



Indian Council  
of World Affairs

ICWA  
YOUNG  
SCHOLARS  
CONFERENCE



# INDIA AND THE REFORMED MULTI-POLAR WORLD ORDER

6 October 2023

Venue: Sapru House



# CONTENTS

<b>About ICWA .....</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>Agenda for Discussion.....</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>Programme.....</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>Bio-Profiles of Speakers and Abstracts .....</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>Inaugural Session .....</b>	<b>14</b>
<b>Session I</b>	
<b>India in a Multi-polar World Order .....</b>	<b>17</b>
<b>Session II</b>	
<b>India's Solidarity with the Global South .....</b>	<b>30</b>
<b>Bio-Profiles of Discussants .....</b>	<b>43</b>

## About ICWA

The Indian Council of World Affairs (ICWA) was established in 1943 by a group of eminent intellectuals led by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Dr. H.N. Kunzru. Its principal objective was to create an Indian perspective on international relations and act as a repository of knowledge and thinking on foreign policy issues. An Act of Parliament in 2001 declared the ICWA to be an 'institution of national importance'. The ICWA is headquartered in Sapru House, an iconic heritage building in the heart of New Delhi that was inaugurated by the first Prime Minister of India, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru in May 1955. The council today conducts policy research through an in-house faculty as well as through external experts. It regularly organizes an array of intellectual activities including conferences, seminars, roundtable discussions, bilateral dialogues, international conferences, lectures and outreach activities in India and abroad and brings out a range of publications. The Council has a well-stocked library, an active website, and publishes the journal 'India Quarterly'. ICWA has over 50 MoUs with international think tanks and research institutions to promote better understanding in international issues and develop areas of mutual cooperation. The Council also has partnerships with leading research institutions, think tanks and universities in India.

## Agenda for Discussion

As the world's biggest democracy with an economy among the world's top five, India's status as an emerging global power has been recognised. Keeping this in mind India has taken the lead in the call for a 'reformed' multi-polar world order in which the interests of the Global South are amplified. How India is impacting the rise of this future international order is a question that needs to be understood.

The current tensions in the international order such as the US-China rivalry, US-Russia tensions and the conflict in Ukraine has put tremendous pressure on the countries of the Global South, including India. The food & energy security concerns along with rising prices of essential commodities leading to hardship for citizens has been highlighted by India. The inability of the current international system to address these concerns has further highlighted the need for reforms in global political and financial institutions such as the World Bank (WB), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Trade Organisation (WTO) and the Security Council of the United Nations (UNSC). While India is championing the call for reforms call, it is partnering with the countries of the Global South to shape the foundations of the new international world order. However, one needs to understand the different perspectives from within the Global South to addressing issues with the Global North.

Within the Global South, India plays a significant role as a catalyst for change by working to unite the nations of the Global South to achieve its aims of an inclusive multi-polar world order. The five new pillars of its foreign policy of samman (dignity), samvad (dialogue), samriddhi (prosperity), suraksha (security) and sanskriti (cultural linkages) have laid the foundation of this engagement. The

pandemic as well as the Ukraine conflict has highlighted the challenges before the international system as a result of disruptions in the supply chains of vaccines, food, fertilizer, and energy security concerns. India has stressed on equitable access to lifesaving drugs, access to energy supply at reasonable prices and a stress on issue of concerns of the Global South when discussing climate change mitigation action.

As India along with other nations of the Global South attempt to build an inclusive global political and financial order, there is a need to understand the concerns they wish to highlight, the solutions they offer and the role they envisage for themselves in shaping future geopolitical outcomes in a multi-polar world. The conference aims to discuss how India is impacting the international order and the ways in which it is working with its partners in the Global South to shape the emerging multipolar world order.

The conference is organised by ICWA in associations with its MoU partner universities and other central and state universities from across the country.

# PROGRAMME



---

**Inaugural Session**

**1000-1030 hrs IST**

---

Welcome Remarks

**Amb. Vijay Thakur Singh**

Director General

Indian Council of World Affairs

Keynote Address

**Dr. C. Raja Mohan**

Senior Fellow

Asia Society Policy Institute, New Delhi

Vote of Thanks

**Dr. Stuti Banerjee**

Senior Research Fellow

Indian Council of World Affairs, New Delhi

---





## Session One: India in a Multi-Polar World Order

- How is India impacting the understanding of the international order? Is India building an interest based world order or a value based order?
- What kind of reforms in the multilateral order does India envisage? Is there a solidarity among the countries of the Global South on issues of concerns vis-à-vis the Global North? Is there a 'southern' perspective to the reforms, if yes, what is this perspective and how has India contributed to it?
- How does strategic autonomy and the idea of positive neutrality continue to resonate with India and the new pillars of India's foreign policy shape its global engagements?
- Should India continue to push for reformed multilateralism such as UNSC reforms? Should it focus on building strong issue based mini-laterals such as the BIMSTEC, I2U2?
- The current global context poses new challenges to multilateral development finance. How is India approaching the need for reforms in international financial architecture?

