



India's Strive for Permanent Membership In The United Nations Security Council: A Persistent Pursuit

T. Raymond Touthang^{1*}

^{1*}PhD Student, Manipur University ,Email: raytouthang@gmail.com

Citation: T. Raymond Touthang. (2024) India's Strive For Permanent Membership In The United Nations Security Council: A Persistent Pursuit *Educational Administration: Theory and Practice*, 30(1), 4315- 4321
DOI: 10.53555/kuey.v30i1.7992

ARTICLE INFO

ABSTRACT

India's persistent pursuit of becoming a veto-holding permanent member of the UN Security Council is the most closely watched issue within the country regarding the United Nations organization. This paper examines India's long-standing aspiration to gain a permanent seat in the Security Council, the various efforts undertaken, and the challenges it has faced in its quest for this global recognition. It analyses India's role, contributions, and diplomatic strategies in the ongoing UNSC reform process; while also highlighting the major roadblocks and opposition it has encountered from other key players. It highlights why India should also look into its domestic politics to enhance its image on the global stage.

Introduction

India's pursuit of permanent membership in the United Nations Security Council is driven by its aspiration to play a more significant role in global affairs. As one of the founding members of the UN and a major contributor to its peacekeeping operations, India believes it deserves a permanent seat at the high table of international decision-making. India's independent foreign policy, its significant economic and military might, and its active engagement in UN activities have led it to demand a permanent seat in the UNSC, which it sees as crucial to its global influence and status. (Bullion, 1997)

India's rise as a global power has been a gradual process, marked by its growing economic prowess, military capabilities, and diplomatic influence. India's actions and aspirations on the global stage have changed dramatically over the years, with the country becoming more assertive in leveraging its newfound economic strengths. (Sinha & Dorschner, 2009) India's sheer scale and size have amplified its voice and reach, making it an increasingly important player in the international arena. However, the Security Council's expansion and the permanent membership allocation have been contentious issues, with various proposals and ongoing negotiations. (Cooper & Fues, 2008)

The country has garnered support from several nations, but the final decision on the council's expansion remains elusive. Nevertheless, India continues to press its claim, believing that its constructive role in UN peacekeeping and its status as the world's largest democracy make it a worthy candidate for permanent membership. (Mishra, 2012) Despite these challenges, India remains steadfast in its pursuit of a permanent UNSC seat, viewing it as a crucial step in its quest to play a more influential role in global affairs. The G-4 nations, including India, have led the call for accelerating the long-awaited reform process to expand the Security Council and accommodate new permanent members.

India's participation in UN peacekeeping operations has been a significant aspect of its foreign policy since achieving independence in 1947. India has contributed troops to various UN missions, demonstrating its commitment to the organization's goals and its willingness to play a constructive role in maintaining international peace and security. However, India's aspirations for a permanent UNSC seat go beyond its peacekeeping contributions, as it seeks recognition and influence on the world stage. (Kochanek, 1980)

India's long wait for a permanent seat in the Security Council, despite its active involvement in UN activities, has been a significant challenge. India has faced several defeats in the contest for non-permanent seats in the Council, and its customary rotation within the Asian Group has not been honoured. This has been a source of frustration for India, as it believes that its contributions and global stature warrant a permanent seat in the UNSC. (Tharoor, 2011)

The stalemate in the UNSC reform process has been a major obstacle for India's quest for permanent membership. The article "India and the Geopolitics of UNSC Permanent Membership" highlights the challenges India has faced, including the lack of progress in the reform process and the complex geopolitical

dynamics involved. (Kaura & Singh, 2021) India's global ambitions and its desire for recognition on the world stage have driven its persistent pursuit of a permanent UNSC seat, despite the hurdles it has encountered. The country has garnered support from several nations, but the final decision on the council's expansion remains elusive. Nevertheless, India continues to press its claim, believing that its constructive role in UN peacekeeping and its status as the world's largest democracy make it a worthy candidate for permanent membership.

