

# NEWSLETTER

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## HIGHLIGHTS



17 October 2024, Talk by H.E. Mr. Jorge Rojas Rodríguez, Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs of Colombia on Colombia's Foreign Policy: Strategic Global Goals and Advancing Partnership with India



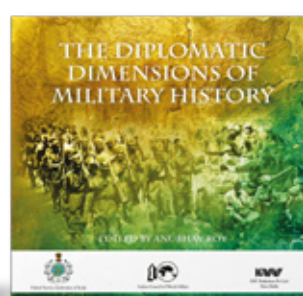
19 November 2024, Panel Discussion on "Ukraine & Gaza Wars: Crisis of Liberal International Order"

20 November 2024, Fourth Track 1.5 India-Germany Dialogue

26 November 2024, Panel Discussion on "China's New Global Initiatives: Agenda and Outcomes"

Visit of Hon'ble Vice President of India and President, ICWA Shri Jagdeep Dhankhar for the 50th Foundation Day of Indian Posts & Telecommunications Accounts and Finance Service (IP&TAFS), Sapru House, 14 December 2024. Shri Jyotiraditya M. Scindia, Minister of Communications was also present on the occasion.

## ICWA PUBLICATIONS



## ORAL HISTORY PROJECT

Three Summers in Pakistan - May 1958 to October 1960, K V Padmanabhan, Former Deputy/Acting High Commissioner of India in Karachi, 9 October 2024.





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## First CSCAP meeting of the Study Group on the “Safety and Security of Digital Infrastructure”, 1-3 October 2024

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The first meeting of Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific (CSCAP) Study Group on Safety and Security of Digital Infrastructure was held in Singapore from 01-03 October 2024. The meeting was hosted by CSCAP Singapore, organised by S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University, Singapore.

Air Vice Marshal (AVM) Dr. Devesh Vatsa, Advisor, Cyber Security and Critical Technologies, Data Security Council of India (DSCI), participated in the meeting on behalf of CSCAP-India. The meeting was organised for CSCAP member countries primarily to deliberate and discuss issues related with safety and security of undersea telecommunications cables.

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## Dr. Rafiq Dossani, Director, Center for Asia Pacific Policy (CAPP), RAND Corporation met Nutan Kapoor Mahawar, Additional Secretary, ICWA, 3 October 2024

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Dr. Rafiq Dossani, Director, Center for Asia Pacific Policy (CAPP), RAND Corporation met Nutan Kapoor Mahawar, Additional Secretary, ICWA at Sapru House to discuss academic and research collaboration. Dr. Dossani was accompanied by senior RAND researchers John Parachini, Bruce Held, and Randall Steeb.

## Ms. Nutan Kapoor Mahawar, Additional Secretary, ICWA addressed the Mahatma Gandhi Conference, Russia House, New Delhi, 3 October 2024

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Ms. Nutan Kapoor Mahawar, Additional Secretary, ICWA addressed the Mahatma Gandhi Conference held today at Russian House, New Delhi on the occasion of 155th Gandhi Jayanti. She spoke on the legacy of Gandhi ji and





Tolstoy. The Conference was addressed by Prof. Sachidanand Mishra, Member Secretary, Indian Council of Philosophical Research, Faculty members of Centre of Political Research, JNU among other political scientists and academics.

## Delegation from Kazakhstan met Shri Hitesh Rajpal, Director, ICWA, 7 October 2024



Mrs. Aida Yermekkaliyeva, Deputy Director of the Department of Foreign Policy Analysis and Strategic Planning, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Kazakhstan and Mr. Azat Serikbossyn, Counsellor (DHM), Embassy of the Republic of Kazakhstan, met with Shri Hitesh Rajpal, Director, ICWA at Sapru House to strengthen academic and research collaboration between think tanks from Kazakhstan and ICWA.

## Talk by H.E. Mr. Jorge Rojas Rodríguez, Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs of Colombia, 17 October 2024



H.E. Rodríguez in his talk outlined the new Colombian government's progressive foreign policy that places life at the center and focuses on climate change. He spoke of the traditional unique Colombian approach on rights of nature. He highlighted that Colombia was to host the next CoP of the Convention on Biodiversity (CBD) and looked forward to consensus-based initiatives. He stated that Colombia aims to shift away from traditional North-centric alignments, advocating for greater South South collaboration with Asia and Africa. Colombia is pushing for a diplomatic revolution that integrates ecological protection with global peace, proposing initiatives like debt relief in exchange for environmental preservation and fostering partnerships to tackle climate challenges. He stated that Colombia is looking at India as strategic partner in its endeavour to highlight the need for action on climate.

## GIZ Pre-training and Workshop on “Precarious Working Conditions and Global Care Chain” under ‘Shaping Development-Oriented Migration (MEG)’, 21 October 2024



