### From the Editors' Desk...

## Summit Diplomacy: Back to Normal

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Coming two weeks will witness India hosting visits by prime ministers of Japan and United Kingdom. This was preceded by five national leaders of South Asia, including prime minister of India, last month visiting Dhaka to attend 50th anniversary celebrations of the liberation of Bangladesh. The G-7 summit in June will again see Indian prime minister visiting London to attend it as special guest. In London, Indian prime minister will also attend the first face-to-face Quad Leaders summit after their debut online summit mid-March. Mid-March had also seen, US Secretary of Defence, Lloyd Austin visit India during his debut foreign travel that also took him to Japan and South Korea for their 2+2 (foreign and defence ministers meeting) meetings. And now, prime minister Suga's India visit is being preceded by India-Japan 2+2 in Tokyo.

All this marks diplomacy, including summit diplomacy, returning back to business as usual. In spite of raging pandemic worldwide, world leaders are eager to reaffirm their allegiances and initiatives in the conventional offline mode. While online meetings have become the norm for the past twelve months, complementing these with face-to-face meetings is gaining traction. What is worth noting is that this return to prepandemic modalities has also marked a hyper-engagement of India which stands recognised as the 'pharmacy of the world'.

Last month's release of UK's "Integrated Review" of its post-Brexit foreign policy — where prime minister Boris Johnson's India visit was announced — had perhaps

most clearly underlined this new global role for India. India appears 17 times in this document. Outlining a strategy for a "deeper engagement" and a clear "tilt to the Indo-Pacific", it recognises "India – as the largest democracy in the world - and an international actor of growing importance," — in addressing China's "increasing power and assertiveness". Likewise, strength of India's vaccine diplomacy was recognised by the first Quad Leaders Online Summit in mid-March 2021. This resulted in the setting up of three special Working Groups including one for their collaboration in boosting India's vaccine production to annually spare 1 billion doses for the Indo-Pacific littoral.

India joining the G-7 and Quad summits in London will be a great opportunity for India to outline its vision and role in redesigning strategies for global healthcare and economic resilience. And, how India manages these challenges in coming weeks will lend credence to India's words. India, the largest manufacturer of vaccines in the world, has already achieved its target of the fastest 100 million vaccination milestone. India's Vaccine Maitri Initiative, has seen over 80 countries receive timely supply of vaccines since January 2021, underlining India's vision of seeing the 'world as one family' which has come to resonate with world leaders. The coming weeks test that potential of India's leadership in more than just medicines!

> Prof Swaran Singh Dr. Reena Marwah Editors



## Hypersonic Missiles in China-India Equations: A Reality Check

The high speed, maneuverability, and precision of hypersonic missiles have revolutionized strategies and even the nature of warfare. The development of these missiles by the US, Russia, and lately by China have especially triggered

debates over their repercussions for the nuclear deterrence stability amongst these nuclear rivals. China has heavily invested in these missiles with the prospective aim of defeating American Ballistic Missile Defence (BMD) systems. China's DF-17 missile deserves special attention. China's Party mouthpiece, Global Times, had mentioned that DF-17 could be converted into a hypersonic intercontinental missile. It wrote "The DF-17 is short to medium-range missile and using a scramjet can potentially extend its range by at least five times, allowing it to become intercontinental."

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Dr. Neha Kumar

What makes this report interesting is its spillover effected in China's peripheral regions. Even if China develops hypersonic missiles as its counter to American BMD systems, its revelations are already being felt amongst its nuclear neighbours — India

and Pakistan. Amid the Galwan crisis in the summer of 2020, India successfully tested its Hypersonic Technology Demonstrator Vehicle (HSTDV). India is interested in maintaining a technological balance with China. China has been deploying more missiles on the India-China frontier, especially in Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR), creating concerns amongst India's policymakers and Pakistan will not be far behind. This means that technological developments of hypersonic missiles in South Asia will soon begin to threaten the deterrence stability for China-India-Pakistan nuclear triangle.

It is important to note that South Asia is already home to three nuclear powers and that both China and Pakistan — known for their nuclear nexus — have fought multiple destructive wars with India.

