

Understanding Reforms at the United Nations: Learning Lessons for India

Jayshree Tandekar

Abstract

As a truly universal organisation, the United Nations was primarily charged with the maintaining international peace and security. Over the years, its responsibility has diversified to new areas such as human rights, environment, climate, health and education. The growing complexity in the tasks and structure of the United Nations has been accompanied by the need for reforming the international organisation. Different reforms have been proposed at different points of time to make United Nations more responsive to the changing times. However, these proposals have been challenged by several factors. The objective of this article is to analyse the reforms proposed and initiated at the United Nations. It aims to highlight how the Indian position on the reform issue can be strengthened further in the United Nations. This article seeks to find answers to the following questions: What are the challenges confronted by the reform process at the United Nations? What lessons can be drawn for India from this experience? These and related issues are the subject matter of this article.

Introduction

One of the pertinent issues dominating the international relations has been the debate over the reform of the United Nations. Despite the challenges faced by the international organization in the contemporary times such as humanitarian crises, human rights violations, armed conflicts, environment degradation and health concerns, the international community has not advocated the termination of the United Nations. Rather, the attempt has always been at reforming the United Nations to make it more effective and responsive to the changing times. Over the years, several reforms have been proposed and initiated at the United Nations with the aim of modifying its organizational structure, improving the working conditions for its personnel and improving its management. India, one of the founding members of the

United Nations, has been vocal and a strong advocate for the reform of the United Nations.

This article is an attempt to present a general understanding of the reform process at the United Nations. It starts by analysing various reforms introduced in the history of the United Nations. It then provides an overview of the challenges confronted by the reform process at the United Nations. The central focus of this article is to analyse how India can strengthen the efforts at reforming the international organization, particularly those concerning the Security Council. The article ends with the lessons that can be drawn for India from the United Nations' experience at reforms.

The United Nations at 75

The United Nations, established after years of planning, deliberations, and hope, boasts of a membership of 193 states today. Presently, there are more than 37,000 personnel employed in the UN system which is made up of six principal organs as well as the UN funds and programs such as UNICEF, UNDP and UNFPA, specialised agencies such as UNESCO, WHO, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, and other entities such as UNHCR and UN Women. However, this complexity (in terms of personnel and structural) was absent when the United Nations came into existence on October 24, 1945: it had only 51 member states and six principal organs.¹ Since then, the United Nations has grown exponentially and one of the reasons for this growth has been the changing times and the consequent reforms.

The term 'reform' implies improving performance and altering something for the better. It aims at addressing the defects and overcoming shortcomings with the objective of achieving higher degree of effectiveness or performance.² As a matter of fact, no international organization can retain forever the form and structure with which it was established. Reform is an inevitable reality. It reflects the responsiveness of an international organization to the changing times. The need to reform an international organization shows that the latter is significant but due to certain limitations, it has to be improved upon. Without reform, the international organization cannot survive for long. Reform as a word or process is not new to the life of the United Nations. Since the establishment of the United Nations, different reforms have been proposed and initiated at different points of time to make the former more effective in the changed circumstances. Over the years, various entities outside the United Nations such as individual countries, group of countries, group of persons, regional organizations and

academicians have proposed different sets of reforms for the United Nations but they primarily relate to the Security Council. These proposals have been listed in Table 1. However, the focus of the present article are the reforms initiated by the United Nations (Secretary-General and subsidiary bodies) which are comprehensive in nature as they not only include the Security Council but other issues such as increasing UN secretariat transparency, accountability and efficiency, financial reform, calling for diversity and democracy through the implementation of a representative voting system in the General Assembly, and reforming of the human rights petition system.

