



The Role of India, China and Russia in Emerging World Order

Vishal Kumar Baswal, PhD Research Scholar in Russian and Central Asian Studies, SIS, JNU, New Delhi-110067

The contemporary world is full of uncertainty, unpredictability and insecurity. The Non traditional security threats are on the high such as terrorism, lethal diseases, climate change etc. Therefore, it is important for countries to protect their national boundaries and interests. However, on the other side, it is also important that while maintaining national interest countries should keep in mind their ethics and morals towards other nations.

It is clear that Today's world is multipolar world. There are numerous states which are playing significant role in the contemporary world. Some of the powers such as Russia, India and China are powers which has greater role in the world and also has responsibility to shape the world order. As it has been noticed from the last few years that world is witnessing various changes in the interactions of the states, it becomes more important to know that how these three powers are interacting to each other in the given world order and how will it shape the world order in the coming years?

India's relationship with its neighbour countries and China's involvement in the region complicates the relations between China and India. India's closeness to United states also makes relations very difficult with the Russia and China as well. On the other hand, as some of states assumes that China is responsible for the recently emerge coronavirus makes China very uncomfortable in engaging with old friend such as Russia and also other countries. These are some of the complicities in the relationship of the states which are important to understand for the today's world order.

Key Words: China, India, Relations, Russia, and World Order

Introduction: The world is witnessing greater changes. It was true that at the time of cold war world was bipolar and after the collapse of Soviet Union it became unipolar but now it is multipolar world because of the emergence of several powers. China became second largest economy of the world and also significant military power. Emerging power such as Japan, India, Brazil and Germany expected to play important role in new world order. What these powers thinks about this new world order? How these significant powers

will react to this world and how they will formulate their foreign policy? These are some of the questions by which Author tries to find the answers in this article.

The today's world is in panic on various stages. Russia is wholly against the Western countries and blamed for the range human rights violation. Different-different region in the Asia is undergoing through difficult phase. Afghanistan facing several terrorist attacks by the Taliban, Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan. The region of West Asia is embroiled in numerous wars. In the region Syria most affected state and has almost at the end of as a state. Conflicts between Iran and Saudi Arabia have accelerated. Problems between Israel and the Muslim world has been noticed. Tension between Saudi Arabia and Yemen has also been seen in past few years. As far as South Asian region is concerned many neighbour countries of India facing different-different challenges at the domestic level and also is in fear of Indian influence in the region.

Europe may be not in a situation of civil war and conflict or violence but they are also facing some political challenges. It should keep in mind that the European Union (EU) was one of the significant politically and institutionally intended creation which emerged from the area of American influence. Is it an accidental the EU is also facing greater contemporary problems at a time when the United States has no effective dominance in the world? It is also vital to concentrate that the existing immigration challenges that threatens to overcome the EU was started by the emergence of civil war in Syria, which was in response a result of United States tragic interference in the West Asia.

The unsuccess of the so-called Arab Spring to take hold was an important impediment for expectations about the opportunity, let alone the certainty, of a democratic future all over the world (Davis 2011). Nobody talks about the end of history anymore. Disorder through from frequent seems to be the height of various decision makers' desires, particularly democratic ones. The merely actual exceptions from this point are authoritarian leaders for example Turkey's Tayyip Recep Erdogan, Russian President Vladimir Putin and also Chinese President Xi Jinping. From Chinese point of view, China's government may really have the ability to follow through on some of the impressive rhetoric and establish projects for example Belt and Road programme that is framed to give greater communication between Europe and Asia. If it becomes true in coming future, it will provide greater change in connections between the continents and China's role as key actor within the evolving world order. (Beeson and Li 2016).

Richard Haass writes that, "the days of balance between order and disorder has changed from order to disorder." Further he says that the future of the world order is one in which the present global scenario provides way to a disorderly one with a various number of actors acting growing autonomy, giving no importance to U.S. interests and priorities. These some of the different changes tells us something significant things: that the today's world order is multi-polar world order- various powers, actors, institutions and ideologies are challenging each other to shape the emerging world order. From comparison to Cold War era, there are no competition between the two different ideologies; rather hyper nationalism and religion seems important factors in shaping state identities. In addition to a various group of states from authoritarian to democratic one, new non state actors are either advancing state or giving no importance to state. The amalgamation of new institutions that emerging actors have established are generally not certain about a

new global compromise, but agree on issue that no universalisation of the West-led world order (Tharoor and Saran 2020). certainly, while the desire for global governance will remain greater, bringing it by institutional mechanisms, standardizing principles and a various group of powers will progressively become problematic.