All three differ in their size and stature and in terms of their nuclear capability, nuclear strategy, and perceptions, which makes it a rather complex triangle. The possibility of the proliferation of hypersonic missiles from China to Pakistan cannot be ruled out by India's strategists. This makes it an imperative to examine its likely consequences for the South Asian Region.

## Hypersonic Missiles in South Asia

The introduction of hypersonic missiles can impact nuclear strategy in two ways. First, hypersonic missiles pose a threat to 'launch on warning' posture as it shortens the time window to make retaliatory decisions. Second, hypersonic missiles can be employed to carry out pre-emptive precision nuclear strikes on high values targets of



the adversary. Since there have been contentious interpretations of China's Nuclear No First Use (NFU) policy, a Chinese nuclear pre-emptive strike against India using hypersonic missiles cannot be ruled out. Also, considering that China's unconventional strategy seeks to combine conventional and nuclear missiles, the possibilities of hypersonic missiles being used to carry out conventional attacks during an ongoing conflict remains ripe. China is also known to follow the strategy of 'dual deterrence' which entangle the conventional and nuclear use of missiles. Such a strategy is cost-effective and gives rise to 'strategic ambiguity' which improves China's deterrence against the possibility of strikes on its conventional forces by the US. In such a scenario, the efficiency of hypersonic missiles will be too tempting to be used to achieve China's 'dual deterrence.'

Potentially, hypersonic missiles could carry both conventional and nuclear warheads, creating new dilemmas for deterrence calculus by nuclear rivals, thus enhancing the chances of accidental nuclear launches. India's recent HSDTV test and its Brahmos-II missile development indicate that South Asia could soon fall prey to an arms race involving the development of hypersonic missiles. After the HSDTV test, the Defence Minister of India, Rajnath Singh, had posted on the social media platform twitter saying that 'The DRDO India has today successfully flight tested the Hypersonic Technology Demonstrator Vehicle using the indigenously developed scramjet propulsion system. With this success, all critical

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technologies are now established to progress to the next phase.' This confirms India's long-term interests in developing hypersonic missiles to be par with Chinese technological developments.

The development of hypersonic missiles by India is bound to become a cause of concern in Pakistan. As mentioned by Pakistan's scholar Samaran Ali, "Hypersonic missiles could play an important part in India's damage limitation strategy against Pakistan. They will give India a precise and unmatched capability to conduct a first strike against the strategic assets of Pakistan. India can target road-mobile missiles of Pakistan, sensitive targets like command-and-control centers, air bases or Pakistani ships in a fast-paced and unpredictable manner to reduce the impact of Pakistan's retaliatory strike." As Pakistan has not yet initiated its development of hypersonic missile systems, India's development would provide it a technological edge over Pakistan. To negate India's technological edge over Pakistan, the proliferation of hypersonic missile technology from China to Pakistan remains a strong possibility. Such a situation will make South Asia especially precarious given that Pakistan has a first-strike policy regarding nuclear weapons.

### Future Forward

Regarding its implications for the future of South Asia's nuclear deterrence stability, two factors are likely to affect the overall strategic stability in this region. First is the possibility of an accidental launch of nuclear weapons and second the likely proliferation of nuclear weapons in and from Pakistan, which has the First Use policy of nuclear weapons. This illustrates the urgent need to initiate a trilateral China-India-Pakistan arms control efforts with a focus on advanced destructive technologies like the hypersonic missiles with the aim of not just binding these three nuclear nations but also potentially creating favorable atmospherics for renunciation by Russia and the US as well.

Author is a Post Doctoral Fellow affiliated with Jamia Millia Islamia. She is also working as Assistant Professor, Department of Defence Studies, Savitri Bai Phule University, Pune.



## India's Vaccine Diplomacy in the Indian Ocean Region

The Covid-19 pandemic has affected developed, and developing countries worldwide, and the Indian Ocean Region (IOR) is no exception. The island countries in the IOR have already dealt with various traditional and non-



traditional threats like climate change posing an extension challenge to their survival capacities. Against this backdrop, the pandemic last year came as an unexpected additional blow to the stability and security of these islands and littoral states, catching them unprepared. The first knee-jerk response to the pandemic was 'lockdown' and ceiling of borders. As the global demand for medicines, medical supplies, and personal protection equipment rose, many countries adopted export restrictions to meet domestic demands. India - the largest of the IOR littoral - was soon to take up the responsibility by extending a hand of humanitarian assistance.