Table 1: Reforms Proposed by non-UN Entities (in relation to Security Council)

Name of the Reform Proposal	Year	Proposed by
Model Duo	1992	Professor Louis Sohn
Schwartzberg Model	2004	Joseph E. Schwartzberg
Group of Four (G4) Proposal	2005	Brazil, Germany, India and Japan.
Model Green	2005	Uniting for Consensus (UfC). It is a group of countries that opposes the G-4 proposal. On February 16, 2005, the Coffee Club (Argentina, Colombia, Mexico, Kenya, Algeria, Italy, Spain, Pakistan and South Korea) adopted a document entitled Uniting for Consensus, which subsequently became the name of the group. They were later joined by Qatar, Turkey, Ghana, Costa Rica, Ghana, Costa Rica, Canada, Morocco, San Marino, United Arab Emirates, Bangladesh, and the representative of the Arab League.
Model Blue	2009	
Ezulwini Consensus	2005	African Union
Model C	2005	Professor Walter Hoffmann
Model X	2006	
Italian Regional Model	2005	Italy
L-69 Group Proposal	2007	42 countries from Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, Asia and the Pacific.
Regional/Economic Proposal	2008	Professor Richard Hartwig

Reforms at the United Nations: The Journey So Far

The United Nations began with the firm resolve to maintain international peace and security at all times. Since its inception, it has worked diligently to meet the objectives enshrined in the UN Charter. However, there have been times when the need has been felt to reform the international organization in response to the inability of the latter to meet the challenges of the changing times. This has resulted in various reform proposals by the United Nations. For an easy understanding, these reforms have been categorized temporally under the following heads (Table 2).

Table 2: Major Reforms Initiated by the United Nations

Year	Reform Initiated
1963	Expansion of the Security Council Membership from 11 to 15
1992	Agenda for Peace
1994	Agenda for Development
1997	Razali Plan
1997	Renewing the United Nations: A Program for Reform
2002	Strengthening of the United Nations: An Agenda for Further Change
2004	We the Peoples: Civil Society, the UN and Global Governance
2004	A More Secured World: Our Shared Responsibility
2005	In Larger Freedom
2017	Reforms proposed by the Secretary-General António Guterres

Cold War Reforms

Due to the differences among the member states during Cold War, the only major reform initiated in the United Nations was the expansion of the Security Council in 1963 with the inclusion of four non-permanent seats. The reform was initiated on the demand of the developing countries to reflect the rise in the membership of the United Nations from 51 to 113. Initially, this expansion was opposed by the permanent members of the Security Council: Soviet Union and France voted against the resolution, and Britain and the United States of America abstained. But owing to the unity among the developing countries, the permanent members were forced to change their stand and ratify the resolution in

less than two years.³Two decades later, due to the pressure of the developed countries, significantly of the United States of America, the General Assembly set up a high-level group of 18 intergovernmental experts in 1986 to review the efficiency of the administrative and financial functioning of the United Nations. In total, 71 recommendations were submitted to the General Assembly which also included a proposal for revised budgetary process (which introduced the use of consensus-based budgeting in the United Nations).

Post-Cold War – The decade of 1990s

The first decade of the post-Cold War period was marked by the reforms initiated during the tenure of Secretary-General Boutros Boutros Ghali (1992-96). The structural reforms resulted in the reorganization of the UN Secretariat and the termination of the UN Centre for Transnational Corporations. Further, the United Nations was downsized in terms of its budget and personnel. In particular, Ghali's *An Agenda for Peace* and *An Agenda for Development* provided a blueprint for initiating reforms in the field of peacekeeping and development respectively.⁴ But his efforts at reforming the United Nations further (proposal to introduce global taxes as new source of funding) were met with heavy resistance from the American national interests and which ultimately resulted in the rejection of his candidature for a second term as Secretary-General.

The reform of the Security Council was discussed exclusively for the first time in the post-Cold War period with the adoption of the General Assembly resolution in 1992 which asked the UN members to recommend proposals for reforming the Security Council. Following this resolution, the 'Open-Ended Working Group on the Question of the Equitable Representation on and Increase in the Membership of the Security Council and Other Matters Related to the Security Council' was established in 1993 to look into the reform of the Security Council. The Group submitted the *Razali Plan* with two proposals. The first proposal concerned the addition of five new permanent seats - two seats for industrialized states and three seats for developing countries, one each from Africa, Asia and, Latin America (without veto power). The other proposal was that four non-permanent members – Africa, Asia, Latin America and, Eastern Europe should come on board for a two years term which would increase the total number of seats in the Security Council to 24.⁵

