

## UNIT V

### 1. INDIA AS A CHAMPION OF WORLD PEACE AND JUSTICE

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A **peace movement** is a social movement that seeks to achieve ideals such as the ending of a particular war (or all wars), minimize inter-human violence in a particular place or type of situation, and is often linked to the goal of achieving world peace. Means to achieve these ends include advocacy of pacifism, non-violent resistance, diplomacy, boycotts, peace camps, moral purchasing, supporting anti-war political candidates, legislation to remove the profit from government contracts to the Military-industrial complex, banning guns, creating open government and transparency tools, direct democracy, supporting Whistleblowers who expose War-Crimes or conspiracies to create wars, demonstrations, and national political lobbying groups to create legislation. The political cooperative is an example of an organization that seeks to merge all peace movement organizations and green organizations, which may have some diverse goals, but all of whom have the common goal of peace and humane sustainability. A concern of some peace activists is the challenge of attaining peace when those that oppose it often use violence as their means of communication and empowerment.

Some people refer to the global loose affiliation of activists and political interests as having a shared purpose and this constituting a single movement, "*the* peace movement", an all encompassing "anti-war movement". Seen this way, the two are often indistinguishable and constitute a loose, responsive, event-driven collaboration between groups with motivations as diverse as humanism, environmentalism, veganism, anti-racism, feminism, decentralization, hospitality, ideology, theology, and faith.

☑ There are different ideas over what "peace" is (or should be), which results in a plurality of movements seeking diverse ideals of peace. Particularly, "anti-war" movements often have short-term goals, while peace movements advocate an ongoing life-style and proactive government policy.

It is often not clear whether a movement or a particular protest is against war in general, as in [pacifism](#), or against one's own government's participation in a war. Indeed, some observers feel that this lack of clarity or long term continuity has represented a key part of the strategy of those seeking to end a war, e.g., the war of Vietnam.

[Global protests against the U.S. invasion of Iraq](#) in early 2003 are an example of a more specific, short term and loosely affiliated [single-issue](#) "movement" —with relatively scattered ideological priorities, ranging from absolutist [pacifism](#) to [Islamism](#) and [Anti-Americanism](#) (see [Human shield action to Iraq](#)). Nonetheless, some of those who are involved in several such short term movements and build up trust relationships with others within them, do tend to eventually join more global or long-term movements.

By contrast, some elements of the global peace movement seek to guarantee [health security](#) by ending war and assuring what they see as basic [human rights](#) including the right of all people to have access to air, water, food, shelter and [health care](#). A number of activists seek [social justice](#) in the form of equal protection under the law and equal opportunity under the law for groups that have previously been disenfranchised.

The Peace movement is primarily characterized by a belief that humans should not wage war on each other or engage in violent [ethnic cleansings](#) over language, race or [natural](#)

[resources](#) or [ethical conflict](#) over [religion](#) or [ideology](#). Long-term opponents of war preparations are primarily characterized by a belief that [military power](#) is not the equivalent of [justice](#).

The Peace movement tends to oppose the proliferation of dangerous technologies and [weapons of mass destruction](#), in particular [nuclear weapons](#) and [biological warfare](#). Moreover, many object to the export of weapons including hand-held [machine guns](#) and [grenades](#) by [leading economic nations](#) to lesser developed nations. Some, like [SIPRI](#), have voiced special concern that [artificial intelligence](#), [molecular engineering](#), [genetics](#) and [proteomics](#) have even more vast destructive potential. Thus there is intersection between peace movement elements and [Neo-Luddites](#) or [primitivism](#), but also with the more mainstream technology critics such as the [Green parties](#), [Greenpeace](#) and the [ecology movement](#) they are part of.

It is one of several movements that led to the formation of [Green party](#) political associations in many democratic countries near the end of the 20th century. The peace movement has a very strong influence in some countries' green parties, such as in [Germany](#), perhaps reflecting that country's negative experiences with [militarism](#) in the [20th century](#).

History

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### **Peace and Trust of God**

The first mass peace movements in history were the [Peace of God](#) (*Pax Dei*), being first proclaimed in AD 989 at the Council of Charroux, and the [Truce of God](#) evolving out of it and being first proclaimed in 1027. The Peace of God originated as a response to increasing violence against monasteries in the aftermath of the fall of the Carolingian dynasty, spearheaded by bishops and "was promoted at a number of subsequent [church] councils, including important ones at Charroux (c. 989 and c. 1028), Narbonne (990), Limoges (994 and 1031), Poitiers (c.

1000), and Bourges (1038)". The Truce of God sought to restrain violence by limiting the number of days of the week and times of the year where the nobility was able to practice violence. These peace movements "set the foundations for modern European peace movements."<sup>[1]</sup>

Beginning in the 16th century, the [Protestant Reformation](#) gave rise to a variety of new Christian sects, including the [historic peace churches](#). Foremost among them were the [Religious Society of Friends](#) (Quakers), [Amish](#), [Mennonites](#), and [Church of the Brethren](#). The Quakers were prominent advocates of pacifism, who as early as 1660 had repudiated violence in all forms and adhered to a strict pacifist interpretation of [Christianity](#).<sup>[2]</sup> Throughout the many 18th century wars in which Britain participated, the Quakers maintained a principled commitment [not to serve in the army and militia](#) or even to pay the alternative £10 fine.

The 18th-century peace movements were products of two strands of thought that coalesced at the end of the 18th century. One, rooted in the secular [Enlightenment](#), promoted peace as the rational antidote to the world's ills, while the other was a part of the [evangelical religious revival](#) that had played an important part in the campaign for the [abolition of slavery](#). Representatives of the former, included [Jean-Jacques Rousseau](#), in *Extrait du Projet de Paix Perpetuelle de Monsieur l'Abbe Saint-Pierre* (1756),<sup>[3]</sup> [Immanuel Kant](#), in his *Thoughts on Perpetual Peace*.<sup>[4]</sup> and [Jeremy Bentham](#) who proposed the formation of a peace association in 1789. The representative of the latter was [William Wilberforce](#) who thought that strict limits should be imposed on British involvement in the [French Revolutionary War](#) based on Christian ideals of peace and brotherhood.<sup>[5]</sup>

## Peace movements<sup>[edit]</sup>

During the period of the [Napoleonic Wars](#), although no formal peace movement was established until the end of hostilities, a significant peace movement animated by universalist ideals did emerge, due to the perception of Britain fighting in a [reactionary](#) role and the increasingly visible impact of the war on the welfare of the nation in the form of higher taxation levels and high casualty rates. Sixteen peace petitions to [Parliament](#) were signed by members of the public, anti-war and anti-[Pitt](#) demonstrations convened and peace literature was widely published and disseminated.<sup>[6]</sup>

The first peace movements appeared in 1815–16. In the [United States](#) the first such movement was the [New York Peace Society](#), founded in 1815 by the theologian [David Low Dodge](#), and the [Massachusetts Peace Society](#). It became an active organization, holding regular weekly meetings, and producing literature which was spread as far as [Gibraltar](#) and [Malta](#), describing the horrors of war and advocating pacificism on [Christian](#) grounds.<sup>[7]</sup> The [London Peace Society](#) (also known as the Society for the Promotion of Permanent and Universal Peace) was formed in 1816 to promote permanent and universal peace by the [philanthropist William Allen](#). In the 1840s, British women formed "Olive Leaf Circles", groups of around 15 to 20 women, to discuss and promote pacifist ideas.<sup>[8]</sup>

The peace movement began to grow in influence by the mid-nineteenth century. The London Peace Society, under the initiative of [Elihu Burritt](#) and [Henry Richard](#), convened the first [International Peace Congress](#) in London in 1843.<sup>[9]</sup> The congress decided on two aims: the ideal of peaceable arbitration in the affairs of nations and the creation of an international institution to achieve that. [Richard](#) became the secretary of the Peace Society in 1850 on a full-time basis, a position which he would keep for the next 40 years, earning himself a reputation as

the 'Apostle of Peace'. He helped secure one of the earliest victories for the peace movement by securing a commitment from the [Great Powers](#) in the [Treaty of Paris \(1856\)](#) at the end of the [Crimean War](#), in favor of arbitration. On the European continent, wracked by [social upheaval](#), the first peace congress was held in [Brussels](#) in 1848 followed by [Paris](#) a year later.<sup>[10]</sup>

After experiencing a recession in support due to the resurgence of militarism during the [American Civil War](#) and [Crimean War](#), the movement began to spread across Europe and began to infiltrate the new [working class socialist](#) movements. In 1870, [Randal Cremer](#) formed the [Workman's Peace Association](#) in London. Cremer, alongside the French economist [Frédéric Passy](#), was also the founding father of the first international organization for the arbitration of conflicts in 1889, the [Inter-Parliamentary Union](#). The [National Peace Council](#) was founded in after the 17th [Universal Peace Congress](#) in London (July August 1908).