As was expected, India emerged as a first respondent and a major supplier of life-saving including hydroxychloroquine, Mauritius and Seychelles followed by several others. India was the first to deploy its naval ships to provide relief in far-flung littoral and island countries. India deployed Indian Naval Ship 'Kesari' to Maldives, Mauritius, Madagascar, Comoros and Seychelles. It delivered essential medicines, test kits and other food items. Under 'Mission Sagar,' India supplied 13 tons of essential medicines and 10 tons of Ayurvedic medicines to Mauritius in April-May 2020. India also deployed special medical assistance teams to Mauritius, Maldives and Comoros for supplementing local efforts. Operation Samudra Setu (Sea Bridge) was launched in May 2020 as INS Jalashwa and INS Magar were dispatched from India's southern command and escorted by other warships of the western fleet to bring back almost 600 covid threatened Indian citizens from the Maldives.

With time, the world was to invent various vaccines and this saw India emerging as the 'pharmacy of the world'. The fact that India is home to vaccines like Covishield and Covaxin makes India Manasi Misal Tirodkar both the largest producer and the largest

> distributor of vaccines. India, of course, has had a special focus on its immediate neighbours including the IOR littoral states. In the face of the rising tide of 'vaccine nationalism' that saw countries hoarding vaccines by striking prepurchase deals with pharmaceutical companies, this has since provided hope to various least developed nations of IOR. Eric Bellman of the Wall Street Journal tweeted that "India has emerged the surprise leader of the global vaccine diplomacy race. It has donated three times more doses than it has given its citizens and can spare even more without hurting its rollout."

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India's 'Vaccine Maitri' policy, supported by the world's largest vaccine producer, Serum Institute of India (for Covishield) and Bharat Biotech and Indian Council of Medical Research (producing Covaxin) and Reddy Laboratories all set to begin producing on Sputnik, India indeed has potential to export three-times beyond its optimal domestic needs. Under 'neighbourhood first' policy, India has prioritised sending vaccines as gifts to Maldives, Seychelles,



Mauritius, Myanmar, and Sri Lanka. As a symbol of India's commitment to a humanitarian cause, India's external affairs minister, S. Jaishankar carried 100,000 doses of Covid-19 vaccines on his visit to the Maldives. This was in addition to 100,000 doses it had already sent in January. The Maldives acknowledged this gesture and India's vaccine diplomacy garnered international praise. The Wall Street Journal in one of its news reports called India a "Vaccine Superpower."

In January, when the Indian navy's aircraft landed in Seychelles, the country's foreign minister and other senior officials were at the tarmac to welcome its precious cargo of 50,000 doses of Indian-made AstraZeneca vaccine. Sri Lanka has also expressed its gratitude to India for donating the vaccines. " Because of their gift, Sri Lanka has been able to start the vaccination immediately" said Eran Wickramaratne, a Sri Lankan opposition lawmaker who received one of the Indian shots. Likewise, when India donated 1.5 million doses of the Covishield vaccine to Myanmar, S. Jaishankar tweeted, "Acting East and Acting Fast". Not only is Myanmar an important component of India's Act East policy but it is an important land and maritime neighbor of India whose security is vital for India.

Besides, India has also donated 6.46 doses of the vaccine to Southeast Asian countries including Myanmar, Cambodia and the Philippines. Mauritius also received a grant of 100,000 doses of the vaccine to be administered to its frontline health workers across the country. It is worth noting that India deployed the Indian Navy's Poseidon-8I which is a maritime reconnaissance and anti-submarine war aircraft, to both Mauritius and Seychelles for sending the consignments of the vaccines. This donation of vaccines is an important manifestation of India's vision for Security and Growth for All in the Region (SAGAR).

Since the 2004 Tsunami, India has gradually prioritized disaster and risk management as focus areas for its Navy. As a result, India has often been one of the first respondents to natural disasters and maritime environmental incidents in the IOR. The pandemic has especially enabled India to strengthen its relations with the Indian Ocean micro-states through humanitarian assistance delivered by the navy.