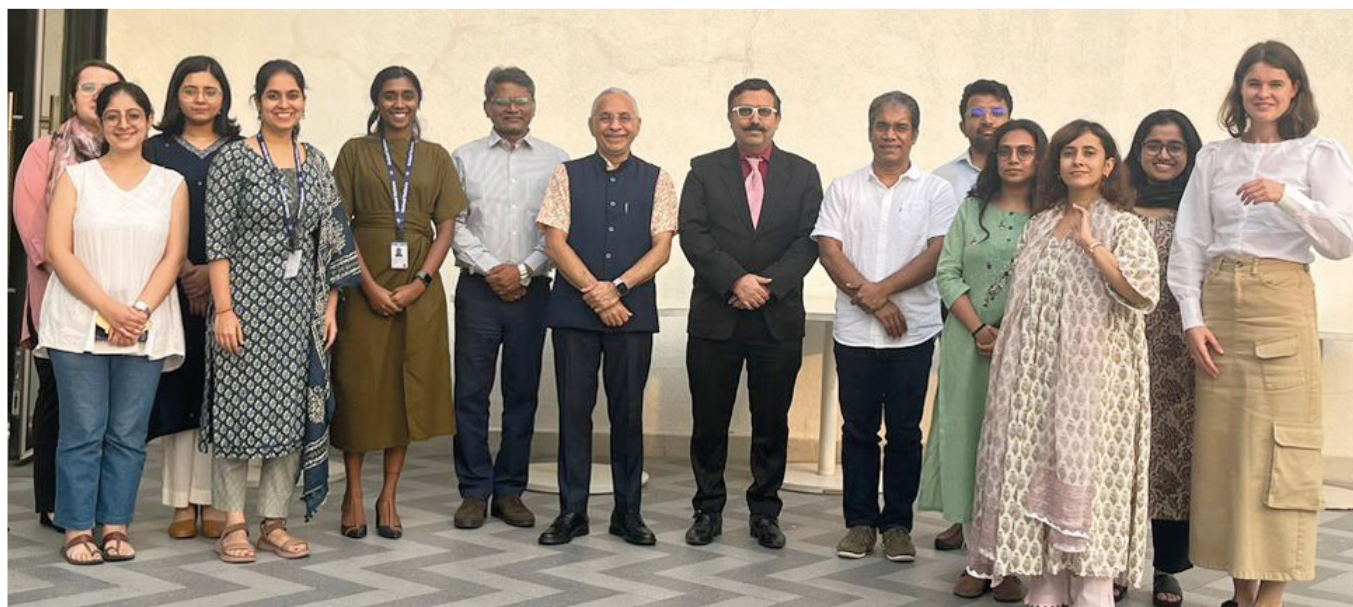


Under their programme, Shaping Development-Oriented Migration (MEG), GIZ India organised a full-day training workshop focused on key challenges and opportunities that migrant care workers face abroad and on formulating policies on Global Care Chains. Ambi, RA & Lead, Centre for Migration, Mobility & Diaspora Studies, ICWA addressed the need for an intersectional lens in understanding care migration and the value Pre-Departure Orientation Training (PDOT) could play in ensuring the safety and preparedness of care migrant workers abroad. The training had a diverse representation, including State recruitment agencies (Non-Resident Keralites Affairs (NORKA) Roots and Telangana Overseas Manpower Company Ltd (TOMCOM), and a prospective migrant. These representatives shared valuable field insights, shedding light on the lived realities behind care migration.

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## Center for Migration, Mobility & Diaspora Studies (CMMDS) at ICWA participated in the Third Project Advisory Committee (AC) meeting of the ICWA-IOM Project, 22 October 2024

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Center for Migration, Mobility & Diaspora Studies (CMMDS) at ICWA participated in the Third Project Advisory Committee (AC) meeting of the ICWA-IOM Project, Promoting Regular and Assisted Migration for Youth and Skilled Professionals (PRAYAS) in New Delhi. Mr. Hitesh Rajpal, Director, ICWA, delivered the opening remarks and made interventions during discussions. IOM India, Head Mr. Sanjay Awasthi delivered the welcome address. Ms. Ambi, Research Associate and Lead, CMMDS, ICWA, made interventions on data accuracy and dissemination strategies. Migration experts, including Dr. Praveena Kodoth from the Centre for Development Studies (CDS), Kerala, and Dr. Divya Balan, Assistant Professor at FLAME University, Pune, contributed valuable insights.

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## 12<sup>th</sup> Meeting of CICA Think Tank Forum (TTF), 23-25 October 2024

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The 12th Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia (CICA) Think Tank Forum (TTF) was organized by the Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (SIIS) at Shanghai on 24-25 October 2024. ICWA is a representative think tank from India and participated in the Forum. The theme of the 12th CICA TTF was 'Asia's New Role in a Multipolarizing World'. The Forum had three working sessions: 1- Development of a Multipolar World from an Asian Perspective; 2 - Global Sustainable Development from an Asian Perspective; 3 - Construction of CICA Mechanism from an Asian Perspective.

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Emphasizing the importance of Asia's growing influence in shaping global dynamics, the CICA TTF participants highlighted the significance of multilateralism. They suggested that international politics is moving towards multilateralism and Asian countries will play an increasingly important role in the process given the region's rapid economic growth and geopolitical significance. In the Forum, discussions focused on key topics such as regional cooperation, security and peace, connectivity, finance, climate change, and achieving sustainable development. Participants underlined that Asia is facing multiple traditional and non-traditional security challenges and regional cooperation should be enhanced by way of dialogue through the mechanism of CICA.

Participants from India highlighted that multipolar world is feasible only by a multipolar Asia. A multi-polar Asia is necessary for both the Asian Century and for a multi-polar world. It was also said that reformed multilateralism will reinforce multipolarity. CICA is transforming itself into a full-fledged international organization – a process initiated under the current Chair Kazakhstan. Azerbaijan is set to become the next Chair of CICA, the Kazakhstan side expressed hope that Baku will continue the transformation.

## Prof. Stein Sundstøl Eriksen, Senior Researcher at Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI) met Nutan Kapoor Mahawar, Additional Secretary, ICWA, 23 October 2024



Prof. Stein Sundstøl Eriksen, Senior Researcher at Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI) met Nutan Kapoor Mahawar, Additional Secretary, ICWA to discuss India's foreign policy and relations with great powers. Prof. Eriksen visited New Delhi for consultations with academic and foreign policy experts coordinated by ICWA and the Embassy of Norway in New Delhi. He was accompanied by Ms. Nora Dokken Harboe, Second Secretary (Political), Embassy of Norway during the meeting.

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## Workshop on 'Constitutionalism and Federalism' for delegation from Myanmar, 5-6 November 2024

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The 2nd Lecture Series on "Constitutionalism and Federalism" was organised by ICWA for visiting Myanmar Delegation from 5-6 November 2024 at Sapru House. Six lectures on various issues of constitutionalism and federalism in India were delivered to the visiting delegation by Dr. V.N. Alok, Shri B.S. Baswan, IAS (Retd.), Dr. Pinaki Chakraborty, Prof. Sudarshan Ramaswamy, and Shri Vikas Anand. The speakers delivered talks on India's experience of democracy and its machinery in upholding the Constitution and promoting unity in diversity. The Myanmar Delegation was particularly curious and asked several questions regarding the Panchayati Raj System in India. They also learned about the differences in the functioning of the corresponding institutions, like the Finance Commission.

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## Meeting with Prof Dr. Nguyen Xuan Thang, Politburo Member of CPV, Vietnam, Sapru House, 12 November 2024

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On 12 November 2024, His Excellency Prof. Dr. Nguyen Xuan Thang, Politburo Member of CPV, President of HCMA and Chairman of Central Theory Council and his team visited the Indian Council of World Affairs (ICWA) and met Ms Nutan Kapoor Mahawar, Additional Secretary of the Council, with whom he had an enriching dialogue on various issues of India-Vietnam bilateral relation, and also on major points of engagement in the global context.

Both sides discussed the growing bilateral relationship, especially in the defence and maritime fields. India and Vietnam stand for peace in the region, as exemplified by the convergence between India's approach to strategic autonomy and Vietnam's Four No's Policy. They also proposed new areas of cooperation, including capacity building in disaster management and clean energy transition. Another focus area of the dialogue was the two countries' commonality in promoting a people-centric approach to their respective economies.