Why India Deserves a Permanent Seat

India's growing global influence, economic power, and military capabilities, as well as its constructive role in international affairs, provide a strong case for its permanent membership on the UN Security Council (Kaura & Singh, 2021). The expansion of the Security Council and the allocation of permanent seats have been contentious issues, with various proposals and ongoing negotiations. Despite these challenges, India remains steadfast in its pursuit of a permanent UNSC seat, viewing it as a crucial step in its quest to play a more influential role in global affairs. (Kumar, 2017) The G-4 nations, including India, have led the call for accelerating the long-awaited reform process to expand the Security Council and accommodate new permanent members. (Mahbubani, 2021)

1) Major Contribution to UN Peacekeeping

India has been one of the largest contributors of troops to UN peacekeeping operations, having deployed over 200,000 personnel in various missions since 1948. (Bullion, 1997) This demonstrates India's commitment to maintaining international peace and security, a core responsibility of the Security Council. India's significant role in UN peacekeeping missions, such as providing personnel, equipment, and resources, has been widely recognized and serves as a strong argument for its inclusion as a permanent member of the Security Council. As a major troop contributor, India has played a crucial part in facilitating conflict resolution, providing humanitarian assistance, and supporting post-conflict reconstruction across the globe. This track record of active engagement in UN peacekeeping underscores India's suitability and qualifications for a permanent UNSC seat. (Hansel & Möller, 2014)

India's participation in UN peacekeeping operations has been a means for the country to demonstrate its Third World credentials and its commitment to the principles of the Non-Aligned Movement. Since independence, India has consistently contributed to UN peacekeeping missions, showcasing its capabilities and willingness to contribute to global peace and security. (Beri, 2008)

India's track record in UN peacekeeping, including the deployment of over 156,000 personnel in more than 40 missions, has been a significant factor in its quest for a permanent UNSC seat. India's contributions to UN peacekeeping have been widely acclaimed for their professionalism, effectiveness, and adherence to the principles enshrined in the UN Charter, making the country a respected and reliable partner in international conflict resolution efforts. (Choedon, 2014)

2) Growing Economic and Military Might

India's rapid economic growth and rising global economic influence have positioned it as a key player in the international arena. As the world's fifth-largest economy and a rapidly developing nation, India's inclusion as a permanent member of the Security Council would strengthen the council's ability to address global economic challenges and ensure that the perspectives of emerging economies are better represented in its decision-making. (Kaura & Singh, 2021)

Moreover, India's growing military capabilities, including its status as a nuclear-weapon state and a regional power, make it a significant strategic actor. India's permanent UNSC membership would enhance the council's ability to respond to regional and global security threats, as well as provide India with a stronger voice in shaping global security policies. India ranks fourth in the world in terms of military spending with a total of \$83.6 billion in 2023 next only to United States, China and Russia. (Tian et al., n.d)

3) Largest Democracy and Growing Influence

As the world's largest democracy, India's inclusion in the Security Council would lend greater legitimacy and representation to the decision-making processes of the United Nations. India's diverse population, vibrant civil society, and commitment to democratic values make it a valuable partner in promoting global governance and upholding the principles of the UN Charter. (Bhagavan, 2011)

Moreover, India's growing influence and leadership in international forums, such as the G20, BRICS, and the Non-Aligned Movement, suggest that its permanent membership in the Security Council would enhance the council's credibility and ability to address global challenges effectively. (Arndt, 2018) India's diverse perspectives and constructive approach to international issues would provide valuable insights and help the Council navigate complex geopolitical dynamics more effectively. Granting India a permanent seat would also reflect the changing global power dynamics and ensure better representation of the Global South in the Council's decision-making processes. (Parameswaran, 2007)

Overall, India's increasing global influence, economic and military capabilities, commitment to peacekeeping, and status as the world's largest democracy make a strong case for its permanent membership on the UN Security Council.

