

India's candidacy for permanent membership in the Security Council: An Iranian Perspective

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Received: 2019/23/10

Accepted: 2019/21/11

Abstract

This Research seeks to answer the main question that why India should be the permanent member of the Security Council and what is the Iran's attitude about India's candidacy? India is a country that is actively involved in United Nations peacekeeping operations, democratic country and has nuclear power. A growing economy and the world's second most populous country. From this view, Membership of India in the Security Council could realize equitable geographical distribution. Considering central role of India in the Non-Aligned Movement would support the interests of developing countries, As well as cause changes in specific uniformity in dominant ideology of security. Considering criticize the IRI to the Security Council unjust structure and history of peaceful, civilization, culture and political relations with India, IRI has positive view about Security Council reform, and India's permanent membership in this Council.

Keywords:

United Nations, Security Council, International System, International Security, Peace Keeping

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Introduction

India after independence in 1947, tried to have good relations with all countries. India's relations with Iran was more important than other countries. Because Iran and India had a long-term historical and cultural ties. Relations of two countries before the independence of India was based mainly in the fields of culture and civilization. In the aftermath of the 1947 economic relations preferred on cultural relations. Relations between the two sides had good conditions. But after entering Iran and Pakistan, the Baghdad Pact in 1955, the Indians were concerned.

Indian Prime Minister Nehru at the time of the signing of the Baghdad Pact, said "The treaty would bring the Cold War to the borders of India."(Dastmalchi,2014 :234) During the Indo-Pakistani War of 1965, Indian newspapers printed reports of Iranian aid to Pakistan. The report caused public outrage and protests them against Iran. During this period, the two sides did not have good political relations, but economic relations were good, with an emphasis on oil. After the victory of Islamic Revolution, India was one of the first countries that recognized the Islamic Republic of Iran. Iran after the revolution joined the Non-Aligned Movement and broke off relations with the United States. The practices of revolutionary Iran, welcomed by the Indians.

After the revolution, energy has an important role in bilateral relations. Peace Pipeline will transport Iranian gas through Pakistan to India, is an example of such cooperation. In addition to political and economic issues, cultural and scientific relations developed between the two sides. For example, teaching Persian language and literature were developed and Iranian students were awarded a scholarship to study in India. Also Students from India came to Iranian universities and learn the Persian language. Nowadays, bilateral relations in economic, political, cultural and scientific is in the good condition. Iranians believe that India is a great country which could have an

important role in the international system. Therefore, Iran has supported Indian activities in international organizations such as the United Nations.

This Research seeks to answer the main question that why India should be the permanent member of the Security Council and what is the Iran's attitude about India's candidacy? India is a country that is actively involved in United Nations peacekeeping operations, democratic country and has nuclear power. A growing economy and the world's second most populous country. From this view, Membership of India in the Security Council could realize equitable geographical distribution. Considering central role of India in the Non-Aligned Movement would support the interests of developing countries, As well as cause changes in specific uniformity in dominant ideology of security. Considering criticize the IRI to the Security Council unjust structure and history of peaceful, civilization, culture and political relations with India, IRI has positive view about Security Council reform, and India's permanent membership in this Council.

1- The causes of Security Council reform

Several factors affect the process of Security Council reform. Including the factors such as:

- The transformation of the international system
- The emergence of new powers
- Increasing members of the United Nations

In this section, we will briefly describe these factors.

1.1. The transformation of the international system

United Nations aimed at maintaining international peace and security was established after second World War. The main founders of the United Nations were the victors of World War II. Great powers formed the structure of the United Nations based on its own interests and to maintain the status quo.

They had the possibility to design the structure of the United Nations to his advantage. Therefore, Security Council was formed as the most important part of the United Nations. Five victorious powers of World War II and became the member of the Security Council. They were responsible for keeping international peace and security . Their primary responsibility for keeping international peace and security was transferred to the UN Security Council. Considering the end of World War II, peacekeeping was the main goal of the founders of the United Nations. At that time, peace keeping was more important than justice. So the Security Council was created by an unfairly structure. (Saadat Meidani, 2003 :51) Security Council has passed three different periods:

1.1.1. The period 1950 to 1991

During this period, the Security Council because of competition the great powers was in the position of passivity. Security Council due to political rivalry and frequent use of the veto by America and the Soviet Union was not successful in peacekeeping. America had invaded Vietnam and the Soviet Union occupied the Afghanistan in this period. These issues demonstrated that when the interests of the great powers demand. The Security Council will not be able to keep the peace.

