



Ambassador Vijay Thakur Singh was appointed as the new Director General of the Indian Council of World Affairs (ICWA) by the Vice President of India and President of ICWA, Shri Venkaiah Naidu.

## Highlights

- The 20<sup>th</sup> Governing Body meeting and the 19<sup>th</sup> Governing Council meeting was held in a hybrid mode.
- As the society moves towards normalcy, the Council in the last quartile, held webinars virtually as well as in the hybrid mode, with selective audience participating in events.
- The 38<sup>th</sup> Sapru House Lecture was delivered by H.E. Mr. Abdulla Shahid, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Maldives.
- A special lecture was delivered by H.E. Nikola Selaković, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Serbia.
- Smt. Riva Ganguly Das, Secretary (East), Ministry of External Affairs delivered the Key Note Address at the national consultation on the “Indo-Pacific Oceans Initiative”.
- Two outreach events were organised by the Council during this quartile.
- ICWA tracked various regional and global developments with 42 articles published by the Research Faculty on the ICWA website.
- Six books were published by the Council during this period.





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## Appointment of Ambassador Vijay Thakur Singh as Director General, Indian Council of World Affairs, July 2021

Ambassador Vijay Thakur Singh was appointed as the new Director General of the Indian Council of World Affairs (ICWA) by the Vice President of India and President of ICWA, Shri Venkaiah Naidu. Ambassador Singh resumed office from 24th July, 2021.

Ambassador Vijay Thakur Singh holds a Master's degree in Economics from Himachal Pradesh University. She joined the Indian Foreign Service in 1985.

Her first posting was in the Embassy of India in Madrid, Spain, where she later went as Deputy Chief of Mission in 2006. She worked in the Ministry of External Affairs from 1989 to 1999, handling India's relations with Afghanistan and Pakistan. She was posted as Counsellor in the Embassy of India in Kabul from 2003 to 2005.

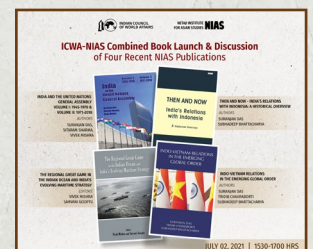
She has had multilateral experience, particularly in economic and environmental issues. She was Counsellor in the Permanent Mission of India to the United Nations in New York from 2000 to 2003.

She has served as Joint Secretary to the President of India from August 2007 to August 2012 and as Joint Secretary at the National Security Council Secretariat (NSCS) from 2012 to 2013.

She has been High Commissioner of India to Singapore from 2013 to 2016 and Ambassador of India to Ireland from 2016 to 2018.

For two years from 2018, she was Secretary (East) in the Ministry of External Affairs and retired in September 2020.

## ICWA- Netaji Institute for Asian Studies (NIAS), Kolkata Combined online Book Launch & Discussion of Four Recent NIAS Publications, 02 July 2021



Indian Council of World Affairs in partnership with the Netaji Institute for Asian Studies (NIAS), held a joint Book Release of NIAS's four recent publications: 1) India and the United Nations General Assembly, Volume I: 1945-1970 and Volume II: 1971-2018 by Suranjan Das, Sitaram Sharma and Vivek Mishra, KW Publishers (2019); 2) Then and Now - India's Relations with Indonesia: A Historical Overview by Suranjan Das and Subhadeep Bhattacharya, KW Publishers (2020); 3) The Regional Great Game in the Indian Ocean and India's Evolving Maritime Strategy edited by Vivek Mishra and Sarvani Gooptu, KW Publishers (2020); and 4) Indo-Vietnam Relations in The Emerging Global Order, by Suranjan Das, Tridib Chakraborti and Subhadeep Bhattacharya (KW Publishers, New Delhi: 2018).

The program started by welcome remarks and introduction of speakers by Dr. Vivek Mishra, Research Fellow, ICWA. This was followed by initial remarks from Dr. TCA Raghavan, Director General, ICWA who emphasized on the importance of all the four publications by NIAS. In particular he praised the book by Suranjan Das and Subhadeep Bhattacharya, titled, Then and Now - India's Relations with Indonesia: A Historical Overview. The virtual event was chaired by Prof. Suranjan Das. He outlined the vision of NIAS and the importance of the four publications brought out by the institute. Following this, the joint release of the four publications was done by DG, ICWA, Dr. T.C.A. Raghavan; Chair, Prof. Suranjan Das; and panelists, Amb. Ashoke Mukerji; Amb. Sudhir Devare; Prof. Amitabh Mattoo; Amb. Rajiv Bhatia; Sitaram Sharma and Prof. Sarvani Gooptu. The online release of the four publications was followed by remarks from each participant.