Different-Different Challenges and Problems

the various actors of globalisation have brought about the removal of different-different physical and psychological constraints and give rise to greater changes in the world order and old centres of powers and institutions. From positive point of view, this helped to empowerment of civil society and participation of citizens in decision making. They have promoted interdependence but also isolation, the focus of money in the hands of few people, growing hopes of regular development in the living standards and increasing thoughts about the stability of our development means and ways.

This 21st century have witnessed vital changes and challenges, ups and downs some are positives and some negative for example, greater development in average life expectancy, higher literacy rate, drop in the mortality rate, decline in the extreme poverty (Lopez-Calros, Dahi and Groff 2020). This is also not true about the some developing nations. Besides these positive points states have also felt that, these economic developments also led to environmental degradation, social isolation and growing inequality among the people and nations. The present milieu characterised by fear of future uncertainties, social division, polarisation and lack of expectations. The economic scenario favours advantages for the rich people and poor people are still struggling for their fundamental needs and requirements. The gap between rich and poor people is very vast, rich people are becoming more richer and poor people are becoming poorer. The global economy is going through increasing debt, intimidating a back to the financial instability of decade earlier, but with governments' space for manoeuvre importantly reduced. The forces of breakdown are replicated in increasing indication of the failing of government's institutions, with often disgraced leadership, growing corruption, loss of people's hope, and the current development of autocratic, reactionary and populist activities ignoring diversity and multilateralism. At time when world became as globalised economy and society, it is important that global governance play a significant role to improve positive change from environment, social and economic perspective because these are the current areas where change is very important. As it has been noticed that many problems are interrelated to each other, that is why, it is not simple to set preferences among the various problems of today. Their complications indicate for new tactics appropriate for dynamic, united system developing by regular changes in technologies, methods of communications, ways of organisations and institutional bases. The challenge for systems of governance at all level of human organisation is to convoy and direct these procedures to guarantee the common good, priorities limits that stop their being took by the powerful and rich for their own advantage, and eventually safeguarding an equal society that ensuring the happiness of each and every individual on the earth.

Environmental Challenges: according to scientific community, the important areas of great concern have been climate change, loss of biodiversity and different types of pollution. To take just some instances: "carbon dioxide emissions from fossil fuels have developed at an average annual rate of 2 percent since 1990 and hit record levels in 2018, showing the sustained development of the global economy, and a sharp

growing in energy consumption in China, accompanied by the weakening of natural carbon sinks, such as forests and seas” (Ibid 2020). Not unpredictably, greater areas of Arctic ice have liquefied and faster flow in Greenland glaciers and now in the Antarctic is enhancing to growing level of the sea.

Due to the process of globalisation, various changes have been noticed in the development process. The process of globalisation resulted into coming of new industries, people’s migration and also growing levels of faster consumption of resources (Baylis and Smith 2014). Due to this process of globalisation, developed countries demanded for the more consumption of natural resources. Because of the demand of natural resources by developed countries, developing countries exploited more. Overall, the environment is slowly-slowly being changed by the continues human actions and increasing consumption of the resources of the planet, urbanisation and developing demand of industrialisation and globalisation. The earth’s life supporting system has for that concern been clearly spoiled (Duodo 2018). Regularly, the world is witnessing growing difficulties of environmental challenges that need to take into consideration. Some of these crucial global environmental challenges are: climate change, green house emission and global warming, Biodiversity loss, Transboundary pollution and Ozone layer depletion.

These problems are not the problems of one country but are of the whole world. Because of these problems no country can bring development without the cooperation of other countries that is why to mitigate these challenges and problems states have to come closer to each other. But this is not like that at the international level, states have different-different opinions on cooperation to mitigate these problems.

Social Challenges: the unsuccessful contemporary economic system resulted into rising inequality and sustained social instability. Together with the pursuit of economic growth without concentrate on environment and social problems there are other factors at work that earlier having a significant impact on our system’s institutional establishment which have been necessary to the development achieved during the past half century. Important among these are rising population and greater consumption of resources. In addition to more consumption of resources, greater increasing of population in the developing countries of the world in the future will led to rising chaos and a major challenge for the state, economy and society. Unemployment is one of the important challenges for our society, as it is key to exclusion and marginalisation, with resulted to growing crimes, drug use and trafficking, family collapse, increasing domestic violence and migration from the one part to other in searching greater opportunities (Braun and Dreiling 2018). Good employment is important for human self-respect and a place in the society, and work in an essence of service to the society has significant advantages including purifying human behaviour and allowing persons to develop their human potential. No one should be discriminated for the opportunity to work, and one goal of the good governance should be to ensure this chance. Many of current’s social problems are the result of commerce and finance globalisation, against the context of denial to accept social globalisation, people’s free movement, also the execution of civil and human rights, among other things, in order to guarantee a global governance for humanity. The social problems of globalisation have also increased greater to the capability of the contemporary system. It is true that human rights are regarded as important for international community but still the violence of human rights are continued and widespread

(Ibid 2018). Migration has become a new challenge of earth and is expected to hasten as climate change shifts increasing numbers in the coming years.

