



International Webinar on

India in the Indo-Pacific: Interests, Challenges and Prospects

14th & 15th October 2020

**DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
CENTRAL UNIVERSITY OF JHARKHAND
RANCHI, JHARKHAND, INDIA**

Google-Meet Link: meet.google.com/hzq-xvmg-xfr

The Central University of Jharkhand

The Central University of Jharkhand was established in 2009 by the Government of India through The Central Universities Act 1st of March, 2009. The vision of the University is to create a world class university in every aspect, be it research, teaching, administration or co-curricular activities, to produce world class students ready to excel in every chosen field with honour and uprightness. The objectives and scopes of the University are to: disseminate and advance knowledge by providing instructional and research facilities in various disciplines, such as Humanities, Social Sciences and Science & Technology; promote innovations in teaching-learning process and inter-disciplinary studies and research; educate and train manpower for the development of the country; establish linkages with industries for the promotion of science and technology and pay special attention to the improvement of the social and economic conditions and welfare of the people, their intellectual, academic and cultural developments.

The University is in the phase of shifting to its permanent campus at Cheri Manatu, Ranchi. However, its temporary campus of the University is located at Brambe. It is a beautiful campus of green trees. Ranchi is the capital of Indian state Jharkhand located in the southern part of Chota Nagpur plateau. It is called the “City of Waterfalls.” Temperature ranges from 20°C – 37°C in the summer and 6°C – 22°C in winter.

Department of Politics and International Relations

The Department of Politics and International Relations was offering 5 Years Integrated M.A since its inception of 2012. But since the Academic Year of 2017-18 the Department offers two years Master Programme. The curriculum has been very carefully designed which caters to the needs of the students in the present context. Traditional International Relations as a discipline has evolved in western societies particularly in Europe and United States and therefore, western values are reflected in the approach. In order to make International Relations a holistic discipline, the curriculum is inclusive of the alternative perspective with special emphasis on the Indian standpoint. This Department has endeavored to include sufficient amount of literature and modules from different regions of the globe. The engagement with politics and dynamics of international relations in area-studies such as that of Far-East, Africa, Middle East and Latin America shall be one of the major priorities of the Department which shall enable to a very comprehensive understanding of the nuances of the subject. However, Department is offer two different courses, such as M.A in Political Science and M.A in International Relations. Besides, the Department is offering Ph.D Programme since 2015.

Theme of the Webinar

Since the end of the Cold War, the US has remained the sole superpower in Asia. However, at the turn of the twenty-first century, the rise of China as a major economic and military power, along with its assertive postures and other factors, has led a profound impact on the decades-long power structure in the region. Realising serious repercussions, successive American administrations have taken calibrated efforts to ensure the US’ dominance in maintaining security and stability in this region. Coming to power in 2017, the Trump administration rolled out his new “Free and Open Indo-Pacific Strategy” (FOIP) to protect America’s supremacy in the fast-changing geostrategic, economic and political realities in Asia. Subsequently, the Trump administration announced to invest \$113 billion to promote digital, connectivity, energy and infrastructure in the region. The Quadrilateral Security

Dialogue (Quad) among the US, India, Australia and Japan was revived as a regional security provider and the US also changed the name of its Pacific Command to the Indo-Pacific Command in 2018, largely in recognition of India's growing importance in the US' Asia policy, apart from other initiatives.

India too has responded positively to the idea of the Indo-Pacific as a new geo-strategic construct. Thus, while the Indian Ministry of External Affairs has established a desk for the Indo-Pacific, the Modi government has taken steps to reinvent India's ties with the countries of the region under the framework of Act East Policy. This can be gauged from the fact that while India has intensified security ties with the US, it has also scaled up military engagement with Vietnam, Japan, Australia and other countries. At the same time, with Prime Minister Narendra Modi having inaugurated a 2,312 km long submarine optic fiber cable linking Chennai and Andaman and Nicobar Islands in August this year, New Delhi has major push towards restructuring its Indian Ocean Policy, which is equally for securing India's security and other interests in the larger region of Indo-Pacific. Moreover, under the Act-East policy, the strategic location of Andaman and Nicobar Islands has assumed huge significance in India's strong relations with East Asian countries and other countries connected by the sea. Besides, government's announcement of further development of several airports and other infrastructures in the Islands for security purpose is a clear indication of strategic move and its seriousness. In this context, it is very important to understand India's interests, challenges and prospects in the Indo-Pacific. As the Coronavirus pandemic has significantly unsettled the international order, it is very timely to organize this International Webinar to discuss the concept of the Indo-Pacific and its relevance for India.

In particular, this International Webinar will debate and discuss the following issues:

1. The Conceptual Understanding of the Indo-Pacific Region
2. The US' Motive towards Launching the Free and Open Indo-Pacific Strategy
3. India's Interests in the Indo-Pacific Regions
4. India-US Security Relations
5. India's Changing Idea of Maritime Security
6. Situation in the Korean Peninsula and Emerging Challenges
7. Economic, Security and Maritime Dimensions
8. Act-East Policy
9. ASEAN in Indo-Pacific
10. New Order in Indo-Pacific

Organizing Committee

Chief Patron	Prof. Ratan Kumar Dey , Vice-Chancellor, Central University of Jharkhand, Ranchi
Patron	Dr. Rabindranath Sarma , Dean, School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Central University of Jharkhand, Brambe, Ranchi
Webinar Director	Dr. Alok Kumar Gupta , Associate Professor & Head, Department of Politics and International Relations, Central University of Jharkhand
Convener	Dr. Bibhuti Bhusan Biswas , Assistant Professor, Department of Politics and International Relations, Central University of Jharkhand
Members	Dr. Ranvijay , Dr. Subhash Kumar Baitha , Dr. Aparna , Assistant Professor, Department of Politics and International Relations, Central University of Jharkhand and Dr. Konchok Tashi , Dr. Neha Kumari Murai , Ms. Arpana Raj

Day One: Wednesday, 14th October 2020

Inaugural Session: 09.45-11.30 A.M

PROGRAMME

- ❖ Opening Remarks : **Dr. BIBHUTI BHUSAN BISWAS (09:45-09:50)**
Convener of the Webinar
Assistant Professor
Department of Politics and International Relations
Central University of Jharkhand, Brambe, Ranchi
- ❖ Welcome Address : **Dr. ALOK KUMAR GUPTA (09:50-09:55)**
Associate Professor & Head
Department of Politics and International Relations
Central University of Jharkhand, Brambe, Ranchi
- ❖ Inaugural Address : **Prof. SWARAN SINGH (09:55-10:15)**
Professor, Centre for International Politics,
Organization and Disarmament, School of International
Studies, JNU, New Delhi
- ❖ Keynote Address : **Amb ASHOK SAJJANHAR, IFS (Retd.) (10:15-10:35)**
President, Institute of Global Studies, Former
Ambassador of India to Kazakhstan, Sweden and
Latvia, Former Secretary/Principal Executive Officer,
National Foundation for Communal Harmony,
Government of India
- ❖ Felicitations Address : **Commodore R.S. VASAN IN (Retd.) (10:35-10:55)**
Head, Strategy and Security Studies, Centre for Asian
Studies, Apt. No. 2, Apoorva Apt., No. 7, Maharani
Chinnama Road, Venus Colony, Chennai, India
- ❖ Presidential Address : **Prof. RATAN KUMAR DEY (10:55-11:05)**
Vice Chancellor, Central University of Jharkhand, Ranchi,
Jharkhand, India
- ❖ Vote of Thanks : **Dr. RABINDRANATH SARMA (11:05-11:15)**
Dean, School of Humanities & Social Sciences
Central University of Jharkhand, Ranchi, India

Working Session: I (Day-1, 14th October 2020)

11.30- 14:00 hrs

Chair: Prof. Raj Kumar Kothari

Professor, Department of Political Science with Rural Administration, Vidyasagar University,
Midnapur, West Bengal, **India**

PANELLISTS OF THE SESSION

Professor Raj Kumar Kothari

(11:30-11:50)

Geo-politics of the Indo-Pacific: India's Strategic Interests and Concerns

Professor, Department of Political Science with Rural Administration, Vidyasagar University,
Midnapur 721102, West Bengal, **India**

Dr. Raj Verma

(11:50-12:10)

India-US Friendship Treaty: Pushing Back Against China

Associate Professor, College of International Relations, Huaqiao University & Head of
Research, Intellisias Institute, Guangzhou, **China**

Professor Suresh R

(12:10-12:30)

India's Maritime Security Policy: Changing Dimensions

Professor & Chairman, Department of Political Science, University of Kerala, Kollam (Dist),
Kariavattom, Thiruvananthapuram, Kerala, **India**

Dr. Sudhir Kumar Singh

(12:30-12:50)

Indo-Pacific Synergy between India and America: Post Corona Challenges

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Dyal Singh College, University of
Delhi, New Delhi, **India**

Prof. Utham Kumar Jamadhagni

(12:50-13:10)

Andaman and Nicobar Islands in Indo-Pacific Maritime Dynamics

Professor & Head, Department of Defence and Strategic Studies, University of Madras,
Chennai, **India**

Dr. Binoda Kumar Mishra

(13:10-13:30)

QUAD: A Reluctant Arrangement of Willing Partners

Director, Centre for Studies in International Relations and Development (CSIRD), Kolkata,
India

Dr. K. M. Parivelan

(13:30-13:50)