2.1.1. The period 1991 to 2001

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Security Council started the new era. competition in the Security Council during the Cold War ended. During this period, the Security Council adopted 400 Resolutions. This represent the council was becoming more active on global issues. (Mousazadeh,2010 :256) Security Council dispatched Military force to keep the peace on the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and also intervened in the crisis in Yugoslavia, Rwanda and Sierra Leone.

3.1.1. In the period of 2001 up to now

After the events of September 11, began a new era of consolidation of the power of America in the Security Council. Counterterrorism was considered of the Security Council. With the aim of Counterterrorism coalition forces invaded Afghanistan in 2002. But in the case of Iraq, America ignore Security Council and attacked Iraq in 2003. The failure of the Security Council in the Iraq showed that the Security Council should be reformed with new international conditions.

2.1. The emergence of new powers

In the new international situation, the Security Council is not in a proper position for two reasons:

- Failure to keep international peace and security, such as the crisis in Iraq (2003)
- Ignoring the rise of great powers such as India, Germany, Japan and so on. Countries that have played an important role in keeping international peace and security.

Southern countries have the majority of members of the United Nations. This group of countries have not important role in the management of the UN. The major developing countries such as India, Brazil, Nigeria, etc. With reference to criteria such as participation in peacekeeping, large population, economic and political power, equitable geographical distribution and so on, trying to become a permanent member of the Security Council. So, in the new international situation, new powers have emerged that seek to change the traditional international status.

3.1. Increasing members of the United Nations

In 1945, 51 countries were members of the United Nations. The Security Council also has 11 members. But members of the UN increased due to decolonization in the 1960s. Therefore, in the 1963, the members of the Security Council increased to 15 members. Which includes the 5 permanent members and 10 non-permanent members.

Increased Security Council members was necessary because of decolonization and increase the governments of the world. Nowadays, the number of members of the UN has increased to more than 200 countries. Therefore, the Security Council must be increased up to adapt to the new international conditions.

2. India and permanent membership of the security council

India at the time of the establishment of the United Nations, had no political independence, but was present and active at the time of the adoption of the UN Charter in San Francisco in 1945. India's representative at the conference signed the Charter of San Francisco. India became independent in 1947 and officially became a member of the UN. India after membership of the UN is one of the most active countries. (Pande,1994 :6)

India for the first time in 1979, proposed the restructuring plan of the Security Council. According to the plan, and considering the increasing members of the United Nations, the Security Council should be increased to 21 members. This plan, supported by Argentina, Algeria and Nigeria. (Hindustan Times,14 July 1992).

In late 1979, the Indian government proposed the issue of equally and fairly membership in the Security Council, and requested this issue be placed on the agenda of the UN General Assembly. But the permanent members of the Security Council opposed it.

After the end of the Cold War, Indians have asked several times for reform of the UN security council. But the most important Indian efforts for Security Council reform and permanent membership is related to the plan of Group 4 in 2005. India along with Japan, Germany and Brazil requesting increase the number of members of the Security Council from 15 members to 25 members. According to this scheme, were added six permanent members without the veto and four non-permanent members of the Security Council. (Regional Politics,2005).

After the G-4 plan rejected by General Assembly and Security Council permanent members except France. Members of G-4 were separated. In this regard, “Nirupam Sen” Ambassador of India to the United Nations announced that about Security Council reform, there are still disagreements. Diplomats still disputed about the reform of the Security Council and as soon not reach consensus. To reach a consensus should be discussed in detail. In this regard, India for permanent membership in the Security Council separately cooperate with Germany and Japan.

1.2. Why India should be a permanent member of the UN Security Council?

India is competent a permanent member in the Security Council for the following reasons:

- Equitable geographical distribution
- Participation in UN peacekeeping operations
- Support the interests of developing countries
- The population and Democracy
- Economic Development
- Nuclear power

1.1.2. Equitable geographical distribution

In 1945, the UN had 51 members. The Security Council had 11 members. In that time, Participation of all UN member states was 21.5 percent. In the early 1960s, the number of members of the UN, increased to 113 members. Therefore, in 1963 the Security Council increased to 15 members. But today, due to new international conditions, reform of the Security Council with respect to geographical equity is unavoidable. In addition, Asia is the largest and the most populous continent in the world but has only one representative in the Security Council. Therefore, Geographic justice requires that more countries of Asia become the member of the Security Council.