# French Special Envoy for Myanmar Amb. Christian Lechervy met Nutan Kapoor Mahawar, Additional Secretary, ICWA, 14 November 2024



# ICWA co-hosted a Symposium on Mine Action: Pathway to a Safer World, 14 November 2024





## Panel Discussion on “Ukraine & Gaza Wars: Crisis of Liberal International Order”, 19 November 2024



ICWA organised a Panel Discussion on “Ukraine & Gaza Wars: Crisis of Liberal International Order” at Sapru House on 19 November 2024. The session was chaired by Amb Mohan Kumar, O. P. Jindal University and the discussants were Prof Chintamani Mahapatra (retd.), Jawaharlal Nehru University, Prof Sanjay Kumar Pandey, Centre for Russian and Central Asian Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University and Dr Atul Mishra, Shiv Nadar University. In her opening remarks Nutan Kapoor Mahawar, Additional Secretary, ICWA spoke briefly about the international liberal order. She highlighted eight objectives for the human-centric international order: absence of war; long-term peace, stability, and security; firm

state as an essential unit of international polity, political independence, and responsible behaviour; harmonious and friendly inter-state relations; multipolarity; humanities and state’s resources dedicated to people welfare; all-round prosperity; and a just balance of rights and obligations.



Amb Mohan Kumar, furthering the discussion, placing some thought-provoking questions said that liberalism is currently in a state of a full-blown crisis. Prof Chintamani Mahapatra started with the impacts of the Ukraine and Gaza wars especially on the global supply chains. Prof Sanjay Kumar Pandey initiated his remarks by questioning how ‘liberal’ and ‘international’ the liberal international order truly was. He endorsed Joseph Nye’s critical statement that liberal order was limited to like-minded states across the Atlantic littorals and did not include states such as the Soviets, China, and India. Dr Atul Mishra said that the liberal international order is in terminal decline. He differentiated between the liberal international order and the rule-based international order. Drawing attention to the post-World War days, he said the liberal international order was one of the three bounded orders that we witnessed under the umbrella of the rules-based international order. The discussion was followed by a brief question answer session.

## Fourth Track 1.5 India-Germany Dialogue, 20 November 2024

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The fourth Indo-German 1.5 Track Strategic Dialogue was held in Berlin, Germany on 20 November 2024. The 2+2 Policy Dialogue saw the participation of ICWA and RIS on the Indian side and GIGA and SWP Berlin on the German side. The ICWA/Indian delegation was led by Ambassador Gurjit Singh, former Ambassador of India to Germany. RIS delegation was led by Amb. Amar Sinha, former Secretary (Economic Relations), MEA India. On the German side, the delegation was led by Dr. Stefan Mair, Director, SWP Berlin and Dr. Patrick Köllner, Director, GIGA. Ambassador of India to Germany, Ajit Vinayak Gupte and Director of Indo-Pacific Policy, South Asia and Afghanistan, Federal Foreign Office, Germany, Erik Kurzweil also participated in the Dialogue. Discussions were held on the state of Indo-German relations; cooperation in the Indo-Pacific; global and trade cooperation; climate and tech cooperation between India and Germany. Both sides reaffirmed the need for enhancing bilateral ties including for strengthened India-EU relations.

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## Visit of Dr. Seyed Mohamad Sadegh Emamian, Co-Founder and Former Director, Governance and Policy Think Tank, Sharif University of Technology, Tehran, 20 November 2024

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The Indian Council of World Affairs (ICWA) hosted a closed-door interaction on the topic - 'Situation in West Asia and India-Iran Bilateral Relations' on the 20 November 2024, chaired by Dr. Nivedita Ray, Director Research. The guest speaker for this event was Dr. Seyed Mohamad Sadegh Emamian, Co-Founder and Senior Advisor of the Governance and Policy Think Tank and Assistant Professor at Amirkabir University of Technology in Iran.

Focusing on the three themes, Dr. Emamian, articulated the significance of Chabahar port and corridor collaboration for Iran-India bilateral relations, as well as Iran's prospective recalibration of its security and deterrence strategies in light of the new Trump administration. He said that both nations possess a profound cultural heritage alongside a shared legacy of non-alignment and international autonomy. On 15 March 1950, India and Iran established a formal alliance through a treaty of friendship. The visit of Prime Minister Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee to Iran, culminating in the ratification of the Tehran Declaration in April 2001, laid the groundwork for President Seyyed Mohammad Khatami's visit to India and the subsequent New Delhi Declaration in 2003, thereby significantly enhancing the framework of cooperation between India and Iran. These two seminal documents elucidated the avenues for potential collaboration and formulated a visionary blueprint for the sustained partnership between the two nations.

Chair remarked that India has never acted against Iran's interests. India has backed Iran within the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) as well as in BRICS. Iran needs to show greater dedication towards addressing the sanctions issue. India maintains its commitment to the Chabahar project and emphasizes the importance of



a political resolution in Gaza crisis. In light of the rising tensions in the West Asian region, the Chair reiterated that India has always advocated for dialogue and diplomacy, urging restraint from both sides. There is a need to tap into the economic potential of India-Iran trade relations. With the new Trump administration taking office, India is hopeful for a peaceful resolution of the crisis. The talk was followed by a Question Answer session.

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## Panel Discussion on “China’s New Global Initiatives: Agenda and Outcomes”, 26 November 2024

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ICWA organised a panel discussion on “China’s New Global Initiatives: Agenda and Outcomes” at Sapru House on 26 November 2024. The Discussion was chaired by Amb. Nalin Surie Former Ambassador to China and Distinguished Fellow, DPG, New Delhi. Smt. Nutan Kapoor Mahawar, Additional Secretary, ICWA, delivered welcome remarks. Lt. Gen. S L Narasimhan, Former DG, CCCS, New Delhi; Prof. B R. Deepak, JNU, New Delhi; and Prof. Avinash Godbole, O.P. Jindal University, Sonipat, made their remarks as Panellists.

The initiatives by China like the Global Developmental Initiative (GDI) Global Security Initiative (GSI), Global Civilisational Initiative (GCI), were announced over the last three years or so, are to be seen in continuation of the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). These initiatives are to be seen as a collective with one feeding into another. It was pointed out that these initiatives are a reflection of Beijing’s desire for a sino-centric world order. At the same time, it was noted that these initiatives and proposals are to be seen as a reaction to positions that have been taken by other countries, beginning with the West as well as the Indo-Pacific vision.





## The 14<sup>th</sup> Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific (CSCAP) General Conference, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, 2-3 December 2024

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The 14th General Conference of CSCAP was held on 2-3 December 2024 in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. CSCAP India was represented by Ambassador Prashant Pise, Deputy Director General, ICWA and Dr. Sanjeev Kumar, Senior Research Fellow & Coordinator, CSCAP-India. Prof. Prabir De, RIS, New Delhi, spoke in session IV of the Conference on behalf of CSCAP-India. Prof. Faiz Abdullah, CSCAP Co-Chair (ASEAN Chair) and Chairman, ISIS, Malaysia, delivered opening remarks. He noted that this is an opportune time for Malaysia as it assumes the Chairmanship of ASEAN in 2025. This is a significant responsibility that comes at a particularly critical juncture for Southeast Asia and the broader region.