***Climate Change and Natural Disasters in Indo-Pacific Region: Exploring the Cooperation
and Coordination Mechanisms***

Associate Professor, Centre for Statelessness and Refugee Studies, School of Law, Rights
and Constitutional Governance, Tata Institute of Social Science Research, Mumbai, **India**

Working Session: II (Day-2, 15th October 2020)
10.00- 11:30

Chair: Dr. Raymond Kwun-Sun LAU
Faculty of Department of History, Hong Kong Baptist University, Hong Kong

PANELLISTS OF THE SESSION

Professor (Dr.) Do Thu Ha
(10:00-10:15)

India's Emerging Indo-Pacific Regionalism
Professor in the Faculty of Oriental Studies, Vietnam National University, Hanoi, **Vietnam**

Mr. Abu Salah Md. Yousuf
(10:15-10:30)

Between Bangladesh and Myanmar: Neighbours in India's Indo-pacific Strategy
Senior Research Fellow, Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies (BISS),
Dhaka, **Bangladesh**

Dr. Tomoko Kiyota
(10:30-10:45)

The Role of Japan in Indo-Pacific
An Adjunct Fellow at Pacific Forum, Honolulu, USA
(Japan)

Dr. Nanda Kishor M S
(10:45-11:00)

Facing the Dragon in its Courtyard: The US's orientation towards the Indo-Pacific
Associate Professor, Department of Geopolitics and International Relations, Manipal
Academy of Higher Education, Manipal, Karnataka, **India**

Dr. Pranav Kumar
(11:00-11:15)

Geopolitical Rivalry in the Western Tropical Indian Ocean and India's Maritime Strategy
Assistant Professor, Department of Political Studies, Central University of South Bihar,
Gaya, Bihar, **India**

Ms. Harshita Gupta & Mr. Kumar Adarsh
(11:15-11:30)

Can QUAD Tame the Dragon: An Analysis on the Security Dilemma of the Indo-Pacific Region
Harshita Gupta is pursuing Masters in International Affairs and Global Governance from
Zhejiang University, China and Kumar Adarsh is pursuing Masters in Social Work (Public
Health) from Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai, **India**

Working Session: III (Day-2, 15th October 2020)
11:30-12:40

Chair: Dr. K. M. Parivelan

Associate Professor, Centre for Statelessness and Refugee Studies, School of Law, Rights and Constitutional Governance, Tata Institute of Social Science Research, Mumbai, **India**

PANELLISTS OF THE SESSION

Dr. Sriparna Pathak
(11:30-11:45)

India's Diplomacy and the China Challenge in 2020

Assistant Professor and Assistant Academic Dean, Jindal School of International Affairs, O.P. Jindal Global University, Sonapat, Narela Road, Near Jagdishpur Village, Haryana, **India**

Dr. Namrata Kothari
(11:45-12:00)

India in Indo- Pacific Region: A Paradigm Shift

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, South Calcutta Girls' College, Kolkata, West Bengal, **India**

Dr. Amrita Banerjee
(12:00-12:15)

Ongoing Pandemic and the question of Human Security: Convergence and Divergence on Human Trafficking in Indo- Pacific Region

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Bidhan Chandra College, Asansol, Affiliated to Kazi Nazrul University, West Bengal, **India**

Dr. Swati Chakraborty
(12:15-12:30)

India's initiative towards Indo-Pacific Region: New Challenges

Faculty and Faculty Coordinator, Schoolguru Eduserve Pvt. Ltd. India; Vice President, South East Asia, Eurasian Doctoral Summer Academy (EDSA); International Fellow, KAICIID, **Vienna**

D. Purushothaman and Ms. Vaishali Handique
(12:30-12:40)

Forum for Indio-Pacific Islands Cooperation (FIPIC): Strengthening Long-term Strategies through Soft Power Diplomacy

Associate Professor & Head, Centre for South Asian Studies & Centre Head for UMISARC, Pondicherry University, Puducherry, **India**

CONCLUDING PROGRAMME

15th October 2020

12:40-13:30 hrs

Chair: Commodore SESHADRI VASAN IN (Retd.)

Director, Chennai Centre for China Studies and Regional Director National Maritime Foundation, Tamil Nadu, India

- ❖ Introductory Observation : **Dr. ALOK KUMAR GUPTA (12:40-12:45)**
Associate Professor & Head
Department of Politics and International Relations, Central University of Jharkhand, Brambe, Ranchi, Jharkhand, India
- ❖ Valedictory Address : **Professor MAHENDRA P LAMA (12:45-13:05)**
Former Vice Chancellor, Central University of Sikkim, currently Professor, Centre for South Asian Studies, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India
- ❖ Special Address : **Dr W. L. S. PRABHAKAR (13:05-13:25)**
Topic: India and the Evolving Dynamics and Trends of the Indo-Pacific
Advisor, Centre for Public Policy Research, Kochi, Kerala, India
- ❖ Vote of Thanks : **Dr. BIBHUTI BHUSAN BISWAS (13:25-13:30)**
Convener of the Webinar
Assistant Professor
Department of Politics and International Relations, Central University of Jharkhand, Brambe, Ranchi, Jharkhand, India



About the Speakers

Professor Ratan Kumar Dey

Vice Chancellor (Acting)
Central University of Jharkhand
Ranchi, Jharkhand, India



Prof. R K Dey currently Professor, Department of Chemistry, Central University of Jharkhand (CUJ), Brambe, Ranchi – 835 205, Jharkhand (INDIA). He did his Ph.D in Chemistry. His area of research interest are Polymer (Synthesis and applications of ion-exchange and chelating Polymers, Biomedical Polymers), Aquatic Chemistry (related to environmental pollution with toxic/heavy metal ions, removal of toxic elements from aquatic system, metal complexation phenomena in aquatic systems), Development of biodegradable polymeric materials, Silica base mesoporous materials, nano-materials for catalytic application. Dr. Dey's was Postdoctoral Fellow, at Centre for Biomedical Engineering, Indian Institute of Technology, Delhi, INDIA. The World Academy of Sciences (TWAS) Postdoctoral Fellow at Department of Chemistry, State University of Campinas, Sao Paulo, BRAZIL. Indian National Science Academy (INSA) visiting Fellow at Centre for Biomedical Engineering, Indian Institute of Technology, Delhi, INDIA. Dr. Dey is having several decades of teaching and research experiences. He has published several research papers in various national and international reputed journals. Dr. Dey is Visiting Researcher in various foreign universities.

Dr. Rabindranath Sarma

Dean, School of Humanities and Social Sciences
Central University of Jharkhand
Brambe, Ranchi, Jharkhand, India

Email: rabindranath.sarma@cuja.ac.in



Dr. Sarma has been teaching Tribal Studies at Central University of Jharkhand. Prior to this responsibility, he was Visiting faculty at Silpakorn University, Thailand in 2008. In 2012, he went to the University of Tartu, Estonia (East Europe) as Visiting Professor to teach about Indian Indigenous Culture. Other than teaching, he is also serving various academic administrative jobs like Head of the Department of Tribal Studies, Department of Tribal Folklore, Language and Literature, Department of Human Rights and Conflict Management, Coordinator of the Centre for Indigenous Culture Studies, Department of Performing Arts, Dean of School for the Study of Culture, School of Languages, School for the Study of Culture, Administrative Warden, Proctor, other administrative job including Transport In charge of the University. He is also Chairman and members of various bodies like Board of Studies, School Board, Board of Research Studies, Academic Council, Anti-Ragging Cell, NCC Cell etc. He was Editorial Assistant in Assamese Encyclopedia Project: World Literature and Folk Literature Volume: V, VIII and IX. He is also Editorial Board Member/Reviewer for many UGC CARE listed or refereed journals. He has completed many Social Impact Assessment program under the Government of Jharkhand. He has participated more than 50 conferences till now either for present research paper or as dignitary. He has published more than 150 articles in different journals, books etc. including Assamese Encyclopedia of Asom Sahitya Sabha. Dr. Sarma is member of many academic associations and his remarkable contribution in promoting Tribal and Human Rights, the National Human Rights and Crime Control Bureau awarded **NELSON MANDELA HUMAN RIGHTS AWARD 2019**, on 24th June, 2019.

Dr. Alok Kumar Gupta
Associate Professor & Head
Department of Politics and International Relations
Central University of Jharkhand
Brambe, Ranchi, Jharkhand, India
Email: alokgupta@cuja.ac.in



Dr. Gupta got his M.A., M.Phil., Ph.D., from Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India. He also did LLB (JNVU, Jodhpur); LLM (Business Law) (JNVU, Jodhpur); PG Diploma in English Journalism (IIMC, New Delhi); Correspondence Course in Hindi Journalism from Institute of Journalism, Lajpat Nagar, New Delhi. He is Associate Professor, Department of Politics and International Relations since May 27, 2020; Associate Professor -- July 2013 to May 26, 2020, Central University of South Bihar, Gaya; Professor & Dean, May 01, 2012 to June 30, 2013 (NUSRL, Ranchi); Associate Professor & Dean--October 18, 2010 to April 30, 2012(NUSRL, Ranchi) (iv) Associate Professor—October 1, 2008 to October 15, 2010 (NLU, Jodhpur) (v) Assistant Professor--July 2005 to September 30, 2010 (NLU, Jodhpur); (ii) Lecturer—July 01, 2001 to June 30, 2005 (NLU, Jodhpur).

