi Declaration issued at the end of the India-Africa Summit. See 'Delhi Declaration', available at [http://mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/25980\\_declaration.pdf](http://mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/25980_declaration.pdf).
- <sup>40</sup> The reality of the UNSC's total ineffectiveness is well illustrated by the South Sudan crisis. Of South Sudan's population of 12 million, as many as 4 million have been impacted by conflict, despite the UNSC mandating almost 19,000 UNMISS peacekeeping troops costing over US\$1 billion a year. So far, 33 UNMISS peacekeepers have died in South Sudan since 2011. For data on UNMISS, see [http://www.ieee.es/en/Galerias/fichero/Varios/NNUU/NNUU\\_SouthSudan\\_march2015.pdf](http://www.ieee.es/en/Galerias/fichero/Varios/NNUU/NNUU_SouthSudan_march2015.pdf).
- <sup>41</sup> See note 1. Article 44.
- <sup>42</sup> See UN Security Council Counter Terrorism Committee data, available at <https://www.un.org/sc/ctc/resources/security-council/resolutions/>
- <sup>43</sup> 'Four peacekeepers killed in two deadly attacks against UN mission in Mali', UN News Centre, 24 November 2017. Available at <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=58161#.WleDyajXaM8>.
- <sup>44</sup> '47 UN Peacekeepers abducted by "Al-Qaida linked Syrian rebels"', The Telegraph (UK), 28 August 2014. Available at <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/syria/11061515/47-UN-peacekeepers-abducted-by-al-Qaeda-linked-Syrian-rebels.html>.
- <sup>45</sup> See UN General Assembly Document A/68/L.61, 'Report of the Open Working Group on Sustainable Development Goals established pursuant to General Assembly resolution 66/288', dated 8 September 2014. Available at [http://www.un.org/ga/search/view\\_doc.asp?symbol=A/68/L.61&Lang=E](http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/68/L.61&Lang=E).
- <sup>46</sup> 'Challenges and Opportunities for the United Nations', Antonio Guterres, 4 April 2016, p.2.. Available at [https://www.un.org/pga/70/wp-content/uploads/sites/10/2016/01/4-April\\_Secretary-General-Election-Vision-Statement\\_Portugal-4-April-20161.pdf](https://www.un.org/pga/70/wp-content/uploads/sites/10/2016/01/4-April_Secretary-General-Election-Vision-Statement_Portugal-4-April-20161.pdf).
- <sup>47</sup> See 'Dag Hammarskjöld's approach to the United Nations and international law', by Ove Bring, Professor Emeritus, Stockholm University, p.5. Available at <https://www.cepal.org/sites/default/files/pr/files/44856-Anforande-Ove-Bring.pdf>.

