#### INDIA'S GEOSTRATEGIC REALIGNMENT – INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

NEWS: Scholars urging India must adapt its foreign policy to the rapidly evolving global landscape moving beyond Cold War strategies and romanticized historical narratives to embrace a pragmatic, multidirectional approach.

• Recently, External Affairs Minister S Jaishankar also said the world order a western myth, saying it was outdated and global rules should evolve to reflect today's realities.

#### WHAT'S IN THE NEWS?

# **The Shifting World Order**

- Geopolitical Shifts in Eurasia: Recent major conflicts in Eurasia, such as the Russia-Ukraine war, Israel-Gaza operations, and the Israel-Iran-US conflict, are reshaping global geopolitics.
  - These conflicts are realigning alliances, disrupting economies, shifting global power dynamics, and reinforcing a multipolar world order.
- **Rise of China and Global Realignment**: China has emerged as a dominant economic and technological superpower, leading to the rebalancing of global power.
  - In 2023, China's trade with the EU surpassed \$1 trillion, while India's trade with ASEAN stands at \$120 billion
- Western Decline: US under Trump (2025) signals a withdrawal from multilateralism, with a focus on "America First" policies, creating uncertainty in global governance.
  - The European Union is facing economic stagnation, with growth around 1%, limiting its global influence and ability to counter China.
- Deglobalisation: The forces that are leading to deglobalization are becoming stronger manifesting itself in more nationalist and inward-looking policies adopted by the western world.
  - Example: The US President announced a tariff trade war on a number of countries, including India (facing a 26 percent tariff).
- Multipolarity: The emerging world order is a multi-polar world order with multiple power centers asserting their autonomy and influence.
  - The rise of regional powers and the formation of blocs like BRICS, African Union, ASEAN etc.

#### **About World Order**

- It refers to the **arrangement of power & authority** that provides the framework for managing the global commons, such as the environment, trade, security, and human rights and the conduct of diplomacy and world politics on a global scale.
- It encompasses the norms, rules, institutions, and power dynamics that shape the behaviour and interactions of countries and other entities on the world stage.
- Example of World Orders in MOdern History:

- Westphalian World Order; Inter-World Wars Global order; Post WW-2
   World Order; Post-Cold War World Order
- Rise of Minilateralism: It is a diplomatic approach where a small group of countries collaborate on specific issues or challenges, focusing on shared interests and goals allowing for faster decision-making and more efficient outcomes.
  - India collaborating with western powers in QUAD and with the rival Asian powers in Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO)
- Focus on Regional Geopolitics: The emerging world order emphasizes on the growth of regional geopolitics, securing regional gains.
  - The success of the African Union and ASEAN in enhancing regional cooperation and connectivity enabling overall growth.
- Polycrisis: Shared global challenges like climate change, pandemics, terrorism, wars and conflicts and economic crises will be the defining feature necessitating greater cooperation and collaboration among nations.
- Self Reliance: Every country and region will need to rely on themselves for food, fuel, fertilizer, technologies, vaccines or speedy disaster response etc.
  - India secured Russian crude oil at a cheaper rate defying US and EU sanctions.

# **Opportunities for India**

- Economic Growth and Diversification: India's economic rise (projected to be the third-largest economy by 2030) provides a major opportunity to assert itself in global trade.
  - FDI in India reached \$81 billion in 2024, highlighting growing investor confidence.
  - India can **expand its economic footprint** globally by enhancing trade with **ASEAN**, **Africa**, and the **Global South**.
    - With China's trade share in ASEAN at \$1 trillion, India's growth in this area remains a challenge but also a major opportunity.
- Regional Leadership and Global South Advocacy: India's leadership role in the Global South positions it as the voice of developing nations, advocating for more inclusive global governance.
  - India's ability to navigate global issues like **climate change**, **trade equity**, and **sustainability** can increase its influence in global forums.
  - IMEC offers new trade routes between South Asia, the Gulf, and Europe.
- Strategic Partnerships and Defense Cooperation: India's growing defense ties with the US, exemplified by technology transfers and military cooperation (e.g., F-35 jets, Predator drones), will strengthen its defense capabilities and enhance its strategic autonomy.
  - India can leverage these relationships to secure a stronger **military-industrial base**, reducing dependence on any single supplier and enhancing its national security.

- Technological and Digital Leadership: India is emerging as a leader in digital governance, with initiatives like UPI, Aadhaar, and CoWIN.
  - India can export these **digital solutions** globally, especially to **developing countries** that seek scalable solutions for governance and technology.
  - India's focus on artificial intelligence (AI), semiconductors, and space exploration offers opportunities to be a technological powerhouse and a key player in global innovation.
- Reasserting Itself on the Global Stage: India can assert itself in global forums like the G20 and BRICS.
  - India's historical commitment to non-alignment and strategic autonomy allows it
    to navigate tensions between major powers and carve out its own space as a global
    leader.