Dr. Gupta's areas of interest are India's Foreign Policy, International Relations, Conflict and PeaceMaking, Political Theory, National and International Politics, Politics and Governance in South Asia; Defence and Security. He has authored (One Text Book, Two Reference Books); Edited (One Book); Edited (Two Occasional Papers); Authored (23 Chapters in different Books); More than 100 Articles in different Journals. Nearly 50 small and popular publications in Newspapers, Websites of think-tanks. Contributed from October 2014 to July 2017 a fortnightly column in a tabloid 'Buland Prajatantra' published from New Delhi in Hindi. Apart from teaching, served as Dean, Dean Academic Affairs, Assistant Dean, Officiating Registrar; Controller of Examinations; Academic Co-ordinator, Professor-in-Charge (CUB, Gaya Campus), Course Coordinator, Warden, Chairman and Member of Several Committees in the Universities where I served. Besides, he is Member, Editorial Board of the Journal, *Third Concept* published from New Delhi, Editor of University Journal and Newsletter at NLU, Jodhpur, Member of Editorial Boards of University Journal, Member of Advisory Boards in Journal of other University. He also participated and presented papers in more than 50 National and International Conferences, Workshop, Orientation Program (two) and Refresher Course (one).

Dr. Bibhuti Bhusan Biswas
Convenor of the Webinar
Assistant Professor
Department of Politics and International Relations,
Central University of Jharkhand,
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Dr. Bibhuti Bhusan Biswas is an Assistant Professor & former Coordinator, Department of Politics and International Relations, Central University of Jharkhand, Brambe, Ranchi, Jharkhand, India. He has nine years of teaching and research experience. Dr. Biswas got his Ph.D from Department of Politics & International Studies, School of Social Sciences & International Studies, Pondicherry (Central) University, Puducherry. Before joining Central University of Jharkhand he has worked in many reputed institutions in various capacities such as, Assistant Professor in Department of Geopolitics and International Relations,

Manipal University, Karnataka; worked as a Post-Doctoral Research Associate at Centre for Southern Asia Studies, Pondicherry University; and also worked as Project Fellow, Rajiv Gandhi Chair and Contemporary Studies, Allahabad University, Allahabad. Dr. Biswas has published four edited books such as Soft Power and Public Diplomacy in India and China; Internal Changes in South Asia: Challenges and Opportunities; Modi's Cultural Diplomacy and Soft Power: Issues and Challenges and India's Democracy at 70: Challenges Ahead. He has published 25 research papers and articles in prestigious national and international journals. He also contributed 15 chapters in edited volumes. Dr. Biswas presented 45 papers in national and international seminars and conferences. Besides, he has delivered several special as well as invited lectures in various Universities and Institutes. He has specialized in the field of Southern Asia and Bangladesh foreign policy.

Professor Swaran Singh
Professor, Centre for International Politics,
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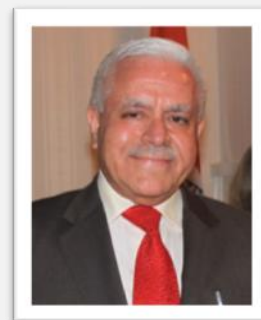


Professor Singh is President of Association of ASIA Scholars, General Secretary of Indian Association of Asian & Pacific Studies, Guest Professor at Research Institute of Indian Ocean Economies, Yunnan University of Finance and Economics (China) and Advisory Board Member of Atlanta-based Communities Without Borders Inc. (United States). Prof Singh has 25 years of experience in research and teaching and he lectures at major institutions like National Defence College, Defence Services Staff College, and all other major military institutions as also Foreign Service Institute, Indian Institute for Public Administration etc. also contributes to radio and television discussions. Prof. Singh is formerly Visiting Professor at Australian National University (Canberra), Science Po (Bordeaux, France) University of Peace (Costa Rica), Peking, Fudan and Xiamen Universities, and Shanghai Institute of International Studies and Center for Asian Studies (Hong Kong University) in China, Asian Center (University of the Philippines), and Chuo, Hiroshima and Kyoto Universities (in Japan), as also Guest Faculty at Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (Sweden). He was Academic Consultant (2003-2007) at Center de Sciences Humaines (New Delhi), Research Fellow, Institute for Defence Studies and Analysis (New Delhi). Prof Singh is on the Editorial Board of Asian Policy & Politics (Washington DC), Journal of the Indian Ocean Region (Hyderabad), Journal of Indian Ocean Studies (Delhi), and Millennial Asia (Delhi), Suraksha Chintan (Meerut) as also Referee on various academic journals. He was also Member of South Asia Review Committee (2007-2009) of Asian Scholarship Foundation (Bangkok) He has published in Journal of International Affairs (Columbia University), Security Challenges (Australian National University), Journal of Indian Ocean Region (Perth, Australia, Issues & Studies (Taiwan National University), African Security (Institute of Security Studies), BISS Journal (Dhaka), Asian Studies Journal, Financial & Economic Review, Xiaman University Journal, International Studies (in China), and Strategic Analysis, USI Journal, Peace Initiatives, Journal of Indian Ocean Studies, Millennial Asia, Journal of Air Power Studies, South Asian Survey, Indian Defence Review, and China Report (in India).

Prof Singh has traveled and written extensively on Asian Affairs, China's foreign and security policy issues with special focus on China-India confidence building measures as also on Arms Control and Disarmament, Peace and Conflict Resolution, India's foreign and security policy issues.

Ambassador Ashok Sajjanhar (Retd.)
President, Institute of Global Studies,
Former Ambassador of India to Kazakhstan,
Sweden and Latvia, Former Secretary/Principal Executive Officer,
National Foundation for Communal Harmony,
Government of India

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Ambassador Ashok Sajjanhar, assumed charge as Secretary, National Foundation for Communal Harmony (NFCH) on 17th April 2013. Ambassador Sajjanhar, a Postgraduate in Physics from Delhi University and a career diplomat, has served as Ambassador of India to Kazakhstan, Sweden and Latvia. He has also held several significant positions in Indian Embassies in Washington, Moscow, Brussels, Geneva, Bangkok, Teheran and Dhaka. He joined the Indian Foreign Service in July 1978 and retired as Ambassador of India to Sweden and Latvia in the rank of Secretary to the Government of India in July 2012. Prior to joining the Indian Foreign Service, he worked as Staff Officer and Manager in Bank of India for 3 years.

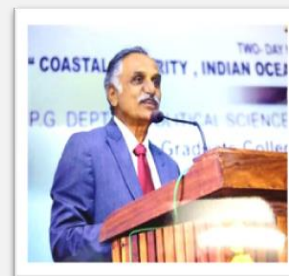
Ambassador Sajjanhar negotiated for India in the Uruguay Round of Multilateral Trade Negotiations and made vital and critical contributions to outcomes in several areas. He was invited to participate as Resource Person and Speaker in several Conferences on the Multilateral Trading System and Doha Round in Beijing, Kuala Lumpur, Bangkok, Papua New Guinea, Seoul, Geneva, etc. A keen proponent of Indian culture, he was the Director of Jawaharlal Nehru Cultural Centre in Moscow where he was instrumental in ushering in a new paradigm in cultural diplomacy. Ambassador Sajjanhar held the position of Director, Indian Foreign Service Institute, New Delhi from '92 to '94.

Ambassador Sajjanhar was Deputy Chief of Mission as well as Deputy Permanent Representative of India to UN-ESCAP during his assignment in Bangkok from 2000 to 2003. He was an active negotiator in the India-Thailand Free Trade Agreement (FTA) as well as India-Asean FTA discussions. The US-India Nuclear Deal was signed by PM Dr. Manmohan Singh and President Bush during Ambassador Sajjanhar term in Washington in 2005. He was Deputy Chief of Mission to European Union, Belgium and Luxemburg from 2005 to 2007. The EU-India Strategic Partnership as well as negotiations for EU-India Bilateral Trade and Investment Agreement were launched during his tenure in Brussels.

Ambassador Sajjanhar was decorated by the Government of Kazakhstan with the Kazakh President's Medal for "his invaluable contribution and in providing unprecedented impetus" to bilateral ties between the two countries. He was decorated with the National Award by the Government of Latvia for strengthening and expanding bilateral ties and friendship. Both these awards were conferred upon Ambassador Sajjanhar after his retirement from the Government Service.

Currently Ambassador Sajjanhar is a Visiting Professor at the Centre for Research in Rural and Industrial Development, Chandigarh and Member, Governing Board of Sanskriti Educational Foundation. Ambassador Sajjanhar is fluent in English, Hindi and Russian and has working knowledge of French and Persian. His other interests include reading, music and Indian culture.

Commodore R.S. Vasan IN (Retd.)
Head, Strategy and Security Studies, Centre for Asian Studies,
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An Alumnus of the Defence Services Staff College, the Naval War College and the International Visitor Leadership Programme, Commodore Seshadri Vasan has a distinguished service of over 34 years in the Navy and the Coast Guard. His appointments include command of warships, two major air stations and a maritime air squadron. He has participated both in the 1971 war and IPKF operations. He was an instructor at the Naval War College, India. Prior to retirement, he was the Regional Commander of the Indian Coast Guard Region East overseeing EEZ Patrol, SAR, Anti-Piracy, Fisheries protection, Maritime Border Control, Marine Pollution prevention and other maritime tasks in the Bay of Bengal.