At the behest of UN members, specifically the United States of America, the next set of reforms were initiated by the Secretary-General Kofi Annan (1997-2006) through his proposal *Renewing the United Nations: A Program for Reform*. This reform proposal suggested an integrated and collaborative approach in the development sphere, apart from the promotion of social and economic progress to address the imbalance between the developed and developing world. Consequently, the United Nations Development Group (UNDG) consisting of major UN development programmes, funds, and departments was set up to facilitate joint policy formulation and decision making, encourage programmatic cooperation and realize management efficiencies. In addition, strengthening of leadership and management structure in the UN Secretariat was emphasised through the establishment of Senior Management Group, Strategic Planning Unit and the post of a Deputy Secretary-General. The cutting down of Secretariat administrative costs and merging of three smaller departments into one large Department of Economic and Social Affairs (DESA) were recommended as well. The reforms also called for the greater conceptual and institutional coherence in the General Assembly. A major proposal was made for the creation of a 'development account' from the expected savings of \$200 million made through administrative improvements, increased efficiency and reductions in overheads.⁶

The 21st Century – The First decade

At the turn of the new century, a review of preceding reforms and proposal for new ones produced Annan's *Strengthening of the United Nations: An Agenda for Further Change*. This report recognised the need for constant restructuring, increased efficiency and relevant initiatives at the United Nations. The reform in the allocation of resources was highlighted to meet worldwide priorities and better management techniques for ensuring a well-managed workforce. Specifically, the emphasis was laid on the better coordination and integration of the United Nations and various civil society actors for which an independent panel of eminent persons was commissioned by Annan in 2003.⁷ The panel was headed by the former Brazilian President Fernando Henrique Cardoso which submitted its report *We the Peoples: Civil Society, the UN and Global Governance* to the Secretary-General in the following year.⁸

A More Secured World: Our Shared Responsibility issued by Annan in 2004 was significant as it provided an inclusive understanding of the policies and institutions that were essential for making United Nations

effective in the 21st century. This included the revival of the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), and the Commission on Human Rights. Further, the establishment of a Peacebuilding Commission to improve the UN peacebuilding efforts in post-conflict societies and enhance coordination with the regional organizations was recommended. Of particular significance were the reforms proposed for the Security Council in order to make it more effective and credible. Two models were suggested in this respect.

Model A: It would create six new permanent seats, with no veto right. Three new two-year term non-permanent seats would also be created. The new seats would be divided among the four regional areas: Africa, Asia and Pacific, Europe and Americas.

Model B: It would create no new permanent seats, but a new category of eight four-year renewable-term seats and one new two-year non-permanent (non-renewable) seat. The new seats would be divided among the four regional areas: Africa, Asia and Pacific, Europe and Americas.⁹