### **Nonviolent resistance**[\[edit\]](#)

[Mahatma Gandhi](#) (1869–1948) of India was one of the most influential spokesmen for peace and non-violence in the 20th century. [Gandhism](#) comprises the ideas and principles Gandhi promoted. Of central importance is nonviolent resistance. M.M. Sankhdher argues that Gandhism is not a systematic position in metaphysics or in political philosophy. Rather, it is a political creed, an economic doctrine, a religious outlook, a moral precept, and especially, a humanitarian world view. It is an effort not to systematize wisdom but to transform society and is based on an undying faith in the goodness of human nature.<sup>[11]</sup> Gandhi was strongly influenced by the pacifist ideas of Russian novelist [Leo Tolstoy](#). In 1908 Tolstoy wrote [A Letter to a Hindu](#), which said that only by using love as a weapon through [passive resistance](#) could the Indian people overthrow colonial rule. In 1909, Gandhi and Tolstoy began a correspondence regarding practical and theological applications of non-violence.<sup>[12]</sup> Gandhi saw himself a

disciple of Tolstoy, for they agreed regarding opposition to state authority and colonialism; both hated violence and preached non-resistance. However, they differed sharply on political strategy. Gandhi called for political involvement; he was a nationalist and was prepared to use nonviolent force. He was also willing to compromise.<sup>[13]</sup>

Gandhi was the first to apply the principle of nonviolence on a large scale.<sup>[14]</sup> The concept of nonviolence (*ahimsa*) and nonresistance has a long history in Indian religious thought and has had many revivals in Hindu, Buddhist, Jain, Jewish and Christian contexts. Gandhi explains his philosophy and way of life in his autobiography *The Story of My Experiments with Truth*. Some of his other remarks were widely quoted, such as "There are many causes that I am prepared to die for but no causes that I am prepared to kill for."<sup>[15]</sup>

Gandhi realized later that this level of nonviolence required incredible faith and courage, which he believed everyone did not possess. He, therefore, advised that everyone need not keep to nonviolence, especially if it were used as a cover for cowardice, saying, "where there is only a choice between cowardice and violence, I would advise violence."<sup>[16][17]</sup>

Gandhi came under political fire for his criticism of those who attempted to achieve independence through more violent means. Gandhi responded, "There was a time when people listened to me because I showed them how to give fight to the British without arms when they had no arms [...] but today I am told that my non-violence can be of no avail against the [Hindu– Moslem riots] and, therefore, people should arm themselves for self-defense."<sup>[18]</sup>

Gandhi's views came under heavy criticism in Britain when it was under attack from Nazi Germany. He told the British people in 1940, "I would like you to lay down the arms you have as being useless for saving you or humanity. You will invite Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini to take what they want of the countries you call your possessions... If these gentlemen choose to

occupy your homes, you will vacate them. If they do not give you free passage out, you will allow yourselves, man, woman, and child, to be slaughtered, but you will refuse to owe allegiance to them."<sup>[19]</sup>

## **World War I.**

Although the onset of the [First World War](#) was generally greeted with enthusiastic patriotism across Europe, peace groups were still active in condemning the war. Many [socialist](#) groups and movements were [antimilitarist](#), arguing that war by its nature was a type of governmental coercion of the [working class](#) for the benefit of capitalist elites. In 1915 the [League of Nations Society](#) was formed by British [liberal](#) leaders to promote a strong international organization that could enforce the peaceful resolution of conflict. Later that year the [League to Enforce Peace](#) was established in America to promote similar goals. [Hamilton Holt](#) published an editorial in his New York City weekly magazine the *Independent* called "The Way to Disarm: A Practical Proposal" on September 28, 1914. It called for an international organization to agree upon the arbitration of disputes and to guarantee the territorial integrity of its members by maintaining military forces sufficient to defeat those of any non-member. The ensuing debate among prominent internationalists modified Holt's plan to align it more closely with proposals offered in Great Britain by [Viscount James Bryce](#), a former ambassador from the UK to the US.<sup>[20]</sup> These and other initiatives were pivotal in the change in attitudes that gave birth to the [League of Nations](#) after the war.<sup>[21]</sup>

Some of the many groups that protested against the war, as well as the traditional peace churches, where the [Woman's Peace Party](#) (which was organized in 1915 and led by noted reformer [Jane Addams](#)), the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace (ICWPP) (also organized in 1915),<sup>[22]</sup> the [American Union Against Militarism](#), the [Fellowship of](#)



[Reconciliation](#), and the [American Friends Service Committee](#).<sup>[23]</sup> [Jeannette Rankin](#), the first woman elected to Congress, was another fierce advocate of pacifism, the only person to vote no to America's entrance into both World Wars.

### **Interwar period**[\[edit\]](#)

The immense loss of life during the war, for what became regarded as futile reasons, caused a sea-change in public attitudes to militarism. Organizations formed in this period included the [War Resisters' International](#)<sup>[24]</sup> the [Women's International League for Peace and Freedom](#), the [No More War Movement](#) and the [Peace Pledge Union](#) (PPU). The [League of Nations](#) also convened several disarmament conferences in the inter-war period such as the

Pacifism and revulsion with war were very popular sentiments in 1920s Britain. A stream of novels and poems on the theme of the futility of war and the slaughter of the youth by old fools were published, including, [Death of a Hero](#) by [Richard Aldington](#), [Erich Remarque's](#) translated [All Quiet on the Western Front](#) and [Beverley Nichols's](#) expose, *Cry, Havoc*. A debate at the [University of Oxford](#) in 1933 on the motion 'one must fight for King and country' captured the changed mood when the motion was resoundingly defeated. [Dick Sheppard](#) established the [Peace Pledge Union](#) in 1934 totally renouncing war and aggression. The idea of collective security was also popular; instead of outright pacifism the public generally exhibited a determination to stand up to aggression, but preferably with the use of economic sanctions and multilateral negotiations.<sup>[25]</sup>

The [Spanish Civil War](#) proved a major test for international pacifism, and the work of pacifist organizations (such as [War Resisters' International](#) and the [Fellowship of Reconciliation](#)) and individuals (such as [José Brocca](#) and [Amparo Poch](#)). Shortly after the war ended, [Simone Weil](#), despite having volunteered for service on the republican side, went on to publish [The Iliad or the](#)

*Poem of Force*, a work that has been described as a pacifist manifesto.<sup>[26]</sup> In response to the threat of fascism, some pacifist thinkers, such as [Richard B. Gregg](#), devised plans for a campaign of [nonviolent resistance](#) in the event of a fascist invasion or takeover.<sup>[27]</sup>

## **World War II**[\[edit\]](#)

A peace strike rally at [University of California](#), Berkeley, April 1940.

With the start of [World War II](#), pacifist and anti-war sentiment declined in nations affected by war. Even the communist-controlled [American Peace Mobilization](#) reversed its anti-war activism once Germany invaded the Soviet Union in 1941. After the [Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor](#), mainstream [isolationist](#) groups like the [America First Committee](#), declined, but many smaller religious and socialist groups continued their opposition to war. [Bertrand Russell](#) argued that the necessity of defeating [Adolf Hitler](#) and the [Nazis](#) was a unique circumstance where war was not the worst of the possible evils; he called his position *relative pacifism*. [H. G. Wells](#), who had joked after the armistice ending [World War I](#) that the British had suffered more from the war than they would have from submission to [Germany](#), urged in 1941 a large-scale British offensive on the continent of Europe to combat Hitler and [Nazism](#).<sup>[citation needed]</sup> Similarly [Albert Einstein](#) wrote: "I loathe all armies and any kind of violence; yet I'm firmly convinced that at present these hateful weapons offer the only effective protection."<sup>[28]</sup>

The French pacifists [André and Magda Trocmé](#) helped conceal hundreds of Jews fleeing the Nazis in the village of [Le Chambon-sur-Lignon](#).<sup>[29][30]</sup> After the war, the Trocmés was declared [Righteous Among the Nations](#).<sup>[29]</sup>

Pacifists in the [Third Reich](#) were dealt with harshly; German pacifist [Carl von Ossietzky](#),<sup>[31]</sup> and [Olaf Kullmann](#), a Norwegian pacifist active during the Nazi

occupation,<sup>[32]</sup> were both imprisoned in concentration camps and died as a result of their mistreatment there. Austrian farmer [Franz Jägerstätter](#) was executed in 1943 for refusing to serve in the [Wehrmacht](#).<sup>[33]</sup>

There were [conscientious objectors](#) and war [tax resisters](#) in both [World War I](#) and [World War II](#). The United States government allowed sincere objectors to serve in noncombatant military roles. However, those [draft resisters](#) who refused any cooperation with the war effort often spent much of each war in federal prisons. During World War II, pacifist leaders like [Dorothy Day](#) and [Ammon Hennacy](#) of the [Catholic Worker Movement](#) urged young Americans not to enlist in military service.