Post retirement he has served in many think tanks and is a regular speaker at many International and national conferences. He was also the Chairman of Aeronautical Society of India, Chennai Charter and the President of the Navy Foundation Chennai Chapter. He has many publications to his credit in journals, websites, edited books and media. The details of the papers are at <https://centerforasiastudies.academia.edu/SeshadriVasan>. The think tanks that he has served in include the Observer Research Foundation where he steered the Maritime Security Programme, The Center for Asia Studies where he is the Head Strategy and Security Studies, Director of the Chennai Centre of China Studies, Director of the Asian Bureau of World Border Policy and as the Regional Director of the National Maritime Foundation Tamil Nadu. He is also a visiting faculty at the Indian Maritime University, Academy of Maritime Education and Training, Great Lakes Institute of Management and Hindustan Institute of Engineering Technology. He is also on the Board of Advisors at the Madras University and the Stella Maris College.

Professor Mahendra P Lama
Former Vice Chancellor, Central University of
Sikkim, currently Professor, Centre for South
Asian Studies, School of International Studies,
Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India
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Prof Lama was the Founding Vice Chancellor of the Central University of Sikkim in India and became the youngest Vice Chancellor of a National University in India. Prof Lama was till very recently a Member of the prestigious National Security Advisory Board of Government of India. A product of Scots Mission Primary School and Turnbull High School in Darjeeling, he was Professor of South Asian Economies in the School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi and also the Chairman of the Centre for South, Central, South East Asian and South West Pacific Studies in JNU. He also served as the Chief Economic Adviser in the Government of Sikkim with a Cabinet Minister Rank for seven years (2000-2007). He has been nominated by the President of India in the highest executive boards of various leading institutions of India including IGNOU, North East Hill University, NCERT and Hyderabad University. Besides authoring and editing 22 books, he has extensively worked on the issues of human security, migration, refugees, trade,

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Abstract

India and the Evolving Dynamics and Trends of the Indo-Pacific

As the global geopolitics, geo-economics and geo-security transitions are in a turbulent and uncertain sea change mode, the Asia-Pacific (often interchangeably “deployed term” of Indo-Pacific) is the catalyst and the fulcrum of the transitions. Asia-Pacific represents the continental geopolitics of a transregional region with its heartland and maritime littoral contexts that represents the overwhelming proportion of maritime trade, commerce, shipping, naval expansion and a whole host of littoral complexities, the Indo-Pacific is a “contested construction” that is “policy-strategy agenda driven” by a an Quadrilateral formation whose intent is the deterring of a rise of a revisionist power viz: China. Academic and policy research is rife with the “contestations” of the Asia-Pacific and Indo-Pacific that has predominantly *influenced policy-strategy-doctrine-operational contexts* of the great and major powers in the Asia-Pacific.

- #1. Is there a Power Transition? If so what contexts and what levels of absolute and relative categories are evident?
 - #2. Is there a Power Shift evident? If so whose calibration of power has been in “relative rise or decline”
 - #3. How does Comprehensive National Power of Great and Medium Powers influence the policy, position and posture of the respective foreign and security vistas of national strategy
- The abovementioned queries interrogate the diplomatic, economic and strategic discourse of Great Powers and Medium powers.

India’s Foreign and Security Policy Position and Posture had been in catalytic transformation and often has been reactive-given the fast-paced momentum of the global and regional systemic changes (Bajpai: 2014). While India has been sustaining its proaction in its policy-strategy-operations spectrum has been viable, transformative changes like power shifts of a China rise, the global debt crisis, chronic systemic economic crisis and the volatility of the national economic system of India itself requires a serious analysis of its proaction in its Policy, Position and Posture. Such an analysis should be free of “contestations” as they would undermine and cloud strategic perceptions of the nation.

The presentation endeavours to analyse and assess the i) Systemic implications of Asia-Pacific Transformations; ii) The matrices of India's 'Comprehensive National Power' and its resilience to address this period of turbulence and iii) Net Assessment of how the global and Asia-Pacific transformations would impact India in the immediate and near term—while the long term remains extremely unpredictable, iv) the probable pathways of India's quest for a 'comprehensive foreign policy response' to the transformative region.

Key Words: Asia-Pacific, Indo-Pacific, India Foreign Policy Security Policy, Naval Diplomacy, New Regionalism, Power Transition, Power Shift, Strategic Autonomy, Comprehensive National Power, sea change, policy, position, posture

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Abstract

Geo-politics of the Indo-Pacific: India's Strategic Interests and Concerns

The acceptance of the Indo-Pacific as a single strategic construct linking the contiguous waters of the western Pacific and the Indian Ocean has gained currency in recent years, particularly with the shift in the geopolitical centre of gravity to this region. The major focus of the Indo-Pacific is based on oceans, which is the common thread that connects all. Countries including India, Indonesia, Singapore, and Sri Lanka - primarily the maritime nations - occupy the most important strategic position into this strategic construct.

The Indo-Pacific construct means different things to different people. For the US, it extends up to the west coast of India which is also the geographic boundary of the US Indo-Pacific command. Whereas for India, it includes the entire Indian Ocean and the western Pacific as highlighted by Prime Minister Narendra Modi at his keynote speech at the *Shangrila* Dialogue in 2018. Geopolitically, the adoption of the term 'Indo-Pacific' (in 2006) reflects a shift in India's foreign policy strategy.

The key focus of the Indo-Pacific initiative is on connectivity, enhancing maritime security, counterterrorism, non-proliferation and cyber issues. In recent past, India, Australia, Japan and the United States reaffirmed a shared commitment to maintain and strengthen rule-based

order in the Indo-Pacific. Leaders of these countries also expressed shared support for a free, open and inclusive region that fosters universal respect for international law, freedom of navigation and over flight, and sustainable development.

In the above said backdrop, the present paper aims to focus on the geopolitics of the Indo-Pacific with special emphasis on India's strategic interests and concerns in respect of the region within the neo-realist framework.

Key Words: Indo-Pacific; India; United States; Australia; Geopolitics.

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He is also Series Editor, Routledge Series on India-China Studies; Co-Editor, Millennium Journal of International Studies Nov. 2012-Oct. 2013. Also Editor of a top 20 international journal, managed the journal, conducted research and drafted a call for papers, and communicated with authors, publisher and other journals. Dr. Varma also Reviewer for International Politics, The Pacific Review, International Affairs, The China Quarterly, Australian Journal of International Affairs, Pacific Affairs, India Review, Asian Perspective, Journal of Asian Politics and History, British Journal of Politics and International Relations, and Routledge, Taylor and Francis. Dr. Raj has published several books, journal articles,

Manuscripts and Review, Chapters in Books, Book Reviews and Short Articles. He has delivered several invited lectures, presented papers in various national and international Seminars/Conferences/Workshops etc.

Abstract

India-US Friendship Treaty: Pushing Back Against China

In the new millennium, the US wants India to play a bigger, more encompassing role in challenging China in the Indo-Pacific. But India has been reluctant to do so. Some scholars, former diplomats and strategists have for long, especially during the current protracted India-China standoff in Ladakh, proposed an Indo-US alliance to counter balance China in the Indo-Pacific. However, this is against India's ethos of "non-alignment" and "strategic autonomy." India's reluctance to join a formal security alliance is also influenced by historical memories of the (in) famous "Nixon tilt" towards Pakistan and China during the 1970s, domestic politics, institutional and bureaucratic politics and difference in strategic goals between the India and the US. However, the reset in Sino-US relations under the Trump administration especially in the COVID-19 environment (with some analysts calling it a "new cold war"), the breakdown of Sino-Indian relations (due the India-China border standoff in Ladakh) and India's increasing economic decoupling from China, and China's increasing power and military belligerence in the Indo-Pacific in the COVID-19 world, provides the *raison d'être* for a renewed India-US engagement. Since the two extremes of a Indo-US alliance and a India-China rapprochement is not in India's interest and/or against its strategic culture, and the India-US comprehensive strategic partnership has not led to India acting as a counterweight to China, the paper proposes that the best solution is for India and the US to sign an Indo-US treaty similar to the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation in 1971. The paper discusses the merits of such a treaty in countering China's belligerence in the Indo-Pacific and benefits for India.



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Abstract

India's Maritime Security Policy: Changing Dimensions

Maritime security of India is closely linked to peace and security situation in the Indian Ocean region and India's response towards it. The significance of the Indian Ocean to India's security has long been recognized. However, commensurate with the significance of the Indian Ocean to its national security no major initiative was taken during the cold war period.

India's Indian Ocean policy was centered on proposal to the elimination of external power presence from the Indian Ocean through proposals on peace zone in international forums including the UN. Thus India's Indian Ocean policy during this period was solely based on the implementation of UN General Assembly declaration on Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace (IOZP). A marked change in India's Indian Ocean policy has been reflected in the post-cold war period with the advent of engagement with regional countries and external powers in the Indian Ocean. Similarly, the imperatives of traditional and non-traditional threat to its national security also prompted India to follow a multilateral approach and collaborate with regional and extra regional countries in the Indian Ocean region to address the common threat emanates from expansionist policy of totalitarian nations and nations that follows terrorism as an instrument of foreign policy.

Keywords: Maritime Security, Non-traditional Threats, Multilateral Approach, Expansionism.

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He has contributed 3 books of his own and 21 edited. He contributed 32 chapters in different books and 47 articles in both national and international Journals on the diverse issues related to India's foreign policy and governance. (Both published Papers-79) Beside that he is a regular panelist on Television Channels on diverse relevant issues of policy and governance. He has presented 61 International seminars and 113 National Seminar papers. He has delivered over 110 invited lectures across the country as well as in abroad. Dr. Singh is in the editorial board in the Science and Humanities Journal, Visayas State University, The Philippines and also in Indonesia. Dr. Singh has visited 13 countries so far for academic purposes. Beside his academic pursuits he has deep interest in nature and music.