2.1.2. Participation in UN peacekeeping operations

India is one of the most important countries in peacekeeping operations and international security. India has an important role in some difficult peacekeeping operations. For example, some cases are mentioned: After the war of Iraq against Iran, India dispatched a group of military observers to monitor the borders between 1990 and 1998. The crisis in Somalia, the Indian Navy did the mission of humanitarian assistance and transfer of UN military forces. Also, India was present in other peacekeeping operations, including in Rwanda, Angola, Sierra Leone, Lebanon, Yemen, Cyprus, Haiti, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo and others. Also, dozens of Indian soldiers have been killed in peacekeeping operations. India is the fourth largest funds of the UN peacekeeping (Mohamadian, 2011: 44).

3.1.2. Support the interests of developing countries

India is one of the founder countries of the Non-Aligned Movement. India has always supported the interests of the members of the Non-Aligned Movement and has played an important role in decolonization in the Third World. Non-Aligned Movement and developing countries that constitute the majority of UN member states should have a permanent representative in the Security Council. Indian defense of the interests of developing countries in recent years show that the country's membership in the Security Council in favor of third world countries.

4.1.2. The population and Democracy

The current population of India is 1,328,981,512 as of August 22, 2016, based on the latest United Nations estimates. India population is equivalent to 17.84% of the total world population. India ranks number 2 in the list of countries by population.

In addition, India is the largest democratic country in the world. India held the largest selection in the world. In India, parliamentary elections of 2014, 814 million people allowed to vote. This population

is more than the entire population of Europe. Moreover, in India there are more than 20 active party that has a long history with different views(<http://irdiplomacy.ir/fa>).with the Indian membership in the Security Council, a large population of the world will participate in global decision making.

5.1.2. Economic Development

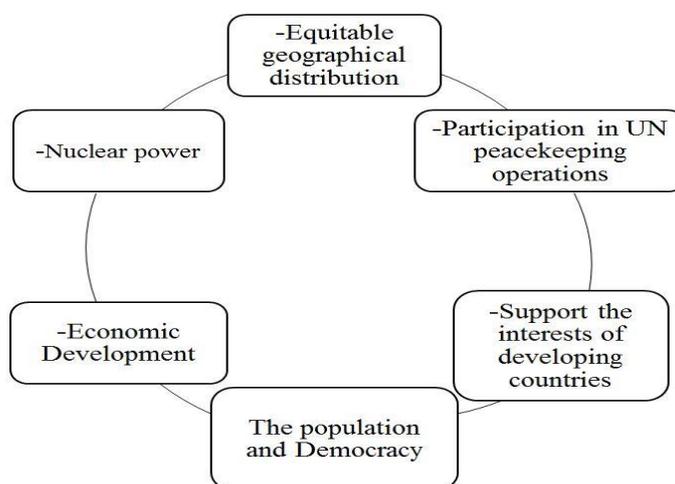
India's economic development started in 1991. In this year, Finance Minister Manmohan Singh, implemented the program will reduce the role of government in the economy. Singh later became Prime Minister of India. Gradually he tried to transparent tax laws and improve the export and import laws. Increase of Foreign investment and domestic capital security were other programs that implement of them flourishing the Indian economy. India's cheap labor force and huge market were due to increased foreign investment. Economic analysts predict India by 2020 after America and China is the third country in the industrialized world. (Vaziri,2010 :11)

India's economy is large and growing. The advanced economy will be increase the power of India in the near future.

6.1.2. Nuclear power

India's first nuclear test was conducted in the 18 May 1974. Ayndrya Gandhi after the test said:" India willingness to use nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes. Therefore, we are not a danger to neighbors because we do not want nuclear weapons for warfare."(Ahmad, 1991 :7-9).

India justifies its nuclear activities for two reasons: Deterrence and defense of territorial integrity. India is not a member of NPT. But by the Great Powers recognized as a nuclear power.



Table(1): Indian Competency for permanent membership in the Security Council

3. The importance of relations between Iran and India

After India's independence in 1947, the Iranian government started formal relations with this country, But in that time some factors such as International situation, the proximity of Iran to the Pakistan in Baghdad Pact, Iran's dependence on the US, Contradictory opinion about NAM and so on, obstacles to the development of bilateral relations. Despite the unfavorable political relations, two countries had good relations in the field of energy. (Tohidi,2011 :160)

But these obstacles removed after the Islamic Revolution of Iran. Because IRI choose the policy of nonalignment, exited of central treaty organization (CENTO) and broke off relations with the US.