In his remarks Amb. Ashoke Mukerji brought his years of experience as India's Permanent Representative to the United Nations in analyzing the two volumes on India's participation in the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA). Calling the volumes comprehensive, he said that a follow up volume on India's participation in the United Nations Security Council is a must. In his remarks on the book titled, Then and Now - India's Relations with Indonesia: A Historical Overview, Amb. Sudhir T. Devare said that the book comprehensively linked Indonesia's history to its present and should be a must read, especially for young scholars. Amb. Rajiv Bhatia, commenting on the edited volume titled, The Regional Great Game in the Indian Ocean and India's Evolving Maritime Strategy said that the work straddled practitioners as well as academics in equal measure and therefore presents a balanced outlook on India's role in the Indian Ocean region. He also pointed out that the long gestation period from the conference in 2017, of which this volume was a product, to the publication had led to a few gaps that must be filled in the subsequent edition.

Prof. Amitabh Mattoo analyzed the book, Indo-Vietnam Relations in The Emerging Global Order and underscored the changing nature of Vietnam's relation with other countries, especially China and the US. In their concluding remarks, Sitaram Sharma and Professor Sarvani Gooptu spoke about their respective contribution to the two publications of which they are a part, namely the role of India in the UNGA and the historical connections of the Indian Ocean.



## 20<sup>th</sup> Meeting of the Governing Body of the ICWA followed by 19<sup>th</sup> Meeting of the Governing Council of the ICWA, 03 July 2021



## Online Book Discussion “The Indian Civil Service and Indian Foreign Policy, 1923-1961” by Dr. Amit Das Gupta, 07 July 2021



ICWA held an online book discussion on “The Indian Civil Service and Indian Foreign Policy, 1923-1961” by Dr. Amit Das Gupta on 07 July 2021. The Book Discussion was chaired by Amb. Nirupama Menon Rao, Former Foreign Secretary of India. Among the panelists were: Dr. Amit Das Gupta, Senior Researcher at the Universität der Bundeswehr, München, Germany, also the author of the book under discussion; Dr. Anupam Ray, Joint Secretary, PP&R Division, Ministry of External Affairs, GoI; Prof. Madhavan K. Palat, Historian & Editor, Selected Works of Nehru; Dr. Rudra Chaudhuri, Director, Carnegie India; and Dr. Zorawar Daulet Singh, Author & Foreign Affairs Analyst. Amb. Nirupama Rao began her remarks by congratulating the author on his new book and said that through the book one can discover India’s foreign policy and how several cerebral minds contributed their ideas and perspectives to its formulation. She especially focused on that three protagonists of this book namely Girja Shankar Bajpai, K.P.S. Menon and Subimal Dutt, and how they developed distinct worldviews conditioned by their exposure to various defining events in pre-independence India.

This was followed by remarks from the author of the book under discussion, Dr. Amit Das Gupta, Senior Researcher, Universität der Bundeswehr, München, Germany. He outlined the efforts made and support received during the period of his writing the book. Speaking about the book he said that the book has adopted a novel approach in writing a history of Indian foreign policy not focusing on politicians but on the often overlooked apparatus. He went on to explain that the book also analyses and pieces

together the activities, strategies, worldviews and contributions of the first administrators and diplomats who shaped India's approach to foreign policy and its relationship with other political powers.

Dr. Anupam Ray, Joint Secretary, PP&R Division, MEA, started by appreciating the book and said that he approached it from the perspective of a career diplomat. Importantly, he said that this book fulfills a critical gap by outlining the history of Indian Civil Services. He particularly praised the author for the extensive archival research and cross-referencing in his book. Prof. Madhavan K. Palat, congratulated the author for writing such a detailed book full of archival research. His comments focused on the principal thesis of the book—which the Indian foreign policy had emerged before 1947. The Indians posted in the colonies worked out a policy for India and that is the basis on which the subsequent foreign policy was made. He also critiqued the author's argument that suggested that Nehru has no policy and he turned to the ICS for their experience to formulate India's foreign policy.

The next speaker, Dr. Rudra Chaudhuri, Director, Carnegie India also congratulated the author on a comprehensive, insightful, and extraordinary effort to capture the history of Indian Foreign Policy. Talking about the timing, he said that it is an excellent time for writing on the Indianization of the services. The book is recommended reading for students who are interested in India's security. The last speaker, Dr. Zorawar Daulet Singh, congratulated the author on his fine piece of research and for bringing to life the apex of political power in British India and independent India. He said that for too long the historiography has dwelt on the leadership of political authority, rather than a more complex dynamic of interaction between small groups of advisors. He ended by saying that the debates today are very similar to the debates in the 1940s and 1950s: Where should India stand on the question of China? Where should India stand among the great powers? What should be its position on certain regional issues? What should be its role in the sub-continent?

## 38th Sapru House Lecture by H.E. Mr. Abdulla Shahid, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Maldives and President-Elect of the 76th United Nations General Assembly (UNGA), 23 July 2021

H.E. Mr. Abdulla Shahid, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Republic of Maldives and President-Elect of the 76th United Nations General Assembly delivered the 38th Sapru House Lecture on ‘Presidency of Hope - 76th UNGA: COVID Pandemic and Need for Reformed Multilateralism’. The lecture was chaired by Amb. Manjeev Singh Puri, Former Deputy Permanent Representative of India to the United Nations. Dr. TCA Raghavan, former Director-General, Indian Council of World Affairs noted in his welcome remarks that H.E. Mr. Abdulla Shahid had delivered the fourth Sapru House lecture on the challenges of democracy in the Maldives. He also observed that the island nation has been championing international cooperation through multilateral institutions to tackle challenges such as climate change.