Abstract

Act East Policy in the Backdrop of 'Indo-Pacific Debate': Post Corona Scenario

Indo-Pacific debate has been triggered since last few years it has old legacy and been sustainable since centuries. In post-cold war scenario, China has challenged the writ of the United States particularly in Asia. Since last many decades it been argued by the global pundits that 21st century will be an Asian century. Second decade of 21st century is ending after two months but supremacy of Asia is not visible. Asian powers are fighting today against each other in anticipation of Asian century. Together they can not only ensure justice based international economic order (NIEO) but can really fight all turbulent issues confronted by humanity today. President Xi and PM Modi met 12th times in since his arrival in power in

2014, they also keep meeting on the side-lines of many multilateral platforms like BRICS, SCO etc but China opposed India after abrogation of article 370 in the UNGA and also objected Indian army's exercise in Arunachal Pradesh (October 2019) and termed it southern Tibet. LAC incursions remain a sustainable phenomenon in recent years.

This kind of trust deficit is also prevailing between Japan and China, ASEAN and China, South Korea and China. South China Sea and East China Sea issues are candid vindication of the Chinese mindset through which they have discarded the compliance of international laws regarding sea affairs. Act East Policy was launched by Prime Minister Narendra Modi in 2014. It is one of the hallmarks of Modi's foreign policy to cope up with these emerging challenges. With the passage of time, the locus of the policy has extended from Myanmar up to Australia. Modi has adopted a proactive foreign policy.

'Indo-Pacific' is a tacit strategic move by the United States to sustain its hegemony both at global and Asian level. It is intended to contain China on multiple fronts. Since July 2018, United States has sustained 'trade war' against China Transition to Look East Policy to Act East Policy has been a strategic move of India to garner maximum benefit out of these troubled waters. India's partial gravitation towards the United States is a tacit move to ensure maximum national interests but at the same time India has maintained its autonomy in foreign affairs while engaging China and Russia, two significant foes of the United States.

Post Corona & Post Ladakh Architecture of Power in Asia

Since April 2020, Chinese forces are offensive at Ladakh border and it has sustained till date (October 2020). Indian foreign minister, Dr S. Jaishankar has already stated that India and China are facing the worst trust deficit at the LAC since 1962 war. The present standoff started in the midst of corona pandemic so it has surprised many pundits. Till date more than 1 million people have already died globally due to it and the global community is curious to know about its origin. Since it has originated from Wuhan in December 2019, the finger of conspiracy is tilted towards China. The United States led the western world has opined that it is akin of biological war sponsored by China to destabilize the global order and maximise the benefits out of this Hobbesian state of affairs.

India has started making many strategic roads and air strips in its border areas since 2014 and till date completed many such projects and by 2022 plans to build further 66 roads along with the LAC. Since 1962 war, India has left these troubled borderlands aloof and only parodical patrolling was order of the day. Growing connectivity of the LAC has facilitated the Indian army to have a regular patrolling of the border.

Border standoff between India and China is sustainable phenomenon. It is strange because after Doklam's 72 days standoff (2017) both PM Modi and Chinese president, Xi had two summit level talks, first in April 2018 at Wuhan and second one in October 2019 at Mahabalipuram (Tamilnadu). PM Modi and president Xi have met 12 times in last 6 years and pledged to settle the border issue amicably. Former PM, A.B. Vajpayee visited China in June 2003 and it was decided to start high profile dialogue to resolve border problem. Both sides also decided that their respective NSA's will lead their delegations during these talks. Till date 22 rounds of these high-profile talks have taken place, but no progress has been made to resolve thorny border issue.

India- China bilateral relations have been turbulent for last many decades. While Trade relationship has gone up, strategic trust deficit has further worsened and still rules the roost.

Ladakh has vindicated this reality. Both countries top leadership stressed for a better state of a relationship. But in practice Chinese are willing to take benefit of the prevailing coronavirus and it has reduced Chinese rating within Indian people at its bare minimum. This prevailing security architecture has further emboldened the cooperation within the ambit of Indo-Pacific and aggravated the trust deficit against China. In This paper is intended to debate that Act East Policy is an important strategic move amidst the debate of 'Indo-Pacific'.

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Abstract

Andaman & Nicobar Islands in Indo-Pacific Maritime Dynamics

This paper seeks to highlight the strategic significance of Andaman & Nicobar Islands in the larger Indo-Pacific context. Though its importance to India's maritime security calculus it is also imperative for us to deliberate on what are the vulnerabilities of this geo strategic location. Given the current Indo Pacific strategic environment and China's foray into the region, the assessment of such territories that might serve as a first line of defence and offer vital scope for surveillance over significant areas of the Indo Pacific is indeed pertinent. Hence this paper would dwell into the recent developments that underscore the value of this eastern anchor. It would also view the islands from the larger Indo-Pacific perspective with greater emphasis on future cooperative options using the A&N islands as lynchpin. This would include both military and non military areas like joint patrolling, surveillance as well as commercial port connectivity and communication. However the paper would provide specific analysis of prevalent issues of accessibility and vulnerability that would impact on employment of the islands in the Indo Pacific strategic calculus.

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Abstract

QUAD: A Reluctant Arrangement of Willing Partners

The Indo-Pacific is a term lifted from oceanography to the strategic realm as an imaginary contiguous region over the seas. When spoken for the first time by Kevin Rudd in San Francisco in 2006, it probably meant nothing other than an idea underlying the interdependence that characterises a vast region of the globe. But the idea struck strategic chords in the US and the term Indo-Pacific started progressively appearing in the strategic lexicon. Given the post-Cold War uncertain global order, the US kept playing with the idea. The Middle East Fatigue coupled with the rise of China demanded a strategic innovation for the US. The Obama Administration toyed with the idea without clearly pronouncing it.

It was by the time Donald Trump assumed office, the US had found proper strategic utility of the region called the “Indo-Pacific”. The rise of China seemed irreversible and the limits of the US power in dealing with all threats around the world also became clear to the US. Thus arose the need for strategic partnership in this vast area where US interests are embedded in more ways than one. The most important of the US interests is to arrest the ramifications of the rise of China that are detrimental to the US's strategic and economic interests. This requires an order (both strategic and economic) around China that can compel China to yield to the US desires and designs in any strategic bargain or confrontation.

Realising US's own inability to alone contain the rise of China, the former started sounding out important countries in the region. A broad based agreement on the contours of Indo-Pacific arrangements could by and large be appreciated by most of the important countries of the region but when it came to the most important objective of containing China, that might require a military commitment, one can notice the reluctance evident in the responses of the potential US partners - Japan, India and Australia. The Idea of the QUAD involving the four countries in a strategic arrangement with the common objective of containing China is yet to mature enough to be equally appreciated by the four QUAD members. The paper would argue that the four member countries would love to see China's rise arrested but would not prefer to come openly in any arrangement against China at the present. The compulsions behind such reluctance would reveal the limited prospect of QUAD as a security arrangement to effectively contain China.

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Abstract

Climate Change and Natural Disasters in Indo-Pacific Region: Exploring the Cooperation and Coordination Mechanisms

Globally, climate change impact and natural disasters are on the increase, where the Indo-Pacific region experiences substantial number of natural disasters due to geographical and socio-economic vulnerabilities. Climate change/ climatology and natural disasters are impacting and compounding the problem of escalation of hydro-meteorological disasters. The challenge is to shift 'from managing disasters themselves to managing disaster risk', where there is need for holistic and integrated approach required as part of the institutional

mechanisms and resilience building processes. The challenge are two-fold: firstly, to integrate the climate policy of mitigation and adaptation with Disaster Risk Reduction measures and Secondly, to cooperate and coordinate in the realm of disaster response. Various hazards like Tsunamis, Storm surges, cyclones, floods, droughts, storms and wildfires affect several million people, underlining once more that if we want to reduce disaster losses, then we must improve how we manage disaster risk”. The ‘Sendai Framework’ and ‘Paris Agreement’ can be used as tools to assess the progress of institutional mechanisms both at national as well as inter-regional levels. Trans-border humanitarian coordination and assistance vis-a-vis climate and disasters are pertinent in this context. The scope and relevance of International Disaster Response Law (IDRL) under the broader gambit of International Disaster Law will be useful as well. This proposed paper attempts to take stock and bring out the challenges faced and way forward in the form of cooperation and coordination vis-a-vis climate and natural disasters among the countries in Indo-Pacific region.

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Abstract

India's Emerging Indo-Pacific Regionalism

Despite the contestation over the merits of the Indo-Pacific idea, Indian officials and leaders are increasingly using the notion of an Indo-Pacific region in statements and speeches as the emergence of India in the 21st century completes the creation of a composite region which could best be described by the term. The author mentions 3 issues: 1. 'Indo-Pacific' terminology in the Indian context; 2. India's key areas of concerns when it comes to the term "Indo-Pacific"; 3. The characteristics of Indian visions about Indo-Pacific.

Keywords: Indo-Pacific, Indian visions – characteristics./.

