

Future of UN Peace Operations: From An Indian Perspective

Colonel (Dr) KK Sharma (Retd)[®]

Abstract

India has been a strong votary of UN Peace Operations since the 1950s. The fact that India contributed over 2,55,000 peacekeepers to as many as 49 UN missions, and 178 of the peacekeepers laid down their lives for the sake of international peace, is testimony towards our commitment. For an emerging complex future, marred with acrimonious discussions in the UN Security Council, the world needs new tools and restructured UN systems to be the real voice of 193 nations. Transnational non-state actors, crime syndicates, and misuse of multi-media have posed additional challenges. The UN has to leverage the good office role of the Secretary-General towards preventive diplomacy. India believes that peace can only prevail if the primacy of political settlement is reinforced with positive engagements on the ground.

India has a comprehensive futuristic approach to international peace and security, which has been articulated time and again in the UN forums. It includes harmonising local and national choices with international priorities. Dialogue and cooperation, mutual respect, and commitment to the time-tested international laws are the cornerstones of India's commitment. The article attempts an interpretation of the UN and expert literature from India's perspective. Starting with the emerging scenarios of international conflicts, the article lays down the challenges and a background, leading to the discussion on the future shape of the UN Peace Operations. International UN Peace and Security

[®] Colonel (Dr) KK Sharma (Retd) is a Visiting Fellow at USI of India; and former Professor, Chitkara University, Punjab, India.

with an Indian perspective is discussed in the last section, collating the challenges and reflections on the future perspective.

“The success of UN peacekeeping ultimately depends not on the weapons that the soldiers carry, but on the moral forces that decisions of the UN Security Council command” – Indian Prime Minister’s address at the Leaders’ Summit on Peacekeeping in New York (Sep 2015)

Introduction

The ongoing conflicts in various places show that modern intra-state strifes are transnational with many non-state actors becoming an integral part of the narrative. During the African independence movement, colonial powers used mercenaries to influence the civil wars. Mercenaries also assisted the local leaders who were friendly to the colonising nation.¹ The trends in the future appear to be heading in the same direction with an added preponderance of technology, cyber threats, climate crises, and hapless civilians being the main target. Scholars have written about the future global architectures which may involve a diversification of actors influencing policies, conflict scenarios, and UN Peace Operations (UNPOs).² After studying the past 70 years of UNPOs, Cassin and Zyla rightly concluded that the peace operations approach needs to be truly localised and contextualised that is expansive, representative and non-directive, ultimately necessitating the UN and other liberal actors to adopt higher risk tolerance and relinquish exclusive control over conflict-response and peace.³ The UN is a collective conscious of the world, but a few articulate think tanks have always managed to influence its decision-making and policy parameters. Unless the UN Security Council (UNSC), and other world bodies, reform and become inclusive of the world of today, these privileged think tanks, close to the UN, will continue to drive the policies of the world bodies, much in favour of the affluent North at the cost of suffering South.

India has always been committed to promoting responsible, international law-abiding and inclusive solutions to international peace and security. Our first Prime Minister (PM), Mr Jawaharlal Nehru, was emphatic on this while recommending India’s participation in International Commission in Vietnam-Cambodia-

Laos in August 1954, when he said, We cannot shed the responsibilities that go with being a great country.⁴ India's approach repeatedly articulated by the government through the Permanent Mission of India (PMI) in New York, has been to exhort the UNSC to initiate steps for new opportunities for progress. The global security landscape is changing rapidly as traditional security challenges face added terrorism-related threats and insouciant expansionist designs of some member states. Solutions to the emerging challenges to international security require a pragmatic and effective platform for collaboration to ensure sustainable peace.⁵

Mr Narendra Modi, the current PM, addressed the Leaders' Summit in New York on 28 September 2015 and spoke about India's contributions to UN Peacekeeping. He reminded the members that the foundations of the UN were laid by the brave soldiers on the battlefields of the Second World War. 2.5 million soldiers of the Indian Army participated with the allies by 1945 and more than 24,000 lost their lives and nearly half of that went missing.⁶

Over 2,55,000 Indian troops have participated in UN missions in 49 of the 71 UNPO still December 2022. 178 Indian peacekeepers made the supreme sacrifice while serving in the UN missions from 1948 to 31 December 2022.⁷ India was also the first country to contribute a Female Formed Police Unit to UNPO in Liberia, which was applauded by all for the changes it brought to the war-torn country. India showed its full support to the UN Secretary General's revised action for peacekeeping plus (A2P+) and New Agenda for Peace. Summit of the Future being held in September 2024 will be relevant and India looks forward to its reforms-oriented results.⁸

This article is based on scholarly reviews and interpretations from India's perspective. It builds upon India's perception of the UNPOs, UN structures, and issues affecting current capabilities as related to peace operations. The discussion starts from the emerging scenarios of international conflicts and lays down the challenges and background leading to the discussion on the future shape of the UNPOs.