H.E. Shahid started by noting that the Maldives has full trust in the generosity in Indian people. India has sent vaccines to 95 countries. Noting the various fallouts of the pandemic across the world, the minister stated that many countries have fallen in the debt and for the first time in 20 years, global poverty is likely to increase. More than 90 percent of the world’s student population is impacted by the Covid-19. Further, we are currently being ravaged by floods, heat waves, pandemics, etc. But there are countless people who are engaged in acts of kindness. Yet the promise of a better tomorrow keeps us going. H.E. Shahid noted that building resilience with hope as a driving force will be his priority at the UNGA. He went on to emphasize the importance of universal access to



vaccination. No one is safe until everyone is safe. The second priority he underlined was rebuilding sustainability. The COVID-19 pandemic has not replaced the challenges of climate change, which is only worsening. He argued that the UN should be brought closer to the people and that we need to fully ensure the participation of youth in decision-making. He also emphasized that gender equality will be another priority for him and that his office will be gender-balanced. During the discussion on the agenda of reformed multilateralism, he noted that in the 1970s, 10 countries initiated the process of reforming the UNSC including Maldives. Current political realities are not reflected in the present structure of the UNSC. He declared his intent to appoint efficient facilitators to continue the process of reforming the UNSC. He also underscored that the Maldives supports India’s candidacy of the UNSC. On Afghanistan, he observed that the maintenance of international peace and security is tasked to the UNSC. The international community should come together to assist the Afghan people in charting their future.

## Dr. TCA Raghavan Farewell, 23 July 2021

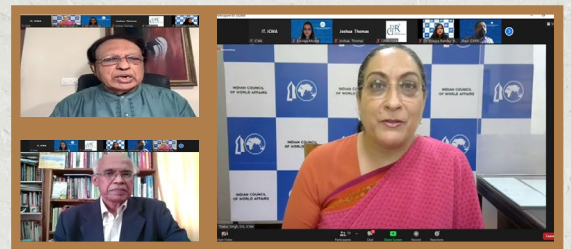


## ICWA-CPPR Virtual Conference on ‘Strategic Futures: Regional Maritime Security Complexes’, 18 August 2021



One day ICWA-CPPR Conference on ‘Strategic Futures: Regional Maritime Security Complexes’ was held virtually on 18 August 2021. The virtual conference was jointly organized by ICWA with its MoU partner Centre for Public Policy Research (CPPR), Kochi. Director General, ICWA Ambassador Vijay Thakur Singh delivered the inaugural address. In her remarks she highlighted that India is committed to a free, open, inclusive, secure and rules-based Indo-Pacific. Ambassador TP Sreenivasan in his keynote speech shared his experience of working in the United Nations and the evolution of maritime law and issues surrounding the same.

From ICWA, three Research Fellows; Dr. Pragya Pandey, Dr. Sankalp Gurjar and Dr. Vivek Mishra presented papers on Western Pacific Rim, Western Indian Ocean and Arabian Sea littorals respectively. Dr. Pragya Pandey in her presentation focused attention on dynamic geopolitical environment in the western Pacific region and emphasised on that absence of any significant region wide security architecture, geopolitical contestations and unprecedented pandemic induced shifts make the regional balance of power look uncertain. Dr. Sankalp Gurjar highlighted that escalatory security dynamics in the western Indian Ocean region are not new. The region has been at the center of conflict from the time of opening of the Suez Canal and the Cold War. The recent challenges have evolved from such continuing conflict, Dr. Vivek Mishra stated that in the wake of the US pull out from Afghanistan there is a new space for other countries to collaborate and partner and build a multilateral approach to maritime security in the Arabian Sea region.



## ICWA-USI Webinar on “Effectiveness of UN peace operations - Dynamics of composition of troops and diversity on UN peace operations”, 25 August 2021

The Indian Council for World Affairs (ICWA) and United Service Institution of India (USI) hosted the third webinar on UN Peacekeeping on “Effectiveness of UN Peace Operations: Dynamics of the composition of troops and diversity on UN peace operations” on 25th August 2021. The webinar discussed the impact of the composition and diversity of peacekeepers drawn from different troop-contributing countries (TCC), their various socio-cultural practices and operational behaviour patterns on the UN peacekeeping operations.