The need for a permanent seat in the United Nations Security Council

The UN Security Council has long had five permanent seats with veto power, along with ten elected members. But why does India, a developing country, seek to be among the major powers on the Council? What benefits could this bring? In a tight circle of permanent members with veto power - the United States, Russia, China, the United Kingdom, and France - India has long argued that it deserves a permanent seat due to its growing strategic importance, economic clout, and contributions to global peace and security. (Lättilä & Ylönen, 2019) India's quest for a permanent seat on the UN Security Council is driven by several strategic considerations. As the world's largest democracy and a growing economic and military power, India believes it deserves a greater voice in global decision-making. A permanent UNSC seat would elevate India's status, allowing it to shape international policy and better defend its national interests on the world stage. (Wagner, 2010) Overall, India's pursuit of a permanent UNSC seat reflects its ambition to play a more assertive role in global affairs and to have a greater say in decisions that impact the international community as a whole. Securing this coveted position would be a significant milestone in India's quest to become a true global power.

1) India's balance of power with China

India's permanent membership in the UN Security Council will be a significant advantage for India to balance the power of China in Asia, particularly in South Asia. In recent years, China's growing influence can be seen in India's neighbouring countries, where China is asserting its economic and military power, which is alarming for India (Akhter, 2022). India seems to be losing its grip even on its immediate regional sphere of influence, as China's presence and clout continue to expand. Being the only permanent member from Asia in the UNSC, China has been able to dominate regional affairs and influence the Council's decision-making process to a significant degree (Christopher et al., 2021). India's permanent membership in the UNSC will provide it with the necessary leverage and platform to counter China's growing influence and more effectively protect its regional interests and strategic priorities (Cooper & Fues, 2008). Thus, India's permanent membership could potentially undercut China's ambitions in the region and help balance the evolving power dynamics, ensuring a more equitable representation of South Asian interests in the global decision-making process. (Murthy, 1998)

2) Diverse representation in the UN Security Council

India's permanent membership in the UNSC will also contribute to a more diverse and representative council, which is crucial for the UN's legitimacy and effectiveness. India's inclusion will ensure that the world's second-most populous country and one of the fastest-growing economies is better represented in its decision-making. (Gould & Rablen, 2016) Since the inception of the Council it has been dominated by the major powers, often to the exclusion of the developing world. India's permanent seat would help address this imbalance and make the Council more reflective of the realities of the contemporary international system. (Bourantonis, 1998) India's inclusion in the elite club of the permanent members can signal a message to the other developing countries that their concerns and interests are given greater consideration in the global decision-making process. (Mukherjee & Malone, 2011)

The addition of India as a permanent member will also enhance the representation and voice of the Global South in the Security Council, providing a counterweight to the influence of the traditional powers. India's permanent membership would ensure that the perspectives and interests of developing nations, especially in Asia and Africa, are better reflected in the Council's decision-making. This would help balance the disproportionate influence of the Western nations and promote a more inclusive and representative global governance system. (Gould & Rablen, 2016)

3) A greater voice in the global decision making

As a permanent member, India would have veto power, allowing it to block unfavourable resolutions and shape the Council's agenda. This would give India a more influential role in addressing global challenges, such as terrorism, climate change, and regional conflicts, which have a direct impact on its national interests. (Mukherjee & Malone, 2011) Permanent membership would also enhance India's ability to mobilize international support for its positions on key issues, leveraging its diplomatic clout and economic power to advance its strategic objectives. India's permanent seat in the UNSC would provide it with a stronger platform to voice its concerns, promote its interests, and influence the global decision-making process in a way that is more favourable to its national priorities. (Sullivan, 2023)

Furthermore, India's permanent membership would enable it to play a more proactive role in the Council's deliberations, contributing its unique perspectives and expertise to the resolution of complex international issues asserting itself as an upcoming global power. (de Estrada & Moussavi, 2022)