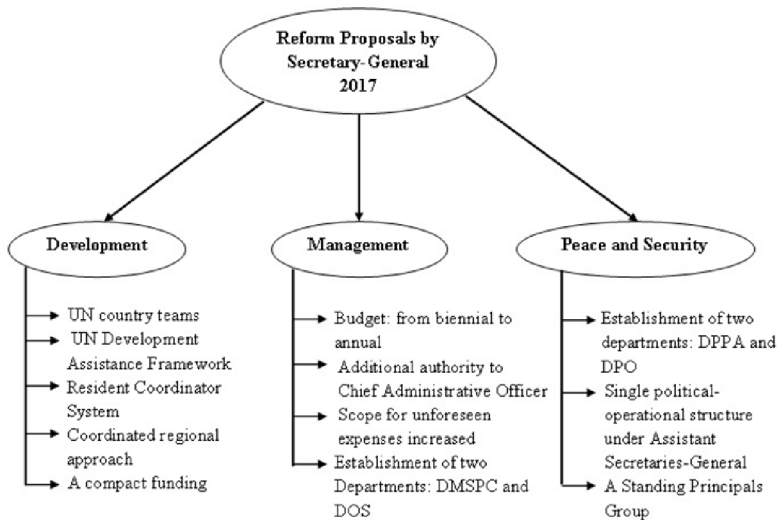
The subsequent year saw another report being presented by Annan titled *In Larger Freedom* which focused on four major issues: development, security, human rights and reform of the United Nations. In the field of reforms, apart from a Peacebuilding Commission, a new Peacebuilding Support Office within the UN Secretariat to support the work of the former was proposed. The setting up of a Democracy Fund was also suggested to provide financial support to countries seeking to establish or consolidate democracy. Moreover, the emphasis was laid on the strengthening of Central Emergency Response Fund (CERF). Further, the report recommended strengthening of the Office of the High Commission for Human Rights institutionally and financially to improve the UN efforts at promoting human rights. In addition, it advocated the abolition of the Human Rights Commission and its replacement with a smaller but higher-level Human Rights Council. The members also agreed to Secretariat and management reforms, including establishment of an ethics office, greater whistle-blower protection, strengthening oversight capacity, review of all General Assembly mandates over five years old, and full financial disclosure by UN staff. A 'one-time staff buyout' approach was also suggested to improve the efficiency of the Secretariat staff. As far as the Security Council, General Assembly, and ECOSOC were concerned, the report reproduced the reforms that were earlier recommended in *A More Secured World: Our Shared Responsibility*.¹⁰

Recent Initiative at Reforms – The Hopeful 2017

The latest initiative to be added to the already exhaustive list of reforms discussed above are the proposals put forward by the present Secretary-General António Guterres in 2017. His proposals make it abundantly clear that the objective of reforms is to ensure a ‘21st century’ United Nations which is people and delivery oriented with less emphasis on process and bureaucracy. The proposals have been elaborately drawn which identify three areas for reform: development, management, and peace and security (Figure 1). To oversee these reforms, the Secretary-General appointed Jens Wandel as his Special Adviser on Reforms in 2018.

Figure 1

Reform Proposals initiated by the Secretary-General António Guterres



To initiate reforms in the sphere of development, the Secretary-General submitted his report ‘Repositioning the United Nations Development System to Deliver on the 2030 Agenda: Our promise for Dignity, Prosperity and Peace on a Healthy Planet’ to the General Assembly and ECOSOC in December 2017. Many crucial areas of the development

system were identified for reform in order to ensure “more coherent, accountable and effective support for the 2030 Agenda”. These key areas for reform included a new generation of UN country teams (UNCT) centred on strategic plans to meet country-specific priorities, a United Nations Development Assistance Framework for the planning and implementation of UN development activities in each country, a reinvigorated resident coordinator (RC) system, a coordinated and restructured regional approach to integrated policy advice, norms and priorities, repositioning of the operational activities for development segment of the ECOSOC, a stronger UN institutional response and system-wide approach to partnerships for the 2030 Agenda, a funding compact to bring better quality, quantity and predictability of resources coupled with increased transparency, and necessary concrete steps to accelerate the alignment of the development system with the 2030 Agenda. Subsequently, the General Assembly adopted ‘Repositioning of the United Nations development system in the context of the quadrennial comprehensive policy review of operational activities for development of the United Nations system’ in May 2018. This resolution in particular called for the separation of the resident coordinator’s functions in each country from those of the UN Development Programme (UNDP) resident representative.¹¹

The reform for management found expression in the General Assembly resolutions ‘Shifting the Management Paradigm in the United Nations’ and ‘Operational Activities for Development of the United Nations System’. Through these resolutions, seven priority areas were identified for reform. First, it was proposed to change the nature of the budget from biennial to annual, and to decrease the duration of planning and budgetary cycle from five to three years. The second reform involved granting additional authority to the Chief Administrative Officer to redeploy resources of up to 20 percent per section as necessary within parts of the same budget line, to ensure that it fulfils its original objectives and is not used for other purposes. Thirdly, the scope for unforeseen and extraordinary expenses was increased to enable the United Nations to respond rapidly to unanticipated events in security and peace as well as development and human rights. The fourth proposal related to the increase in transparency and more frequent reporting to UN members about monitoring, evaluation, programme and financing performance, and resource use. The fifth reform envisaged the establishment of two new departments - the Department of Management, Strategy, Policy and Compliance (DMSPC), and the Department of Operational Support (DOS) to prevent overlap, and improve the speed and responsiveness of service delivery. Sixth, the