The Keynote Address was delivered by Dato' Seri Utama Haji Mohamad bin Haji Hasan, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Malaysia. He highlighted that in addressing shared security challenges, the countries can adopt a number of collaborative strategies, such as (a) strengthening regional defence frameworks, (b) developing conflict resolution mechanisms, and (c) maritime security collaboration. The Foreign Minister noted that as Malaysia takes on the ASEAN chairmanship in 2025, it aims to make tangible progress with a commitment to inclusivity, sustainability and regional cooperation.

Indian representative highlighted that countries of Global South should be working together to address challenges in promoting supply chain resilience. The Global South is important for a number of reasons, including developing rules-based global order which may lead to economic integration and supply chain resilience.

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## 61<sup>st</sup> CSCAP Steering Committee Meeting, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, 4 December 2024

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The 61st Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific (CSCAP) Steering Committee Meeting (SCM) was held on 4 December 2024 at Hilton Hotel, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. Ambassador Prashant Pise, Deputy Director General, ICWA and Dr. Sanjeev Kumar, Senior Research Fellow & Coordinator, CSCAP-India, attended the meetings.

The meetings were Chaired by Prof. Faiz Abdullah - ASEAN Chair and Chairman, ISIS, Malaysia. The SCM discussed administrative and financial matters as well as progress of ongoing Study Groups.



## Mr. Aleksandr Novikov, Lead Project Manager and others from The Alexander Gorchakov Public Diplomacy Fund, Moscow met Nutan Kapoor Mahawar, Additional Secretary, ICWA, 3 December 2024

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Mr. Aleksandr Novikov, Lead Project Manager and Ms Anastasia Kotova, Project Director of The Alexander Gorchakov Public Diplomacy Fund, Moscow met with Nutan Kapoor Mahawar, Additional Secretary, ICWA on 3 December 2024. They discussed about potential avenues of collaboration, including exchange of experts and views as well as organising events in future.

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## Discussion on the book 'Friends: India's Closest Strategic Partners' authored by Dr. Sreeram Chaulia, 05 December 2024

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ICWA hosted a discussion on the Book 'FRIENDS: India's closest Strategic Partners' by Professor Sreeram Chaulia. The discussion was chaired by Amb. Ashok Sajjanhar and the welcome remarks in the event was delivered by Ms. Nutan Kapoor Mahawar, AS, ICWA. The discussant remarks were given by Professor (Retd.) Mohammed Badrul Alam, Jamia Millia Islamia and Dr. Dhananjay Tripathi, Associate Professor South Asian

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University. During the discussion it was pointed out that the book emphasises on the unique and independent identity of India, irrespective of its role in multilateral institutions like BRICS, SCO etc. While India is a member of the multilateral organisations, it maintains its strategic autonomy through active pursuits of interests rather than hedging. It was stated by the author that this is an optimistic book in a pessimistic time and he pointed that the book points that some friends are more complicated than others but even they are friends.

## Interaction with Institute of Defence Studies, MoD, Vietnam, 11 December 2024



Ms Nutan Kapoor Mahawar, Additional Secretary of ICWA, welcomed Lt. Gen Vu Cuong Quyet, Director General, Institute of Defence Studies, Ministry of Defence, Vietnam and his team on their visit to the Indian Council of World Affairs, Sapru House, New Delhi, on 11 December 2024.

They talked about the multiple challenges facing the international order. The India-Vietnam relationship becomes critical for two factors: (a) both countries face security and sovereignty challenges such as cross-border terrorism, an aggressive China and its illegal claims both in the Himalayas and in the South China Sea, and (b) convergence between India's strategic autonomy and Vietnam's 'Four No's policy. India's contribution to maritime security is critical for the region's peace and stability. India's Indo-Pacific policy is centred on the principle of ASEAN centrality.



## Visit of Hon'ble Vice President of India and President, ICWA Shri Jagdeep Dhankhar to Sapru House, 14 December 2024



The 50th Foundation Day of Indian Posts & Telecommunications Accounts and Finance Service (IP&TAFS) was celebrated today at Sapru House in collaboration with the National Communications Academy-Finance (NCA-F). Hon'ble Vice-President of India and President, ICWA Shri Jagdeep Dhankhar was the Chief Guest. Shri Jyotiraditya M. Scindia, Hon'ble Minister of Communications & Development of North Eastern Region was also present on the occasion.

## Panel discussion on "Recent Developments in Sri Lanka: Significance and Implications", 17 December 2024



Panel discussion on Recent Developments in Sri Lanka: Significance and Implications was held at Sapru House on 17 December 2024. Welcome remarks were given by Nutan Kapoor Mahawar, Additional Secretary, ICWA. The panel discussion was chaired by Ambassador Mohan Kumar, Dean, Strategic & International Initiatives, Jindal School of International Affairs, O.P. Jindal Global University. The three eminent panellists were Prof. S.D. Muni, Professor Emeritus, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University. Prof. Ajay Darshan Behera, Academy of International

Studies, Jamia Millia Islamia (JMI) and Dr. Nishan de Mel, Executive Director, Verité Research, Sri Lanka, joined the discussion virtually from Colombo.

Ms. Nutan Kapoor Mahawar, Additional Secretary of the Indian Council of World Affairs (ICWA), emphasised the importance of Anura Kumara Disanayaka's recent visit to New Delhi as Sri Lanka's new President. She also highlighted the millennia-old civilisational and shared cultural and historical ties between India and Sri Lanka. The panel, highlighted the election of a new president in Sri Lanka amidst the economic crisis as a triumph for democracy in South Asia and emphasized that developments in Sri Lanka recovery illustrated democracy's potential to solve domestic crises. The panel also noted that although the President, holds a two-thirds majority in parliament, the challenge lies in how he can reduce presidential powers while maintaining enough authority to combat entrenched corruption. The panel, highlighted a significant change in Sri Lanka's electoral history, where a third party, the National People's Power (NPP), disrupted the long-standing dominance of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) and United National Party (UNP). This event was termed a "democratic revolution," marking a historic shift in the political landscape.