Since World War II, the peace movement has become widespread throughout the world, and its previously radical doctrines are now a part of mainstream political discourse.

### **Anti-nuclear movement**[\[edit\]](#)

Peace movements emerged in Japan and in 1954 they converged to form a unified "Japanese Council Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs". Japanese opposition to the Pacific nuclear weapons tests was widespread, and "an estimated 35 million signatures were collected on petitions calling for bans on nuclear weapons".<sup>[34]</sup>

In the United Kingdom, the [Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament](#) held an inaugural public meeting at [Central Hall, Westminster](#), on 17 February 1958, attended by five thousand people.

After the meeting a few hundred left to demonstrate at [Downing Street](#).<sup>[35][36]</sup>

CND's declared policies were the unconditional renunciation of the use, production of or dependence upon nuclear weapons by Britain and the bringing about of a general disarmament convention. In the meantime, Britain should halt the flight of planes armed with nuclear

weapons, end nuclear testing, not proceed with missile bases and not provide nuclear weapons to any other country.

The first [Aldermaston March](#) was organised by the CND and took place at [Easter](#) 1958, when several thousand people marched for four days from [Trafalgar Square](#), London, to the [Atomic Weapons Research Establishment](#) close to [Aldermaston](#) in [Berkshire](#), England, to demonstrate their opposition to nuclear weapons.<sup>[37][38]</sup> The Aldermaston marches continued into the late 1960s when tens of thousands of people took part in the four-day marches.<sup>[34]</sup> The formation of [CND](#) tapped widespread popular fear and opposition to nuclear weapons following the development of the first [hydrogen bomb](#), and in the late 1950s and early 1960s, anti-nuclear marches attracted large followings, especially to the annual Aldermaston march at Easter.

Popular opposition to nuclear weapons produced a Labour Party resolution for unilateral nuclear disarmament at the 1960 Party Conference, but it was overturned the following year and did not appear on later agendas. This experience disillusioned many anti-nuclear protesters with the Labour Party, in whom they had previously put their hopes. Subsequently, there was a strong anti-parliamentary current in the British peace movement, and it has been argued that during the 1960s anarchism became as influential as socialism.

Two years after the formation of CND [Bertrand Russell](#), its president, resigned to form the Committee of 100, which was to undertake civil disobedience in the form of sit-down demonstrations in central London and at nuclear bases around the UK. Russell said that these were needed because the press had grown indifferent to CND and because large-scale direct action could force the government to change its policy.<sup>[39]</sup> A hundred prominent people, many in the arts, put their names to the organization. Very large numbers of demonstrators were essential to this strategy, but the violence of the police, the arrest and imprisonment of demonstrators, and

pre-emptive arrests for conspiracy made support dwindle rapidly. Although several eminent people took part in sit-down demonstrations (including Russell, whose imprisonment at the age of 89 was widely reported) many of the 100 signatories were inactive.<sup>[40]</sup>

As the Committee of 100 had a non-hierarchical structure and no formal membership, many local groups sprang up calling themselves [Committee of 100](#). This helped the promulgation of civil disobedience but it produced policy confusion and, as the decade progressed, Committee of 100 groups engaged in actions on many social issues not directly related to war and peace.

In the United States, in 1961, at the height of the [Cold War](#), about 50,000 women brought together by [Women Strike for Peace](#) marched in 60 cities in the United States to demonstrate against [nuclear weapons](#). It was the largest national women's [peace protest](#) of the 20th century.<sup>[41][42]</sup>

In 1958, Linus Pauling and his wife presented the United Nations with the petition signed by more than 11,000 scientists calling for an end to [nuclear-weapon testing](#). The "[Baby Tooth Survey](#)," headed by Dr [Louise Reiss](#), demonstrated conclusively in 1961 that above-ground nuclear testing posed significant public health risks in the form of [radioactive fallout](#) spread primarily via milk from cows that had ingested contaminated grass.<sup>[43][44][45]</sup> Public pressure and the research results subsequently led to a moratorium on above-ground nuclear weapons testing, followed by the [Partial Test Ban Treaty](#), signed in 1963 by [John F. Kennedy](#), [Nikita Khrushchev](#) and [Harold Macmillan](#).<sup>[46]</sup> On the day that the treaty went into force, the Nobel Prize Committee awarded Pauling the [Nobel Peace Prize](#), describing him as "Linus Carl Pauling, who ever since 1946 has campaigned ceaselessly, not only against nuclear weapons tests, not only against the spread of these armaments, not only against their very use, but against all warfare as a means of solving international conflicts."<sup>[47][48]</sup> Pauling started the [International League of](#)

[Humanists](#) in 1974. He was president of the scientific advisory board of the [World Union for Protection of Life](#) and also one of the signatories of the [Dubrovnik-Philadelphia Statement](#).

Protest in Amsterdam against the deployment of [Pershing II](#) missiles in Europe, 1981

On June 12, 1982, one million people demonstrated in New York City's [Central Park](#) against [nuclear weapons](#) and for an end to the [cold war arms race](#). It was the largest anti-nuclear [protest](#) and the largest political demonstration in American history.<sup>[49][50]</sup> International Day of Nuclear Disarmament protests were held on June 20, 1983 at 50 sites across the United States.<sup>[51][52]</sup> In 1986, hundreds of people walked from [Los Angeles](#) to [Washington DC](#) in the [Great Peace March for Global Nuclear Disarmament](#).<sup>[53]</sup> There were many [Nevada Desert Experience](#) protests and peace camps at the [Nevada Test Site](#) during the 1980s and 1990s.<sup>[54][55]</sup>

On May 1, 2005, 40,000 anti-nuclear/anti-war protesters marched past the United Nations in New York, 60 years after the [atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki](#).<sup>[56]</sup> This was the largest anti-nuclear rally in the U.S. for several decades.<sup>[57]</sup> In Britain, there were many protests about the government's proposal to replace the aging [Trident weapons system](#) with a newer model. The largest protest had 100,000 participants and, according to polls, 59 percent of the public opposed the move.<sup>[57]</sup>

The [International Conference on Nuclear Disarmament](#) took place in [Oslo](#) in February 2008, and was organized by The Government of [Norway](#), the [Nuclear Threat Initiative](#) and the [Hoover Institute](#). The Conference was entitled *Achieving the Vision of a World Free of Nuclear Weapons* and had the purpose of building consensus between nuclear weapon states and non-nuclear weapon states in relation to the [Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty](#).<sup>[58]</sup>

In May 2010, some 25,000 people, including members of peace organizations and 1945 atomic bomb survivors, marched for about two kilometers from downtown New York to the United Nations headquarters, calling for the elimination of nuclear weapons.<sup>[59]</sup>

## **Vietnam War protests**[\[edit\]](#)

*Main article: [Opposition to the U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War](#)* The peace movement began in the 1960s in the United States in opposition to U.S. involvement in the [Vietnam War](#). Some advocates within this movement advocated a unilateral withdrawal of U.S. forces from [South Vietnam](#).

The first U.S. anti-Vietnam protest was led in 1962 by [Sam Marcy](#),<sup>[*citation needed*]</sup> founder of [Workers World Party](#), a demonstration whose importance was noted by [Ho Chi Minh](#) in an interview published in the [National Guardian](#) newspaper.

[Opposition to the Vietnam War](#) tended to unite groups opposed to U.S. anti-communism, [imperialism](#) and [colonialism](#) and, for those involved with the [New Left](#), [capitalism](#) itself, such as the [Catholic Worker Movement](#). Others, such as [Stephen Spiro](#) opposed the war based on the theory of [Just War](#).

In 1965, the movement began to gain national prominence. Provocative actions by police and by protesters turned anti-war demonstrations in Chicago at the [1968 Democratic National Convention](#) into a riot. Explosive news reports of American [military abuses](#), such as the 1968 [My Lai Massacre](#), brought new attention and support to the anti-war movement bringing it to its height. The movement continued to prosper over the span of the conflict.