use of a global service delivery model for administrative transactions was supported to centralise and improve the speed of delivery. Finally, it was proposed to streamline and simplify human resources, hence ensuring efficiency of resource management in order to achieve gender parity and geographic diversity within the organization.¹²

The reforms in the arena of peace and security were proposed in the Secretary-General report 'Restructuring of the United Nations Peace and Security Pillar'. This set of reforms emphasized conflict prevention, peace keeping, and greater effectiveness and coherence of peacekeeping operations and political missions in the field. Further, it recognized five issue areas for reform: establishment of two departments – a Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs (DPPA) and a Department of Peace Operations (DPO), setting up of a single political-operational structure under Assistant Secretaries-General with regional responsibilities, creation of a Standing Principals Group of the Secretary-General and the Under-Secretaries-General for Political and Peacebuilding Affairs and for Peace Operations, enhancing certain priority areas to ensure coherence and coordination in the field of peace and security, and introducing several non-structural changes in the way the peace and security pillar works.¹³ Subsequently, the General Assembly adopted a resolution for the implementation of reforms for the peace and security pillar.

Challenges

A detailed analysis of the reforms discussed above suggests that the degree of reforms introduced at the United Nations have increased in the successive years. These reforms have resulted in several new policy guidelines, structural changes and greater coordination among the different entities both inside and outside the United Nations. However, this is only one part of the truth. The other part of the truth is that these reforms have led to expansion of the United Nations but not its integration. Consequently, the United Nations has been unable to respond effectively to many of the crisis situations. Several reasons can be identified for the ineffectiveness and/or lack of reforms.

Differences Among UN Members

For one, the United Nations is “a highly complex, decentralized and multi-faceted organization” due to which the generation of consensus becomes a problem.¹⁴ There has never been an occasion when the members have unanimously agreed to the objectives of reforms; they all are influenced and guided by their respective perspectives and

personal interests. The members often define reforms according to these strongly held interests. Consequently, they differ from one another on the criteria for the implementation and evaluation of any reform initiative. In some cases, inability to reach consensus can lead to significant delay, or failure, of certain reform initiatives. Sometimes, the members intertwine their national interests with the reforms in order to add strength to the former. Such a practice erodes the legitimacy of reforms in the eyes of its members. Apart from this, the differences among the UN members regarding their commitment to the international organization weakens the process of reform. There are some countries that advocate greater role for the United Nations at the international level while there are others that believe in constraining the authority of the international organization to the humanitarian work only.

Divide between Developed and Developing Countries

Another major factor that hinders the reforms at the United Nations is the wide gap that exists between the developed and developing members due to their differing expectations and developmental realities. The developed countries enjoy greater power and consequently dominate the decision-making procedures, particularly those dealing with the finances. Most of the times, the developed countries do not favour the funding of the reforms that threaten their personal interests. Hence, the lack of finances stalls the process of reform at the United Nations.

Principle of State Sovereignty

A larger issue that dominates the functioning of the United Nations is the principle of state sovereignty. Even today, most of the UN members prioritize sovereignty over global governance. They believe that the reforms such as those related to human rights, economics and security compromise their sovereignty and hence they are not willing to support such reforms.

Lack of Commitment

Further, reforms require time, patience, political will and resources for their effective initiation and implementation, which are mostly lacking on the part of the UN members. In particular, the absence of adequate finances prevents the effective implementation of the reforms. Many a times, the members are unable to associate themselves with the reform process and thus a lack of commitment becomes evident on their part.