4) Greater influence in South Asia

In the context of South Asia, India plays the role of a big brother and has its own sphere of influence in the region, even though such role is not appreciated by some countries. India being the biggest country in size, population, economy, military etc often take the lead role in the region. Due to its long standing history of border conflict with Pakistan, the regional organization known as South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) has been largely ineffective as an organization for the regional development. In the last

few decades, China has increased its engagement and influence in the South Asian countries, especially in Pakistan, Nepal, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh. (Muzaffar et al., 2017)

India's permanent membership in the UNSC will provide it with the necessary leverage and influence to counter China's growing presence in the region and maintain its regional dominance. India will be able to more effectively safeguard its strategic interests, and shape the regional dynamics in a way that is favourable to its national priorities. (Pardesi, 2021) Moreover, India's permanent seat will enhance its ability to address regional security challenges, such as cross-border terrorism, and promote stability and cooperation in South Asia. (Schöttli & Pauli, 2014)

5) Boost India's global aspirations

India's quest for a permanent seat in the UNSC is not just about gaining formal representation in the global decision-making process, but also about enhancing its international stature and recognition as a major power. Permanent membership would solidify India's status as an emerging global power, granting it a seat at the high table of international politics. (Mistry, 2004) This would boost India's global influence, prestige and diplomatic clout, allowing it to play a more assertive role in shaping the international order and advancing its strategic interests on the world stage.

Permanent membership would also strengthen India's position in its quest for reforms in global governance institutions, such as the Bretton Woods institutions and the World Trade Organization, where it has often advocated for greater representation and voice for developing countries. (Mukherjee, 2005) India's permanent seat in the UNSC would demonstrate to the international community that it is a responsible global stakeholder, one that is committed to upholding international peace, security and the rules-based order.

In conclusion, India's quest for permanent membership in the United Nations Security Council is driven by a range of strategic, political and normative considerations. Permanent membership would enhance India's global influence, enable it to play a more proactive role in international decision-making, and boost its aspirations as an emerging power.

Obstacles to India's UNSC Ambitions

Despite India's growing global stature and its contributions to UN peacekeeping, the quest for a permanent seat on the Security Council has faced significant challenges. The resistance from other major powers, such as China, and the complexity of the UN reform process have posed significant hurdles to India's ambitions. (Bullion, 1997) The lack of consensus among the permanent members of the UNSC on the issue of expansion, as well as the competing claims of other aspiring nations, have prevented any meaningful progress on this front. (Kennedy & Russett, 1995)

The expansion of the UNSC and the allocation of permanent seats has been a contentious issue, with various proposals and negotiations ongoing. India's aspirations have been met with reservations from some countries, who fear that the addition of new permanent members could dilute their influence and decision-making power within the Council. Furthermore, the lack of consensus among the existing permanent members on the issue of UNSC reform has made it difficult for India to achieve its goal. (Imber, 2006)

China has been the main opponent of India being a permanent member of the Council due to its history of border wars with India. China has often expressed its refusal to welcome India into the permanent membership of the council. As a veto-wielding permanent member, China's opposition has been a significant obstacle to India's ambitions. China being the only country in Asia with a permanent seat in the Security Council adds to its power and international prestige, and China is unlikely to want to share this privilege and space with India. (Roy, 2017) India being an ally to the US has also complicated the situation, leading to a certain amount of tension to China. The conflict in South Asia has often been portrayed as an India-Pakistan issue however, the growing tension between India and China has emerged as a critical factor in the debate. South Asia has become the battlefield for India and China's quest for regional dominance, and this rivalry has obstructed India's path to a permanent UNSC seat. (Chen, 2023)