## Panel Discussion on “Afghanistan under the Taliban: Past Lessons and Future Paths”, 20 December 2024





The Indian Council of World Affairs held a Panel Discussion on ‘Afghanistan under the Taliban: Past Lessons and Future Path’ on 20th December 2024. The discussion was chaired by Amb. Gautam Mukhopadhyaya, former Indian envoy to Syria, Afghanistan and Myanmar. Brigadier Saurabh Sharma, Defence Advisor and Military Attache to the Indian Mission in Afghanistan (2020-21), delivered the Special Talk on Afghanistan. Raghav Sharma, Associate Professor, Jindal School of International Affairs and Director, Centre for Afghanistan Studies, Jindal Global University, and Dr. Shalini Chawla, Distinguished Fellow at the Centre for Air Power Studies, New Delhi participated as discussants. Ms. Nutan Kapoor Mahawar, Additional Secretary, ICWA delivered the welcome remarks.

During the discussions it was stated that though the Taliban has consolidated its position and with this the internal security situation has improved in Afghanistan, at the same time, the humanitarian situation has worsened. The Taliban has monopolised power in Afghanistan and has moved from an insurgent group to a functional government. Although the ISKP does not immediately pose a threat to Taliban rule, it remains a common cause of concern for all the actors engaging with Afghanistan. Other challenges for the Taliban include local resistance from narco-cultivators, stagnant economy, decline in revenue collection and taxable income and lack of major investments. The Taliban-Pakistan relations remain stressed. While Pakistan is using China to mediate with the Taliban to control the TTP, Beijing has kept its ties with the Taliban independent from Pakistan. The Taliban at the same time is leveraging on China’s security and economic interests. Russia, Turkey and Iran continue to play a significant role in Afghanistan.





### One-day Conference on “Changing World Order and India’s Challenges”, Asia Centre, Bangalore, 4 October 2024



In collaboration with Indian Council of World Affairs (ICWA), the Asia Centre, Bangalore organised a Conference on "Changing World Order & India's Challenge". Amb Latha Reddy delivered the opening address. Mr. Nitin Pai, Director of the Takshashila Institution, Mr. Narayan Ramachandran, Chairman of the TeamLease Services Limited and Lt. Gen. (Rtd) Prakash Menon, Director, Strategic Studies Programme, the Takshashila Institution presented their views on the current global geopolitical, economic and strategic scenarios, challenges for India and how India can navigate the changing world order by addressing these challenges. Aman Kumar, Research Associate, ICWA, represented ICWA in the Conference, presented his views on the Russia, China and their Perspectives on a New World Order and also participated in the panel discussion.

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### Two-day International Conference on “Tech Diplomacy 2.0: India’s Global Strategic Alliance in the Digital Decade”, Christ University, Bangalore, 4-5 October, 2024



In Collaboration with Indian Council of World Affairs, Christ (Deemed to be University), Bengaluru organized the two-day International Conference on “Tech Diplomacy 2.0: India’s Global Strategic Alliance in the Digital Decade” on 4-5 October, 2024. Keshav Verma, Research Associate, Indian Council of World Affairs represented

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the Council in the conference. The conference was organized under ICWA's University Outreach Programme. Keshav Verma expressed his views on the relevance of Tech Diplomacy as a critical tool for enhancing India's diplomatic engagement and fostering international partnerships in the digital age.

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## **One day Conference on "Brazil's G20 Presidency: Prospects and Challenges.", Jindal Global Centre for G20 Studies (JGC4G20), Sonipat Haryana, 8 October 2024**

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The Jindal Global Centre for G20 Studies (JGC4G20) organised a conference on October 8, 2024, themed "Brazil's G20 Presidency: Prospects and Challenges." Avni Sablok, Research Associate & Social Media Coordinator, ICWA, represented ICWA in the Conference. In her address, she discussed the 'Continuity of Commitment' under the Brazilian G20 Presidency and G20 Troika (India-Brazil-South Africa) on women empowerment, sustainable development, and reforming the Multilateral Development Banks (MDBs).

Amb. H.E. Kenneth Felix Haczynski da Nóbrega, Ambassador of Brazil to India delivered the special address and the keynote address was delivered by Prof. (Dr.) Harsh V. Pant, Vice President, Studies and Foreign Policy at Observer Research Foundation, New Delhi. Other Speakers were Ms. Nandita Baruah, Country Representative India, The Asia Foundation, Prof. (Amb.) Sanjay Bhattacharyya, Professor of Diplomatic Practice, Dr. Hebatallah Adam, Professor, Jindal School for International Affairs and Dr. Anshu Joshi, School of International Studies, JNU.

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## **Two-day International Conference on "History, Culture and Commerce in the Indo-Pacific World: Past and Present", Gangadhar Meher University, Amruta Vihar, Sambalpur, Odisha, 23-24 October, 2024**

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In collaboration with ICWA, Gangadhar Meher University, Sambalpur, Odisha organized the Twelfth Biennial International Conference on the theme "History, Culture and Commerce in the Indo-Pacific World: Past and Present" from 23-24 October 2024 along with the Indian Association for Asian and Pacific Studies and Indian Council for Social Science Research. Dr. Teshu Singh, Research Fellow, ICWA represented the Council at the Conference and made a presentation on India's Indo-Pacific vision and current geopolitics and geo-economics in the region.

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The Vice-Chancellor of Gangadhar Meher University, Odisha, chaired the event, and Dr David Brewster delivered the keynote speech. The conference's theme was wide and covered an extensive area of international relations. The two-day conference covered various facets of the Indo-Pacific region and highlighted Orissa's importance.

## Two-day National Seminar (in Hindi) भू-राजनीतिक गतिशीलता और भारत की विदेश नीति: उभरती चुनौतियाँ और अवसर Shri Varshney College, Aligarh, Uttar Pradesh, 9-10 November 2024



The Two-Day National Seminar on “Geo-Political Dynamics and India’s Foreign Policy: Emerging Challenges and Opportunities” was held on 9-10 November 2024 at the Shri Varshney College, Aligarh, UP, in collaboration with the Indian Council of World Affairs. The event featured a diverse range of panel discussions. Dr. Arshad, Research Fellow participated at the National Seminar on behalf of the Council and presented a Special Address at the Inaugural Session.

The Chief Guest at the Inaugural Session was Amb (Retd.) Jitender Kumar Tripathi. The Key Note Speaker was Dr S.K. Mishra J.D.S College, Hisar, Haryana. President of the Shri Varshney College, CA Atul Kumar Gupta, and Coordinator of the seminar Principle of the college, Prof. Brijesh Kumar were also present. Prof. Mirza Asmar Beg, Dean, Social Science, Aligarh Muslim University was the Chief Guest and Prof, Anand Kumar Singh, Head of the Défense Department at Hindu College Moradabad, UP was the honorary Guest at the Valedictory Session.