---

**Session One**

**1030-1200 hrs IST**

---

**Chair**

**Dr. Archana Negi**

Associate Professor  
Centre for International Politics,  
Organisation and Disarmament, School of  
International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru  
University, Delhi

**Speakers**

**India's Strategic Adaptation in the Evolving  
Multi-Polar World: Navigating the  
Reformed Global Order**

**Mr. Shivam Kumar Pandey**

Rashtriya Raksha University, Gandhinagar

**India's Perspective on UN Security Council  
Reforms**

**Ms. Chongpi Veineichong Haokip**

North-Eastern Hill University  
Shillong

**India's Engagement in I2U2: Unveiling  
Opportunities and Confronting Challenges**

**Mr. Shubham Singh Charak**

Central University of Jammu, Jammu

**Multi-Polarity through Soft Power, 21st  
Century belongs to India**

**Mr. Sourav Kumar**

Panjab University, Chandigarh

Discussion

Closing Remarks by Chair

**Tea/Coffee Break**

**1200-1230 hrs IST**

---



## Session Two: India's Solidarity with the Global South

- How have the established powers from the Global North reacted to the rise of India and its association with the Global South? What are the ways to mitigate the potential clash between the Global North and the Global South due to their respective diverging geopolitical views?
- Has India been able to utilise multilateral groups such as the G20, G77, BRICS and the SCO to highlight the concerns of the Global South and increase the space for likeminded countries to contribute to global debates?
- What changes are needed to build global governance institutions that promote health security by complementing existing international monitoring and surveillance measures, strengthening health system capacities in developing countries, rather than focus primarily on surveillance and monitoring of infectious disease outbreaks to prevent spilling-over from developing to developed countries.
- Energy security is not just about having uninterrupted access to energy, but also about securing energy supplies at an affordable price. How does the India along with the Global South address these issues given the current international environment?
- How does the India approach food and nutritional security concerns? What are the food security concerns of India and the Global South?
- Building equitable climate governance has been a goal of India. What are the key challenges that the India and the countries of the Global South are facing in addressing this challenge?

---

**Session Two**

**1230-1400 hrs IST**

---

**Chair**

**Dr. Dhananjay Thripathi**

Associate Professor & Chairperson  
Department of International Relations,  
South Asia University, Delhi

**Speakers**

**India's Technology Diplomacy towards the  
Global South: Strategies, Narratives and  
Implications**

**Ms. B. Poornima**

Manipal Academic of Higher Education,  
Manipal

**Global South Cooperation in a Multi-Polar  
Indian Ocean: Examining India's Role in the  
IORA**

**Mr. Sayantan Haldar**

South Asia University, Delhi

**India, China and the Global South: A  
Comparative Analysis**

**Mr. Prashant Kaushik**

Central University of Gujarat, Gandhinagar

**Mapping India's Capacity Building  
Measures in the Global South: A Case for  
Maritime Diplomacy**

**Mr. Kiran GSK**

Indian Institute of Technology, Guwahati

Discussion

Closing Remarks by Chair

Distribution of Certificates by DG, ICWA

**Lunch**

**1400 hrs IST**

---



**BIO-PROFILES OF SPEAKERS  
AND  
ABSTRACTS**



## **INAUGURAL SESSION**



## Amb. Vijay Thakur Singh

---

**Director General, ICWA**

Ambassador Vijay Thakur Singh holds a Master's degree in Economics from Himachal Pradesh University. She joined the Indian Foreign Service in 1985. Her first posting was in Embassy of India in Madrid, Spain, where she later went as Deputy Chief of Mission in 2006. She worked in the Ministry of External Affairs from 1989 to 1999, handling India's relations with Afghanistan and Pakistan. She was posted as Counsellor in the Embassy of India in Kabul from 2003 to 2005.

She has had multilateral experience, particularly in economic and environmental issues. She was Counsellor in the Permanent Mission of India to the United Nations in New York from 2000 to 2003. She has served as Joint Secretary to the President of India from August 2007 to August 2012 and as Joint Secretary at the National Security Council Secretariat (NSCS) from 2012 to 2013. She has been High Commissioner of India to Singapore from 2013 to 2016 and Ambassador of India to Ireland from 2016 to 2018.

For two years from 2018, she was Secretary (East) in the Ministry of External Affairs and retired in September 2020. She took over as the DG of ICWA in July 2021.



## Dr. C. Raja Mohan

---

Senior Fellow  
Asia Society Policy Institute, Delhi

Prof. C. Raja Mohan is a Senior Fellow with the Asia Society Policy Institute in New Delhi. Earlier he was the Director of Institute of South Asian Studies, National University of Singapore and currently a Visiting Research Professor there. Prof Mohan taught South Asian Studies at Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, and at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore.

Professor Mohan is one of India's leading commentators on India's foreign policy. He has been associated with a number of think tanks such as the Institute of Defence Studies and Analyses, the Centre for Policy Research and the Observer Research Foundation. He was also the founding director of Carnegie India, New Delhi. He was the Henry Alfred Kissinger Chair in International Affairs at the United States Library of Congress, Washington DC, from 2009 to 2010. He served on India's National Security Advisory Board. He led the Indian Chapter of the Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs from 1999 to 2006.