High-profile opposition to the Vietnam war turned to street protests in an effort to turn U.S. political opinion against the war. The protests gained momentum from the [Civil Rights](#)

[Movement](#) that had organized to oppose [segregation](#) laws, which had laid a foundation of theory and infrastructure on which the anti-war movement grew. Protests were fueled by a growing network of independently published newspapers (known as "underground papers") and the timely advent of large venue rock'n'roll festivals such as [Woodstock](#) and [Grateful Dead](#) shows, attracting younger people in search of generational togetherness. The movement progressed from college campuses to middle-class suburbs, government institutions, and [labor unions](#).

Peace movements by country[[edit](#)]

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### **Canada**[[edit](#)]

[Agnes Macphail](#), a Canadian pacifist, was the first woman to be elected to the [House of Commons of Canada](#). Macphail objected to the [Royal Military College of Canada](#) in 1931 on pacific grounds.<sup>[60]</sup> Macphail was also the first Canadian woman delegate to the League of Nations, where she worked with the World Disarmament Committee. Although a pacifist, she voted for Canada to enter [World War II](#).

The [Canadian Peace Congress](#) (1949–1990) was a leading organizer in the peace movement for many years, particularly when it was under the leadership of [James Gareth Endicott](#) who was its president until 1971.

Currently, Canada has a diverse peace movement, with coalitions and networks in many cities, towns and regions. The largest cross-country umbrella coalition is the [Canadian Peace Alliance](#), whose 140 member groups include large city-based coalitions, small grassroots groups, national and local unions, faith, environmental, and student groups, with a combined membership of over 4 million Canadians. The Canadian Peace Alliance has been a leading voice, along with its member groups opposing the "War on Terror". In particular, the CPA opposes Canada's



participation in the war in Afghanistan and Canadian complicity in what it views as misguided and destructive U.S. foreign policy.

Canada has also been home to a growing movement of Palestinian solidarity, marked by an increasing number of grassroots Jewish groups opposed to Israel's policies, in many cases likening them to Apartheid, war crimes, and ethnic cleansing.

## **Germany**[\[edit\]](#)

Protest in Bonn against the [nuclear arms race](#) between the U.S./NATO and the Soviet Union, 1981

During the Cold War (1947–89), the West German peace movement concentrated on the abolition of nuclear technology, particularly weapons, from [West Germany](#) and Europe. Most activists stridently attacked both the United States and Soviet Union. Conservative critics repeatedly warned it was infiltrated by agents from the East German secret police, the [Stasi](#).<sup>[61]</sup>

After 1989, the cause of peace was espoused by [Green parties](#) across Europe. It sometimes exercised significant influence over policy, e.g., as during 2002 when the [German Greens](#) influenced German Chancellor [Gerhard Schröder](#) to oppose involvement in Iraq. The Greens controlled of the German Foreign Ministry under [Joschka Fischer](#) (a Green and the single most popular politician in Germany at the time). Fischer sought to limit German involvement in the [War on Terrorism](#); he joined with French President [Jacques Chirac](#) whose opposition in the [UN Security Council](#) was decisive in limiting support for the [U.S. plan to invade Iraq](#).

## **Israel**[\[edit\]](#)

The [Israeli–Palestinian conflict](#) and [Arab–Israeli conflict](#) have existed since the inception of [Zionism](#), and especially since the 1948 formation of the state of [Israel](#), and the 1967 [Six-Day](#)

War. The mainstream peace movement in Israel is Peace Now (*Shalom Akhshav*), whose supporters tend to vote for the Labour Party or Meretz.<sup>[citation needed]</sup>

Peace Now was founded in the aftermath of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat's historic visit to Jerusalem, when many people felt that the chance for peace might be missed. PM Begin acknowledged that the Peace Now rally in Tel Aviv at the eve of his departure for the Camp David Summit with Presidents Sadat and Carter—drawing a crowd of 100,000, the largest peace rally in Israel until then—had a part in his decision to withdraw from Sinai and dismantle Israeli settlements there. Peace Now supported Begin for a time, and hailed him as a peace-maker, but turned against him when withdrawal from Sinai was accompanied by an accelerated campaign of land confiscation and settlement building in the West Bank.<sup>[citation needed]</sup>

Peace Now advocates a negotiated peace with the Palestinians. Originally this was worded vaguely, with no definition of who "the Palestinians" are and who represents them. Peace Now was quite tardy in joining the dialogue with the PLO, started by such groups as the Israeli Council for Israeli-Palestinian Peace and the Hadash communist party. Only in 1988 did Peace Now accept that the PLO is the body regarded by the Palestinians themselves as their representative.<sup>[citation needed]</sup>

During the first Intifada, Peace Now held numerous protests and rallies to protest the Israeli army and call for a negotiated withdrawal from the Palestinian territories. At the time Peace Now strongly targeted then for Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin for his order to "break the bones of Palestinian stone-throwers". However, after Rabin became Prime Minister, signed the Oslo Agreement and shook Yasser Arafat's hand on the White House lawn, Peace Now strongly supported him and mobilized public support for him. Peace Now had a central role in the November 4, 1995 rally after which Rabin was assassinated.<sup>[citation needed]</sup>

Since then the annual Rabin memorial rallies, held every year at the beginning of November, have become the main event of the Israeli Peace Movement. While officially organized by the Rabin Family Foundation, Peace Now presence in these annual rallies is always conspicuous. [\[citation needed\]](#) Nowadays, Peace Now is especially known for its struggle against the expansion of settlement outposts on the West Bank. [\[citation needed\]](#)

[Gush Shalom](#), the Israeli Peace Bloc, is a radical movement to the left of Peace Now. In its present name and structure, Gush Shalom grew out of the *Jewish-Arab Committee Against Deportations*, which protested the deportation without trial of 415 Palestinian Islamic activists to Lebanon in December 1992, and erected a protest tent in front of the prime minister's office in Jerusalem for two months—until the government consented to let the deportees return. Members then decided to continue as a general peace movement with a program strongly opposing the occupation and advocating the creation of an independent Palestine side-by-side with Israel in its pre-1967 borders ("The [Green Line](#)") and with an undivided Jerusalem serving as the capital of both states. [\[citation needed\]](#)

While existing under the name Gush Shalom only since 1992, this movement is in fact the lineal descendant of various groups, movements and action committees that espoused much the same program since 1967, and that occupied the same space on the political scene. In particular, Gush Shalom is the descendant of the *Israeli Council for Israeli-Palestinian Peace* (ICIPP), which was founded in 1975. The ICIPP founders included: a group of dissidents from the Israeli establishment, among them were Major-General [Mattityahu Peled](#), who was member of the [IDF](#) General Staff during the 1967 Six Day War and after being discharged from the army in 1969 turned increasingly in the direction of the left; Dr. [Ya'akov Arnon](#), a well-known economist who headed the Zionist Federation in the Netherlands before coming to Israel in 1948, and was

for many years director-general of the Israeli Ministry of Finance and afterwards chaired the Board of Directors of the Israeli Electricity Company; and [Aryeh Eliav](#), who was secretary-general of the [Labour Party](#) until he broke with the then PM [Golda Meir](#) over the issue of whether or not a Palestinian People existed and had national rights. <sup>[citation needed]</sup>

These three and some two hundred more people became radicalised and came to the conclusion that "arrogance was a threat to Israel's future and that dialogue with the Palestinians must be opened." <sup>[citation needed]</sup> They came together with a group of younger, grassroots peace activists who had been active against Israeli occupation since 1967. The bridge between the two groups was [Uri Avnery](#), a well known muckraking journalist who had been member of the [Knesset](#) (Israeli Parliament) between 1965 and 1973, at the head of his own radical one-man party. <sup>[citation needed]</sup>

The main achievement of the ICIPP was the opening of dialogue with the [Palestine Liberation Organization](#) (PLO), with the aim of convincing the Israelis of the need to talk and reach a peace deal with the Palestinians, and conversely making Palestinians aware of the need to talk to and eventually reach a deal with Israel. <sup>[citation needed]</sup>

At present, Gush Shalom activists are mainly involved in daily struggle at Palestinian villages that have their land confiscated by the [West Bank barrier](#), erected to stop suicide bombers. Gush activists are to be found, together with those of other Israeli movements like [Ta'ayush](#) and [Anarchists Against the Wall](#), joining the Palestinian villagers of [Bil'in](#) in the weekly protest marches held to protest confiscation of more than half of the village lands. <sup>[citation needed]</sup>

Although [Gush Shalom](#) earned itself respect among peace-seeking Israelis as well as in the [United States](#) and Europe, it is regarded by mainstream Israelis as a purely pro-Palestinian movement.<sup>[*citation needed*]</sup>

After the [Gaza War](#) in 2014, a group of Israeli women founded the [Women Wage Peace](#) movement with the goal of reaching a "bilaterally acceptable" political peace agreement between Israel and Palestine.<sup>[62]</sup> While based mainly in Israel, the movement has worked to build connections with Palestinians, reaching out to women and men of many different religions and political backgrounds.<sup>[63]</sup> The group's activities have included a collective hunger strike outside Israeli Prime Minister [Benjamin Netanyahu](#)'s formal residence<sup>[64]</sup> and a protest march from Northern Israel to Jerusalem.<sup>[63]</sup> As of May 2017, Women Wage Peace had over 20,000 members and supporters associated with it.<sup>[65]</sup>

## **United Kingdom**<sup>[*edit*]</sup>

From 1934 the [Peace Pledge Union](#) gained many adherents to its pledge, "I renounce war and will never support or sanction another." Its support diminished considerably with the outbreak of war in 1939, but it remained the focus of pacifism in the post-war years.