Therefore, India was one of the countries that welcomed the Islamic revolution. (Mehri,2010 :7) After the Islamic revolution, bilateral relations developed by following reasons:

- Causes of cultural, historical and civilizational
- Economic and energy relationship
- Common political perspectives to the global issues
- Common concern security such as extremism and terrorism

It seems that several variables are important in enhancing the strategic role of Iranian and Indian foreign policy.

1.3. Energy security

Iran is one of the largest energy-rich countries of the world. About 11 percent of oil resources and 15 percent of world gas resources belongs to Iran. (Statistical review of world energy, 2016) Iran is one of the most important oil exporters to India. Before the beginning of sanctions against Iran, about 13 percent of India's oil needs supplied by Iran. (Bansal,2012 :21) After lifting of sanctions and according to statistics, in the first seven months of 2016 averaged 368 thousand barrels of oil have been exported from Iran to India(Reuters,31 August 2016).

India is the third Asian economy after China and Japan. Due to the India's economic growth, this country requires for energy is increasing. Iran is the surest, safest and the best country to meet the energy needs of India. Indian market is good and close to Iran's energy exports. Thus, both countries have a common interest in export and import energy.

2.3. common Interests and threats in Afghanistan

From the Indian perspective, cooperation with Iran is very important for contributing to security in Afghanistan. Afghanistan is very important for Indian strategic rivalry with Pakistan. India has no borders with Afghanistan and great influence in this country. Thus, to reduce Pakistan's influence in Afghanistan and prevent the spread of extremism needs to cooperate with Iran. Iran is threatened by extremists in Afghanistan. Therefore, Iran and India face common threats and interests in Afghanistan.

3.3. Iran as a bridge between India and Central Asia and the Caucasus

Indian Commercial availability to Central Asia, the Caucasus and Russia is very important. In this case, Iran plays a very important role.

Indians tend to invest in the Iranian port of Chabahar. This port provides the best opportunities for exporting goods to Afghanistan and Central Asia by India.

Of course, Indian considering to the port of Chabahar is very important from the perspective of strategic competition with China and Pakistan. Because, Chinese have invested in the port of Gwadar, and there is probability of presence of their navy in the Indian Ocean. Thus, strategically presence of India in the port of Chabahar is important. Iran also needs foreign investment for the development of the port. For this reason, according to Mr Turkan adviser to the president of Iran: "India is the first priority for investment and leasing this port for a specified period."(entekhabnews.ir)

4.3. Containment of Pakistan and China

China is the strategic competitor of the India. India is concerned about the Chinese influence in the Middle East, especially Iran. So India to prevent the commercial influence of China in Iran, following the development of economic relations with Tehran.

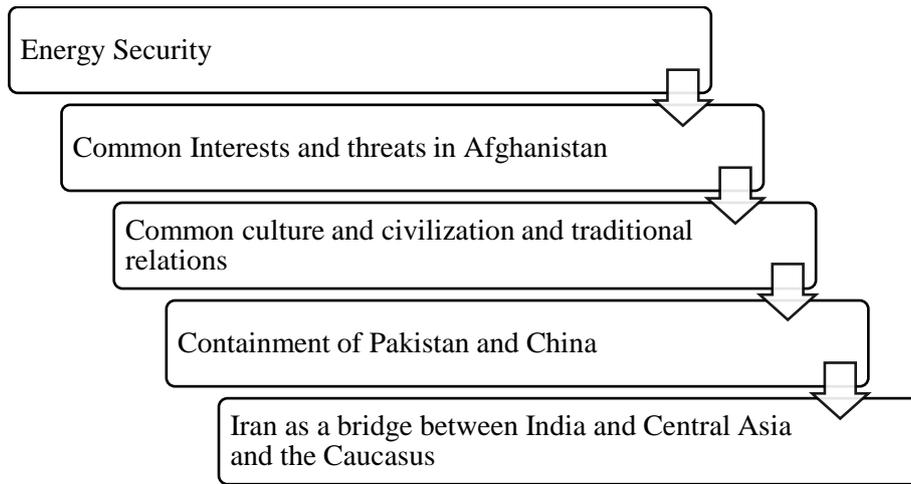
To containment of Chinese influence in Iran, the Indians have increased investment in Chabahar port and trade relations and energy imports from Iran. of course, Iran has no problem with China, but protect the increase of economical relation with India.