Emerging Scenarios of International Conflicts

The world witnessed a surge in conflicts in the early 1990s, with

agradual decline after 1995. However, the trend reversed into more deadly conflicts from 2005 to 2015 with civil wars moving from four to eleven.⁹ This has been attributed to weak state institutions, economic or social exclusion of selected populations, and sudden changes or refusal to accept popular mandates by the political leadership. In future, the states under conflict are likely to be subjected to more lethal, highly localised disruptive technologies. Competition for resources will result in political discords, unexpected upheavals, increased poverty, and communal or ethnic polarisation. Increased migration to the urban centres is a sure recipe for civil strifes beyond the capacities of many states; especially in the Global South. The UN, in its reflection on future wars, also expects new areas of conflict in stable states, even when decades-old conflicts are partially or fully resolved. There is a likelihood of cyber wars in virtual space without firing a single bullet.¹⁰

Race for the Natural Resources. Natural resources have always been a defining constant in international engagements. West Asia became an arena for ever-lasting conflicts due to the global hunger for crude oil. Africa has been witnessing the 'goldrush' for ages as many colonial powers divided the continent depending on their need for raw materials and availability of minerals. Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Angola, Liberia, and the Central African Republic remain in the vortex of conflicts due to their mineral riches. Proxy forces present complex challenges to the UN missions which are typically deployed to manage conflicts within national boundaries. Outside states have been investing in many African countries, laying railroads to transport minerals to the seaports; thus investing in even the existing corrupt governments. Many trading outposts are being converted into naval refuelling bases or permanent military bases to locate 'wolf warriors'. These powers will defend their investments against domestic or outside interference, thus, leading to bloody conflicts in the future.

Organised Crime and Non-State Actors. Organised crime directly drives violent conflicts for their use and brings misery to the local population. It also undermines state authority, thus, corroding its capacity for the basic delivery of governing tools. Even states and their leaders, indulge in a similar concept, encouraging regime-friendly transnational organised groups. Governments may actively participate in illicit trafficking, fueling resentment amongst

populations that are negatively affected by such exploitation.¹¹ India has been articulating its concerns regarding non-state actors at the highest levels. On 19 September 2000, then India's External Affairs Minister (EAM), Mr Jaswant Singh, addressed the issue in the 55th Session of the UN General Assembly. 'Illicit transfer, manufacture and circulation of small arms, particularly by States to non-State actors and terrorist groups, and their intrinsic linkage with terrorism and narco-trafficking are matters of very deep concern to the world community. When this is combined with religious fanaticism and military adventurism, a threat is posed to global civilised norms, which we strive for'.¹²

Effect of Climate Change. The UNSC discussed the impact of climate change on the conflicts, which appears to be an attempt to bring climate and international security together. India has been an active participant in the Paris Accord and Conference of the Parties (COP)15 discussions and has committed to the reduction of fossil fuels, greenhouse gases and increased afforestation. However, India does not endorse the linking of climate change to the conflicts and 'securitisation' of the issue. Many countries feel that any such linkages may lead to coercive measures in response to challenges posed by climate change. India had repeatedly argued that the scientific evidence linking climate change to security concerns is not clear and that climate issues are better addressed under the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). Evidence shows that climate change impacts host communities towards their development and sustenance; not necessarily resulting in an armed conflict. India has been articulating its environmental concerns in the UN for a long. Mr Rajiv Gandhi, the then Indian PM had cautioned the UN General Assembly on 19 Oct 1987, 'We have learned to our benefit that development that conserves the environment conserves also the fruits of development. There is thus no fundamental dichotomy between conservation and growth'.¹³ Climate-related impacts such as reduced rainfall, droughts and desertification of farmland, as well as hazards such as flooding can pose a challenge to the host nation regarding its development and food safety; requiring a different kind of global response.