Post-World War II peace-movement efforts in the United Kingdom were initially focused on the dissolution of the [British Empire](#) and the rejection of [imperialism](#) by the United States and [USSR](#). The [anti-nuclear movement](#) sought to "opt out" of the [Cold War](#) and rejected such ideas as "Britain's Little Independent Nuclear Deterrent" in part on the grounds that it (BLIND) was in contradiction even with MAD.

The VSC ([Vietnam Solidarity Campaign](#)) led by [Tariq Ali](#) mounted several very large and violent demonstrations against the Vietnam war in 67/68 but the first anti Vietnam demonstration

was at the American Embassy in London and took place in 1965.<sup>[66]</sup> In 1976 [the Lucas Plan](#) led by [Mike Cooley](#) sought to transform the production at Lucas Aerospace from Arms to Socially useful production. The peace movement was later associated with the [Peace camp](#) movement as [Labour](#) moved "more to the centre" under Prime Minister [Tony Blair](#). By early 2003, the peace and anti-war movement, mostly grouped together under the banner of the [Stop the War Coalition](#), was powerful enough to cause several of Blair's cabinet to resign, and hundreds of Labour Party MPs to vote against their government. Blair's motion to support militarily the [U.S. plan to invade Iraq](#) continued only due to support from the [UK Conservative Party](#). [Protests against the invasion of Iraq](#) were particularly vocal in Britain. Polls suggested that without [UN Security Council](#) approval, the UK public was very much opposed to involvement, and over two million people protested in Hyde Park (the previous largest demonstration in the UK having had around 600,000).

The peace movement has seen 'pop-up' newspapers, pirate radio stations and plays over the years.

The primary function of the National Peace Congress was to provide opportunities for consultation and joint activities between its affiliated members, to help create an informed public opinion on the issues of the day and to convey to the government of the day the views of the substantial section of British life represented by its affiliated membership. The NPC folded in 2000 to be replaced in 2001 by [Network for Peace](#), which was set up to continue the networking role of NPC.

**United States**[\[edit\]](#)

*Main article: [Pacifism in the United States](#)*

During the tail end of the [Cold War](#), U.S. peace activists largely concentrated on slowing the [superpower arms race](#) in the belief that this would reduce the possibility of nuclear war between the U.S. and the USSR. As the [Reagan administration](#) accelerated military spending and adopted a tough, challenging stance to the Russians, peace groups such as the [Nuclear Freeze](#) and Beyond War sought to educate the public on what they believed was the inherent riskiness and ruinous cost of this policy. Outreach to individual citizens in the Soviet Union and mass meetings, using then-new satellite link technology, were part of peacemaking activities in the 1980s. In 1981, [Thomas](#) started the longest uninterrupted peace [vigil](#) in U.S. history.<sup>[67]</sup> He was later joined at [Lafayette Square](#) by anti-nuclear activists [Concepcion Picciotto](#) and [Ellen Thomas](#).<sup>[68]</sup>

In response to Iraq's invasion of [Kuwait](#) in 1990, President [George H. W. Bush](#) began preparations for a mideast war. Peace activists were starting to find their groove just before the [Gulf War](#) was launched in February 1991, with well-attended rallies, especially on the west coast. However, the ground war was over in less than a week. A lopsided Allied victory and a media-incited wave of patriotic sentiment washed over the protest movement before it could develop traction.

During the 1990s, peacemakers' priorities included seeking a solution to the [Israeli-Palestinian impasse](#), belated efforts at humanitarian assistance to war-torn regions such as Bosnia and Rwanda, and Iraq; American peace activists brought medicine into Iraq in defiance of U.S. law, in some cases enduring heavy fines and imprisonment in retaliation. Some of the principal groups involved were [Voices in the Wilderness](#) and the [Fellowship of Reconciliation](#).

Before, during, and after the [War in Iraq](#) began, a concerted protest effort began in the United States. On [February 15, 2003](#) a series of protests across the globe took place with events in

approximately 800 cities. In March 2003, just before the U.S. and British Military led invasion of Iraq, a protest mobilization called "The World Says No to War" led to as many as 500,000 protestors in cities across the U.S. However, many protest organizations have persisted as the United States has maintained a military and corporate presence in Iraq.

U.S. activist groups including [United for Peace and Justice](#), [Code Pink](#) (Women Say No To War), [Iraq Veterans Against the War](#), [Military Families Speak Out](#) (MFSO), [Not In Our Name](#), [A.N.S.W.E.R.](#), [Veterans for Peace](#), and [The World Can't Wait](#) continued to protest against the [Iraq War](#). Methods of protest include rallies and marches, impeachment petitions, the staging of a war-crimes tribunal in New York (to investigate crimes and alleged abuses of power of the Bush administration), bringing Iraqi women to tour the U.S. and tell their side of the story, street theater and independent filmmaking, high-profile appearances by anti-war activists such as [Scott Ritter](#), [Janis Karpinski](#), and [Dahr Jamail](#), resisting military recruiting on college campuses, withholding tax monies, mass letter-writing to legislators and newspapers, blogging, music, and guerrilla theater. Independent media producers continue to broadcast, podcast and Web-host programs about the movement against the Iraq War.

Starting in 2005, [opposition to military action against Iran](#) started in the United States, the United Kingdom and elsewhere, including the creation of the [Campaign Against Sanctions and Military Intervention in Iran](#). By August 2007, fears of an imminent United States and/or [Israeli](#) attack on [Iran](#) had increased to the level that several [Nobel Prize](#) winners, [Shirin Ebadi](#) (Nobel Peace Prize 2003), [Mairead Corrigan-Maguire](#) and [Betty Williams](#) (joint Nobel Peace Prize 1976), [Harold Pinter](#) (Nobel Prize for Literature 2005) and [Jody Williams](#) (Nobel Peace Prize 1997), along with several [anti-war](#) groups, including The Israeli Committee for a Middle East Free from Atomic, Biological and Chemical Weapons, [Campaign for Nuclear](#)



[Disarmament](#), [CASMI](#), [Code Pink](#) and many others, warned about what they believed was the imminent risk of a "war of an unprecedented scale, this time against Iran", especially expressing concern that an attack on Iran using [nuclear weapons](#) had "not been ruled out". They called for "the dispute about [Iran's nuclear program](#), to be resolved through peaceful means" and a call for [Israel](#), "as the only Middle Eastern state [suspected of possession of nuclear weapons](#)", to join the [Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty](#).<sup>[69]</sup>

## 2. Non-Aligned Movement(NAM)

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The **Non-Aligned Movement (NAM)** is a forum of 120 [developing world](#) states that are not formally aligned with or against any major [power bloc](#). After the [United Nations](#), it is the largest grouping of states worldwide.<sup>[2][5]</sup>

Drawing on the principles agreed at the [Bandung Conference](#) in 1955, the Non-Aligned Movement was established in 1961 in [Belgrade](#), [SR Serbia](#), [Yugoslavia](#) through an initiative of the Indian Prime Minister [Jawaharlal Nehru](#), Ghanaian President [Kwame Nkrumah](#), Indonesian President [Sukarno](#), Egyptian President [Gamal Abdel Nasser](#) and Yugoslav President [Josip Broz Tito](#).<sup>[6][7]</sup> This led to the first Conference of Heads of State or Governments of Non-Aligned Countries.<sup>[8]</sup> The term *non-aligned movement* first appears in the fifth conference in 1976, where participating countries are denoted as "members of the movement".

The purpose of the organization was enumerated by [Fidel Castro](#) in his Havana Declaration of 1979 as to ensure "the national independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of non-aligned countries" in their "struggle against [imperialism](#), [colonialism](#), [neo-colonialism](#), [racism](#), and all forms of foreign aggression, [occupation](#), domination, interference or [hegemony](#) as well as against [great power](#) and bloc politics."<sup>[9][10]</sup> The countries of the Non-Aligned Movement represent nearly two-thirds of the United Nations' members and contain 55%

of the world population. Membership is particularly concentrated in countries considered to be developing or part of the [Third World](#), though the Non-Aligned Movement also has a number of [developed nations](#).