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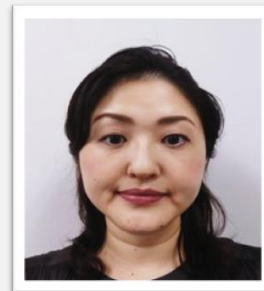
Abstract

Between Bangladesh and Myanmar: Neighbours in India's Indo-Pacific Strategy

In the contemporary strategic studies literature, Neighbourhood is not always understood by the land contiguity, rather it includes a set of networks dependent on the mutual cooperation and interests. In the context of Indo-Pacific strategy of India, the neighbours can be divided in three categories: The IOR countries, the Southeast Asian countries and the Indo-Pacific at large. However, Bangladesh and Myanmar are two closest neighbours of India who have geographical proximity with the country and both of the countries have strong strategic interest with India. Therefore, India is eager to develop strategic network with both of them. But, due to Rohingya crisis, a diplomatic tussle started between Bangladesh and Myanmar. It seems that India is facing a kind of quandary to take position on certain issues where both countries, Bangladesh and Myanmar, are in dispute. In this backdrop, this study argues that in the context of India's Indo-Pacific strategy, its relations with its neighbours are determined by three factors: security concerns, development cooperation and alliance building. Since India has deep strategic and developmental interest with both the countries, on the one hand, India is strengthening the relations with both of them, on the other hand, the country is also emerging as an important stakeholder to resolve the contentious issues between Bangladesh and Myanmar.

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Abstract

Role of Japan in the Indo-Pacific

Since 2007, the former Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo ABE has been taking an initiative to form the Indo-Pacific concept and policy on Free and Open Indo-Pacific (FOIP). During his first official visit to India in 2007, he delivered a speech "Confluence of the Two Seas" at the Indian Parliament, stating that "the Pacific and the Indian Oceans are now bringing about a dynamic coupling as seas of freedom and of prosperity." Abe is also an original member of "Quadrilateral Initiative (QUAD)" which was formed with his counterparts of the US, Australia and India during his first tenure. Although this first grouping was disbanded due to his resignation, soon after he returned to power in 2012, Abe published an article entitled "Asia's Democratic Security Diamond" and call for reunion of QUAD. Particularly with the US President Donald Trump and the Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi, FOIP has become mutual strategy among four countries. Furthermore, this concept is now widely accepted by ASEAN and other regions as well.

The new Japanese Prime Minister Yoshihide SUGA has already made it clear that he would succeed Abe's legacy including FOIP. His Foreign Minister, Toshimitsu MOTEGI, during his first visit under the Suga administration in the early October, also said that he has agreed to promote cooperation to realize the Free and Open Indo-Pacific with his counterparts of EU and Middle East. The question is, however, how we realize FOIP. The Indo-Pacific is now in the midst of transformation due to the "New Cold War" between the US and China and the Covid-19 pandemic. The realization of FOIP is not an easy task for any leaders in this region, including Suga. This paper aims to discuss what he should do and can do for this big challenge.

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Abstract

Facing the Dragon in its Courtyard: the US's Orientation towards the Indo-Pacific

The Indo-Pacific was originally conceived as a geopolitical tool to bring freedom, prosperity, and stability to the region. Yet, at the same time, it has always been about balancing the rise of China and avoiding Chinese expansionism in the form of a permanent naval and military presence in both the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea. The emerging Asian strategic system that encompasses both the Pacific and Indian Oceans, is being defined in part by the geographically expanding interests and reach of countries such as China and India, but also by the continued strategic role and presence of the United States and its like-minded allies Japan and Australia, two countries that conceive themselves as regional security architects. The US has been striving to keep the indo-pacific as 'free, open, inclusive region' in pursuit of progress and prosperity. In this regard, there are several permutations and combinations US needs to make as a preponderant power. The hermeneutics of US defining Indo-Pacific as an important region for just free navigation has taken a back seat and the Indo-Pacific strategy of the department of defense now calls it as a 'priority theatre' by calling itself as a pacific nation which shares bond with several nations. It also has been emphasising on international rules, norms, and principles of fair competition. The US posture is perfectly knit together with its policy towards China and the tariff regime it has been able to follow unlike the Obama regime. The US in Obama era was seen as a weaker power and there were talks about the shift of gravity from West to East. This no more is a regularly spoken topic since Trump has taken over the administration. The unpredictability in his behaviour has engaged

several countries to invest heavily in understanding him. On the other, several US experts are of the opinion that for a successful Indo-Pacific strategy to be implemented in the region, there is a necessity to have continuation of certain people in office holding important position including defense secretary. This is a traditional understanding arising from the bureaucratic model of administration, whereas, Trump has moved beyond the bureaucratic model and believes only in the dictum 'perform or perish' like that of a commercial establishment. His strategy might sound erratic like that of his behaviour but eventually it is fetching benefits for the US. There was an impression among scholars and policy makers that there would be none to challenge China and China would be the next super power. Even if Trump might not succeed in stopping China becoming a super power, for sure he is hastening it by a decade at least. The conceived threefold strategy of Preparedness, Partnerships and Promotion of a Networked Region is a welcome move. Its open challenge to China by asserting that US has many belts and many roads displays its primacy as a super power which none other than the US can assert at this juncture given the clout China enjoys in world politics. What defines the success of US strategy in the Indo-Pacific would be the 'consistency, cooperation and conduciveness' it creates for its partners through praxis of its ideas. Nevertheless, China would not give up its own grand strategies it has been harnessing for decades. It would be curious to see how things unfold in this highly unpredictable theatre with a new vigour and robustness the US has been displaying.

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Abstract

Geopolitical Rivalry in the Western Tropical Indian Ocean and India's Maritime

Gradually global geopolitical and geo-economic pivot has been shifting from the continental region to the maritime region, from the Atlantic Ocean to the Indo-Pacific and from the temperate region to the tropical region. India is located at the heart of the geopolitical centre of gravity resultant to the geopolitical shift. The western tropical Indian Ocean-comprising of

around two-thirds of the east African coast, the Red Sea, the Gulf of Yemen, the Arabian Sea- is situated in the western side of India. China has been showing its aggressive intent to emerge as a hegemon in the region by dint of various geopolitical and geo-economic engagements with various countries located herein. Notwithstanding its decreased interest in the region, the USA, of late, has yet again shown its intent to dominate the region. Moreover, recently resurgent Russia has also started to increase its presence in the region. Thereby the geopolitical rivalry among the extra-regional powers mandates recalibration of India's strategy in the region. This paper tries to discern the contours and content of the geopolitical rivalry and assesses India's responses and initiatives in the region. It further endeavours to explore India's imperatives and prospects in strengthening its position as a key regional player in terms of providing security and assuring stability in this part of the Indo-pacific.

Key words: Geopolitics, Geo-economics, East Africa Coast, Arabian Sea, China, USA, Russia, Navy, India

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Abstract

Can QUAD Tame the Dragon: An analysis on the security dilemma of the Indo Pacific Region?

QUAD (Quadrilateral Security Dialogue) is a four country multilateral grouping between US, Japan, India and Australia. Initiated by Japan's PM Shinzo Abe in 2007, Quad calls for an open and transparent network allowing free flow of people's goods, capital and knowledge. With Beijing sharing a conflicted relation with the Quad countries it terms it as an "Asian Nato". Quad isn't just a block against China or against Chinese action on South China Sea but it concerns on expanding the ambit of this organization by incorporating the problem of countries in South China Sea mainly those that shares a maritime dispute with China like Philippines, Malaysia, Thailand etc.

China through BRI, China-ASEAN Digital Cooperation, China-ASEAN FTA, Joint Maritime exercises and Bilateral agreements with ASEAN have tried to advance its transportation routes in the ASEAN region, so that it can lower the indo pacific notion of QUAD. As it carries the idea of Asia-pacific in order to build an inclusive regional cooperative structure, therefore, switching into Indo-Pacific implies an erosion of its pre-eminence. Quad can be an appropriate opposition to China's BRI project as it questions its developmental finance and connectivity. Over fear of straining relations with China, India in past has declined Australia's request to join the Malabar drill. But, for the first time Quad is opposing China blatantly, and the reason behind this mainly falls in circumference of –growing influence of China in Australia's politics, harsh treatments of Hong-Kong protests, threats of economic retaliation, China's stand-off at Ladakh etc. Australia appears more prepared than ever to rock the boat with China in spite of the fear of economic retaliation. Japan has always been

the right-minder as it believed that like-minded democratic countries should come together in a quadrilateral form to counter China. Of all US-China shares a very conflicted relationship due to number of reasons such as the spread of COVID-19 from China, on-going trade war, intellectual property theft etc. However, to date, the US has resisted the urge to convert the QUAD into an anti-China grouping, probably at the behest of other, more hesitant participants. This looks like it is set to change because the others want change. QUAD has to move with a forward-leaning approach opposing Chinese expansionist activities throughout the region. As, one more soft thought upon China can make QUAD fall off again.

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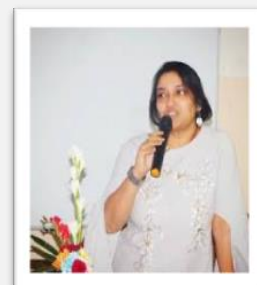
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Abstract

India in Indo- Pacific Region: A Paradigm Shift

The term Indo- Pacific was first used in 1920 by German geo- politician Karl Haushofer In his work called “Indopazifischen Raum”. Since then many analysts connect it between the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean. It is also known as Indo West Pacific. Indo-pacific is very diverse due to their cultural bases and historical experiences. These diverse nations have been a period of intense interaction and complex interdependence. The region can be divided into three realms- i) Central Indo Pacific ii) Eastern Indo-pacific and iii) Western Indo Pacific. Understanding the foreign policy or domestic realities of any Asia Pacific nation today is not possible without looking at the wider regional environment. This is also important in the light of the changes which have taken place in the Asian Pacific region over the last 30 years and the changes which are expected to transform South Asia in future.