He writes a regular column for the Indian Express and was earlier the Strategic Affairs Editor for The Hindu newspaper, Chennai. Among his recent books is *Samudra Manthan: Sino-Indian Rivalry in the Indo-Pacific* (2013) and *Modi's World: Expanding India's Sphere of Influence* (2015).



**SESSION I**  
**INDIA IN A MULTI-POLAR WORLD ORDER**



## Chair Dr. Archana Negi

---

**Associate Professor, Centre for International Politics, Organisation and Disarmament, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, Delhi**

Dr. Archana Negi is Associate Professor at the Centre for International Politics, Organization and Disarmament of the School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), New Delhi, India. She teaches courses at the Ph.D, M.A. and B.A. levels relating to international negotiations, international organization and world politics. She also supervises Ph.D research on the above-mentioned themes. Her research interests include international law, diplomacy and organization, with a focus on issues of international trade and environment.

Dr. Negi has a Masters in Political Science and a Ph.D. in International Law. She has presented papers at various national and international conferences and authored several publications. Her recent publication is an edited volume titled Sustainability Standards and Global Governance: Experiences of Emerging Economies (Springer, 2020). She also lectures regularly at various institutions across the country and abroad. She is currently a member of the Voluntary Sustainability Standards (VSS) Academic Advisory Council that has been set up jointly by the United Nations Forum on Sustainability Standards (UNFSS) and the Leuven Centre for Global Governance Studies (GGs) of the University of Leuven. She is also a Member of the International Scientific Advisory Board of the German Institute of Development and Sustainability (IDOS).



## Mr. Shivam Kumar Pandey

---

Rashtriya Raksha University  
Gandhinagar

Mr. Shivam Kumar Pandey was born and raised in Bihar state, India. He obtained his master's in law from Rashtriya Raksha University, Gujarat, India. He is pursuing his PhD in coastal and maritime security studies at Rashtriya Raksha University. His research papers have appeared in many peer-reviewed international journals.

## India's Strategic Adaptation in the Evolving Multi-Polar World: Navigating the 'Reformed' Global Order

This study will delve into the role of India within an emerging world order characterised by reforms and multiple power centres. It examines how India's diplomatic strategies, economic positioning and regional partnerships are evolving in response to the changing dynamics of relations. The paper analyses the intersections between India's cultural and geopolitical factors with the multipolar landscape while also discussing the implications of India's actions for global stability, regional influence and the redefined balance of power.

India has made changes in its strategies to adapt to this emerging multipolar world order. The country has expanded its partnerships and actively engaged in diplomacy to bolster its position on the global stage. India's diplomatic efforts have focused on forging partnerships, promoting integration, and enhancing its influence in regions like the Indo-Pacific.

From a standpoint, India has firmly established itself as a player in the global market. The country has implemented reforms and pursued policies to attract investment and boost trade. Its robust economic growth and market potential have contributed to its increasing influence within this world order. This favourable financial positioning allows India to utilise its resources while negotiating terms in agreements effectively.

India's position in the evolving world order has been significantly influenced by its collaborations and partnerships at various levels. By engaging with nations such as China, Russia and Brazil through platforms like BRICS, India has seized opportunities for cooperation, technological exchange and diplomatic coordination. These regional engagements have bolstered India's influence and contributed to a reshaping of the global power dynamics in favour of a more diverse landscape.

The consequences of India's actions within this emerging world order are extensive. Its ascent as a player has challenged the long-standing dominance of Western powers and paved the way for a more varied distribution of power on a global scale. Through its economic interactions, India holds the potential to shape dynamics and exert influence over international governance structures. Furthermore, its actions affect democratisation efforts, hegemony concerns and institutional reforms.

To sum up, India's role in the unfolding world order is characterised by diplomatic strategies, careful economic positioning and fruitful regional partnerships. India's background, cultural heritage, geopolitical realities, and the new multipolar landscape influence its decisions and impact. As India actively engages with this world order paradigm, it bears significance for global stability concerns while shaping influence dynamics alongside a redefined balance of power.

Understanding India's position in the changing landscape is essential to grasp the complexities of international relations in the current century.



## **Ms. Chongpi Veineichong Haokip**

---

**North-Eastern Hill University  
Shillong**

Ms. Chongpi Veineichong Haokip is pursuing her PhD at the Department of Political Science, NEHU, on the Politics of the Hill-Valley Divide in Manipur. She completed MA in Political Science from Kirori Mal College, Delhi University, BA (Honours) in Political Science from Miranda House, Delhi University, and Class X and XII from Loreto Convent and Pine Mount School, Shillong, respectively. Her areas of interest include India's foreign policy, identity, and state politics in Northeast India and border communities.