Although many of the Non-Aligned Movement's members were actually quite closely aligned with one or another of the [superpowers](#) (such as the People's Republic of China, an observer, or the Soviet Union, not participating in the Non-Aligned Movement), the movement still maintained cohesion throughout the [Cold War](#), even despite several conflicts between members which also threatened the movement. In the years since the Cold War's end, it has focused on developing multilateral ties and connections as well as unity among the developing nations of the world, especially those within the [Global South](#).

### 3. INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

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[India](#) was among the original members of the [United Nations](#) that signed the [Declaration by United Nations](#) at Washington, D.C. in October of 1944 and also participated in the [United Nations Conference on International Organization](#) at [San Francisco](#) from 25 April to 26 June 1945. As a founding member of the United Nations, India strongly supports the purposes and principles of the UN and has made significant contributions in implementing the goals of the [Charter](#), and the evolution of the UN's specialised programmes and agencies.<sup>[1]</sup>

India has been [a member](#) of the [UN Security Council](#) for eight terms (a total of ongoing 16 years), with the most recent being the [2021–22 term](#). India is a member of [G4](#), group of nations who back each other in seeking a permanent seat on the Security Council and advocate in favour of [the reformation of the UNSC](#). India is also part of the [G-77](#).

India is a charter member of the United Nations and participates in all of its [specialised agencies](#) and organizations. India has contributed troops to [United Nations peacekeeping](#) efforts in [Korea](#),<sup>[2][3]</sup> [Egypt](#) and the [Congo](#) in its earlier years and in Somalia, Angola, Haiti, Liberia, Lebanon and Rwanda in recent years, and more recently in the [South Sudan conflict](#).<sup>1</sup>

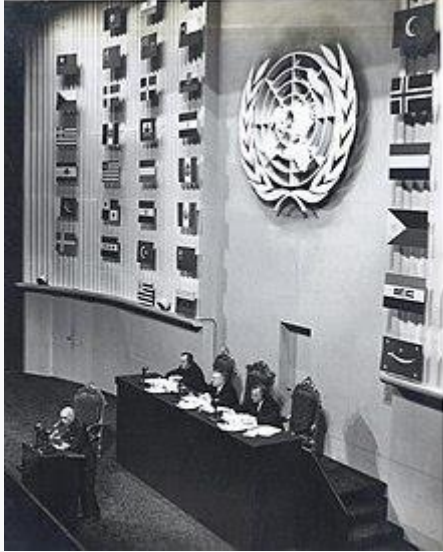
History[[edit](#)]

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[1st Prime Minister of India Jawaharlal Nehru](#) with [President of the United Nations General Assembly Carlos P. Romulo](#) in October 1949. Also seen [Jawaharlal Nehru](#) and [V. K. Krishna Menon](#) in United Nations in December 1956.



Indian Mission to the [UN Headquarters](#) in New York



[1st Prime Minister of India Jawaharlal Nehru](#) at the UN General Assembly in 1948.

India was one of the original members of the [League of Nations](#). In principle, only sovereign states can become [UN members](#). However, although today all UN members are fully sovereign states, four of the original members ([Belarus](#), [India](#), the [Philippines](#), and [Ukraine](#)) were not independent at the time of their admission.<sup>[5]</sup> India signed the [Declaration by United Nations](#) on 1 January 1942 and was represented by [Girija Shankar Bajpai](#) who was the Indian [Agent-General](#) at the time. Afterwards the Indian delegation led by Sir [Arcot Ramaswamy Mudaliar](#) signed the [United Nations Charter](#) on behalf of India during the historic [United Nations Conference on International Organization](#) held in [San Francisco](#), United States on 26 June 1945.<sup>[6]</sup> Sir A. Ramaswamy Mudaliar later went on to serve as the first president of the [United Nations Economic and Social Council](#). Technically, India was a founding member in October 1945, despite it being a British colony. India, Canada, [South Africa](#), New Zealand and Australia were all British colonies but were given independent seats in the [United Nations General Assembly](#). India gained [full independence](#) in 1947.

Independent India viewed its membership at the United Nations as an important guarantee for maintaining international peace and security. India stood at the forefront during the UN's tumultuous years of struggle against [colonialism](#) and [apartheid](#). India's status as a founding member of the [Non-Aligned Movement](#) and the [Group of 77](#) cemented its position within the UN system as a leading advocate of the concerns and aspirations of developing countries and the creation of a more equitable international economic and political order. India was among the most outspoken critics of [apartheid](#) and [racial discrimination](#) in South Africa, being the first country to have raised the issue in the UN (in 1946).<sup>[7]</sup>

## Activities

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### UN General Assembly [\[edit\]](#)

India was one of the founding members of the United Nations, joining in October 1945, two years before acquiring independence from [Imperial Britain](#).<sup>[8]</sup> By 1946, India had started raising concerns regarding [colonialism](#), [apartheid](#) and [racial discrimination](#). From early 1947–48, India took an active part in [Drafting of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights](#). Dr (Mrs). [Hansa Mehta](#), a Gandhian political activist and social worker who led the Indian delegation, had made important contributions in drafting of the Declaration, especially highlighting the need for reflecting [gender equality](#) by changing the language of the [Universal Declaration of Human Rights](#) from '[all men are created equal](#)' ([Eleanor Roosevelt's](#) preferred phrase) to 'all human beings'.<sup>[9][10]</sup>

In 1953, the chief delegate of India at the time, [Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit](#) was elected the first woman [President of the UN General Assembly](#). India supported the struggle towards global disarmament and the ending of the [arms race](#), and towards the creation of a more equitable

international economic order. India had a mediatory role in resolving the stalemate over prisoners of war in Korea contributing to the signing of the [armistice](#) ending the [Korean War](#) in 1953.<sup>[11]</sup> India chaired the five-member [Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission](#) while the [Indian Custodian Force](#) supervised the process of interviews and repatriation that followed. India then went on to chair the three international commissions for supervision and control for Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos established by the [1954 Geneva Accords](#) on Indochina. India also had an active role to play in the [Suez Crisis](#) in 1956 with the role of [Nehru](#), both as Indian Prime minister and a leader of the [Non-Aligned Movement](#) being significant. Indian historian Inder Malhotra wrote that "Now Nehru—who had tried to be even-handed between the two sides—denounced [Anthony Eden](#) (the then British Prime Minister) and co-sponsors of the aggression vigorous. He had a powerful, if relatively silent, ally in the US president [Dwight D. Eisenhower](#) who went to the extent of using America's clout in the IMF to make Eden and [Mollet](#) (the then French Prime Minister) behave".<sup>[12]</sup>

[Charter](#) provisions on [Non-Self-Governing Territories](#) were given a new thrust when the UN adopted the landmark 1960 [Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples](#) which was co-sponsored by India. The following year, the [Special Committee on the Implementation of the Declaration on Decolonization](#) was established to study, investigate and recommend action to bring an end to colonialism, it was chaired by India for the first time. India played a leading role in the formation of a Sub-Committee against Apartheid set up by the [General Assembly](#). When the [Convention on Elimination of all forms of Racial Discrimination](#) was adopted in 1965, India was among the earliest signatories, however it does not recognise competence under article 14 and it does not consider itself bound by article 22.

India also played a prominent role in articulating the economic concerns of developing countries in such UN-sponsored conferences as the triennial UN Conference on Trade and Development and the 1992 [Conference on the Environment and Development](#) in Rio de Janeiro.<sup>[13]</sup> It has been an active member of the [Group of 77](#), and later the core group of the [G-15](#) nations. Other issues, such as environmentally sustainable development and the promotion and protection of human rights, have also been an important focus of India's foreign policy in international forums.