Migrations Risks. The world witnessed mass migration from West Asia and North Africa to Europe in the wake of devastating wars in Syria, Afghanistan, Iraq, Yemen, Libya, and other hotspots.

The USA has been witnessing a huge inflow of undocumented refugees from the Latin America. India has suffered illegal migrations on its eastern borders since the 1970s. All these people are generally economic migrants but can turn out to be potentially destabilising forces in otherwise stable states. Climate crises can also lead to population displacement and migration internally or outside its borders.¹⁴ Experts view it as governance vacuums which are likely to be exploited by many transnational or local armed and criminal groups. Florian Krampe has a valid argument that UNPOs in such countries will face additional resource constraints as happened in South Sudan during the floods.¹⁵ Climate change can best be considered a conflict threat multiplier. The added threat is due to the migrating population bringing their belief system and if not fully absorbed in the host country, radical beliefs can prove to be a potential threat; as is being witnessed in many European nations.

Geo-Strategic Tensions. UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres mentioned five, 'horsemen' that threaten our common future - geostrategic tensions, the climate crisis, growing global mistrust, what he calls the dark side of the digital world, and the COVID-19-like pandemics.¹⁶ Mistrust between the US-led West and Russia-China is likely to accentuate gridlocks in the UNSC and reversal of the *détente* of 1990. Moving from a unilateral world to a multilateral dispensation is the need of the hour and has been repeatedly urged by India. During its UNSC presidency of December 2022, India laid adequate emphasis on the same. Permanent Representative of India to the UN, Ruchira Kamboj sponsored a discussion on two high-level signature events, chaired by the EAM of India - 'Reformed Multilateralism and Counter-Terrorism'.¹⁷

Future Shape of the UNPOs

The accepted definition of peace refers not only to '*an absence of war*' but also to include the well-being of the local people. This positive dimension of peace is a continuum from inter or intra-state conflict to developing a positive public perception through fundamental freedoms and development. Therefore, any measure of peace has to take the 'well-being' of the local population into account.¹⁸ The UN moved away from military-oriented second-generation missions into developmental multi-dimensional

operations, only to be questioned later. Despite the changes, 12 UNPOs of 2023 continue to represent all generations. Peace and development can not come within a year or two as Adam Day recommended that the future UNPOs are going to be a longer haul than today, especially if these are multi-dimensional operations with dozens of tasks.¹⁹

The future of UNPOs will also be determined by the UN's approach to the emerging multipolar world, where multilateralism and the UN's normative framework may not be the default approach of its permanent members (P5).²⁰ UNPOs, by and large, enjoy a high degree of support from the UNSC but are subjected to geopolitical friction and rivalry as the UNSC witnessed during Ukraine conflict discussions. There are both schools of thought, pessimistic and optimistic, on the success and viability of UNPOs. Out of 71 UNPOs since 1947, all but 12 have closed down. 7 missions have closed down or downsized since 2012 and currently, the UN has 12 UNPOs, out of which 7 belong to the last Century and may have ceased to have much relevance.

Large multi-dimensional missions were considered a panacea due to their all-in-it-together approach. But these too have come under increased criticism by the experts, not for their lack of commitment and achievements, due to the UN financial stress. A multi-dimensional peace operation is mandated for a range of tasks. Most of these are state functions with structured governing bodies and too tall a task for the adhoc UN missions. A strategic thinker and excellent researcher on Peace Operations, Cedric Conin discussed the future of UNPOs through the lens of complexity theory. Conin analysed the future UNPOs because of the COVID-19 pandemic and the fall-out of the Trump presidency. The author believed that in the 'medium-term peacekeeping will go through a phase of uncertainty and turbulence due to geopolitical power shifts', while in the longer term 'the UNPKOs need to adapt to a new multipolar global order'.²¹