In this context, India's interest towards Indian Ocean has a great deal to do with the nature of the country's rise. India's primarily economic driven emergency has seen a marked increase

in trade flows and a growing dependence on the transport of energy and raw materials, both of which depend primarily on sea lines of communication and also India's interest on the Indo Pacific due to Chinese expanding influence in the Indian Ocean through the launch of the BRI. In this research paper I will try to highlight why India is now interested in the Indo Pacific region and under the present government, what are the steps taken for the first time to aspire to become a leading power in the Indian Ocean, seeking to take on greater roles and responsibilities in the region and also the challenges and strategies adopted by India in this direction.

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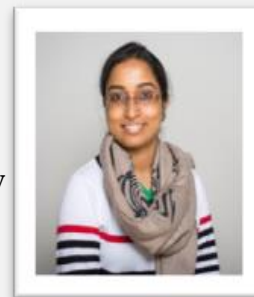
Abstract

Ongoing Pandemic and the question of Human Security: Convergence and Divergence on Human Trafficking in Indo- Pacific Region

Human trafficking is a revolting and progressively more disturbing observable fact to human security and human rights. Unlike National security, human security is perceived to be secured from vulnerability. Although vulnerability means often not clearly identifiable, linked to a complex interdependence amongst related issues and doesn't always require immediate response. So in this paper I would like to focus on the alarming trends in Human trafficking in East Asia and the Pacific which has been raised because of COVID19 and how the children's are been more susceptible to it and also an effort to examine the issues of conflict connected with trafficking enhancing cooperation regarding the concerned issues of exploitation and violation intermittently Incorporated with covid19 in the new parameters of the changing paradigm shift.

Keywords: Exploitation, poverty, virtual world.

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Abstract

India’s initiative towards Indo-Pacific Region: New Challenges

An effective Indo-pacific strategy has to be built on judicious mix of bilateral and multilateral initiatives. Among India’s bilateral efforts are strengthening strategic partnerships with Vietnam, Japan, Korea, Indonesia and Australia. In 2016, India launched an initiative to reenergise cooperation in the framework of the Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC) for regional connectivity and maritime security. BIMSTEC’s inclusive connectivity projects would provide alternatives to China’s bilateral projects. There are suggestions that inclusion of Malaysia and Indonesia in BIMSTEC could create an inclusive economic grouping in this important sub-region of the Indian Ocean, as well as enhance security cooperation.

An important element of an Indo-Pacific strategy should be a coherent response to the Belt and Road Initiative, not by simply rejecting or dismissing it, but by nudging it towards a more equitable implementation model. While massive investment for global connectivity and infrastructure should be welcomed, the major powers, as well as the recipient countries, should press China for a more transparent approach in selecting economically viable projects, according with the recipients’ development priorities, ensuring that debt burdens are sustainable, bringing in private capital and opening them to non-Chinese companies. This approach does not, of course, imply a dilution of India’s protest against the affront to its territorial integrity that the China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) represents. However, it might not be a good idea to talk about India’s Indo Pacific construct as a single entity

especially due to India's varying policy interests and concerns in these two sub-regions. Due to the vast geography and number of countries involved, a more viable, practical, and pragmatic approach for India will be to implement two sets of distinctive policies – like 'Act East' and 'Act West' – as a part of its Indo-Pacific strategy.

Key Words: India's initiative, Indo-Pacific, BIMSTEC etc.

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Abstract

Forum for Indo-Pacific Islands Cooperation (FIPIC): Strengthening Long-term Strategies through Soft Power Diplomacy

D. Purushothaman and Vaishali Handique

The Indo-Pacific, as understood by India, encompasses all of the Indian Ocean and Western Pacific including Japan and is envisioned to be a secured and developed region working on cooperative and collaborative rule based order. While the importance of the QUAD and ASEAN is undeniable, India also needs to look a little beyond the horizon and strengthen its commitment to the FIPIC. The forum brought together by the PM of India in 2014 can be considered a sleeping success if the cooperation can be sustained. Ranging from trade and economic partnerships to more strategic engagement of military and maritime security to soft power approaches in the form of health care and medical emergency support, combating climate change, educational exchanges etc., India's engagement with the South Pacific nations (Fiji, Papua New Guinea, New Zealand, Samoa, Kiribati etc.) can churn long term benefits for the rising South Asian power. Earning trust and cooperation from these small nations may not seem at par with pairings amongst the giants like US, Japan, ASEAN, but their geographic location on the Pacific Ocean earns them a soft corner. Rightly kept as trusty partners may help India to extend its Naval or maritime presence in the Pacific can be taken as a buffer economic zone for India acting on a symbiotic relationship (Blue Economy). On the lines of India's Act East Policy, these tiny nations can help India secure its sea lines of communication and as outsourced centres for trade and information technology. As already included in FIPIC's agenda, space administration can be strengthened with ISRO's bases in the Pacific acting both for intelligence and disaster relief. All this for a comparatively little investment from India into their development.

Through this paper, an attempt will be made to understand how strengthening a relatively low-key cooperative arrangement like FIPIC can bear long-term benefits to India and the south pacific nations, especially with the soft power diplomacy. It would further analyse about the various factors that could be taken into consideration for building a healthy arrangement between the nations. Also profuse challenges that could arise whilst building the strategic engagements will be explored for their limiting nature.

Key words: Soft power, Indo-Pacific, Maritime cooperation, strategic relation, Act East Policy, Space Administration, Blue Economy

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Abstract

European Movable Printing Press in the Indian Ocean c.1500 –1800: A Paradigm Shift in Indo-Pacific

To study the history of the age of exploration or the commonly understood the age of discoveries was a period of hundred years that spawned in between the middle of the 15th century to the middle of 16th century. It was precipitated by a combination of circumstances that led to the finding of new sea routes by which it influenced the whole world not alone touched upon the individual nations but also led to the discovery of the International law and also the law of treaties. It was also called as the age of colonisation. The period from 1400 to 1600 was thus one of reconnaissance, of oceanic exploration, the opening up of new trade and the beginning of land based empires. To any historiographer it is well understood that print culture is very well associated with Renaissance and the Learned Author Elizabeth L. Eisenstein who connected this period with print culture is also associated in finding the sea route because of the fall of the Constantinople in 1453 which is presently called as Istanbul in

the hands of Turks where the spices from India could not find its way to Europe because the road route was closed which forced the Europeans to find the sea route to India.

Vasco da Gama's new sea route paved the people from the Society of Jesus to move into India with their zeal for Christ. Thus, the missionaries of Christ were instrumental in spread of print culture where the language was used as an effective tool for conversion. This conversion to Christianity was a tool to capture the world. Christian Missionaries to come to India for their own purposes which led to the landing of Saint Francis Xavier who exerted considerable pressure on the Portuguese to provide printing presses to the East. We find, for instance, St. Francis Xavier, in a letter written in 1459 expressing a desire that Christian literature should be printed in the Japanese language. In Egypt, Europe, and India, the printing of cloth certainly preceded the printing of paper or papyrus; this was probably also the case in China. Gutenberg invention of movable printing press graced Goa in India not by any human effort or incident but was an accident. The press that arrived at Goa was actually destined to Abyssinia, which is the present Ethiopia. The sea route to Abyssinia from Portugal was to touch Cape of Good Hope; to touch Goa and then to Abyssinia because Suez Canal was not there. In 1556, King João III of Portugal despatched a group of Jesuit missionaries and a printing press to Abyssinia, at the request of its emperor.

The Spanish ship containing the printing press, left for Ethiopia on March 29th 1556, on its way the press and the missionary members arrived in Goa on September 6th 1556. The press did not leave Goa, which was installed at the College of St. Paul, Goa. With a hundred years of the printing of Gutenberg's Bible in Germany, India initiated its groping towards the fashioning of types for the many Indian languages. It was in the nature of a happy accident generally, which was as an aid to proselytization that the printing press was taken outside Europe. Hence by this act of the Portugal King Manuel, it is usually stated that Vasco da Gama was not commissioned to conquer new lands but rather to seek out Christian kingdoms in the East and to secure for Portugal access to the greater markets of Asia. Thus religion, discovery and the patron of Kings occupied an important role both for discovery and the consequential printing press in India.

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Abstract

Role and importance of North-east Indian Culture in ‘Act-East Policy’

North-eastern region of India has remained backward in terms of development and also has remained excluded from main stream politics. The former “Look-east” policy was designed to enhance Connectivity and Communication with the neighbouring ASEAN states but did not bring much benefit to north-east region of India. This “look-east” policy was then replaced by the new “Act-east” policy that widened the scope of engagement with ASEAN states as well as east-Asian states. The new policy widened the focus from mere Connectivity and Communication to also include Commerce and Security. The idea behind is to boost the infrastructure development in the region, to promote trade relations with the ASEAN and East-Asian countries and also to counter the rising security challenge due to tensions escalating in South-China sea. It seems that the Indian government is keen interested in effectively utilising the strategic location of the north-east region of India, but, amidst the policy of boosting trade and commerce one area of focus has remained excluded that is, the Culture of North-east Indians and preservation of its cultural identities. Almost all the states of north-east have been given special status just because of its unique Cultural identity and for preservation and protection of the same. In this new Act-east policy the focus must also be shifted towards effectively utilising the potential of cultural ties and engage in promotion of the same.