Some countries have proposed India gaining a non-permanent UNSC seat without veto power. A coalition led by Italy, including Canada, Mexico, Spain, Pakistan, South Korea, and Turkey (known as *Uniting for Consensus*), has advocated strengthening the General Assembly and increasing the number of non-permanent UNSC members. They argue that this would make the UN more accountable and representative by including more regional voices in decision-making. However, there are questions about the implications of India obtaining a high-level seat without veto rights. While some parties prefer this arrangement, India is not comfortable with it and maintains that any new permanent UNSC members must have veto power. Therefore, this outcome is unlikely to materialize. (Lau, 2003)

There is a Western concern that India may not align with United States priorities even though in principle has endorsed India to attain a permanent seat on the Security Council. But not everyone believes U.S. policymakers will actually support such a reform in practice. Indeed, in the past, P-5 countries have displayed "a habit of being non-committal" when it comes to actual decision-making on veto powers. (Christopher et al., 2021) As former U.S. Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs Nicholas Burns said in 2008: "We want to preserve the veto, and we do not want to extend a veto to new permanent members." (Mahbubani, 2021) It is true that India has not always voted with the West in the United Nations and has maintained an independent position on several critical subjects. Due to this, many think India is a fence-sitter and see it as an unreliable partner.

Despite developing closer strategic ties with the West, India remained uncommitted on supporting sanctions on Russia. While China's response was anticipated, for the West, foot dragging by New Delhi in criticizing Russia was no less than a shock. In these changed circumstances, it is difficult to imagine that the West, particularly the U.S., will go ahead with a reformed Security Council where India has veto power. (Tchakarova, 2023)

What India should do

There are arguments that the U.N. is in desperate need of reform, particularly the Security Council. Expanding the Security Council's membership to include developing countries like India would benefit the body's credibility, representation, and responsiveness. However, India must make more concerted efforts to address criticisms and enhance its qualifications to further legitimize its demand for permanent membership.

To overcome the challenges in its quest for a permanent UNSC seat, India should adopt a multi-pronged strategy. Firstly, India should continue to build its case by highlighting its growing economic, political, and military clout, as well as its significant contributions to UN peacekeeping operations. India should also leverage its strategic partnerships with major powers, such as the United States, to garner support for its UNSC ambitions. (Malone, 2020)

Furthermore, India should engage in sustained diplomacy with other aspiring nations, such as Germany, Japan, and Brazil, to build a coalition of support for UNSC reform. By working closely with these G4 nations, India can present a united front and increase the pressure on the existing permanent members to consider expanding the UNSC. (Mahbubani, 2021)

India should also be prepared to compromise on certain aspects of its demands, such as the issue of veto power if it helps to break the deadlock. While India has maintained that any new permanent members must have veto power, it may need to consider accepting a non-permanent seat with enhanced responsibilities as a stepping stone towards its ultimate goal. (Bourantonis, 1998)

India must make an effort to build better relations with China which is the main opposition for India's bid. India should engage China in dialogue and explore areas of cooperation that could help mitigate the concerns about India's growing influence in the region. India must find a way to accommodate China's interests to secure its support for UNSC reform. (Chen, 2023) Unless China is on board to support India's bid, China can veto any reform proposal to include India in the permanent members club. This effort seems utopian given the current tensions between India and China, but it is a challenge India must overcome.

India's geographical, political, and social influence in South Asia cannot be ignored. Recent criticism around its increasing political intolerance-which is directly linked to the state of democracy in India must be addressed and resolved. (Chitalkar & Malone, 2011) Public opinion in India is strongly in favour of its permanent UNSC membership and reforms in the Security Council. To strengthen its case, India must demonstrate its responsible and constructive role in global affairs, its commitment to upholding international norms and principles, and its ability to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security. (Arndt, 2018)

India's failure to improve its ranking in the Human Development Index, the issue of economic inequality, and its lack of world-class infrastructure all contribute to the nation's global image. (Jha, 2018) India should proactively address these domestic challenges to bolster its credentials as a responsible global power. If India can effectively manage these issues, it will be in a stronger position to make a compelling case for permanent UNSC membership.