The welcome remarks, was given by Gen PK Goswami (Retd), Dy Director (A&C) USI followed by the opening remarks, by Ambassador Vijay Thakur Singh, DG, ICWA who stated on India active participation and being one of the largest troop contributors in the UN Peace Keeping missions. She also drew attention to how peacekeeping has a multi-dimensional role to not only maintain peace and security but also to facilitate political rights and restore law and order. The keynote address, was delivered by Ms Pernilla Ryden, Director, Challenges Forum that emphasized on diversity in terms of peacekeepers such as culture, religion and language playing a significant role in promoting and ensuring conflict resolution and mission effectiveness. The webinar was moderated by Maj. Gen. (Dr.) Bardalai. The speakers of the webinar were Dr. Chiara Ruffa, Associate Professor, Swedish Defence University and Fellow, Uppsala University; Col (Dr) K K Sharma (Retd), Former Military Observer, UNTAC; and Col. Kekre, Colonel, CUNPK. The closing remarks were delivered by Maj Gen BK Sharma (Retd), Director, USI, who stated on the need to look at 21st century challenges while analyzing the peacekeeping operations.



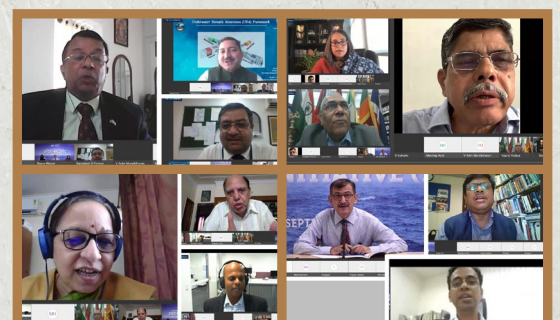
## Sapru House Paper (SHP) Discussion titled 'Building the Connectivity to Southeast Asia: The India-Myanmar-Thailand Trilateral Highway' by Dr. Temjenmeren Ao, Research Fellow, ICWA August 31, 2021

A Sapru House Paper discussion, titled 'Building the Connectivity to Southeast Asia: The India-Myanmar-Thailand Trilateral Highway' was held on August 31, 2021. The paper was presented by the author Dr. Temjenmeren Ao, Research Fellow, ICWA. The paper was discussed by an eminent panel of experts chaired by Prof. Prabir De, ASEAN India Centre, RIS, New Delhi with remarks and valuable suggestions on the paper given by Dr. G Jayachandra Reddy, Former Professor, Centre for Studies on Indo-China and South Pacific, S V University, Tirupati and Dr. Biplab Debnath, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Tripura University.

## National Consultations on “Indo-Pacific Oceans Initiative (IPOI)”, 3 September 2021

The Indian Council of World Affairs (ICWA) in collaboration with the Ministry of External Affairs organised the National Consultation on Indo-Pacific Oceans Initiative, on 3 September 2021. The Consultation was held virtually and 15 experts from India participated. The speakers constituted a multi-disciplinary group of academicians, scientist and naval analysts, specialising in the area of maritime affairs. The discussion during the Consultations included seven pillars of the IPOI i.e. (a) Maritime Security; (b) Maritime Ecology; (c) Maritime Resources; (d) Capacity Building and Resource Sharing; (e) Disaster Risk Reduction and Management; (f) Science, Technology and Academic Cooperation; and (g) Trade, Connectivity and Maritime Transport.

The above pillars were grouped consultations into four technical sessions. Director General, ICWA, Ambassador Vijay Thakur Singh delivered the welcome address. She highlighted the deep influence of oceans and seas in India's history and how it has shaped its future. She further stated that IPOI seeks to build a community of stakeholders by creating partnerships. While taking lead on several pillars of the IPOI, India is encouraging other countries to join this initiative. The special address was delivered by Dr. Malini V Shankar I.A.S. (Retd.), Vice Chancellor, Indian Maritime University (IMU), Chennai. She highlighted the importance of Indo-Pacific region, stating that it was closely linked to "Look East" Policy and SAGAR, the aim of the IPOI is to facilitate maritime cooperation and partnership, with like-minded countries. Smt. Riva Ganguly Das, Secretary (East), MEA, delivered the keynote address. She focused on the importance of interconnectedness of the Indo-Pacific and the regions emergence as a driver of international trade and prosperity.



## Book Launch event “A Bangladesh War Commentary” authored by U.L. Baruah, by Dr Hasan Mahmud, Hon'ble Minister of Information and Broadcasting, Government of People's Republic of Bangladesh, 7 September 2021



At the launch of the ICWA publication “A Bangladesh War Commentary” by UL Baruah, the event was graced by Dr. Hasan Mahmud, Hon'ble Minister of Information and Broadcasting, Government of People's Republic of Bangladesh, HE Amb Muhammad Imran, High Commissioner, Bangladesh High Commission, New Delhi and Amit Baruah, Senior Associate Editor, the Hindu. While delivering the welcome remarks Amb Vijay Thakur Singh, Director General, ICWA mentioned that India-Bangladesh is celebrating 50 years of establishment of diplomatic relations. Also, this year marks the Golden Jubilee of the Independence of Bangladesh and the Birth Centenary of the Father of the Nation Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. She said that India admires the remarkable progress of Bangladesh under PM Sheikh Hasina.