## India's Perspective on UN Security Council Reforms

The demand for the UN Security Council reforms is long-standing from the Global South. India and other Non-Aligned members requested to review the Security Council's membership in 1979. Since 1994, India has been bidding for permanent UN Security Council membership. While some countries point to their economic, military, and diplomatic clout, others emphasize representativeness and considerable contribution to UN peacekeeping operations worldwide on the other hand. These twin considerations only sometimes go hand in hand and occasionally even clash with one another. Over time, the issue of reforming the UN Security Council became so divisive that it proved to be one of the most acrimonious debates at the United Nations. This paper highlights India's perspective on the UN Security Council reforms' expansion of permanent membership. It highlights how India tried to rally support for its bid for the seat through the G-4, the changing reaction of P-5 to India's attempt and the options before India to get a permanent seat at the Security Council.



## Mr. Shubham Singh Charak

---

Central University of Jammu  
Jammu

Mr. Shubham Singh Charak is pursuing PhD in the Department of National Security Studies, Central University of Jammu. He has completed his Masters in National Security Studies from the same university. He has also qualified Junior Research Fellowship (UGC NET-JRF) in Defence and Strategic Studies. His research interests include Geopolitics, India's Maritime Security (Traditional and Non Traditional), Indo-Pacific, Western Indian Ocean and so on.



## India's Engagement in I2U2: Unveiling Opportunities and Confronting Challenges

In an era marked by a progressively interconnected global landscape, the establishment of strategic partnerships among nations has acquired immense importance. The I2U2 partnership, comprising India, Israel, the United States, and the United Arab Emirates (UAE), embodies a distinctive strategic partnership designed to foster robust cooperation for attaining equilibrium in geostrategic and geo-economic spheres. The I2U2 Grouping was conceptualised during the meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the four countries held on 18 October 2021. Initially referred to as the 'International Forum for Economic Cooperation, the organisation underwent a transformation and subsequently adopted the name I2U2. In July 2022, a summit of leaders was convened wherein they expressed their unwavering dedication to effectively tackling mutual challenges. This commitment is demonstrated through focused collaborations across various sectors including water, energy, transportation, space, health, and food security, signifying the initial phases of a long-lasting strategic partnership.

The importance of India's role within the I2U2 framework is evident through its ongoing efforts to enhance strategic and economic ties with the West Asia, along with deepening partnerships with Israel, the United States, and the United Arab Emirates. India's geographic location at the confluence of West Asia and the Indo-Pacific offers New Delhi a geostrategic advantage by facilitating better connectivity between the greater Indian Ocean Region, which includes continental Asia, Europe, and the Trans-Atlantic domain, as well as the wider Pacific waters. This reinforces India's pivotal stature within the I2U2 alliance, thus significantly contributing to the establishment of geostrategic equilibrium in West Asia and beyond.

This study focuses on how challenges in the I2U2 cooperation might result from different strategic agendas among member countries. This can undermine the alliance's unity and impact India's diplomatic interactions with neighbouring nations. It also examines the complexities of reconciling India's historical connections with non-I2U2 nations while actively engaging in the alliance. The long-term viability and future direction of the alliance are evaluated from India's perspective, providing insights into its sustainability and contribution to India's strategic objectives.



## Mr. Sourav Kumar

---

**Panjab University  
Chandigarh**

Mr. Sourav Kumar, is currently pursuing doctoral research at the Department of Political Science, Panjab University, Chandigarh. His academic journey was fortified by receiving a UGC NET-Junior Research Fellowship for his PhD, which was subsequently elevated to a Senior Research Fellowship. His research focal points encompass the domains of International Relations, India's Foreign Policy, and Migration Studies. His scholarly footprint boasts of an array of national and international publications as well as conference presentations. His doctoral inquiry centers on India's Soft Power in Africa, an endeavor underpinned by comprehensive fieldwork undertaken across four African nations.

## Multi-polarity through Soft Power, 21st Century belongs to India

Polarity in the realm of International Relations encompasses the various ways in which power is distributed across the global landscape. Historically, Realist perspectives have prevailed in defining power as tangible through military and economic might. Consequently, the international order was labeled Bipolar during the Cold War era, characterised by the dominance of the US and USSR as the two major power centers. The post-USSR collapse led to a Unipolar phase, which is currently transitioning into a Multi-polar configuration, featuring multiple influential players. However, the sources of power remain dynamic, evolving with the times. Notably, historical shifts illustrate this evolution: Spain's dominance in the 16th century hinged on gold reserves, colonial trade, mercenary forces, and dynastic connections, followed by the Netherlands' ascendancy in the 17th century due to trade, capital markets, and a formidable navy. The 18th century saw France rise through population, rural industry, administration, and military prowess, while Britain's 19th-century influence was built on industry, political unity, finance, naval strength, liberal values, and its insular position. The 20th century witnessed the United States' supremacy due to its economic scale, technological leadership, military might, alliances, and liberal internationalism. In the 21st century, as the cost of applying military or hard power escalates, the concept of soft power, conceptualised by Joseph Nye, takes center stage. Soft power operates through appeal and attraction, involving the ability to sway others without coercion.