Economic Challenges: The world economy has gone through a different-different problems and challenges in the recent years- from the challenge in health area, inequality of income, gender differences, unemployment limitation in trade, to a name few. During 1970s and 1980s oil and poverty problems dominated more in every macroeconomic analysis. Today, various variables come into existence, including the technology improvement, globalisation-related dimension, and demographic transformation. On the demographic sphere, different-different states are initiating to feel the indications of an aging and decrease workforce. At the same time, the problem of migration faces increasing level of social and political denial, especially in European countries and also U.S., in spite of being important to compensate for population fall and declining birth-rates. Meanwhile, Africa and, to some extent, Asia and Latin America will notice a demographic problems and instability in the coming next 50 years, resulting even greater migration towards the aging and progressively North. (Lazaro 2019). The spread of fast internet and the communication have directed many of people in China, India, Latin America, and different-different places of poorest countries of the third world to encourage to lifestyles and ways of consumption equal to those existing in the developed countries.

These problems are important and need to be concentrate. Together they need a reply that prevents a reappearance to the pre-pandemic stability. The greatest chance shown by COVID-19 is the opportunity to rearrange some of our economic methods in a way that increases the chance of enhancing more strong and constant methods to globalisation. Invention and variation are especially significant when dealing with world problems that threaten each and every one for instance pandemic and climate change. These are the fields in which together action is at its great significant but not too easy to achieve.

An important danger is one of story, that COVID-19 may be understood as a crisis of globalisation rather than that of internal mechanism. But there is no uncertainty that the capability of the COVID-19 to spread fast was enlarged by greater globalisation, it is not the World Health Organisation (WHO) that gives beds, doctors, nurses in the hospitals nor it was World Trade Organisation (WTO) that purchase ventilators, medicines and PPE kits (Lamy and pedrosa 2020) . Those actions lie with our internal mechanism. People are living in an area where states are sovereign and only, they decide their domestic policies. Global organisations can give initial warning, technical helps when necessary and, by common understanding, correction on states acts- for example the WTO dispute settlement system (Challenges and Opportunities in the Post-COVID-19 World by World Economic Forum).

Changing Geopolitics and World Order

After World War II, the U.S. became superpower, controlling the development of universal institutional mechanism that not merely invited world membership but also established democracies and market economy together. It established a global order that encouraged the activities and togetherness of both established super powers and newly developing states (Bolt 2014). This remarkably tough and extensive global order is itself the result of visionary U.S. leadership. Today, it has been noticed that the U.S. dominance is no more, as the West led world order is being replaced by one progressively influenced by the

East particularly China. China's great economic growth and focus diplomacy are already changing East Asia and the next coming years in the future will see increasing Chinese influence and dominance (Marc and Jones 2021). In this background, the dominance of China will lead to gradually powerful China and falling of U.S. limited to an epic dominance over the rules, decision and leadership of the global system. This establishes the framework for the greater dominance of Beijing and the onset of an Asian-focused global order. Beijing, as a non-democratic nation developing not from within, but outside the existed after second World War global security government, will unavoidably become a tool of global insecurity. Such a general perspective is however very basic. The contemporary instability in global politics is created by the growing transformation of geopolitical situations. The emergence of China is although merely part of this major landscape caught in the sustained change of various other significant reasons for instance relative fall of United States, Japan as a sovereign nation, the relative regain of Russia's identity as a great power, the rise of lesser emerging superpowers from the third world like India, the emergence of informal states for example Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS).

Geopolitics is generally seen as international relations influenced by geographical factors such as climate, demography, natural resources, topography and political power connected to geography (Desai N. 2021). Fundamental geopolitical transformations are occurring in the current global order. although the changes have many times been credited to one single reason, mainly the emergence of China, the story is not that easy. There are four important elements resulting into the changes in the global order. Besides China's rise, the other elements are the U.S.' relative Fall, Challenge to China by QUAD countries any by various regional organisations, and Russia's recovery as a greater power.