The insightful book is a homage to the people who fought for the liberation of Bangladesh. While delivering his remarks HE Amb Muhammad Imran, High Commissioner, Bangladesh High Commission, New Delhi said that Bangladesh has paid a heavy price for its independence. Since its independence, Bangladesh has come a long way and the dream of Sonar Bangla, which has been realized under PM Sheikh Hasina. India has shared blood with Bangladesh during its liberation period. He mentioned how the Radio played a crucial role during the period and has huge crucial academic value. Amit Baruah, Senior Associate Editor, the Hindu

as well as the son of the author stated that writing of these commentaries was not part of Mr late UL Baruah’s job. He wrote them out of his passion. Pakistan should not claim to safeguard the interest of Muslims after the developments in East Pakistan.

They do not agree with the Muslim brotherhood. He mentioned that hopefully, the creation of Bangladesh should be the last time that religion was used as a tool for waging genocide. Dr. Hasan Mahmud, MP, Honorable Minister, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Government of People’s Republic of Bangladesh while delivering his address mentioned that the book depicts the suffering of the people of Bangladesh before and after independence. During the liberation movement, the Pakistani army used to burn entire villages except for the mosque. Many people fled to the forest. He stated that the liberation would not be possible without Indian help for 9 months. India gave refuge to the citizens of Bangladesh in the neighbouring states. Mrs Indira Gandhi went from one part of the world to other to build world public opinion, without her effort it would have been difficult to free Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. Today, Bangladesh has bypassed Pakistan in all indexes. It is approximately one decade ahead in the entire sector as compared to Pakistan. As a part of the regional well-being, both PM Modi and PM Sheikh Hasina are giving impetus to connectivity physically as well as people to people.



## Sapru House Paper (SHP) Discussion titled “Breaking the Ice: Russia and the United States in the Arctic” written by Dr. Stuti Banerjee, 8 September 2021

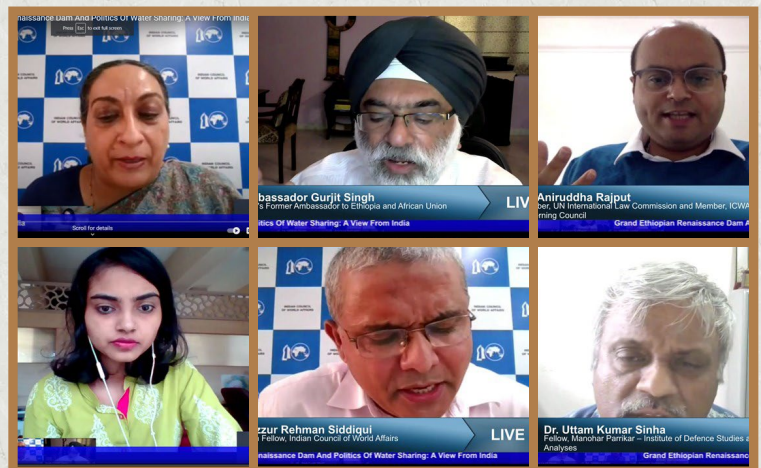
A Sapru House Paper discussion titled 'Breaking the Ice: Russia and the United States in the Arctic' was presented by Dr. Stuti Banerjee RF, ICWA. The paper was discussed by an imminent panel of experts chaired by Dr. Anuradha Chenoy, Former Professor Center for Russia and Central Asia Studies, JNU. The learned discussants, Dr Uma Purushothaman, Assistant Professor, Department of International Relations Central University of Kerala and Dr. Chaitanya Giri, Fellow Space and Ocean Studies Programme, Gateway House, Mumbai gave their valuable suggestions.

## Webinar on “Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam And Politics of Water Sharing – A View From India”, 17 September 2021

ICWA organized a web-based discussion on “Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam and Politics of Water Sharing: A View from India” on 17th September. Director-General of ICWA, Amb Vijay Thakur Singh delivered the opening remarks. The discussion was chaired by Amb (Retd) Gurjit Singh. The panellists included Apoorva Sudhakar, Research Associate at the National Institute of Advanced Studies, Bengaluru, Dr. Fazzur Rehman Siddiqui, Research Fellow at the ICWA,

Dr. Anirudha Rajput, Member, UN International Law Commission and also a member of the ICWA Governing Council and Dr. Uttam Kumar Sinha, Fellow at the Manohar Parrikar – Institute of Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi. The panel was structured to analyse different dimensions of this complex issue.

The discussion brought forth the complexity and several dimensions (like historical, political, engineering, developmental etc.) involved in the context of the GERD. The GERD episode has lessons and implications for inter-State water sharing and water security across the world including India.



## Special Lecture by H.E. Nikola Selaković, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Serbia on the topic - India-Serbia Relations: State of Play and Future Potential, on 20 September 2021

ICWA hosted a Special Lecture by H.E. Nikola Selaković, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Serbia on the topic - India-Serbia Relations: State of Play and Future Potential, on 20 September 2021. Welcome remarks were given by Amb Vijay Thakur Singh, Director General, Indian Council of World Affairs, which was followed by introductory remarks by H.E.