As the global landscape evolves into a multipolar structure where diverse centers of influence coexist and interact, soft power assumes a complex and pivotal role. This essay contends that the 21st century is poised to become India's era, with the nation

spearheading the development of a reformed multipolar global order through its potent soft power. India's rich cultural heritage, diverse traditions, and expansive global outreach combine to form a distinct brand of soft power, positioning it as a consequential player in the emerging global paradigm. India's adept utilisation of soft power diplomacy is evident in its advocacy for global agendas such as sustainable development and climate action, bolstering its geopolitical influence. This influence is particularly pronounced among Global South nations, which view India as a champion of their rights. Amitav Acharya's contention that an 'idea-shift' holds greater sway than ongoing 'power shifts' aligns with the growing role of soft power. It is instrumental in effecting such an idea-shift in favour of India. While the concept of soft power originated in the West, India's rich civilisational history and cultural diversity make it a natural participant in this realm. India's foreign policy, characterised by the pillars of sammaan (dignity), samvaad (dialogue), samriddhi (prosperity), suraksha (security), and sanskriti (cultural linkages), forms a solid foundation for its enhanced role. This presentation will entail an examination of India's strategic employment of soft power tools – encompassing cultural diplomacy, media, education, and humanitarian aid – which underscore its pivotal role in shaping a multipolar world characterised by a tapestry of power centers and intricate interdependencies.

**SESSION TWO**  
**INDIA'S SOLIDARITY WITH THE GLOBAL SOUTH**



**Chair**

**Dr. Dhananjay Tripathi**

---

**Associate Professor & Chairperson  
Department of International Relations,  
South Asia University, Delhi**

Dr. Tripathi is Chairperson & Associate Professor (Senior Grade) at the Department of International Relations, South Asian University (SAU), New Delhi, India. His research interest includes Regional Integration Process (Europe & South Asia), South Asian Politics, Border Studies and International Political Economy. His recent publications are (ed) Re-imagining Border Studies in South Asia (2020- Routledge Publication), Co-edited South Asia: Boundaries Borders and Beyond (2022- Routledge Publication), Afghanistan Post- 2014: Power Configurations and Evolving Trajectories (2016- Routledge Publication) and authored book Development Role of the European Union in South Asia (2011- Vij Publication). He has also contributed in edited volumes and published in peer-reviewed journals including - Journal of Borderlands Studies, Economic and Political Weekly, International Studies, Alternatives, Eurasia Border Review, Quarterly of International Sociology, USI Journal, etc. He is also the co-editor of a special issue of the Journal of Borderlands Studies on 'South Asia: Boundaries, Borders and Beyond'.

He is also the editorial board member of prestigious international journals - Journal of Borderlands Studies (Taylor and Francis) , Alternatives: Global, Local, Political (Sage Publication) , Estudios Fronterizos (REF) (open access) and BIG Review (University of Victoria). He is also co-applicant in the successful 21st Century Borders Partnership grant awarded by the Social Science and Humanities Research Council, Canada.

His brief write-ups are published in major national newspapers including – The Hindu, Tribune Daily Excelsior, Telangana Today, India Narratives, Prabhat Khabar and Dainik Bhaskar.





## **Ms. B. Poornima**

---

**Manipal Academic of Higher Education  
Manipal**

B. Poornima is a Junior Research Fellow and Ph.D. research scholar at the Department of Geopolitics and International Relations. Her research interests include India's Foreign Policy and National Security, Geopolitics of West Asia and North Africa, and Conflict Studies.

## India's Technology Diplomacy towards the Global South: Strategies, Narratives and Implications

In the ever-changing landscape of a reformed global order with multiple power centres, the role of technology in shaping international relations has grown increasingly important. This paper explores how India employs its technological capabilities to achieve diplomatic objectives with the Global South. By focusing on the intersection of technological initiatives, collaboration strategies, and narrative construction, this research aims to shed light on how India strengthens its international position and relationships. Key research questions driving this investigation include: How does India carry out its technology diplomacy to reinforce its position among the states of the Global South? What are the prevailing narratives surrounding India's use of technology in its interactions with these states? The research takes a comprehensive approach through mixed methods using primary and secondary data. This process is employed to identify both mechanisms and strategies that underpin India's execution of technology diplomacy as well as explore official narratives regarding their progress, innovation, and cooperation on technological fronts with the Global South. The findings derived from this research seek to provide an all-encompassing understanding of how India's endeavours concerning technology diplomacy contribute towards fostering solidarity among states in the Global South.



## Mr. Sayantan Haldar

---

**South Asia University  
Delhi**

Mr. Sayantan Haldar is a doctoral candidate at the Department of International Relations, South Asian University, New Delhi, India. His doctoral research delves into India's evolving maritime security strategy in the Indian Ocean. Sayantan is also the Joint Secretary, and member of the Governing Board of the Indian Ocean Research Group Soc. (IORG), affiliated with the Indian Ocean Rim Association. He is broadly interested in maritime geopolitics with specific focus on the Indian Ocean Region and the Indo-Pacific. Some of his writings have been recently published in journals such as Maritime Affairs, Journal of the Indian Ocean Region, India Quarterly, etc.