Preventive Diplomacy for Future Conflicts. Milante et al. (2020. P.2)²² prepared a data set of predictions of future conflicts considering the possible trend lines of conflicts between 2020-2030. A total of 56 wars were recorded in 2020, the highest number since 1945.²³ Based on the current trends, with no additional conflict prevention steps, three more countries are likely to be at

war and nine more at high risk of war by 2030 as compared to 2020. This would mean over 0.6 million conflict-related fatalities between 2020 and 2030. It appears that the authors did not predict or account for the Ukraine war in the trends. Researchers also analysed international efforts to prevent conflicts, where a 25 per cent increase in the effectiveness of conflict prevention may result in 10 more countries at peace by 2030, 0.1 million fewer fatalities, and savings of over \$3.1 trillion. Similarly, a 50 per cent improvement would result in 17 additional countries at peace by 2030, 0.2 million fewer deaths, and some \$6.6 trillion in savings. The most positive scenario with a 75 per cent improvement in prevention may result in 23 more countries at peace by 2030, resulting in nearly 0.3 million lives saved over the next decade, and \$9.8 trillion in savings. Besides the loss of lives, countries also suffer economically. Regressions on economic growth from 1989 to 2015 show that annual growth in war-affected countries is reduced by 4.8 per cent.

A cornerstone of managing conflicts, preventive deployment has been discussed in all forums after the Ukraine war, as there was a one-year window to take preventive steps to avoid the catastrophe. The UN has to move from a culture of 'reaction' to one of 'prevention'. Looking back at the history of the UN, it is evident that the use of the Secretary General's good office and diplomatic negotiations were successfully practised during the cold war period. Investment in prevention and preventive diplomacy is a must in future to reduce conflicts. Our first PM, Mr Jawaharlal Nehru, narrated an anecdote, from the League of Nations, while addressing the 15th Session of the UN General Assembly on 03 October 1960. 'Sitting here in this Assembly chamber, an old memory comes back to me. In the fateful summer of 1938, I was a visitor at a meeting of the League of Nations in Geneva. Hitler was advancing then and holding out threats of war. There was a mobilisation in many parts of Europe and the tramp of armoured men was heard, but even so, the League of Nations appeared to be unconcerned with the shadow of war and discussed all manner of topics, but not the most vital subject of the day'.²⁴ Looks like the scenario was again playing out in the Ukrainian case from 2020 to 2021.

Future Peacekeeping missions urgently need reformed and redesigned UNSC and Peacekeeping UN Structures. India has

been stressing this in every forum. The UNDPO has undertaken gradual reforms, especially after the Brahimi Report of 2000. The missions too have evolved from limited conflict-containment operations of Cyprus or Golan Heights to extensive, multidimensional missions of Congo or South Sudan. The financial constraint-related drawdown of the UN Mission from DRC allows for assessing how the POC guidance can be strengthened.²⁵ However, evolving complexities due to changing strategic and conflict areas necessitate a further transformation of the DPKO and UN structures.

India's Approach to International Peace and Security

India was among the charter members who signed the Declaration by the UN at Washington on 01 January 1942. As a founding member of the UN, India strongly supports the purposes and principles of the UN and has made significant contributions to implementing the goals of the Charter. India is committed to promoting responsible and inclusive solutions to international peace and security. India's worldview is anchored in our ethos of '*VasudhaivaKutumbakam*', the world is one family. India's multilateral approach has been influenced and guided by multiple strategies, interests, and values, and has transformed significantly through the decades.

A comprehensive assessment of India's multilateral engagements shows that "India has developed and played in tune with a distinct multilateralism that combines norms of sovereignty and quest for global justice and fairness".²⁶ The concept of the UN's centrality in matters of global peace and security prevails in the Indian establishment without any significant shift even after seven decades.²⁷ However, India has been raising its concerns about the composition and processes of the UNSC ever since its independence. On 26 November 2012, Mr Hardeep Singh Puri, the Permanent Representative in Permanent Mission of India stated on the working methods of the UNSC, 'over the years, there has been growing realisation that the Council's composition, rooted in the situation obtaining in 1945, as well as its Working Methods, are both divorced from the contemporary reality of international relations.'²⁸

India served on the UNSC as a two-year term elected member on eight occasions so far - in 1950, 1967, 1972, 1977, 1984,

1991, 2011, and the last in 2021.²⁹ India engaged UNSC members during its August 2021 and December 2022 Presidencies of the Council. PM chaired the UNSC high-level open debate on 'Enhancing Maritime Security: A Case For International Cooperation' on 09 Aug 2021.³⁰ A discussion on technology and peacekeeping in the UNSC was chaired by the EAM. One of the important outcomes during the August 2021 presidency was the adoption of a UNSC Resolution 2589 (2021) on 'Protecting the Protectors'. India also contributed US\$ 1.6 million to the UN to develop a situational awareness software platform, 'UNITE AWARE' for assisting UN Peacekeeping Missions. During India's second term of presidency in December 2022, two issues were brought into the discussions – international terrorism and multilateralism.³¹