Ambiguous Reforms

The reforms that have been introduced in the United Nations are often vague and hence it becomes very difficult to evaluate the success of reforms. In addition, there is no one common definition of reforms which results in disagreement among UN members regarding the scope, suitability and effectiveness of past and present reforms. For instance, the developed countries favour delegation of greater authority to the Secretary-General for the implementation of reforms while the developing countries resist it as this would weaken the General Assembly and the position of individual countries in the Assembly.

Organizational Structure and Bureaucracy of United Nations

The complex and decentralised organizational structure of the United Nations makes it difficult to take speedy decisions for the initiation and implementation of the reforms. Also, the reluctance on the part of the staff and managers of the United Nations to accommodate new policy programmes or modification to the existing ones delays the process of reform. Sometimes, prospective and agreed to reforms lack clear plans for implementation, including deadlines and cost estimates. This lack of planning and management impacts the progress and eventual success of the earlier and current reforms.

United Nations and India: Reform of the Security Council

As one of the founding members, India has been an active and responsible member of the United Nations. India is committed in letter and spirit to the United Nations. India's commitment to the United Nations has been reflected in its contribution to the latter in terms of personnel and finances. India is a staunch supporter of the reforms at United Nations. In particular, India's interests lie in reforming the Security Council where it has served as a non-permanent member seven times in the past (currently, India has been elected as non-permanent member for period 2021-22). For India, the reforms of Security Council concern three major issue areas: membership, veto and working methods (legitimacy and transparency).

Generally speaking, the reforms of the Security Council need to be prioritised. This is because the reforms related to development, economics, human rights and management can be actualised only when the reforms for peace and security can be effectively implemented. In other words, reforms for peace and security precede all other reforms.

The maintenance of peace and security is the primary responsibility of the Security Council. This implies that reformed peace and security requires reformed Security Council. It is worth mentioning here that a significant step in the direction of reforms for Security Council was taken with the adoption of the General Assembly resolution in 2008 for the setting up of the Intergovernmental Negotiations (IGN) in informal plenary of the General Assembly. The IGN is responsible for dealing with five issues: categories of membership, the question of veto, regional representation, size of the Security Council and working methods, and the relationship between Security Council and General Assembly.¹⁵ This arrangement has streamlined the efforts at reforming the Security Council.

India has adopted two-way approach towards the reforms of the Security Council. On one hand, the Indian strategy has stressed India's capabilities and contributions to the Security Council as the basis for the permanent membership. This is to say that India qualifies for becoming a permanent member as it meets all the objective criteria such as population, territorial size, GDP, economic potential, civilizational legacy, cultural diversity, political system and past and ongoing contributions to the activities of the United Nations - especially to UN peace operations. This is also reflected in India's involvement in the G-4 (Brazil, Germany, India and Japan) group, which consists of similarly placed countries in the global system. On the other hand, India has highlighted the problem of representation in the Security Council and thus proposes the expansion of permanent and non-permanent seats for membership so as to ensure that the United Nations reflects the drastic and altered distribution of power since the end of World War II. This understanding has led to India's active involvement in larger coalition groups such as L-69, a grouping of developing countries which vigorously advocates Security Council reforms.¹⁶

However, there are certain factors which have hindered the Indian efforts at reforming the Security Council. These include lack of resources, inadequate institutional and intellectual infrastructure required for engaging and coordinating with the other countries on the Security Council reform issues, and inability of India to strengthen its claim for a permanent seat by establishing stronger diplomatic and financial relations with the influential countries of the world.¹⁷

The Road Ahead: Learning Lessons for India

In the United Nations, the reform is achieved either by amending the UN Charter or through various non-Charter reforms. Charter

amendment, which requires approval by two-thirds of the General Assembly and ratification according to the constitutional processes of two-thirds of UN members (including the five permanent members of Security Council), is rarely used and has been practiced on only a few occasions. Non-Charter reforms which include General Assembly action or initiatives by the Secretary-General are more common and comparatively easier to achieve. A careful analysis of the reforms initiated at the United Nations shows that they have been majorly structural and managerial in nature. The need of the hour is to work towards introducing substantial reforms that cover important issue areas such as decision-making procedures, finances and integrity of personnel. India has always strongly supported the process of reforming the United Nations so as to make it effective in responding to the evolving needs of its members, especially the developing countries. However, the hard reality is that several challenging factors have made the reforms of United Nations a distant dream.