## One Day Conference on “Changing Dynamics of Migration and Mobility” at the Central University of Jharkhand, Ranchi, 11 November 2024

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Ambi, Research Associate & Lead, Center for Migration, Mobility & Diaspora Studies (CMMDS), ICWA delivered a Special Lecture on “Changing Dynamics of Migration and Mobility” at the Central University of Jharkhand, Ranchi. The lecture was organised under ICWA's Outreach Programme, in collaboration with the Department of International Relations, Central University of Jharkhand, Ranchi. In her lecture at Central University of Jharkhand, Ambi illustrated the evolution of Indian international migration, India's proactive role in migration and mobility governance, emerging trends, and the challenges faced by workers, professionals, and students on the move.

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## ICWA-IOM Project, Promoting Regular and Assisted Migration for Youth and Skilled Professionals (PRAYAS), Chandigarh, 13-14 November 2024

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As part of ICWA-IOM Project, Promoting Regular and Assisted Migration for Youth and Skilled Professionals (PRAYAS), Mr. Hitesh Rajpal, Director, ICWA, represented CMMDS, ICWA along with IOM team led by Mr. Alok Kumar met with Mr. Yashu Deep Singh, PoE Chandigarh and discussed relevant migration-related issues. A focused group discussion was held with aspiring students to better understand their aspirations, requirements - pre as well as post-departure, challenges and ways to overcome the barriers.

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## Two-day Conference on “Changing Dynamics of Migration and Diaspora: Leveraging India’s Global Image”, Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi, 18-19 November 2024



In collaboration with ICWA, ICSSR (Indian Council of Social Science Research), Centre for West Asian Studies, Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi organised a two-day International Conference on “Changing Dynamics of Migration and Diaspora: Leveraging India’s Global Image” on 18-19 November 2024. Ambi, RA and Lead, Center for Migration, Mobility & Diaspora Studies (CMMDS) delivered an address in the plenary session on “Migration, Development and Nation-Building”, highlighting the transformational journey of the Indian diaspora as well as India’s role in migration governance and support for the well-being of its emigrants abroad. Key speakers from the plenary were Prof Naresh Kumar, Chairperson, Centre for Diaspora Studies, Central University of Gujarat, Prof M.V. Bijulal, Chairperson, the Centre for Migration Policy and Inclusive Governance, M.G University, Kerala, Prof Ajailiu Niumai, University of Hyderabad, and Dr. Niharika Tiwari, Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Allahabad. The Conference was organised under ICWA’s University Outreach Programme.

## Panel Discussion on “India’s Foreign Policy Post-G20: Exploring New Discourses and Trajectories”, Birla Institute of Technology & Science (BITS), Pilani, 25 November 2024



Following the signing of MoU between ICWA and BITS Pilani, the Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, BITS Pilani, Pilani Campus in collaboration with ICWA organised “Foreign Policy Awareness Programme” on 25 November 2024. Shri Hitesh Rajpal, Director, ICWA delivered the keynote address on 77 years of India’s foreign policy, interacted with students and faculty as well as distributed certificates and prizes to the winners of essay competition held at BITS Pilani. The welcome address was delivered by Prof. S.K. Barai, Director BITS Pilani, Pilani Campus and Prof. Sangeeta Sharma. An engaging Panel Discussion on: Indian Foreign Policy Post-G20 - Exploring New Discourses and Trajectories followed, moderated by Prof. Veena Ramachandran and panellists included Prof. Swaran Singh, SIS, JNU and Prof. Sreeradha Datta, OP Jindal Global University. Students of BITS Pilani overwhelmingly participated in the essay competition and discussions.

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## Two-day National Seminar on “The Changing Dynamics of Indian Foreign Policy”, Mizoram University, Aizawl, 25-26 November 2024

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In collaboration with ICWA, the Department of Political Science of Mizoram University organised a Two-Day National Seminar on "India's Foreign Policy: Coping with the Changing World" from 25 to 26 November 2024. Indian Council of World Affairs (ICWA) was represented by Dr. Tunchinmang Langel, Research Fellow who highlighted the role of the Council in promoting the study of Indian and International Affairs so as to develop a body of informed opinion on international matters. The Chief Guest of the two-day national seminar was Dr. Vanlalhlana, Honourable Cabinet Minister of Higher and Technical Education, Government of Mizoram. He emphasised the need for comprehensive research and analysis on foreign policy. Ambassador Rajiv Bhatia, former Indian Ambassador to Myanmar was the Guest of Honour and spoke about how such seminars are platforms for navigating India's foreign policy in the changing world. The plenary sessions began with the historical context and legacies of India's Foreign Policy. Following which the discussions revolved around Changes and Continuity in India's Foreign Policy. The second day of the Seminar had panel discussion on India's Eastern Orientation and its neighbours. Thereafter, the panellists deliberated upon India's International Cooperation and Initiatives. The final plenary session was an open themed based panel where the panelists presented their views on Soft Diplomacy and Power in India's Foreign Policy, India and its Neighbours, Security Strategies, and India in the Changing World. The Valedictory Session was graced by Ambassador Lalduthlana Ralte, former Ambassador of India to Philippines and Brunei.



## Two-day National Seminar (in Hindi) “रूस - यूक्रेन संघर्ष और भारत का दृष्टिकोण”, Amar Nath Mishra P. G. College, Ballia, U.P., 30 November - 1 December 2024



A two-day national seminar (in Hindi) titled “रूस - यूक्रेन संघर्ष और भारत का दृष्टिकोण ” was held on November 30 and December 1, 2024, at Amar Nath Mishra P.G. College (ANM College), Dubey Chhapra, Ballia. The seminar was sponsored by the Indian Council of World Affairs, New Delhi. Dr. Subodh Chandra Bharti, Research Associate, represented the Council and spoke at the inaugural session.

The Chief Guest of the Two-Day National Seminar was Prof. Sanjeet Kumar Gupta, Vice Chancellor, Jananayak Chandrashekhar University, Ballia, Uttar Pradesh. The Special Guest of the inaugural session was Prof. Sanjay Kumar Pandey, Centre for Russian and Central Asian Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. Prof. Harsh Kumar Sinha, Department of Defence & Strategic Studies, Deen Dayal Upadhyaya Gorakhpur University was the keynote speaker of the inaugural session. The seminar comprised various sessions conducted over two days, featuring presentations from faculty members and scholars in the field of International Relations from diverse universities and colleges. Attendees included students, scholars, and faculty members from the host college as well as other institutions of higher education. Sri Amil Pal Singh, District and Sessions Judge, Ballia was the Chief Guest at the Valedictory Session.