Siniša Pavić, Charge d'Affaires, Embassy of the Republic of Serbia, New Delhi. Thereafter, H.E. Nikola Selaković, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Serbia, delivered his Special Lecture on 'India-Serbia Relations: State of Play and Future Potential'. In her welcome remarks, Amb. Vijay Singh Thakur, Director General, Indian Council of World Affairs, said that Serbia and India have shared warm relations and the relation has been marked by high-level visits, with increasing efforts from both countries. This natural partnership is inspired by the commonality of views and interests

to collaborate for future growth and exploration of mutual potential. India sees Serbia as a gateway to Central Europe. H.E. Mr. Siniša Pavić, Ambassador – Charge d'Affaires, Republic of Serbia in his remarks said that our warm and friendly bilateral relations thrive on the respect for traditions, history, and love for freedom.

H.E. Nikola Selaković, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Serbia in his Special Lecture titled 'Serbia on the topic - India-Serbia Relations: State of Play and Future Potential' said India and Serbia are strongly connected through their history and mutual interests in politics, trade and culture. Its foreign policy has pursued to preserve traditionally harmonious ties with countries globally. H.E. Selaković highlighted that in 2014, the newly elected government had to tackle floods which led their feeble economy to plummet further. However, recovery has been quick with unemployment rate falling down from a drastic 26.9 percent to 7 percent. The International Monetary Fund predicts Serbia's GDP to be +6.5 percent and the country itself predict it to be 7 percent. From being largely dependent on agriculture, which still contributes 9.8 percent to the GDP, Serbia has shifted to accommodating many other sectors through international partnerships and is looking forward to many more of such collaborative initiatives. Serbia has introduced Informatics as a mandatory subject in elementary school. Serbia looks forward to working with India on increasing tourism, exchange

of young generations from diverse professional backgrounds from both countries to collaborate or exchange information on various aspects, of which few of them would include pharmaceuticals, IT industry, etc. Apart from these, people to people ties and a frequent tendency for the interaction between the high levels of leadership would be resultant of stable and prosperous bilateral relations.



## Webinar on “Communist Party of China at 100”, 28 September 2021

Indian Council of World Affairs organised a webinar on the “Hundred Years of the Communist Party of China”. Director General, Indian Council of World Affairs, Ambassador Vijay Thakur Singh delivered the welcome remarks. The webinar was moderated by Ambassador Nalin Surie. The four imminent speakers were Prof Sreemati Chakrabarti, Prof Kamal Sheel, Prof Avijit Banerjee and Prof Srikanth Kondapalli. The discussion focused on the various phases of the evolution of the Communist Party of China (CPC).

In the discussion, it was highlighted that the party was born out of the 4 May 1919, movement. Since there was no single authority to rule China, the warlords used to control. The CPC got support from CPSU and Communist International. The CPC joined Kuomintang (KMT) government in 1923. There was a clash of interests between CPC and KMT. Mao believed that there is a contradiction between the peasants and the warlords. Mao consolidated his base by working with the peasants and built a guerilla army while Chiang Kai Shek was campaigning in the north. Mao's Long March took place in 1930 and the People's Liberation Army (PLA) was born during this phase. During Mao's time

blunders like the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution took place. However, China continued to grow in terms of industrial capacity and production. Post-Mao, leaders pursued the policy of capitalist developments. They wanted to make the country rich and strong.

The discussion noted, in the hundred years, there have been three power leaders, Mao Zedong, Deng Xiaoping and Xi Jinping. The four modernisation programmes began under Deng Xiaoping and China started attracting foreign investments. He also proposed the opening of the research centres. On the foreign policy front, at this time China normalised its relations with the US and India. Deng was determined to keep the country stable and was ready to use force to maintain stability. Over a period of time, CPC has become all-encompassing covering all walks of life.

The transformation of China has taken place from “Sick Man of Asia” to the “Second Largest Economy” in the world. There is a visible improvement in overall literacy, education and health. Today, China is facing many traps such as the ‘Middle Income Trap’, ‘Thucydides Trap’ and ‘Kindleberger Trap’. The foreign policy consolidation has also taken place and the scope of core interest has expanded. The Belt and Road Initiative is given a lot of emphases. The party is dependent on the PLA and the concept of “Active Defence” is given a lot of importance. Under CPC, 65 per cent of urbanisation has taken place that has transformed China from a peasant-based to an urban middle-class ethos. Overall



China desires to become a powerhouse in all the sectors. During the discussion it was pointed, that at the centenary day celebration Xi Jinping said “We will never allow anyone to bully oppress, and subjugate China”. The CPC is implementing socialism with Chinese Characteristics. The theory “power flows from the barrels of the gun and the gun is controlled by the party”, holds even under Xi Jinping. A sort of personality cult is being built around Xi Jinping.