India's poor record of human rights in persecuting the religious minorities, suppressing dissent and undemocratic behaviour cannot be ignored and need to be addressed for it to gain legitimacy. Only when India ensures its own democratic credentials, its demand for a permanent seat with veto power in the UN Security Council will be taken seriously. (Mishra, 2012). The rise of Hindu nationalism and increasing threats to India's secular character have also raised concerns about the country's commitment to democratic values, which it must address to strengthen its case for UNSC reform. (Kennedy & Russett, 1995)

India needs better engagement with the region and much more internal work to strengthen its claim further. It is true that India has made progress in many areas, but it still has work to do to overcome the challenges it faces. (India at the United Nations, 2009)

Conclusion

India's quest for a permanent seat in the United Nations Security Council is a long-standing and complex issue. While India has a strong case based on its growing global influence, economic power, and contributions to UN peacekeeping operations, it faces significant hurdles in realizing this ambition. (Maaß, 1995) India must adopt a comprehensive strategy to strengthen its claim, which includes building coalitions with other aspiring nations, engaging in sustained diplomacy with the existing permanent members, and addressing domestic challenges that undermine its global standing and democratic credentials. (Cooper & Farooq, 2015)

Ultimately, India's success in attaining a permanent UNSC seat will depend on its ability to navigate the geopolitical complexities, forge strategic alliances, and demonstrate its commitment to upholding international norms and principles. (Thakur, 2011) India must also be willing to compromise on certain demands, such as the issue of veto power, if it helps to break the deadlock and secure the support of other nations for UNSC reform. Additionally, India needs to actively address domestic challenges that undermine its global standing,

such as concerns over human rights and democratic backsliding, to bolster its credentials as a responsible global power worthy of a permanent UNSC seat. (Tharoor, 2011)

However, India's quest for a permanent UNSC seat has faced significant resistance from other nations. Some argue that India's inclusion would upset the delicate balance of power within the Council and potentially undermine its effectiveness. (Bullion, 1997) There are concerns that a permanent seat for India could lead to a further concentration of power in the hands of a few states, diminishing the representation of smaller nations and the developing world. (Caron, 1993) Additionally, some countries may view India's permanent membership as a threat to their regional influence and geopolitical interests, particularly in South Asia.

Moreover, the expansion of the permanent membership has been a contentious issue within the UN, with little consensus on the way forward. Granting India a permanent seat would likely require substantial reforms to the Council's structure and decision-making processes, which could face resistance from existing permanent members who may be reluctant to dilute their influence. (Ekengren et al., 2020) The process of achieving consensus on this issue has proven to be challenging, and India's quest for a permanent seat may face significant diplomatic hurdles before it can be realized.

Ultimately, while India's case for permanent UNSC membership is compelling, the decision to grant such a status is a complex and politically charged issue that involves balancing the interests of various stakeholders within the global community.