The pandemic is bound to change the security dimensions of the IOR and the pace of change has seen India's vaccine diplomacy emerging as its niche advantage in engaging its periphery. It has showcased a very different face of a non-traditional security threat and a new element of India's 'neighbourhood first' policy.

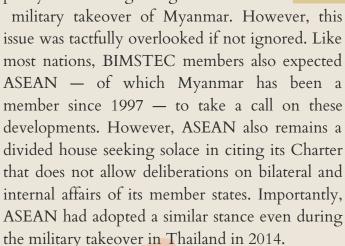
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# BIMSTEC gathering momentum: Implications for India

The Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC), in its 17th ministerial held in Colombo on 1 April 2021, was supposed to undertake a clear policy stance regarding the recent



As regards BIMSTEC, although the text of the BIMSTEC Charter has been finalised, it is yet to be formally adopted by the member states. This was cited to explain why it is not in a position to issue any legally sanctified guidelines regulating the domestic behaviour of its members. Indeed, it may not be fair to expect BIMSTEC to act proactively in resolving Myanmar's internal matters despite being aware of the growing concerns of the Rohingya refugee issue and its probable political ramifications for the South well as South East Asia. Bangladesh - where the BIMSTEC secretariat is hosted - already has received about 680,000 Rohingya refugees from Myanmar. The news of the recent fire break-out in the refugee settlements has already been a major cause of concern calling extreme caution.

To be specific, the BIMSTEC is a sub-regional initiative of seven nations: five from South Asia (Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Nepal, and Sri Lanka) and two from South-East Asia (Thailand and Myanmar). From New Delhi's perspective, which



Dr. Avipsu Halder

has been a major force behind its resurrection, BIMSTEC promises to strengthen India's 'Act-east' and 'neighborhood - first' policies. Additionally, BIMSTEC sheds new light on the geo-strategic location of India's

north-eastern states. Through BIMSTEC, India seeks to develop connectivity and infrastructure in this region. India's External Affairs Minister S. Jayshankar recently underlined how a 'BIMSTEC Master Plan for Transport Connectivity' has already been finalized to be adopted at the fifth BIMSTEC summit. Such measures can ensure better integration of the Northeast with the rest of India and Southeast Asia.

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Foreign Minister Jaishankar also emphasised implementing a legal framework by finalising a coastal shipping and motor vehicle agreement at the earliest. Despite BIMSTEC's commitment to promoting technical and economic cooperation, the last summit at Kathmandu also included new fissues like security, environment, and disaster relief. This saw their ministerial meeting of 1 April 2021 consenting to the BIMSTEC Convention on Mutual Legal Assistance in Criminal Matters. Considering the common

security challenges, the prime objective behind such initiatives is to create a legal framework to strengthen intelligence sharing and cooperation in combating international terrorism, cybercrime, coastal security, transnational organised crime, illicit and drug trafficking, and so on.

The South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation's failure to hold its meeting since 2015 and India's inability to join the 2019 Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership is also seen as a prime reason for the India-led revival of the BIMSTEC. India's continued constant tensions with China and Pakistan have perhaps pushed India eastwards, making it proactive in its Act East policy and promoting BIMSTEC, which does not include these two nations. The BIMSTEC, therefore, promises to strengthen India's ties with both South and Southeast Asian neighbours. Likewise, India has also been active in BBIN or the Bhutan, Bangladesh, India, Nepal sub-regional cooperation, a subset of India's BIMSTEC engagement. India is mindful of Bhutan's natural resources and hydropower potential and of building land and sea connectivity with Bangladesh. India's relations with Nepal are also returning to normal. Due to its proximity with the 'Siliguri' corridor, India can hardly afford to overlook the geo-strategic significance of these three nations and they remain its important partners in BIMSTEC as well.

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Although India's standpoint on the Nepalese Constitution regarding the Madhesi's issue may have not pleased Nepalese leaders, yet, both states have understood the utility of connectivity for economic development. In a similar vein, Bangladesh and Myanmar have geostrategic significance for the Indian north-eastern states of Assam, Tripura and Meghalaya and Manipur and Mizoram, respectively. Indian Prime Minister's recent visit to Bangladesh on 26 March 2021 to celebrate the centenary birth anniversary of Bangabandhu- Sheikh Mujibar Rahman and fiftieth year of Indo-Bangladesh diplomatic relations explicates India's 'neighbourhood-first' policy. In this endeavor, both sides have pledged to open a 'Shonali Adhayay' (golden chapter) in their bilateral relations. Dhaka has been among the first recipients of India COVID-19 vaccines under the 'Vaccine Maitri' mission.