## OUTREACH EVENTS

### Two day National Seminar on “China and South Asia & South East-Asia: Implications for India” School of Social Science, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 27-28 August 2021

The School of Social Sciences of the Guru Nanak Dev University (GNDU), Amritsar, Punjab, organised a two-day National Seminar "China and South Asia & Southeast Asia: Implications for India" on 27-28 August 2021. The seminar was financially supported by ICWA, New Delhi. It was stated to be the first seminar organized by the School of Social Science of GNDU since the Covid-19 pandemic. About 30 presentations were made by participants including from Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, Rajasthan, Delhi, J&K, and some participants attended through the virtual mode. The seminar was also attended by students from the university. Dr. Athar



Zafar, Research Fellow, represented the Council at the Seminar. He also presented a paper in the academic session of the seminar. After the introduction of the seminar theme by Prof. Rajesh Kumar, Chairperson, School of Social Sciences, GNDU, the Keynote Address was delivered online by Prof. Srikant Kondapalli, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. He underlined the historical, economic and territorial connections of China with South Asia and Southeast Asia. He explained the key initiatives taken by China to engage the two regions, including the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) and the Community of Common Destiny. In the Special Address, Prof. Karori Singh, Professor Emeritus, University of Rajasthan, appreciated ICWA for efforts to promote the area study and the research on international relations. He said that China has brought large chunk of its population out of poverty and has realized the objective of moderately prosperous society.

The two-day seminar was spread over five academic sessions covering various aspects of China's engagements with South Asia and Southeast Asia, including the regional groupings like SAARC and ASEAN. Situation evolving in Afghanistan was discussed. The valedictory address was made by Prof. Sanjay Bhardwaj, former Chairperson, Centre for South Asian Studies, School of International Studies, JNU, New Delhi. He underlined the significance of area study and urged students to also focus on thematic studies in international relations.



## **Two day National Seminar on India's Interconnection with West Asian Countries: Historical Understanding of Socio-Economic Relations and Future Prospects" Center for West Asian Studies (CWAS), Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi, 18-19 September 2021**

The Centre for West Asian Studies, Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi organised a two-day national seminar on, " India's Interconnection s with West Asian Countries: Historical Understanding of Socio-Economic Relations and Future Prospects" on 18-19 September 2021. The seminar was sponsored by Indian Council of World Affairs. This two-day national seminar deliberated on various aspects of India-West Asia relationship. It primarily focused on how India and the West Asia have been historically linked to each other and they have never been alien to each other.

In this seminar , the key note address was delivered by Professor Asvini Kumar Mahapatra, Dean , SIS, JNU who in his remarked talked about how the world has moved to towards a post-hegemonic order where US seems to have lost its traditional position in the global arena. He also dealt at length about the changing paradigm of Arab politics in the aftermath of the Arab uprising and how new actors have emerged who are dictating the political trajectory of the regional politic In this two-day national seminar around ninety paper were presented on different thematic issues. Dr. Fazzur Rahman Siddiqui, Research Fellow, represented the ICWA in the seminar and was the special guest at the inaugural session.





## INDIA QUARTERLY

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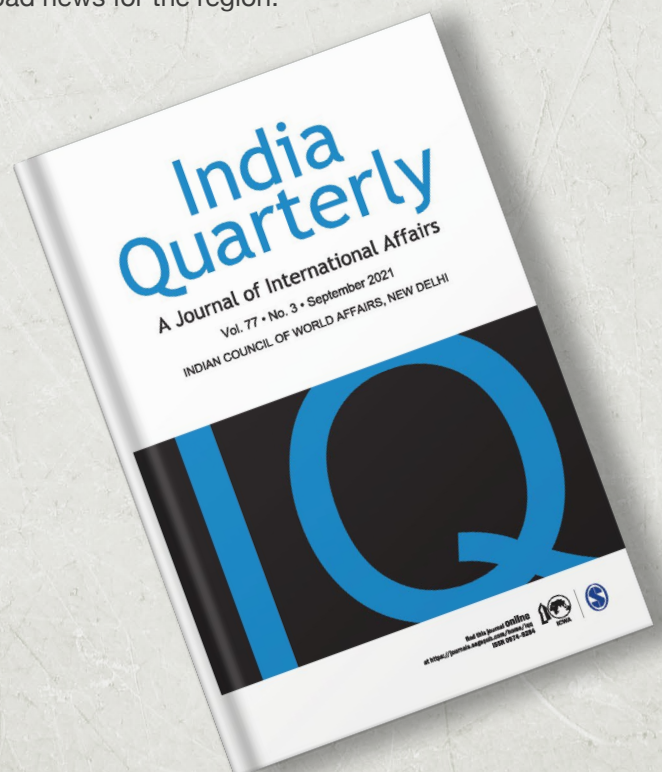
July - September, 2021

The present issue of India Quarterly Carries 8 articles, a Review Essay and 3 Book reviews. The articles as questions such as: What to expect from India's engagement with the Liberal International Order? Is Beijing's "Made in China 2025" slated for success?