References

1. Akhter, M N. (2022, June 30). Understanding India and China in South Asia., V(II), 1-9. [https://doi.org/10.31703/girr.2022\(v-ii\).01](https://doi.org/10.31703/girr.2022(v-ii).01)
2. Arndt, M. (2018, November 13). India and Multilateralism: Concepts, New Trajectories and Theorizing. Cambridge University Press, 149-171. <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108562850.009>
3. Beri, R. (2008, April 3). India's Role in Keeping Peace in Africa. Taylor & Francis, 32(2), 197-221. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09700160801994852>
4. Bhagavan, M. (2011, October 26). Towards a World Community: Thoughts on India and the Idea of United Nations Reform. Taylor & Francis, 35(6), 906-909. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09700161.2011.608826>
5. Bourantonis, D. (1998, January 1). Reform of the UN Security Council and the Non-Aligned States., 5(1), 89-109. <https://doi.org/10.1163/187541198x00420>
6. Bullion, A. (1997, March 1). India and UN peacekeeping operations. Taylor & Francis, 4(1), 98-114. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13533319708413653>
7. Caron, D D. (1993, October 1). The Legitimacy of the Collective Authority of the Security Council. Cambridge University Press, 87(4), 552-588. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2203616>
8. Chen, Y. (2023, January 1). Main Problems, Opportunities and Countermeasures of China India Cooperation from the Perspective of Geopolitics. Atlantis Press, 696-702. https://doi.org/10.2991/978-94-6463-142-5_77
9. Chitalkar, P., & Malone, D M. (2011, March 1). Democracy, Politics and India's Foreign Policy. Taylor & Francis, 17(1), 75-91. <https://doi.org/10.1080/11926422.2011.563956>
10. Choedon, Y. (2014, January 1). India's UN Peacekeeping Operations Involvement in Africa. SAGE Publishing, 51(1-4), 16-34. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0020881717719184>
11. Christopher, F., Godknows, N., Uki, I E., Seaman, O L., & Harcourt, E H. (2021, January 1). The UN Security Council Permanent Membership: The Troubling Trend of Expansion and Hegemony. Bentham Science Publishers, 11(02), 316-327. <https://doi.org/10.4236/ojps.2021.112021>
12. Cooper, A F., & Farooq, A. (2015, August 16). The Advocacy of Democratic Governance by India and China: Patterns of Consistency/Inconsistency between Declaratory and Operational Practices. SAGE Publishing, 71(3), 221-238. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0974928415584023>
13. Cooper, A F., & Fues, T. (2008, February 1). Do the Asian Drivers Pull their Diplomatic Weight? China, India, and the United Nations. Elsevier BV, 36(2), 293-307. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2007.06.008>
14. Ekengren, A., Hjorthen, F D., & Möller, U. (2020, April 9). A Nonpermanent Seat in the United Nations Security Council. Lynne Rienner Publishers, 26(1), 21-45. <https://doi.org/10.1163/19426720-02601007>
15. Estrada, K S D., & Moussavi, B. (2022, January 1). India's Quest for Permanent Membership of the UN Security Council, 2004- 14
16. Gould, M., & Rablen, M D. (2016, September 13). Equitable representation in councils: theory and an application to the United Nations Security Council. Springer Science+Business Media, 169(1-2), 19-51. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11127-016-0368-x>
17. Hansel, M., & Möller, M. (2014, April 22). House of cards? India's rationales for contributing to UN peacekeeping. Routledge, 26(2), 141-157. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14781158.2014.908836>
18. Imber, M F. (2006, September 1). The Reform of the UN Security Council. SAGE Publishing, 20(3), 328-334. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0047117806066710>
19. Jha, R. (2018, January 1). Human Development in India: Levels and Inequalities. Palgrave Macmillan, 73-105. https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-56554-9_3