# **India's Geostrategic Challenges**

- Tensions with China: Border disputes with China, particularly in Ladakh and the Arunachal Pradesh region, remain unresolved, leading to military confrontations.
  - China's growing influence in the Indian Ocean, through projects like the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), poses a direct threat to India's regional security.
- Unstable Neighborhood: India faces political instability in Pakistan, Afghanistan, Bangladesh and Myanmar and Sri Lanka, affecting its security and regional influence.
  - Cross-border terrorism from Pakistan (e.g. 2025 Pahalgam attack) and the ongoing tensions in Kashmir add to India's security concerns.
- Balancing Relations with Major Powers: India must navigate complex relationships with the US, Russia, and China. It faces a delicate balance between strategic autonomy and aligning with powers like the US for defense cooperation.
  - Russia's declining influence and India's need to diversify its defense supply chains also complicate relations.
- Global Economic Shifts: India's economic growth is challenged by China's dominance in global trade, particularly in ASEAN and Europe.
  - Protectionist policies in the West, including tariff wars, further limit India's access to global markets.
- Instability in Eurasia and Middle East: Eurasian conflicts, such as the Russia-Ukraine crisis and tensions in the Middle East, impact India's energy security and diplomatic relations.
  - The Iran-Saudi rivalry and US-Middle East dynamics force India to balance its relations with both sides, while securing energy supplies from Iran and Saudi Arabia.
  - In 2025, India navigated **Israel-Iran conflict-driven energy market disruptions** by diversifying oil imports and leveraging strategic reserves to ensure supply stability.

- Climate Change and Security: Climate change poses a significant challenge, with India facing natural disasters, water scarcity, and food security concerns that affect regional stability.
  - India must also lead in global **climate change negotiations** while ensuring its own **development goals**.
- Cybersecurity and Technological Challenges: Increasing cyber threats and the race for technological supremacy (particularly in AI, 5G, and cybersecurity) require India to strengthen its digital infrastructure and national security.

## Criticism of Old-World Thinking in Indian Foreign Policy

- Outdated Cold War Alignments: India's foreign policy often clings to Cold War-era alliances and ideologies, despite the changing global order.
  - These old alignments limit India's flexibility in responding to new geopolitical realities.
- Over-Reliance on Historical Relationships: India's historical ties, like those with Russia and Europe, are sometimes overemphasized, even when they no longer align with current global dynamics.
  - For instance, India's focus on Russia can hinder engagement with the West and China.
- Romanticizing Past Trade Routes: Some scholars romanticize ancient trade routes like those through the Gulf and Europe, without considering modern geopolitical realities.
  - The past does not align with the present, where countries like **China** dominate key markets.
- Failure to Adapt to Multipolarity: India often fails to recognize the importance of multipolarity in the new global order, which requires reconfiguring its diplomacy.
  - There is an ongoing need to rethink India's role in a world with multiple power centers, beyond just **US or Russian influence**.
- Lack of Regional Integration: India's traditional policies, like Look East and Act East, have not fully translated into meaningful engagement with ASEAN and East Asia, while China has surged ahead in the region.
  - India must move beyond outdated **strategic formulations** to effectively integrate itself into **regional architectures**.
- Underestimating Global Economic Shifts: Old-world thinking sometimes underestimates the economic shifts brought about by the rise of China and the Global South.
  - India needs to focus on **economic diversification** and **global partnerships** that reflect the current global power structures.

#### **Underperformance of Past Initiatives**

- North-South Corridor (INSTC): Launched in 2000, the North-South Transport Corridor aimed to connect India, Russia, and Iran to facilitate trade between South Asia and Europe.
  - Despite the formal signing of the agreement in 2000, the project has slow progress.

- China quickly capitalized on this space, strengthening its influence over Russia and Iran.
- Look East Policy: India's Look East Policy (1990s) aimed to build stronger ties with ASEAN and East Asia. This evolved into the Act East Policy under PM Modi.
  - However, India's trade with ASEAN stands at \$120 billion, while China's trade with ASEAN reached \$1 trillion, leaving India behind in terms of regional influence.
- IMEC (India-Middle East-Europe Economic Corridor): IMEC, launched in 2023, aimed to connect South Asia with the Middle East and Europe, offering a new trade route bypassing the Suez Canal.
  - Despite initial enthusiasm, the initiative faces significant logistical challenges and geopolitical hurdles due to the instability in Eurasia and conflicting interests of countries involved.
- Trade and Infrastructure Projects in Africa: India launched multiple trade initiatives in Africa under "Act Africa", but these projects have largely underperformed due to competition from China's BRI and challenges in infrastructure development.
- Regional Connectivity Projects (SAARC, BIMSTEC): India's efforts to integrate South Asia through SAARC (South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation) and BIMSTEC (Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation) have largely stalled due to regional tensions (especially with Pakistan).
  - **BIMSTEC** has made some progress, but the lack of full **regional cooperation** hampers its effectiveness.
  - India-Myanmar-Thailand Trilateral Motor Vehicle Agreement (IMT-TMVA) faced challenges from inadequate infrastructure, bureaucratic hurdles and security concerns.