### *Activities during 1947-1962* [\[edit\]](#)

Despite its anti-status quo stand on many global issues, India's attitude toward the basic structure of the UN was fundamentally conservative.<sup>[14]</sup> It accepted the organization and distribution of power in the UN, as both a guarantee of Indian sovereignty and as a check on the numerical superiority of the U.S. and its western coalition. India supported the charter provisions for a Security Council veto for the great powers, opposed the U.S. initiative to circumvent the veto through the [Uniting for Peace](#) Resolution, dismissed [Hammarskjöld's](#) notion of a "UN presence" as interventionist and opposed all efforts to conduct UN directed [plebiscites](#) as tests of opinion.<sup>[15]</sup>

India's procedural conservatism was based both on its commitment to national sovereignty and its desire to protect Indian interests. Its experience with the UN had not always been positive. In the early years after independence, a whole range of issues, which had their origins in the partition of the Indian subcontinent between India and Pakistan, came before the UN. These issues included the disputed princely states of [Junagadh](#), [Hyderabad](#) and [Kashmir](#), which were ultimately incorporated into the Indian Union through the use of military force.<sup>[16][17]</sup>

The most persistent of these disputes was the [Kashmir conflict](#). Nehru's faith in the UN and adherence to its principles proved costly on some occasions due to the power play inherent in the

organization. This was seen by his decision to refer Pakistan's intervention ('invasion') in disputed Kashmir to the UN Security Council in January 1948.<sup>[18]</sup> The United Kingdom, which was hoping to avoid being seen as unfriendly to a Muslim state after the [creation of Israel](#), used pressure tactics on its allies France, Canada and the US to support the Pakistani viewpoint that Kashmir's accession to India was disputable and had to be put to the test of a [plebiscite](#).<sup>[19]</sup> Nehru's hope that the UN would unconditionally instruct Pakistan to vacate the one-third portion of Kashmir that the Pakistani tribesmen and army had occupied fell flat in the face of geopolitical manoeuvrings and cross-issue linkage. To this day, Indian strategic commentators and critics of Nehru bemoan his cardinal mistake of taking the Kashmir dispute to a UN that was packed with pro-Pakistani partisan powers.<sup>[20]</sup> According to columnist [Brahma Chellaney](#), 'Nehru did not appreciate that the UN was an institution of power politics, not an impartial police force'.<sup>[21]</sup> As if a double reminder were needed that India was small fry in a UN dominated by crafty Great Powers divided into two ideological camps, New Delhi was disappointed to find that Security Council members the US, United Kingdom and France tried to prevent it from forcibly absorbing the [Portuguese colony of Goa](#) in 1961.<sup>[22]</sup> But for the [Soviet veto](#) in favour of India, [Goa](#) could have become enmeshed in another Kashmir-like stalemate for decades, buffeted by the changing winds of Great Power alignments and preferences that were paralysing and hijacking the UN.<sup>[18][23]</sup>

Overall the period from 1947-1962 was marked by India's active interest in all UN activities under the leadership of [V. K. Krishna Menon](#) who was the Indian Ambassador to the United Nations from 1952-1962. Indian leadership and peacekeeping roles in the UN brought it considerable recognition and global standing.<sup>[24][25]</sup>



### *The Phase from 1962-1976*<sup>[edit]</sup>

India's defeat in the [Sino-Indian War](#) came as a grave shock in comparison to its global aspirations and recognition. Large scale hostilities and military reverses dealt a shattering blow to its self-confidence and pride. India was obliged to turn towards the west for military and political support. Following the conflict with China, India became involved in [two wars with Pakistan](#) and entered a period of [political instability](#), [economic stagnation](#), [food shortages](#) and near-famine conditions. India's role diminished in the UN which came both as a result of its image and a deliberate decision by the post-Nehru political leadership to adopt a low profile at the UN and speak only on vital Indian interests.<sup>[26]</sup> This change in policy was implemented during the 1965 debate on Kashmir in the Security Council when Indian Foreign Minister [Swaran Singh](#) dramatically stormed out of the session in response to the intemperate language of [Zulfikar Ali Bhutto](#), Pakistan's Foreign Minister.<sup>[27]</sup> In his book "*India's Changing Role in the United Nations*" Stanley Kochanek shows how '[bilateralism](#) became the guiding principle of Indian foreign policy', relegating the UN to just an 'arena for maintaining such contacts'.<sup>[28]</sup> Further the [Soviet Union's](#) backing became far more important than a slow and indecisive UN Security Council when India obtained its [greatest strategic victory](#) by beating China in the [1967 War](#) and breaking up Pakistan into two and carving out independent [Bangladesh](#) in 1971.

In 1974, India tested its [first nuclear device](#), the aftermath of which resulted in a nuclear embargo by US and Canada. Soon after the UN's [non-proliferation agenda](#) became another irritant that forced New Delhi to view some units of the organization with distaste as fronts for imposing discriminatory regimes instead of promoting universal disarmament.<sup>[18]</sup> From the very beginning it has refused to lend its support to the [Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty](#) with India's then

External Affairs Minister and later [President, Pranab Mukherjee](#) in a visit to Tokyo in 2007 commenting that: *"If India did not sign the NPT, it is not because of its lack of commitment for non-proliferation, but because we consider NPT as a flawed treaty and it did not recognise the need for universal, non-discriminatory verification and treatment."*<sup>[29]</sup> In short, the 1960s as a whole saw major changes in the global system but a general decline in UN activities.

### ***Activities since 1976***[\[edit\]](#)

From January 2011 to January 2013, India was a non permanent member of the UN Security Council. According to [Rejaul Karim Laskar](#), a scholar of India's foreign policy, as a non-permanent member from January 2011 to January 2013, India played a crucial role on important international issues with a view to promote international peace and security as well as India's own national security.<sup>[30]</sup>

### ***Seeking of Permanent Seat in UNSC***[\[edit\]](#)

India has been elected eight times to the [UN Security Council](#).

India has been seeking a permanent seat on the [United Nations Security Council](#) as a member of the [G4](#), an organization composed of Brazil, [Germany](#), Japan, and India, all who are currently seeking permanent representation. The Russian Federation, United States, United Kingdom and France support India and the other G4 countries gaining permanent seats.<sup>[31]</sup>

According to the G4 proposal, the UN Security Council should be expanded beyond the current fifteen members to include twenty-five members. If this actually happens, it would be the first time permanent Security Council status is extended to a [South Asian](#) nation and supporters of the G4 plan suggest that this will lead to greater representation of developing nations rather than the current major powers.

India makes a number of claims to justify its demand. India has the world's [second largest population](#) and is the world's largest [liberal democracy](#). It is also the world's [fifth largest economy](#) and [third largest](#) in terms of [purchasing power parity](#) as of 2020. India is the largest contributor of troops to [United Nations peacekeeping](#) missions with 7,860 personnel deployed with ten UN Peacekeeping Missions as of 2014 after Bangladesh and Pakistan,<sup>[32][33]</sup> all three nations being in [South Asia](#). India has contributed more than 180,000 troops, the largest number from any country, participated in more than 43 missions and 156 Indian peacekeepers have made the supreme sacrifice while serving in UN missions. India has also provided and continues to provide eminent Force Commanders for UN Missions.<sup>[32]</sup>

Although the U.S. and other permanent Council members were not very supportive of expanding the Security Council, in his visit to India, [US President Barack Obama](#) has offered his support for India to become a permanent member of the Council. However, the reaction from other Council members are not very clear, particularly from China. Thus it is uncertain whether the demands by G4 nations will be implemented anytime soon. As of 2018 and according to [The Economic Times](#), [Pakistan](#) has affirmed that it remains "firmly opposed" the creation of new seats in the council.<sup>[34]</sup>

In September 2017 House Resolution 535 was introduced in the [115th United States Congress](#) to support India's permanent seat in UN security council, but the legislation did not proceed to a hearing in the [House Committee on Foreign Affairs](#).<sup>[35][36]</sup>

Others[[edit](#)]

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**International Court of Justice**[[edit](#)]

*Main articles:* [International Court of Justice](#) and [Judges of the International Court of Justice](#)

From 1945 to present, a total of 3 members from India have been appointed as [Judges of the International Court of Justice](#), the primary judicial branch of the United Nations. Moreover, [Nagendra Singh](#) was appointed as the President from 1985 to 1988. In addition, 3 member have also served as Judges sitting ad hoc. Now India's Supreme Court Justice 'Justice: Dalveer Bhandari' has been appointed as the judge in International Court of Justice for a second term. Justice Dalveer Bhandari has studied at [JNVU Jodhpur](#) and served as judge in both high court and The Supreme Court in India.

### **UN Audit**[\[edit\]](#)

In November 2016, [Vinod Rai](#) was appointed as Chairman of UN Panel of External Auditors and [Shashi Kant Sharma](#) as Member of the United Nations Board of Auditor General.<sup>[37]</sup>

### **Joint Inspection Unit**[\[edit\]](#)

*Main article: [Joint Inspection Unit](#)*

Joint Inspection Unit is the only independent external oversight body of the United Nations system mandated to conduct evaluations, inspections and investigations system-wide. Achamkulangare Gopinathan currently serves as Chairman, since January 2013. He was re- appointed to this post.<sup>[38][39]</sup>

### **Model United Nations**[\[edit\]](#)

Many schools in India have now started taking up Model United Nations to educate their students about global issues.