As symbols of BIMSTEC connectivity, the Asian trilateral Highway linking India, Myanmar and Thailand and the Kaladan multimodal transit project underlines this growing transport connectivity around this rapidly transforming Bay of Bengal littoral, which has seen other Southeast national like Singapore wanting to join this formation. The essence of India's Act East Policy has also been resonated in Thailand's 'Look West Policy'. Both New Delhi and Bangkok have shared maritime visions pertaining to the Indian Ocean Rim and the Indo-Pacific region. Initiatives such as the 'Indian Ocean Naval Symposium' between the Thai and Indian navy substantiate this statement.

The most distinctive feature of the BIMSTEC has been its focus on technical and economic cooperation. From this perspective, BIMSTEC nations are moving to address their other regional challenges to minimise the potential for conflicts among its members, thereby brightening the prospects of intra-regional interdependence. Its growing activism in recent years promises to increasingly complement bilateralism and multilateralism. Several plans are accordingly expected to be adopted at its forthcoming fifth summit in Sri Lanka. Once its Charter comes into force, its goals and mission will certainly achieve greater clarity.

Author is Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Calcutta, Kolkata.



Webinar Session 39: March 17, 2021

# Dr Robert T. Tally Jr. "Globalization, World Literature & Social Distancing : Reading in a time of pandemic"



Link to webinar here.

Professor Tally commenced his lecture by stating through Emily S Apter's book against world uncanny and unheimlich.

capitalism or with the globalization of culture.

nationalism perspective of world literature thanks to the speaker.

that with the ongoing pandemic, people were in literature and Goethe, the supreme figure of an uncanny state, as he described how most German national literature. He also discussed homely settings had become the more unhomely, Erich Auerbach, one of the most important figures in the reassertion of world literature into critical He further discussed world literature as a way of consciousness in various European countries and bringing diverse cultures and people together and in the United States. He discussed in length, the how world literature is deceptively complex. On history and the context of world history with the one hand, the widespread availability of and references to world literature in the 70s and 80s, interest in literary works produced in various which were actually attached to the third world as countries, cultures and languages would seem to people were becoming more interested in sobe wholly beneficial. On the other hand, such called third world literature. He raised his concern seemingly cosmopolitan practices had participated on how world literature has become a kind of processes of globalization which have marketing genre commoditized and an easily frequently alighted cultural specificity either consumed product. In his words, "During the reducing or fetishizing the difference among pandemic, world literature has taken an additional societies. At the same time, they were creating a significance of connecting us while maintaining marketplace for a certain type of generic world the social distance. When we're no longer able to literature often at the expense of the variety and connect physically, all we may at least find wealth of literature written, read and studied proximate connections through reading the throughout the world in an era of multinational immense variety of texts now made available to us via computers, communications technology, These questions have gained greater urgency and virtual libraries and a range of diverse modes of complexity in the 21st century and it is perhaps delivery. But in this pandemic, world literature not surprising that world literature as a concept itself is suffering from the crisis as conferences, has become a key element of contemporary book fairs, author readings etc. are no longer literary criticism. The speaker continued the possible." The webinar concluded with a vote of

By Komal and Runjhun



Webinar Session 40: April 07, 2021

Dr. Shaun Narine: "Canada and the Free and Open Indo-Pacific: Sitting on

the Edge"



Link to webinar here.

The fortieth webinar session was held on 07 April from 05:30 P.M. to 07:00 P.M. on 'Canada and the Free and Open Indo- Pacific: Sitting on the Edge'. The lecture was delivered by Dr. Shaun Narine, Professor of International Relations, St. Thomas University, Canada. The webinar commenced with Prof. Swaran Singh's welcome address, followed by the speaker's introduction by Dr. Reena Marwah.