In addition, India with Pakistan disputed on the Kashmir region. India is concerned about the willingness of Iran to Pakistan in this crisis. India is also worried about terrorism and extremism in Pakistan. Iran is also concerned about the spread of Islamic extremists and terrorism. It also follows a policy of neutrality in Kashmir conflict. (Shariati,2014 :63) Iran is concerned about development of radical Islamists in Pakistan and insecurity on the borders with this country.

5.3. Common culture and civilization

Relations between Iran and India is great antiquity. The relationship between the two nations existed since Parthian times (224 to 247 BC).

After the collapse of the Sassanid Empire and entering Islam in Iran, many Iranian Zoroastrians escaped to the western regions of India. From this time onwards, India became the main base of traditional Iranian culture and identity. Language and literature of Iran and India were merged and ethnic groups lived together peacefully. After penetration of Islam in the Indian subcontinent, cultural communication between the two civilizations was stronger, because Islam was introduced to India via Iran. Throughout the period before and after the Islam, relations between the two countries was mostly based on culture and identity. The structure of international system and regional security had no role in bilateral relations. (Khalili,2014 :28-29) Having ancient and peaceful relations is an important factor in development of bilateral relations.



Table(2): The importance of relations between Iran and India

Conclusion

From the perspective of Iran, the Security Council is unfair and it relates to conditions of the 1940s and after World War II. Therefore, this unfair situation should be corrected. Because the council is inefficient in the new international conditions. Iran is opposite of the right of veto by Security Council permanent members. From the viewpoint of Iran, the Security Council must adapt to new international structure in the 21st century. Therefore, the Security Council need to be improved. Necessity of Security Council reform, is mentioned repeatedly in speeches of Iran's supreme leader, presidents, foreign ministers and office of the representative of Iran in UN. It seems that Iran is among the countries that are requesting permanent membership in the Security Council, tend to India.

Iran and India, willing to participate in important international and regional issues. Iran is one of the most important energy supplier countries to India and linking it to Central Asia and the Caucasus. Iran and India are strongly opposed the spread of radical Islamism and terrorism. Both countries are observer member of Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) and fighting in framework of SCO against extremism and terrorism. Iran and India are near Pakistan and Afghanistan, that are the sources of Islamic extremism. Therefore, both countries are the same security concerns. Both countries have common perspectives in NAM. Also attempt to bring justice in the international system.

India is an active member of the UN and Supports the reform of the UNSC. Also Iran has supported the reform of the Security Council. Iran has positive attitude to India's membership in the Security Council.

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نامزدی هند برای عضویت دائم در شورای امنیت: چشم‌انداز ایرانی

مجید عباسی *

تاریخ دریافت: ۱۳۹۸/۰۸/۰۱

تاریخ پذیرش: ۱۳۹۸/۰۸/۳۰

چکیده

این تحقیق به دنبال پاسخ به این سؤال اصلی است که چرا هند باید عضو دائم شورای امنیت باشد و نگرش ایران در مورد نامزدی هند در این شورا چیست؟ هند کشوری است طی این سالها در عملیات های صلح سازمان ملل متحد حضوری فعال داشته و به عنوان کشوری دموکراتیک و دارای قدرت هسته‌ای فعالیت می‌کند. اقتصاد رو به رشد و دومین کشور پرجمعیت جهان بودن از عواملی است که باعث می‌شود عضویت هند در شورای امنیت توزیع عادلانه جغرافیایی را تحقق بخشد. نقش محوری هند در جنبش عدم تعهد، منافع کشورهای در حال توسعه را پشتیبانی خواهد کرد و باعث ایجاد یکنواختی خاص در ایدئولوژی غالب امنیتی خواهد شد. با توجه به انتقادات جمهوری اسلامی ایران به ساختار ناعادلانه شورای امنیت و وجود تاریخ تمدنی، فرهنگی و روابط سیاسی با هند، جمهوری اسلامی ایران نسبت به اصلاحات شورای امنیت و عضویت دائمی هند در این شورا نظر مثبت خواهد داشت.

واژگان کلیدی:

سازمان ملل متحد، شورای امنیت، نظام بین‌الملل، امنیت بین‌الملل، حفظ صلح