## Global South Cooperation in a Multi-Polar Indian Ocean: Examining India's Role in the IORA

The global order is increasingly characterized as multipolar, marking the end of Cold War and post-Cold War era geopolitics. While the US continues to be an important economic and security actor, the rise of China and India, the changing political dynamics in Europe as well as the shifting role of Japan, Australia, and ASEAN have been instrumental in the construction of the new multipolar world order. Notably, New Delhi finds itself amidst a geopolitical flux. India's growing economic prowess as the fifth largest economy, expanding diplomatic outreach as demonstrated during and after the COVID-19 pandemic, as well as deepening security engagement in the Indo-Pacific context have been key pillars of New Delhi's contemporary foreign policy. Additionally, India's balanced approach towards the Russia-Ukraine war advocating for peace and stability, and at the same time, quest for securing its own interests have demonstrated the pivotal role that New Delhi is willing to play in the increasingly multipolar global order. One of the key characteristic features of India's contemporary foreign policy and security outlook pertains to the importance it has accorded to the maritime domain. Arguably, with the onset of the Indo-Pacific, India has embraced the maritime character of its geography. India's engagements in the Indo-Pacific involve broadening and deepening of security, economic, and diplomatic partnerships across the region. However, as observed by various scholars, the Indian Ocean continues to remain the key theatre of India's strategic interests. In this context, it is important to note that the evolving regional order of the Indian Ocean, too, has been characterized as multipolar. In this context, the role of the Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA), as the only pan-Indian Ocean regional organization is noteworthy. Established in 1997, the IORA continues to remain a significant institution of governance across

the Indian Ocean. With a current strength of twenty-three full members and ten dialogue partners, IORA membership is also symbolic of the Indian Ocean identity.

In the context of shifting geopolitical dynamics in the Indian Ocean, India's role in the IORA remains critical as ever. India's strategic interests in the Indian Ocean stem from China's growing economic and naval presence in its theatre of influence, as well as New Delhi's own maritime security interests. Given that the Indian Ocean is the primary theatre of strategic interests for India, how IORA continues to evolve in the wider Indo-Pacific geopolitical rubric is important for New Delhi. As a leading advocate of the Indo-Pacific, it is in New Delhi's critical interest to ensure that Indian Ocean littoral states adopt their own visions for the Indo-Pacific. Here, India's role in the IORA merits greater scrutiny. Therefore, the proposed paper seeks to locate how IORA can be instrumental in ensuring more Indian Ocean littoral states are engaged with the Indo-Pacific concept. This paper argues that ensuring greater participation of Indian Ocean littoral states in the Indo-Pacific through IORA would require enhanced advocacy from India. Even though, apart from India, leading Indo-Pacific powers in the IORA include Australia and France, India's role in the IORA is preeminent. For this, New Delhi needs to leverage its diplomatic and economic entanglement with IORA member states demonstrating that the Indo-Pacific is indeed a theatre of opportunities.



## Mr. Prashant Kaushik

---

**Central University of Gujarat  
Gandhinagar**

Mr. Prashant Kaushik is pursuing PhD from the School of International Studies, Central University of Gujarat, Gandhinagar, Gujarat, India. He also teaches Chinese as Assistant Professor at the Centre for Chinese Studies, Central University of Gujarat. Prior to this, he taught at the National Defence Academy, Khadakwasla and the Department of East Asian Studies, University of Delhi. He also worked as Chinese interpreter at the India Pavilion during Shanghai Expo, 2010. He holds an M.A. Chinese and an M.Phil. degree from the Centre for Chinese and South-East Asian Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. He also holds a B.A. (Hons.) and M.A. degree in History from Hindu College, University of Delhi. He has been associated with the compilation of the Encyclopaedia of India-China Cultural Contacts under the aegis of the Ministry of External Affairs, Governments of India. He has written several book chapters and his research articles have appeared in journals like India Quarterly and China Report.

## India, China and the Global South: A Comparative Analysis

Is emergence of a multi-polar world a smooth uncontested structural change in the international system? Are there contending poles in the emerging multi-polar order? Where does the Global South stand vis-à-vis the emerging multi-polar world order? Are there contending voices in the Global South which claim to represent it? Where does India stand in relation to an emerging multi-polar world order and the Global South? What does India bring to the table in comparison to other contending poles, most notably China?

This paper seeks to delve into such questions through a comparative approach, firstly, by accepting apriori that the emergence of a multi-polar world is a highly complex structural process, which has been made more complicated by the emergence of India and China as significant poles and given the complexities of India-China relationship. Secondly, it shows that as two most populous and developing countries both India and China share some identical features in the broader Global South however both perceive their roles and themselves differently. While India do not perceive its relationship with the Western World as that of a systemic competition, China views its relationship with the Global North in more confrontational terms. Thirdly, India innately shares certain advantages over other contending voices claiming to represent the Global South such as its ability to act as a bridge between the Global North and Global South, healthy relationship with the Global North, its ability to act as a voice of sanity when required, soft power, and broader acceptance by the Global South among others.