Dr S Jaishankar, India's EAM, while addressing the general debate in the 77th Session of the UN General Assembly laid out India's approach to multilateralism; 'We believe that multipolarity, rebalancing, fair globalisation, and reformed multilateralism cannot be kept in abeyance. The call for reformed multilateralism, with reforms of the UNSC at its core, enjoys considerable support among UN members. Most nations also realise that the current architecture is outdated, obsolete, and ineffective. These nations also perceive it as unfair, which has deprived the global South and other continents of a voice in the powerful UN forums responsible to deliberate on their future. The minister asserted that India is prepared to take up greater responsibilities in the UN body as also other multilateral institutions.'³²

Conclusion

India has been consistently proposing a comprehensive futuristic approach to international peace and security. It calls for harmonising local and national choices; and international priorities. India's vision of international peace and security is guided by dialogue and cooperation, mutual respect, and commitment to international law. The most important instrument for international peace and security is, and will remain in future - the UN Security Council. This Council presents the most important geostrategic challenge to the future of peace due to its internal frosty relations. Syria and then Ukraine had divided the UNSC, a replay of Korea (the 1950s), the Suez Canal (1950s), and Congo (1960s). The world body has witnessed these differences - the US and China

over Taiwan, Russia-USA over Ukraine and frequent disagreements between the US and France over peacekeeping in the Sahel and Lebanon.³³

Sustaining peace requires brokering political consensus on sensitive issues that affect the distribution of power within a state. To strengthen the ability of UNPOs, engagement at the political level is the need of the future. At the operational level, UN missions need to strengthen and leverage the good office role of the Special Representatives of the Secretary-General. Peace can only prevail if the primacy of political settlement is reinforced with positive engagements on the ground.

Endnotes

¹ Rookes, Stephen; Bruyère-Ostells, Walter (Feb, 17, 2022). Mercenaries in the Congo and Biafra, 1960-1970: Africa's weapon of choice? *Small Wars & Insurgencies*. 33 (1–2): 112–129. Accessed Nov13, 2022 from: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09592318.2021.1957535>

² Cassin, K. & Zyla, B. The End of the Liberal World Order and the Future of UN Peace Operations: Lessons Learned. 2012; *Global Policy*, 12: 455-467. Accessed Nov,21, 2022 from: <https://doi.org/10.1111/1758-5899.12993>

³ Ibid.

⁴ Banerjee, D. & Thakur, R. 'India and UNPKO', IPCS, 2006, Accessed Oct 31, 2022. <http://www.ipcs.org/printIndiaArticle.jsp?action=showView&kValue=2106&status=article&keyArticle=1015>

⁵ PMI in New York India@ UNSC 2021-22. *India's Priorities For UNSC 2021-2022. New Orientation for a Reformed Multilateral System*. Accessed on 23 November 2022 from: https://pminewyork.gov.in/pdf/menu/submenu__429110843.pdf

⁶ PMI in New York (2015). Leaders' Summit on UN Peacekeeping; Statement by Prime Minister at the Summit on Peacekeeping. shorturl.at/bfhLN

⁷ UN Peacekeeping; *Fatalities (Dec 2022)*. Accessed Dec, 10, 2022 from: <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/fatalities>

⁸ UN DPPA, *New Agenda for Peace. 2021*. Accessed Dec 12, 2022 from: <https://dppa.un.org/en/new-agenda-for-peace>

⁹ Sebastian Einsiedel et al, *Civil War Trends and the Changing Nature of Armed Conflict*, UN University, 2017.

¹⁰ UN Peacekeeping; *Future of Peacekeeping (Dec 2022)*. Accessed Dec 14, 2022: <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/future-of-peacekeeping>

¹¹ Adam Day, 2017; *The Future Of UN Peace Operations In A Changing Conflict Environment*. Accessed on Dec 16, 2022 https://peacekeeping.un.org/sites/default/files/future_of_peacekeeping_operations_in_a_changing_conflict_environment.pdf

¹² Jaswant Singh, EAM of India; *55th Session of the UN General Assembly (The Millennium Assembly)* on Sep 19, 2000; Accessed Dec, 12, 2022 from: <https://pminewyork.gov.in/pdf/uploadpdf/95822lms51.pdf>