Based on the above study, number of lessons can be drawn for India. One of the lessons is that India can play a significant role in strengthening the reform process at the United Nations. India can use its past experiences in the United Nations to consolidate its demand for the reform of the United Nations in general and the Security Council in particular. It is a known fact that one of the objectives of Indian foreign policy has been to acquire a permanent seat in the Security Council. Hence, India can seize the present opportunity to not only align its foreign policy objective with the reform process but also to demonstrate its capability as a responsible member of the United Nations. This is especially true when the international community is confronted with two pressing contemporary issues which have the potential for breaching international peace and security: the COVID-19 pandemic and the recent Afghan crisis. Both these issues necessitate the reforming of the Security Council which is the primary UN organ responsible for maintaining international peace and security.

India's candidature for permanent seat in the Security Council is preferred by the majority of the permanent members. But India should not be swayed away by this preference as the permanent members are still guided by their national interests and they are still unwilling to share the power and privilege that they enjoy in the Security Council. The permanent members are united in their stand against the expansion of seats in the principal organ of the United Nations. Hence, to begin with, India can build stronger relations with the middle and small powers in the United Nations who share India's views on Security

Council reforms. These relations can be in the field of trade, culture, education, and science and technology. Such engagement would help in strengthening the demand for reforms. Also, India is one of the few countries which enjoys goodwill of both the developing and the developed world. India can act as a bridge to build consensus between the North and South on the process of reform in the United Nations. This can be achieved by the identification of common interests that affect both the sides. Moreover, India can think of increasing its financial commitment to the UN budget by allocating greater funds for UN activities in its national budget. This is essential to increase the Indian say in the UN reforms as well the Security Council reforms.

References

- [1] United Nations (website a), <http://www.un.org/en/about-us>, 1 September 2021.
- [2] Nadin, Peter (2014), "United Nations Security Council Reform", *Our World*, www.ourworld.unu.edu, 6 September 2021, <https://ourworld.unu.edu/en/united-nations-security-council-reform>.
- [3] Choedon, Yeshi (2007), "India's Perspective on the UN Security Council Reform", *India Quarterly*, 63.4: p.22-23.
- [4] UN Document (1992), A/47/277-S/24111, 17 June 1992 and UN Document (1994), A/48/935, 6 May 1994.
- [5] Cox, Brian (2009), "United Nations Security Council Reform", *South Carolina Journal of International Law and Business*, 6.1: p.103-104
- [6] UN Document (1997), A/51/950, 14 July 1997.
- [7] UN Document (2002), A/57/387, 9 September 2002.
- [8] UN Document (2004), A/58/817, 11 June 2004.
- [9] UN Document (2004), A/59/565, 2 December 2004.
- [10] UN Document (2005), A/59/2005, 21 March 2005.
- [11] UN Document (2018), A/72/L.52 and UN Document (2018), A/RES/72/279, 31 May 2018.
- [12] UN Document (2017), A/72/492, 27 September 2017; UN Document (2018), A/RES/72/266, 15 January 2018; and UN Document (2018), A/RES/72/236, 18 January 2018.
- [13] UN Document (2017), A/72/525, 13 October 2017 and UN Document (2017), A/RES/72/199, 20 December 2017
- [14] South Centre's Global Governance Programme for Development (2006), "Meeting the Challenges of UN Reforms: A South Perspective", South Centre, Geneva, Switzerland, p.1.
- [15] UN Document (2008), Decisions 62/557, 15 September 2008.

Jayshree Tandekar

- [16] Mukherjee, Rohan and David Malone (2013), “India and the UN Security Council – An Ambiguous Tale”, *Economic and Political Weekly*, XLVIII.29: p. 113-114.
- [17] Mukherjee, Rohan and David Malone (2013), “India and the UN Security Council – An Ambiguous Tale”, *Economic and Political Weekly*, XLVIII.29: p. 115-116.