#### India's Global Engagements in Shifting World Order

- Strategic Partnerships:
  - US-India Relations: India's partnership with the US has strengthened, with key agreements on defense (e.g., Predator drones) and technology transfers.
    - The two countries also collaborate on maritime security, space exploration, and counterterrorism.
  - Russia-India Relations: Despite tensions with the US over India's continued engagement with Russia, India maintains strong defense and energy ties.
    - India is a significant importer of **Russian arms** and **energy**.
  - China: While the two countries engage through platforms like BRICS and SCO, tensions over border disputes and China's influence in South Asia complicate the relationship.
- Regional Engagements:

- ASEAN: India's Act East Policy focuses on deepening ties with ASEAN, but India's trade with ASEAN is still far behind China's.
  - However, initiatives like the **India-ASEAN Free Trade Area** (signed in 2009) aim to increase economic cooperation.
- Middle East: India has enhanced its relationship with the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), particularly Saudi Arabia and the UAE. India has also played a significant role in the India-Middle East-Europe Economic Corridor (IMEC).

#### • Multilateral Engagements:

- G20: India plays a crucial role in the G20, advocating for reforms in global financial institutions and sustainable development. The G20 summit in 2023 focused on India's leadership in global climate action and economic reforms.
- **BRICS**: India is an active member of **BRICS**, working towards greater **economic cooperation** and addressing issues like **trade barriers** and **security threats** within the group.
- UN: India continues to push for **reform of the UN Security Council** and greater representation for emerging economies. India advocates for **peace** and **security** in **Africa** and **the Global South**.

## • Economic Diplomacy:

- Trade Agreements: India has signed free trade agreements (FTAs) with countries like the UAE, Australia, and several African nations to enhance economic ties.
  - It is also working on joining regional groupings like Indo-Pacific Economic Framework (IPEF).
- Energy Diplomacy: India is diversifying its energy sources, securing discounted Russian oil amidst the Russia-Ukraine conflict and enhancing energy partnerships with Saudi Arabia and the UAE.

#### • Technology and Digital Diplomacy:

- **Digital Governance**: India is leading in **digital platforms** like **UPI**, **Aadhaar**, and **CoWIN**, positioning itself as a **global leader in digital governance**.
  - India is sharing its **digital innovations** with countries in **Africa**, **South Asia**, and **Latin America**.
- Technology Cooperation: India's partnership with the US and other Western nations in the field of artificial intelligence (AI), 5G technology, and semiconductors is a critical aspect of its future global engagements.

## • Security and Peacekeeping:

- Peacekeeping Role: India has contributed significantly to UN peacekeeping operations and is increasingly seen as a leader in global peace and security.
- Maritime Security: India's leadership in the Indian Ocean region, through naval cooperation with the US and ASEAN nations, is key to securing global trade routes and countering piracy.

#### Way Forward for India

- Strengthening Regional Security: Ensure stability in South Asia by deepening diplomatic and economic ties with neighbors.
  - Focusing on resolving **border disputes** and fostering cooperation through the **Neighborhood First Policy** and **SAARC**.
  - Actively pursue security cooperation with Afghanistan and Sri Lanka to ensure the region does not become a haven for terrorist organizations.
- Managing Relations with Major Powers: India must navigate the delicate balance between the US, China, and Russia.
  - Continuing to build strong ties with the **US** for defense and **trade** while maintaining **strategic relations with Russia** for energy and defense needs is critical.
- Addressing Underperformance of Past Initiatives:
  - Revive the North-South Corridor: Focus on infrastructure development and trade efficiency.
  - Rework IMEC: Overcome geopolitical issues and logistical challenges to make the India-Middle East-Europe Economic Corridor (IMEC) a success.
- Economic Modernization and Energy Security: Diversify energy sources by continuing to secure discounted Russian oil amidst global tensions, while deepening energy partnerships with Saudi Arabia, Iran, and other Gulf countries.
  - Continue pushing forward with Make in India to reduce dependency on Chinese manufacturing and focus on becoming a global manufacturing hub through supply chain diversification.
- Global Governance and Multilateral Engagement: Reform the UN Security Council (UNSC) to reflect modern geopolitical realities and ensure the Global South has better representation.
  - Increase participation in multilateral forums like G20, BRICS, and the QUAD to assert India's role in global governance.
- Geopolitical Strategy and Containment of China: Strengthen defense ties with Japan, Vietnam, and Australia to counter China's maritime expansion and Belt and Road Initiative (BRI).
  - Increase presence and influence in the Indian Ocean to secure shipping lanes and strategic choke points, ensuring freedom of navigation and regional stability.
- Climate Change and Sustainable Development: India must continue to lead in climate negotiations.
  - Focusing on **climate justice** and advocating for **fair burden-sharing** for developing countries facing the effects of climate change.
  - Sustainable development should be prioritized, with India investing in green technologies, smart cities, and renewable energy.

- Breaking Free from Old-Mindsets: During China's Cultural Revolution, Mao Zedong called for the abolition of the "Four Olds": old ideology, old culture, old habits, and old customs.
  - It is crucial to **rethink and redefine strategies** to align with the evolving global geopolitical and economic landscape.