In this backdrop the paper aims to identify the potential of north-east Indian culture in promoting Soft-power diplomacy and increasing cultural ties that can help in establishing more peaceful and better relation with ASEAN and East-Asian states. Such that the Indians of north-east region does not find themselves excluded from the whole process of this new policy of act-east.

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Abstract

Tibet Leadership in Exile and the Indo-Pacific Strategy

The paper examines the historical basis for Washington's Tibet policy to demonstrate that America's position on Tibet originates from misguided strategic assumptions about the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and its ambitions in Tibet, the Indo-Pacific region, and the liberal world order. This is the right time for Washington to relook the United States' policy towards Tibet and its democratic government-in-exile, as a critical component of America's free and open Indo-Pacific strategy. Further, this paper would also provide a roadmap for Washington i.e. the adoption of democratic legitimacy as the basis of Tibet policy, the enlistment of supportive democracies in establishing a unified position, prioritizing the issue at international organizations, and engaging Tibetan leadership, among others. Tibet could play a major role in the US strategy and it is clearly indicated by Bhuchung K. Tsering of the International Campaign for Tibet (ICT) in Senate hearing on April 9, 2019 that "Tibet should be a key element in the US strategy for the Indo-Pacific region." The International Campaign for Tibet (ICT) is a non-profit organization that has been advocating for more than three decades for the democratic freedoms and human rights of the Tibetan people, hence, boosting the policy would create a unique challenge for China.

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Abstract

Geopolitical Interest of India, US and China in Indo-Pacific Region

The Indo-Pacific region has emerged as a new platform of diplomatic and conflict between the world's major economies and powers geopolitically over the past few years. The word 'Indo-Pacific' that we mentioned here remains the center of the geo-politics of the entire region because the region, which was earlier called the Asia-Pacific region, is today named after the Name of the Indo-Pacific by the Heads of State of the world's largest countries is being addressed from major forums in the world. In fact, if it comes to the geographical area of the Indo-Pacific Region, it includes areas under the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean,

including Australia, the coastal region of East Africa, Oman, the west coast of India, including Gwadar and Pakistan, the coastal region of Iran.

If we talk about the Asia-Pacific, we see that Asia extends from Turkey to Japan and India ever comes to all regions. If we talk about Asia, there is 72% trade in the whole world. The Silk Road (OBOR) to be built by China will make it the world's largest economy by 2027, a matter of concern for the United States. That's why, in a bid to reduce China's dominance over the entire region, the region is today being called the Indo-Pacific in place of the Asia-Pacific by the heads of state of the world's major countries, including Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi, US President Donald Trump, former Japanese President Shinzo Abe and heads of Australia. The term Indo-Pacific region was also used in triangular talks between India, Japan and the United States at the G20 summit held in Osaka, Japan last year.

Keywords –Geopolitics, Asia-Pacific, Indo-Pacific, Silk Road, G20 Summit

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Abstract

Reorienting Indo-Pacific Region: Predicaments and Prospects for India

The Indo-Pacific region is an integrated space that combines the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean. Due to the changing dynamics of International relations, geopolitical environment and the regional security syndrome precisely after the end of cold war in 1990s, the region has become a battle ground for the major powers including China, India and the US. Moreover, the region has geostrategic, geopolitical and geo-economic significance for India, China as well as the US owing to its geographical location and abundance of energy and natural resources. Currently, China is moving faster to the region in a view to establish their hegemonic power in South Asia as well as South East Asia. Therefore, it has become imperative for India to protect their aspheric of influence and counter the Chinese expansionist policies in the Indo-Pacific region and broader Asia. In view of the above analysis, this article tries to highlight the current geopolitical scenario in the Indo-Pacific region and further discusses that how India along with the US countering the Chinese policies with respect to this region. Moreover, the paper also sheds light on the future prospects for India in the region.

Key Words: Indo-Pacific Region, Geo-Politics, India, China.

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Abstract

Changing Dynamics of the Indo-Pacific and Indo-US Security Arrangements

Strengthening of the Indo-US defence relations, increased assertiveness of China and emergence of the concept of Indo-Pacific, all these significant events in the international affairs have taken place almost concurrently and indeed are interconnected to each other. In the 21st century, the geopolitical and geo-economics centre of the world has shifted from Trans-Atlantic to the Indo-Pacific region. The Obama administration recognised this transition and formulated the Pivot to Asia /Asia Rebalancing strategy to secure the US interests in the region. It also identified India as a reliable partner for the US and

subsequently, steps to make ties stronger, initiatives like LEMOA and DTTI were signed between the two countries and the US ascended India as its Major Defence Partner. The Chinese contempt for international laws and sovereignty of neighbouring countries by building artificial islands and deploying A2/AD capabilities in the South China Sea and by declaring the ADIZ zone in the Senkaku Islands in the East China Sea has worried Washington. Similarly, China increasing involvement in the Indian Ocean concerns New Delhi. The paper will analyse how these common threat perceptions have further brought India and the US closer during the Trump administration leading to the signing of agreements like COMCASA and Industrial Security Annex. President Trump has also supported India stand in Ladakh and Balakot and vocally criticised China and Pakistan. India and the US along with other like-minded countries like Japan and Australia have paved the way to security arrangements like QUAD to promote Free and Open Indo- Pacific. China lack of transparency and delay in sharing crucial information about COVID-19 outbreak that turned it into a global pandemic has tarnished its image internationally even then it continues to act aggressively. India firm stance in Ladakh has projected it as the biggest challenger to Chinese threats. The paper will attempt to look at how India can play a crucial role in bringing stability in the region while keeping a check on China. Thus, the US will need India as a close partner in the Indo- Pacific. It is most likely that even if there is a change in administration after the US Presidential election 2020, the deepening of ties and widening of security arrangements between the two will continue.

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Abstract

South Korea in Indo- Pacific Strategy: Role in Advancing Indo-Pacific Vision

The history of Korean Peninsula was always dominated by numerous invasions by empires. Ironically, one of the countries on the Peninsula today poses serious and imminent perils to its surroundings and threat to international peace and security, while South Korea is trying to play greater role in regional peace and diplomacy through its economic and technical powers. In recent years, the region has become the hub of great power rivalry between the United States, China, Russia, and to an extent Japan. Furthermore, since the Peninsula is situated adjacent to the Korea Strait an important maritime trade passage “it has also become a crucial part of the region of Indo-Pacific. U.S allies and partners clarified, enhanced, and synchronized their own approach to Free and Open Indo-Pacific (FOIP) with the U.S. Meanwhile, South Korea, a close ally of U.S, has been slow to embrace the Indo-Pacific concept in contrast to other regional allies. This paper puts light on Seoul reticence in adopting the Indo- Pacific framework, U.S-China issues and South Korea role in it, along with the Southern Peninsula New Southern Policy (NSP) and the potential for U.S- South Korea role in Indo- Pacific.

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Abstract

Trump Indo-Pacific Strategy: Objectives and Achievements

In 2011, the Obama administration announced its Pivot to Asia and began to engage with the countries in the region, purportedly to contain China. However, as a Presidential candidate in 2016, Donald Trump promised to roll back the US engagement in the Asia-Pacific region. In the National Security Strategy report released in 2017, the Trump administration labeled China a revisionist power and subsequently brought out its Indo-Pacific strategy. This shows that President Trump has reneged on his promise to disengage from the region by announcing a new strategy. Though not entirely wrong to claim so, it is indeed important to understand the objective of the Trump administration strategy towards the Indo-Pacific region. By performing discourse cum policy analysis, this paper argues that through their actions President Trump and his administration have tried to limit the extent of US engagement in the region in the coming years. At the same time, the study has found that the Trump administration policies are directed towards ensuring that China does not become a hegemonic power, which will dominate the entire Indo-Pacific region in the future. This paper concludes by arguing that the Trump administration's Indo-Pacific strategy has become successful in achieving its objectives.

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Abstract

Indo-US Strategic Partnership: Implications for the Indo-Pacific Region

As Asia is fast emerging as the centre of global power, economics, and politics; the Indo-Pacific region is expected to remain an important geographical entity for great power politics. Indo-Pacific, that has emerged as an alternative to the term Asia-Pacific over the last decade, is the interconnected space between the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean. Growing mobility across these oceans is significant for global trade because of the fact that they contain crucial sea routes, and have the most populous countries along the rim- who also have increasing infrastructural, investment and energy needs adding to the region economic importance. There are two main reasons why the Indo-Pacific is rising in strategic importance: first is the rise of China and its influence across the region, and the second is the relative decline of the US alliance system leading to increased efforts by the US to maintain its dominance as the chief security provider. Since mid-2000s, the strategic partnership between the US and India has been on an upswing, and the Indo-Pacific region figures prominently as a site for collaboration. Trade, connectivity and investment are the three main areas of their collaboration, along with realising the idea of a free and open Indo-Pacific. Rebalancing China has been the common doctrine of the US and India in their Indo-Pacific cooperation. As the strategic significance of Indo-Pacific further increases, the crucial factors at play in regional geopolitics will remain, and possibly further heighten. The paper explores the expanding Indo-US strategic partnership and the implications that this partnership has on the Indo-Pacific region.

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