## Mr. Kiran GSK

---

**Indian Institute of Technology  
Guwahati**

Mr. Kiran GSK is a fourth-year Doctoral student at the Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, the Indian Institute of Technology, Guwahati. He is also a Visiting Researcher at the Institute of Chinese Studies (ICS), Delhi. Kiran is a Junior Research Fellowship recipient from the Ministry of Human Resource Development (MHRD) for his doctoral and MPhil studies. Prior to this, Kiran pursued his masters from the Centre for South Asian Studies (SAF), Pondicherry University. Kiran is also recipient of G20 Fellowship from Centre for Financial Accountability, New Delhi. His research mainly focuses on maritime security, maritime capacity-building measures, sub-regional studies, and international relations theory. He has been selected as an exchange fellow at the Graduate School of Asian and African Area Studies (ASAFAS), Kyoto University, Japan, for 2021-2022 (Declined due to Covid pandemic).



## Mapping India's Capacity Building Measures in the Global South: A Case for Maritime Diplomacy

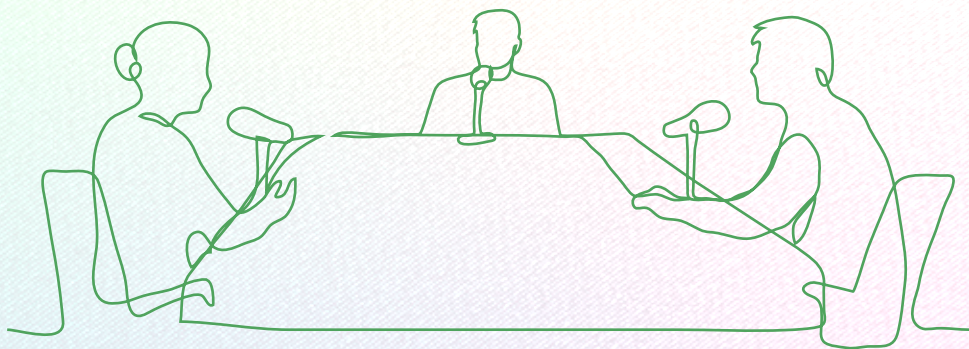
Against the backdrop of the Indo-Pacific region emerging as the focal point of geo-politics, this article looks at India's maritime diplomacy with the Global South countries and its effect on the capacity building measures in the region. Maritime insecurity is intensifying. In the last two decades, the rise in frequency and magnitude of non-traditional security threats in the marine space has significantly altered the region's security dynamics and has become a major concern for the international community, especially for the global south countries. Addressing maritime security challenges in the Indo-Pacific necessitates a much greater focus on the Global South countries given their lack of capacities and law enforcement capabilities in the maritime realm. Given the predominance of maritime character in the Indo-Pacific, security challenges like climate change, IUU fishing, maritime pollution, and piracy have emerged as the most pressing issues for the regional states, and the Global South littoral and island states are no exception. As such, states were forced to step up their capacities and capabilities to mitigate these negative experiences. Yet even as states respond, isolated or standalone responses are rarely an option. That necessitated new forms of security partnerships. Consequently, India has assumed a prominent role in these transnational responses which included a mix of cooperation, risk, and responsibility-sharing. As such, India's joint maritime partnerships and initiatives with the Global South countries have consistently been part of its wider efforts to promote regional stability in the Indo-Pacific.

As a prominent regional actor and strong advocate for free and open Indo-Pacific, India's engagement with the Global South countries differs considerably, which significantly lack the capacity and skills to deal with maritime security threats. While

the strategic construct of India's maritime security partnerships with the Global South countries has been thoroughly analysed, the maritime diplomacy between the region's two significant actors, towards capacity building remains under-examined at present. Even where it was discussed, it was largely confined to specific issues like counter-terrorism, piracy, or disaster management. Alternatively, this study attempts to understand maritime capacity building in its own terms. This also helps to analyse if India's rhetoric surrounding maritime security is substantiated by effective capacity building activities.

In addressing this scholarly gap, the article attempts to look at these understudied aspects through a three-pronged approach. First, it briefly traces how capacity building has become a new priority area in India's engagement with the Global South countries. Second, using the following analytical framework, the study investigates how India is ideally situated to strengthen the capacity building measures with the Global South countries: A) interconnectedness with countries in the Global South; B) maritime vision and strategies for the Indo-Pacific; and C) capacity and regional posture to counter maritime security threats. Third, analyse how India's cooperative mechanisms strengthened maritime security in the region. In doing so, the goal of the research would be to offer an in-depth understanding of the role of India's capacity-building measures with the Global South countries within the broader framework of maritime security and ocean governance.

**BIO-PROFILES  
OF  
DISCUSSANTS**





## Ms. Shruti Dey

---

Ms. Shruti Dey is a research scholar from the Department of Politics and International Studies, Pondicherry University. Her research focuses on Southeast Asia, East Asia and the emerging dynamics in the Indo-Pacific region. Her Ph.D. thesis is on India and Vietnam relation. She has presented papers in various National and International conferences. During the recent 15th All India Conference of China Studies (17th-19th November, 2022) she has presented a paper titled “China’s Rise and the Hedging Strategies of India and Vietnam in Perspective”. Apart from her academic publications, she also writes commentaries on the emerging geopolitical trends in her concerned area.