## First Annual Conclave: Pakistan 2024, NIAS Area Studies – Pakistan & Centre for South Asian Studies, Pondicherry University, 12-14 December 2024



A three-day conclave was organized in by National Institute of Advanced Studies (NIAS) Bengaluru in Pondicherry University in a hybrid format in collaboration with ICWA. ICWA is an MoU partner with NIAS and Pondicherry University. Spread in ten sessions, excluding the two inaugural addresses delivered by Prof. SD Muni and Amb. TCA Raghavan, the conclave brought together former diplomats and policy makers, academicians, researchers and young scholars discussing on a multitude of issues and challenges building up a comprehensive understanding of contemporary Pakistan. Dr. Nivedita Ray, Director Research delivered her address during the inaugural session. Dr. Dhrubajyoti Bhattacharjee, Research Fellow, ICWA as a resource person spoke about 'Security and Society in Pakistan'.

The First Annual Conclave on Pakistan discussed on areas of gender issues, climate change, culture, music, fashion, ethnic and sectarian movements, minority and marginalized communities, provincial politics, militancy, urbanization and its challenges, media freedom and role of social media, the rise of the right, and the economy, along with the strategic dimensions in Pakistan.

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## Two-day International Conference on “Cold War 2.0 and India”, REVA University, Bangalore, 13-14 December, 2024

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A two-day National Conference on “Cold War 2.0 and India” in Bangalore on 13-14 December 2024 was organised by the Centre of Excellence for Geopolitics and International Studies, REVA University in collaboration with the Indian Council of World Affairs, New Delhi. Ms. Avni Sablok, RA, ICWA, represented the Council at the conference.

In the Inaugural session Dr. P. Shyama Raju, Chancellor, REVA University, Bengaluru, Avni Sablok, Research Associate, Indian Council of World Affairs, New Delhi, Admiral Arun Prakash, former Chief of Naval Staff, Indian Navy and Professor M. D. Nalapat, Professor Emeritus, REVA University, delivered their remarks and Dr. Vijay Sakhuja, Head, Center of Excellence for Geopolitics International Studies (CEGIS), REVA University, introduced the conference. The Conference on “Cold War 2.0 and India” aimed at bringing together experts from universities and think tanks across India to deliberate on the evolving global security dynamics in the multipolar world order. This Track 2 conference was spread over five specialist sessions navigating conceptual and theoretical formulations of Cold War 2.0, its strategic and economic impact, nuclear-technological advancement, and India's position in a multipolar world order.



## Two-day National Seminar (in Hindi) on "भारत-इजराइल सम्बन्ध अतीत से वर्तमान: चुनौतियां और संभावनाएं", Bapu P.G. College, Pipiganj, Gorakhpur, Uttar Pradesh, 19-20 December 2024

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The Inaugural Session had Prof. Rajnikant Pandey, former Vice Chancellor, Siddharth University Kapilvastu, Siddharth Nagar, Uttar Pradesh, spoke about the role of the college in conducting timely seminars on topics that remain important for scholars and academicians. He also mentioned about the manner in which India Israel bilateral relations grew through the last few decades and the importance of studying the relations in the backdrop of the volatile West Asian situation. He mentioned how institutions like ICWA played a significant role not only in encouraging institutions located in the periphery to organise such seminars and conferences but also in bringing young scholars to share their views and opinions on vibrant and timely topics. Dr. Dhrubajyoti Bhattacharjee, Research Fellow, ICWA, Dr. Shakti Jaiswal, Associate Professor, Buddhi Vidyapith PG College, Naugad, Siddharth Nagar, Prof. Manju Mishra, Principal, Bapu PG College, Pipiganj delivered their addresses along with other dignitaries during the Inaugural Session. A volume with papers submitted for the conference edited by Dr. Karunendra Singh, Coordinator of the Seminar and Associate Professor of Security and Strategic Studies department, Bapu PG College was released during the Session.

The concluding session had Prof. DN Pandey, former Vice Chancellor, Jawaharlal Nehru PG College, Maharajgunj and Dr. Shrish Mani Tripathy, former HoD, Political Science Department, PG DAV College, Gorakhpur among other dignitaries. While congratulating the coordinators in conducting a successful seminar, it appreciated the role of peripheral institutions playing an instrumental role in nurturing young minds on issues that remain important in international politics and Indian foreign policy.

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# RESEARCH INTERNS AT ICWA

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Eddula Varshitha

Pondicherry University



Aishwarya Upreti

University of Rajasthan



Saumyasingh Kshatriya

Pondicherry University



Nandini Khandelwal

Pondicherry University



Farhan Khan

Jamia Millia Islamia



Aditi Mishra

Amity University  
Noida



Julia Jose Thachil

Central University of  
Gujarat



Ms. Ritika Mourya

Pandit Deendayal  
Energy University  
Gandhinagar



Sugandhi

Jamia Millia Islamia



Mrityunjay Goswami

Jindal School of International Affairs



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3. Cuba's Recurring Electricity Crisis and Challenges for Energy Security, Girisanker SB | 18 December 2024
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15. The Kazan Declaration and the Middle East BRICS Countries, Dr. Lakshmi Priya | 19 November 2024
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17. One Year On: Gabon's Coup and Its Impact on Governance, Nandini Khandelwal | 25 October 2024
18. The Awami League at a Crossroads: Navigating Political Upheaval and Future Challenges in Bangladesh, Madhu shree Dwivedi | 23 October 2024
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  23. Mexico's Judicial Reforms Lead to Friction with the US And Canada, Girisanker S.B. | 03 October 2024
  24. An Analysis of the Ninth Forum on China-Africa Cooperation, Dr. Teshu Singh | 03 October 2024
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## VIEWPOINTS

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  4. Collapse of the House of Assad, Dr. Lakshmi Priya | 20 December 2024
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  6. US-China Contestation and the Issue of Tibet, Dr. Teshu Singh | 05 December 2024
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  8. Significance of India-Maldives Recent Engagement, Dr. Samatha Mallempati | 30 October 2024
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  11. India joins BBNJ Treaty: A New Era for Ocean Governance, Keshav Verma | 22 October 2024
  12. Nepal-Bangladesh Energy Trade: A New Chapter of Unveiling Promising Trilateral Partnerships, Subodh Chandra Bharti | 22 October 2024
  13. Hundred Days in Office: Keir Starmer Sails Troubled Water, Aman Kumar | 11 October 2024
  14. Presidential Elections in Algeria 2024: An Assessment, Dr. Arshad | 07 October 2024
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# GUEST COLUMNS

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1. 'Thirty Years of the 1994 Moscow Declaration: Pluralistic States in a Changing World', Amb. Ajai Malhotra | 31 December 2024
  2. 'The Case for Reviewing the UN Charter', Amb. Mukerji | 30 December 2024
  3. 'India Middle East Europe Economic Corridor: Opportunities and Challenges', Mr. Abdullah Musabbbeh Al Darmaki | 11 December 2024
  4. 'African Common Position on UN Reform and its Limitations', Amb. Gurjit Singh | 25 October 2024
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# SPECIAL REPORTS