### Editorial

In the last few years much has changed, with existing global regimes under stress to step up to new realities and new and old powers reassessing the grounds of their relationships. Hence, the big debate of the last few years has been the fate of the normative principles at the heart of the liberal order and the future shape of the institutions built on these. In the Global South, the debate has rested on two contradictions: the pulls of liberal internationalism and the contrary demands of nationalist autonomy and the projection of institutions as global alongside the failure to include the developing world in decision-making bodies. We begin this issue of the India Quarterly with two articles, which place these debates front and centre. While they argue for the attractions of inclusion and filiation, given the weight of global norms and regimes, they also raise questions on inclusion given the perspectives which emerge from domestic ideologies and circumstances. Fortunately, in the last decade or so, the challenge over inclusion and the claims to agenda setting have shifted from a 'top-down' to a 'bottom-up' approach. Politics over climate change, for one, has moved debates from the hallowed portals of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) to cities, town halls and kerbsides. Development agendas now are not merely listed in the key global economic institutions but also in regional financial institutions like the African Development Bank (AfDB) 'an agent of a changing global governance system and an emerging leader in Africa's development journey'. Nor are they merely debated and demanded by policymakers in state capitals but are also a topic of conversation in remote villages and towns across regions where roads and connectivity are the oxygen for local economies. Articles in this issue provide a range of discussions

around these concerns, indicating a sense of positive change and a demand for positive change that should be central to policy debates between states. But the old fears over geopolitical rivalries and regional conflict are ever present as well. Hence, as our authors note, China's 'Made in China' initiative has prompted a competitive technology war between developed economies and Beijing, given that new technologies will be the driving force of the Fourth Industrial Revolution. The stakes in economic dominance are high as China has realised. In Southeast Asia, China's maritime claims are roiling the region's middle powers like Indonesia as another article notes. In our own region of South Asia, the conflict in Baluchistan seems to have a constancy that defies solution and will have a greater bearing on peace in the region after the US withdrawal from Afghanistan this year. As we brace for repeat spikes of the COVID-19 pandemic, this adds to bad news for the region.



**Madhu Bhalla**  
Editor, India Quarterly

## ICWA PUBLICATIONS

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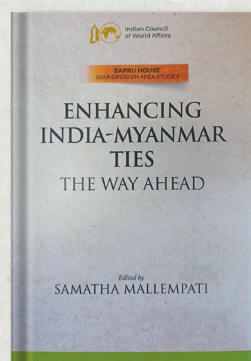
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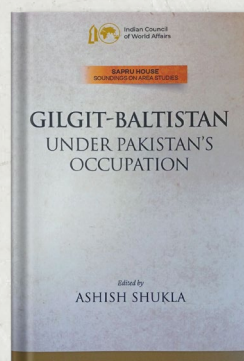
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## Books



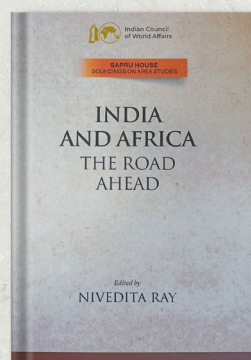
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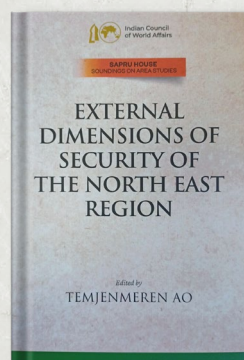
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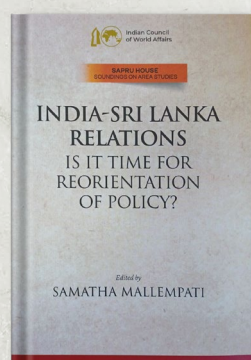
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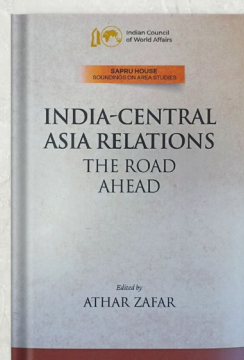
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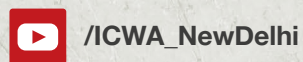
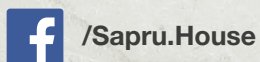
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The Indian Council of World Affairs (ICWA) was established in 1943 by a group of eminent intellectuals led by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Dr. H.N. Kunzru. Its principal objective was to create an Indian perspective on international relations and act as a repository of knowledge and thinking on foreign policy issues. The Council today conducts policy research through an in-house faculty as well as through external experts. It regularly organizes an array of intellectual activities including conferences, seminars, roundtable discussions, lectures and brings out a range of publications. It has a well-stocked library, an active website, and publishes the journal 'India Quarterly'. ICWA has over 50 MoUs with international think tanks and research institutions to promote better understanding on international issues and develop areas of mutual cooperation. The Council also has partnerships with leading research institutions, think tanks and universities in India.



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