## Mr. Harishankar G

---

Mr. Harishankar G. is currently a PhD student at the Department of International Relations and Politics, Central University of Kerala. A UGC-JRF awardee, his academic interests include multilateralism, international cooperation across domains such as intellectual property rights (IPRs) regime, global aid and investment etc. He did his master's dissertation on the politics of Overseas Development Assistance to Africa. He is presently working on his PhD thesis titled "Minilateralism as a Path Towards Realizing Overlapping Consensuses in Global Politics.



## Mr. Akshay Ranade

---

Mr. Akshay Ranade is currently pursuing his PhD on “Dynamics of Coalition Governments and Making of Security Policy in India: A Study From 1998-2014”. He is working as Assistant Professor (Politics and International Relations) at Symbiosis School for Liberal Arts, Symbiosis International University. Prior to that he worked as a researcher at the Observer Research Foundation, New Delhi. He has previously published on topics relating to India's National Security and Foreign Policy and has presented research work on various National and International forums. He has co-edited a book “Grace, Glory and Gaffe: India’s Defence and Security @ 75” (2023, KBI Publisher).



## Mr. Praveen Kumar

---

Mr. Praveen Kumar Yadav is a research scholar (Senior Research Fellow) in the Department of Political Science, Central University of Himachal Pradesh. He is doing his Ph.D. under the supervision of Dr. Arundhati Sharma on the topic- 'Strategic Leverage of Economic Engagement: A Comparative Study of Indian and Chinese Engagement in CLMV Subregion (2000-2020).' His research interests include International Political Economy, Indian Foreign Policy, and India's engagement in Southeast Asia. Mr. Praveen also attended ECPR Summer School on the Standing Group on International Relations held in Barcelona, Spain from 12 to 15 July 2022.



## Mr. Prakash Singh

---

Mr. Prakash Singh is currently a Ph.D. candidate at the Centre for Development Studies, my research explores urbanization's ecological impacts on Indo-Gangetic Plain's Green Spaces in Uttar Pradesh. He has done his Mphil in Natural Resources Management from IIFM, Bhopal and Master in Development Studies, CDS University of Allahabad. He is working with Pragya Organization, contributing to a project that delivered sustainable energy solutions to 30 households in Himachal Pradesh. Then with SFRI Jabalpur on FRA 2006 for tribal issues as Junior Research Fellow.





## Mr. Dharmendra Kumar

---

Mr. Dharmendra Kumar is a Ph.D. Scholar in the Department of Political Studies at the Central University of South Bihar. Under the guidance of Prof. Pranav Kumar, his research examines “China’s Maritime Geoeconomic Strategy in the Horn of Africa: An Analysis from the Indian Perspective (2001–2020).” His academic journey began with a Graduation Degree in Political Science from J.P College Narayanpur, a constituent of Tilka Manjhi University Bhagalpur. He subsequently pursued an M.A. in Political Science and International Relations at the Department of Political Studies, Central University of South Bihar. Continuing his academic trajectory within the same department, he embarked on his Ph.D. journey. Acknowledging his academic acumen, Dharmendra is awarded the prestigious Indian Council of Social Science Research (ICSSR)—Short-term Doctoral Fellowship for 2022–23, a testament to his research pursuits. He has published five research papers in diverse academic journals. He has also presented papers at both national and international seminars/conferences. His scholarly curiosity encompasses diverse domains such as India-China relations, Africa (focus on the Horn of Africa region), Indian Ocean Geopolitics, Geoeconomics, Geostrategy, and Maritime Security. His multidimensional approach underscores his dedication to understanding international politics. With an unwavering commitment to academic excellence, he amalgamates his inquisitiveness with rigorous research, unveiling international politics’ nuanced dimensions.



## Mr. Prakash Khundrakpam

---

Mr. Prakash Khundrakpam is a UGC-SRF Ph.D. fellow at Department of Political Science, Gauhati University. A political theorist by training with deeper interest in International Relations and India's foreign policy, his doctoral thesis deals with a Gandhian theory of justice, arguing in the process that political theory needs to shed its Eurocentric bias and foster cross-cultural inclusivity in theorizing politics. An avid researcher, he also undertakes research in gender studies and public policy analysis. In these research areas, he has published a total of 9(nine) research papers in UGC-CARE/SCOPUS/Web of Science indexed journals including journals such as Indian Journal of Public Administration by Sage Publications and WSIF by Elsevier.



## Mr. Sameer Harshad Pande

---

Mr. Sameer Harshad Pande, is a PhD Research Scholar at Department of Political Science and Public Administration, Dr. Harisingh Gour Central University, Sagar, Madhya Pradesh, India. He has done my graduation in History and Post graduation in Political Science. He is also qualified UGC NET/ JRF in Political Science and International Relations. Currently he is pursuing my PhD on the topic of Political Awareness and Political Participation of Sindhi Community of Bharat with an empirical study. He has published three research papers and one book chapter and have presented research papers in three International and eight national conferences. He has also done two five days courses on international relations and India on 'Hybrid Warfare - War Without Boundaries' and 'Revisiting India's Strategic Culture in the Evolving Geopolitical Landscape'.



Indian Council  
of World Affairs

## Sapru House, New Delhi



/Sapru.House



@ICWA\_NewDelhi



/ICWA\_NewDelhi