Dr.Narine initiated the talk by highlighting the significance of Indo- Pacific region both economically and strategically which includes the states around the Indian Ocean as well as the Straits of Malacca stretching into the South China Sea. He further commented that the FOIP supports the rules-based international order and can form the basis of creation of other regional organisations.

The speaker anticipates that Canada doesn't possess a huge tendency to create an impact on the Indo-Pacific region as it is a small country with a limited 37 million population having trading routes that are primarily trans-Atlantic and trans Pacific. He elucidated on Canada's history in the Asia –Pacific region since the 1990's and how Canada's interest in the Asia Pacific region has some problematic issues vested within it. The

Speaker also spoke about Canada's relationship with China and the Huawei issue, Canada's relations with US and how these factors collectively affect Canada's relations with the Indo-Pacific region.

Dr. Narine emphasized that South Asia is a major economic player in the world market and Canada will continue to express its interest to regain its multilateral and diplomatic hold over this region. The speaker concluded by expressing that though the political pressure in Canada to join FOIP is considerable Canada should refrain from joining FOIP as this step could be detrimental to China-Canada relations in an unprecedented manner.

The academically enriching talk by Dr. Narine was followed by a question answer round. The questions pertained to the possibility of inclusion of Canada in the QUAD group, the effect of COVID on Canada's trading relations with Indopacific, the centrality of ASEAN in Canada-China relations, the importance of regional organisations for economic sustainability, China's bilateral trade relations with the ASEAN countries and its impact on QUAD, the role of humanitarian intervention in maintaining liberal international order, among others.

by Barkha Dubey



## News in Pictures



Iran: China and Iran signed the Comprehensive strategic Partnership agreement at charting the course of their economic, political and trade relationships over next 25 years. Credits- Voice of America



Bangladesh: Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi made his first international visit to Bangladesh after the outbreak of the Covid-19 Pandemic. Credits AP News



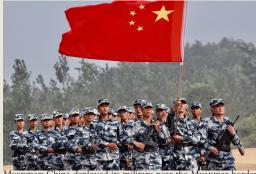
Iran: The Iranian spy ship got attac<mark>ked in the Red sea. The</mark> Iranian government says that Israel is behind this cowardly attack. Credit: The Wall Street Journal.



Bangladesh: India and Russia join hands to built Bangladesh's first ever nuclear power-plant. Credit: DNA India



Russia to supply military gears to Pakistan. Credit: South Asian Voices.



Myanmar: China deployed its military near the Myanmar border after many civilians in Myanmar burnt the Chinese factories in the country. Credit: The National interest



India: India to reduce its oil dependency on Saudi Arabia. As Saudi Arabia increased its oil prices. So, India has decided to buy 36% less oil from Saudi Arabia. Credit: Dawn



Turkey: Pakistan to help Turkey to develop its nuclear programme. Credit: Inside Arabia.



Jordan: Jordan's Prince Hamzah Bin Hussein is kept under house arrest. Credit: Wikiwand



Bhutan-China looking to resolve the border dispute. Credit: Next IAS



## Feedback

"Its been an enriching intellectual exercise. Look forward to staying connected in mutual learning. Compliments to AAS for convening the endeavour.."

> Dr. Dattesh D. Parulekar Assistant Professor, School of International & Area Studies, Goa University.

"The AAS Conference themed on " Evolving Multilateralism in Indo - Pacific " has been a great opportunity for me to interact with scholars around the world on AAS Platform . Congratulate AAS for taking this initiative and good luck for future endeavours ."

> Dr. Rubina Waseem Assistant Professor Department of Strategic Studies, National Defence University, Pakistan

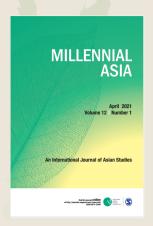
" It is a pleasure and honour for me to join AAS webinars . I also joined the AAS International virtual Conference on Indo - Pacific, it has been a great learning experience for me and I recommend to my students and all scholars from Asian region to join AAS webinars to learn and understand the field of International Relations from an Asian Perspective ."

> Jumel G. Estrañero Defense Research Analyst University lecturer, Philippines

### Millennial Asia - Volume 12, Issue 1, April 2021

This issue is comprised of theoretically wellgrounded and evidence-driven research papers on comparative issues of Asian countries.

click here



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