20. Kaura, V., & Singh, C. (2021, July 4). India and the Geopolitics of UNSC Permanent Membership. Taylor & Francis, 45(4), 271-285. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09700161.2021.1938943>
21. Kennedy, P., & Russett, B. (1995, January 1). Reforming the United Nations. Council on Foreign Relations, 74(5), 56-56. <https://doi.org/10.2307/20047300>
22. Kochanek, S A. (1980, January 1). India's Changing Role in the United Nations. University of British Columbia, 53(1), 48-48. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2756961>
23. Kumar, R. (2017, October 31). Waiting for Godot: India and United Nations Security Council Reform. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/09700161.2017.1377894>
24. Lättilä, V., & Ylönen, A. (2019, January 2). United Nations Security Council Reform Revisited: A Proposal. Taylor & Francis, 30(1), 164-186. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09592296.2019.1557423>
25. Lau, O. (2003, October 1). United Nations Security Council Expansion: The Efficacy of Small States Under Bipolarity and Uni-Multipolarity
26. Maaß, C D. (1995, September 1). India's Prospects in the World: a German Perspective. SAGE Publishing, 2(2), 225-241. <https://doi.org/10.1177/097152319500200206>
27. Mahbubani, K. (2021, March 4). Resolving the Dilemma of UNSC Reform. Taylor & Francis, 63(2), 57-62. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00396338.2021.1905983>
28. Malone, D M. (2020, September 2). The United Nations' Evolution and India's Role. Taylor & Francis, 44(5), 490-501. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09700161.2020.1834664>
29. Mishra, S. (2012, March 1). India amidst Increased Activity in the Security Council: A Few Observations. Taylor & Francis, 36(2), 198-205. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09700161.2012.646439>
30. Mistry, D. (2004, January 1). A Theoretical and Empirical Assessment of India as an Emerging World Power. Routledge, 3(1), 64-87. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14736480490443003>
31. Mukherjee, A. (2005, June 6). Developing Countries and GATS Negotiations: The Case of India. De Gruyter, 5(2), 1850041-1850041. <https://doi.org/10.2202/1524-5861.1077>
32. Mukherjee, R., & Malone, D M. (2011, August 12). From High Ground to High Table: The Evolution of Indian Multilateralism. Lynne Rienner Publishers, 17(3), 311-329. <https://doi.org/10.1163/19426720-01703004>
33. Murthy, C. (1998, March 1). Reforming the Un Security Council: An Asian View. SAGE Publishing, 5(1), 113-124. <https://doi.org/10.1177/097152319800500109>
34. Muzaffar, M., Jathol, I., & Yaseen, Z. (2017, November 30). SAARC: AN EVALUATION OF ITS ACHIEVEMENTS, FAILURES, AND COMPULSION FOR COOPERATION., 2(1), 36-45. [https://doi.org/10.31703/gpr.2017\(ii-i\).04](https://doi.org/10.31703/gpr.2017(ii-i).04)
35. Parameswaran, N. (2007, November 8). Towards a more democratised UN security council. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/14781159508412808>
36. Pardesi, M S. (2021, March 2). India's China strategy under Modi continuity in the management of an asymmetric rivalry. Palgrave Macmillan, 59(1), 44-66. <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41311-021-00287-3>
37. Roy, N. (2017, May 24). In the Shadow of Great Power Politics: Why Nehru Supported PRC's Admission to the Security Council. Routledge, 40(2), 376-396. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07075332.2017.1329156>
38. Schöttli, J., & Pauli, M. (2014, January 1). India as Global Security Actor. RELX Group (Netherlands). <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3575803>
39. Sinha, A., & Dorschner, J P. (2009, December 7). India: Rising Power or a Mere Revolution of Rising Expectations? University of Chicago Press, 42(1), 74-99. <https://doi.org/10.1057/pol.2009.19>
40. Sreenivasan, T P. (2009, October 5). India at the United Nations. <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/097492840906500414>
41. Sullivan, K. (2023, January 9). India and order transition in the Indo-Pacific: resisting the Quad as a 'security community'. Taylor & Francis, 36(2), 378-405. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09512748.2022.2160792>
42. Tchakarova, V. (2023, June 14). The UNSC and the Balancing Act Between the US and the 'Dragon bear': Lessons for the G20. <https://t2oind.org/research/the-unsc-and-the-balancing-act-between-the-us-and-the-dragonbear/>
43. Thakur, R. (2011, October 26). India and the United Nations. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09700161.2011.608825>
44. Tharoor, S. (2011, January 1). Security Council Reform: Past, Present, and Future. Cambridge University Press, 25(4), 397-406. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0892679411000335>
45. Tian, N., Silva, D L D., Liang, X., Scarazzato, L., Béraud-Sudreau, L., & Assis, A C D O. (n.d). SIPRI Fact Sheet. https://www.sipri.org/sites/default/files/2023-04/2304_fs_milex_2022.pdf
46. Wagner, C. (2010, December 1). India's Soft Power. SAGE Publishing, 66(4), 333-342. <https://doi.org/10.1177/097492841006600401>