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1. Analysing Pakistan-China Relations in 2024: Identifying Weak Points and Challenges to the All-Weather Friendship, Dr. Shrabana Barua | 30 December 2024
  2. From Martial Law to Impeachment: Outcome and Implications for South Korea, Dr. Tunchinmang Langel | 24 December 2024
  3. Houthis of Yemen and Their Growing Dominance in Domestic, Regional and Global Politics: An Assessment, Dr. Fazzur Rahman Siddiqui | 24 December 2024
  4. The Ongoing Israel-Gaza War and Changing Diplomatic Trajectory of France, Dr. Fazzur Rahman Siddiqui | 19 November 2024
  5. Escalation or Restraint? Israel's Dilemma in the Face of Iran's Nuclear Threat, Prachi Lokhande | 25 October 2024
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# ORAL HISTORY PROJECT

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1. **Three Summers in Pakistan  
May 1958 to October 1960,  
K V Padmanabhan  
Former Deputy/Acting High  
Commissioner of India in Karachi,  
9 October 2024.**



# SAPRU HOUSE PAPERS



**Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia: Fostering Stability and Cooperation in a Dynamic Continent**

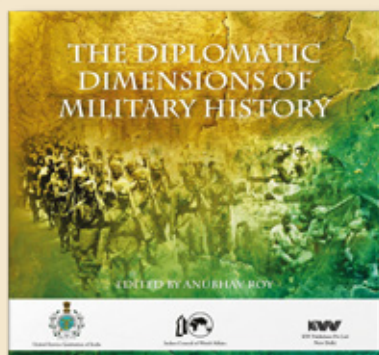
By Dr. Athar Zafar  
(Indian Council of World Affairs)



**Navigating New Realities: Afghanistan's Neighbours and the Taliban Regime**

By Dr. Anwesha Ghosh  
(Indian Council of World Affairs)

# ICWA BOOKS



**The Diplomatic Dimensions of Military History: Indian Armed Forces in France and Flanders during World Wars I and II**

By Anubhav Roy  
(Indian Council of World Affairs; United Service Institution of India; KW Publishers, 2024)



**Indian Parliament: Shaping Foreign Policy**

By K V Prasad  
(Indian Council of World Affairs; KW Publishers, 2024)



## Editorial

The year 2024 has been a year of transitions. Fifty-four per cent of the world's population, with 60% of the global GDP, have been or will go to the polls. The new leadership elected or appointed will shape an increasingly complex world environment. While most national elections are rarely fought on war and peace in distant parts, domestic concerns about the dignity of livelihood and work, economic stability, the impact of new technologies on individual lives and climate justice and sustainability are no longer just national issues but divide states along existential lines. Where the competition for resources in the neighbourhood creates a conflict over fair and just distribution, the effect of disruptive events elsewhere—recent wars which have led to rising prices of essential commodities from energy to food—also threatens to upend the best intentions of policymakers, holding domestic policies hostage to external decisions. In this intricate maze of domestic and foreign policies, national and institutional leaders face variable demands. Across the world, citizens are asking if the leaders they choose, and the institutions they create, are up to the task.

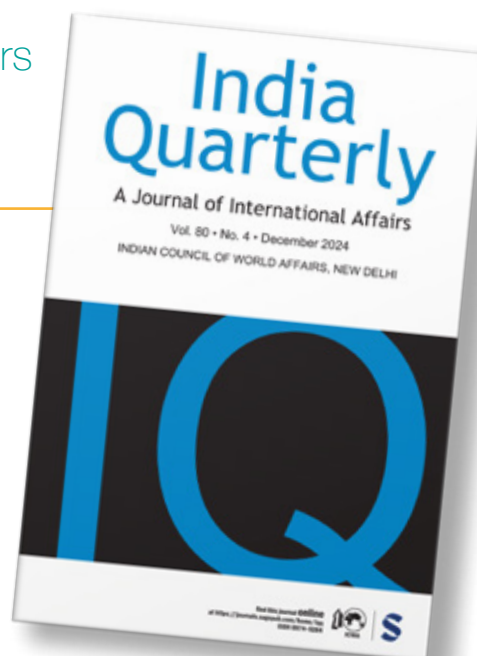
The drivers of the most significant transitions today hasten the fractures of the existing world order. As major powers focus their resources on retaining global leadership positions, we see the world order they seek to preserve disintegrating with middle powers claiming moral leadership and defining values and principles. Smaller powers are also beginning to shape their neighbourhoods through war, resource collaboration or new security policies. Popular challenges to state capture by political elites have emerged from Myanmar to South America, as has opposition to unregulated market capitalism and economic exclusion even in developed economies. Elsewhere, citizens have placed pressure on political representatives and governments to prevent the technologies of the future from being appropriated by powerful interests and raised significant questions about their ability to control the future of individuals and communities.

The transformations of the future likewise hinge on many factors, the constant being that no one state

can deal with global existential crises alone, raising questions about transnational dialogue and cooperation and, most importantly, about the capacity of global institutions to speak for everyone. Many of these issues are on the agenda at the United Nations Summit of the Future 2024, which will have been held in September this year. The agenda documents for the summit rest hope on strengthened multilateralism, global cooperation and international law, all things at risk today.

Some of the articles in this issue of the India Quarterly point to the difficulties in upholding just such institutions and conventions, and the ability of national policies to secure states and populations. In part, they speak to the difficulty with applying international law to policy, especially where longstanding conflicts persist across borders. Or in applying humanitarian perspectives to cross-border migrations when violence between communities threatens stability. Or on the longstanding impact of conflict on border populations and on interstate borders as global institutions pay lip service to peace. But they also point, in some instances, to the possibility of shifting focus from notions of the securitisation of borders and populations to looking at how security interdependence may be achieved. Finally, two papers remind us that despite hopes placed on dialogue and cooperation, power transitions remain power transitions and, as new powers seek dominance, threat perceptions are only deepened.

**Prof. Madhu Bhalla**  
Editor, India Quarterly



## 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 objective was to create an Indian perspective on international relations and act as a repository of knowledge and thinking on foreign policy issues. The Council today conducts policy research through an in-house faculty as well as through external experts. It regularly organises an array of intellectual activities, including conferences, seminars, roundtable discussions and lectures, and brings out a range of publications. It has a well-stocked library and an active website and publishes the journal “India Quarterly.” ICWA has over 50 MoUs with international think tanks and research institutions to promote a better understanding of international issues and develop areas of cooperation. The Council also has partnerships with leading research institutions, think tanks and universities in India.



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