### **Peacekeeping**[\[edit\]](#)

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Indian soldiers patrol under [UN mission in Congo, Africa](#)

So far India has taken part in 43 Peacekeeping missions with a total contribution exceeding 160,000 troops and a significant number of police personnel having been deployed. In 2014 India is the third largest troop contributor (TCC) with 7,860 personnel deployed with ten UN Peacekeeping Missions of which 995 are police personnel, including the first female formed Police Unit under the UN.<sup>[32]</sup> The Indian Army has undertaken numerous [UN peacekeeping missions](#).<sup>[40]</sup> As of 30 June 2014, 157 Indians have been killed during such operations.<sup>[41]</sup> The Indian army has also provided paramedical units to facilitate the withdrawal of the sick and wounded.

In service to the United Nations, [Satish Nambiar](#) was appointed as 1st Force Commander and Head of Mission of [UNPROFOR](#) and [Jai Shanker Menon](#) as Head of Mission and Force Commander of [United Nations Disengagement Observer Force](#).

According to UN estimates, India is currently the fourth-largest police-contributing country with 1,009 officers, and the third-largest contributor of female police officers.<sup>[42]</sup>

As of February 2017, 163 Indians have been killed while serving in UN peacekeeping operations.<sup>[43]</sup>

As of 16 April 2019, the United Nations had arrears of USD 38 million to India for its troop contributions.<sup>[44]</sup>

Initiatives[[edit](#)]

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## **International Yoga Day**[[edit](#)]

On 11 December 2014, the [United Nations General Assembly](#) adopted without a vote a resolution commemorating 21 June as the [International Yoga Day](#),<sup>[45]</sup> recognising the holistic

benefits of this timeless practice and its inherent compatibility with the principles and values of the United Nations.<sup>[46]</sup>

### **Plea for International Equality Day**<sup>[edit]</sup>

In 2016, with focus on combating inequalities to achieve [Sustainable Development Goals](#), [B. R. Ambedkar's](#) birth anniversary was observed at the United Nations for the first time.<sup>[47]</sup> India has made a plea to declare April 14 as International Equality Day.<sup>[48][49]</sup>

### Financial contribution<sup>[edit]</sup>

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For FY 2015-16, India's contribution to the United Nations was ₹2,440,000,000 (US\$34 million),<sup>[50]</sup> which was 55 per cent more compared with the previous fiscal.<sup>[50]</sup> India is one of the main contributors to the UN regular budget.<sup>[51]</sup> Indian contribution to [United Nations Democracy Fund](#) was USD 250 million for 2009.<sup>[52]</sup>

#### 4. SECURITY AND CHALLENGES

**The States across Asia face growing challenges to their security. The gradual shift in the balance of power from the West to the East has introduced security competition among the major states. As India's economic and military profile grows in the wider Indo-Pacific, it too faces a range of intrastate and interstate security challenges, which it has to manage. In this context, it is worth considering the nature and scope of India's military modernisation in view of the types of conflicts it faces. The modernisation of the Indian defence forces is a complex process covering issues pertaining to the balance between manpower and firepower as well as that between the acquisition of weaponry from indigenous sources and the import of arms. India's efforts to revamp and restructure its military in response to security challenges are characterised by a quest to meet the needs of the three services without compromising transparency and integrity in the acquisition of weapons.**

Along its land frontiers, India faces disputed boundaries and competing territorial claims with both Pakistan and China. The Line of Control (LoC), a de facto boundary with Pakistan, and the Line of Actual Control (LAC), an unmarked boundary with China, have remained contentious for decades. Beijing has also forged partnerships with other states in the Indian Ocean Region (IOR), if not of the same depth and breadth as its relationship with Pakistan. The Yunnan province of China borders Myanmar (Burma), which in turn serves as a bridgehead into the Indian Ocean. Thus, Beijing is able to pursue a more potentially offensive strategy in the IOR with both Pakistan and Myanmar offering

dependable means of execution. Beijing's military deployments have been facilitated by improved hardware across the three service arms, a progressive shift in objectives, and organisational changes in the form of five integrated theatre commands introduced by the Xi regime in 2015. Together, these developments provide the Chinese military with greater offensive capabilities and the ability to make more rapid forward deployments.

India's efforts to revamp and restructure its military in response to security challenges are characterised by a quest to meet the needs of the three services without compromising transparency and integrity in the acquisition of weapons.

The twin military challenges posed by China and Pakistan thus reflect critical shifts in these two countries' military capabilities and operational postures. They demand, in turn, different command structures, involving tri-service cooperation and capabilities, for the Indian armed services. Most of the sub-conventional threat confronting the Indian state stems from Pakistan, although insurgencies in north-east India also impose a military burden. In addition to conventional and sub-conventional threats, India faces a significant nuclear threat from Pakistan and China, between whom a deep connection has historically existed in the nuclear technology and missile delivery domains.

The challenges facing the Indian armed services in using force after the 1998 nuclear tests were no less than they had been before. So far as Pakistan is concerned, there is a strong imperative to prevent its use of nuclear weapons simply because of the Pakistani sense of vulnerability to strategic interdiction. Its lack of geographic depth, its propensity for risk-taking and ability to strike deep inside Indian territory—and if pushed into a corner it might easily be driven to nuclear use. The challenge facing New Delhi has been



how to leverage its conventional advantages in the shadow of nuclear weapons. For its part, Pakistan has more effectively leveraged its advantages in the employment of terrorism under the atomic umbrella. India has had few answers to Pakistan's resort to subconventional violence under the cover of nuclear weapons. The most it has been able to do militarily is launch limited attacks on Pakistan's side of the LoC, using special forces and infantry units. *Vis-à-vis* China, India's nuclear capabilities and deterrence are a work in progress, in both scope and extent. China's expansion of its nuclear capabilities in response to increasing American and Russian capabilities could potentially leave India more vulnerable to Chinese coercion. However, following a suicide attack on 14 February 2019, which was a first in the armed conflict in Kashmir that claimed the lives of around 40 Indian paramilitary personnel, India retaliated with air strikes against the Pakistan - based group Jaish-e-Mohammad inside Pakistani territory, which again was a first in the Kashmir conflict. This was an attempt to reset the nuclear dynamic between India and Pakistan by calling Islamabad's bluff.

[The combination of relentless sub-conventional violence from Pakistan and boundary tensions with China has triggered concerns within the Indian military and political establishment about a two-front war with both Pakistan and China.](#)

At present, the Indian conventional war-fighting doctrine and posture, with its time-consuming mobilisation, cannot adequately respond to the terrorism unleashed by Pakistan. Moreover, the Pakistani state, which remains determined to contest India's claim to territory, particularly in Kashmir, benefits from far shorter interior lines of communication requiring a mobilisation period of 96 hours, which gives it an advantage both in faster mobilisation and in simultaneously concentrating the strength of its mobile

offensive units. India's exterior lines of communication are significantly longer, which contributes to an increase in mobilisation time.

In addition, New Delhi has also had to contend with and respond to substantial shifts in the nature of the military capabilities of its north-eastern neighbour, China. The growth of Chinese military power has been accompanied by a new assertiveness, reflected in frequent troop incursions along various sectors of the LAC dividing India and China. The combination of relentless sub-conventional violence from Pakistan and boundary tensions with China has triggered concerns within the Indian military and political establishment about a two-front war with both Pakistan and China.

Compounding the two-front military threat posed by China and Pakistan, New Delhi faces trade-offs between importing weaponry and developing domestic capacity for an indigenous defence industry. Given its heavy dependence on military imports, New Delhi has sought to diversify risk by forging partnerships with multiple external partners. It has significantly upgraded military ties with and defence purchases from the United States in particular, and also has crucial strategic ties with France and Israel. However, Russia remains the single largest defence supplier in aggregate terms, despite having been displaced by the United States in some key acquisitions India has made in the past decade. While purchasing weapons from numerous sources has created more options for India, it also generates challenges, in that New Delhi needs to keep many players satisfied as they compete for shares in the Indian defence market. This requires New Delhi to respond to pressures and incentives from the leading weapons supplier states.

India's national security landscape, if not irretrievably perilous, is stressed and susceptible to conflict with its neighbouring rivals. The military procurement models New Delhi has pursued are less than optimal, reflecting the difficulties faced by the Indian state in indigenising capabilities, building core capacities within the defence bureaucracy, and exploring integrative solutions to deal with the challenges facing higher defence management. In the absence of a productive defence-industrial base, New Delhi will have no choice but to forge strategic partnerships, in order to redress the gap in its conventional capabilities *vis-à-vis* its immediate adversaries.