¹³ Rajiv Gandhi, *Prime Minister in the UN General Assembly on 19th Oct.1987*. Accessed on Dec 13, 2022 from: <https://pminewyork.gov.in/pdf/uploadpdf/26740lms36.pdf>

¹⁴ Florian Krampe (22 Feb 2021). *Why UN peace operations cannot ignore climate change*. Accessed Nov 22, 2022: <https://www.sipri.org/commentary/topical-background/2021/why-united-nations-peace-operations-cannot-ignore-climate-change>

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Naomi Miyashita (16 Oct 2020). *Reflections on the Future of Peacekeeping Operations*; accessed Nov 16, 2022: <https://theglobalobservatory.org/2020/10/reflections-on-the-future-of-peacekeeping-operations/>

¹⁷ All India News (02 Dec 2022). *India assumes the Presidency of UN Security Council for the month of December*. Accessed Dec 08, 2022 from: <https://newsonair.gov.in/News?title=India-assumes-the-Presidency-of-UN-Security-Council-for-the-month-of-December&id=451683>

¹⁸ European Parliamentary Research (2011). *Mapping threats to peace and democracy* (p. 1); accessed Nov 28, 2022: [worldwidehttps://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/IDAN/2019/637946/EPRS_IDA\(2019\)637946_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/IDAN/2019/637946/EPRS_IDA(2019)637946_EN.pdf)

¹⁹ Adam Day, 2017. P. 9.

²⁰ Naomi Miyashita. *Reflections on the Future of Peacekeeping Operations*.

²¹ Cedric Coning (2021). *The future of UN peace operations: Principled adaptation through phases of contraction, moderation, and renewal*; accessed Nov 22, 2022: DOI: 10.1080/13523260.2021.1894021

²² Gary Milante, Hannes Mueller and Robert Muggah; *Estimating future conflict risks and conflict prevention implications by 2030*. Accessed Nov 28, 2022 from: <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/future-of-peacekeeping>

²³ Strand, H. and Hegre, H., (2021). *Trends in Armed Conflict, 1946–2020*. *Conflict Trends*, 3, p.4

²⁴ Jawaharlal Nehru. *15th Session 882nd Plenary Meeting, 3rd Oct, 1960*; accessed Nov 27, 2022: <https://pminewyork.gov.in/pdf/uploadpdf/25273lms15.pdf>

²⁵ Centre for Civilian Conflict; Prioritizing The Protection Of Civilians During Peacekeeping Transitions: Lessons Learned from MONUSCO. Accessed Dec 12, 2022 from: <https://civiliansinconflict.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/11/Prioritizing-the-Protection-of-Civilians-During-Peacekeeping-Transitions.pdf>

²⁶ Dan Krause, “It is Changing After All: India’s Stance on ‘Responsibility to Protect’”, ORF Occasional Paper, April 2016, p. 50, accessed Nov 22, 2022 from: https://www.orfonline.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/ORF_OccasionalPaper_90.pdf

²⁷ Dr Rajeesh Kumar, Monograph No. 71, 2021; Principled but Evolving: India’s Approach to Multilateral Peace and Security. Accessed on Nov 26, 2022 from: <https://www.idsa.in/monograph/principled-but-evolving>

²⁸ Ambassador Hardeep Singh Puri, Permanent Representative, UNSC open debate on working methods of the Security Council on Nov 26, 2012; Accessed on Dec 23, 2022 from: <https://pminewyork.gov.in/pdf/uploadpdf/64192ind2141.pdf>

²⁹ PMI in New York (2022). India at UN/Security Council. shorturl.at/FHPQ0

³⁰ PIB Delhi (08 Aug 2021). PM to chair UNSC High-Level Open Debate on “Enhancing Maritime Security: A Case For International Cooperation”; accessed Dec 22, 2022 from: shorturl.at/iIBHU

³¹ PMI in New York (2022). India at UN/Security Council. Accessed Dec 23, 2022 from: shorturl.at/FHPQ0

³² Dr S Jaishankar, General Debate of the 77th session of the UN General Assembly; Sep 24, 2022; accessed Dec 12, 2022 from: <https://pminewyork.gov.in/IndiaatUNGA?id=NDC00Q>

³³ International Crisis Group. UN Peacekeeping in a Fragmenting International Order (Edited Speech), Nov 25, 2020. Accessed Dec 23, 2022 from: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/global/un-peacekeeping-fragmenting-international-order>