Of the four factors, the main noticeable is the fall of American power, which has been much quicker than anticipated even though the U.S. still the greater power of the world today. After the second World War United States became powerful country in all the areas but now it is still powerful in the sphere of military. The economy of United States has not improved much after the financial crisis of 2008 as internal instabilities between production and consumption grown. In addition to this, United States democracy and its market economy system became less attractive, as can be understood from the increasing criticism for United States political gridlock and disputes on how unregulated capitalism leads to increasing inequality. More significantly, there has been a fall in capability and dominance of its political leadership.

After the cold war, the effect of the liberal strategies of the United States given a major push to globalising world system. The rise of Beijing as a world economic power second to United States was a result of globalisation. This act assisted China emerge as a low- wage manufacturing country and the ease of exports. With the emerging economic power, China has become much self-confident (Stanzel 2022). Now China has begun following more destructive strategies as noticed in destructive territorial entitlements in the South China Sea, with the Indo-China and Russia-China boundary, over Taiwan and violent policies against Hongkong. These strategies are also aimed at indicating collapse of U.S. dominance. China's global aim of Chinese centred world system are not limited to the previous policies. Other examples are One Belt and One Road initiative (OBOR) aiming to enlarge dominance by infrastructure growth and development in 70 states and global organisations (Desai N. 2021). The split internet with security and economic consequences

opposed by the U.S. and Europe unescapable intellectual property theft “dual use” digital technologies and civil and military combination are all but instances of thought-provoking U.S. geopolitical policy. At the time pandemic, China’s policies were regarded as “Wolf Warrior Diplomacy” as the Chinese diplomats followed disputable rhetoric and refusal of Chinese criticism and interview in courts and social media (Ibid 2021). Although the United States and China have greater economic cooperation and are globalised whole over the world system with different security consequences, the U.S. sees the China’s threat more seriously than the U.S.S.R at the time cold war. It is improbable that U.S. could be displaced by Beijing as the most significant power with more economic and military capabilities and having emerging power allies. As contrary to this, China is enclosed by many opposite powers than friends. Besides this, Chinese aims are restricted to gain od Asian dominance. In addition to this, Beijing’s enlargement role will activate new strategic realignments in various geographies after the pandemic.

One more factor leading to the geopolitical transformation is the recovery of Russia’s identity as superpower. Russia geopolitical situation declined after the fall of the Soviet Union, especially during presidency of Boris Yeltsin when the West came into the Russian backyard. Now that Russia is emerging greater under the presidency of Vladimir Putin, it wants to recover its lost dominance. Moments in the Ukraine hold major importance in this regard. The unsuccessful diplomacy and restrictions of U.S. and EU in contrast to Russia’s accession of Crimea has serious geopolitical effects for small states. It is surely a change that smaller countries in Asia cannot fail to note.

China’s rise, has been seen through its high economic growth and developed military capability, gives it enlarging geopolitical dominance. With harm of its geopolitical interests in modern areas, Beijing’s contemporary emergence has encouraged the state to recover some of its geopolitical dominance. The China’s gradually powerful geopolitical dominance is in great part an act of its sheer area, irrespective of its thoughts. It is true that China does not say anything about its geopolitical interests, as said by the U.S. and Russia, other states, particularly the smaller ones, have improved their relationship with the China (Yongnian, and Xin 2017).

As it has been noticed that whenever there is hegemon power then there are other powers which restricted this hegemon power. Against the Chinese goals and particularly repressive actions in the Indo-Pacific region, the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (QUAD) came into existence in 2007. The QUAD is regarded as strategic dialogue of four countries the Australia, India, Japan and U.S. It is upheld by talks between member states against the China’s territorial entitlements in the South-China Sea. The China’s claim over the South China Sea effects various countries of East Asia surrounded by the China. It is assumed that QUAD will be supported more by the member countries after pandemic scenario. It is also thinkable that with the rising Chinese dominance, some of the regional or global organisations might get weaken for example BRICS, IBSA or BIMSTEC.

Overall global scenario has been changed after the pandemic and lockdown. It has been noticed that global economy has shrunk post pandemic and lockdown, unclear schedule closure and limitation on trade and commerce, travel and tourism, less labour, loss of education; it is not clear whether international actors will contribute in defeating the pandemic. Instead of outward-looking economies during globalisation, most

countries are now looking inward for rejuvenating their economies with national resources. China announced policies of “made in China 2025” by having 70 per cent self-reliance by 2025.

India, Russia and China in the Emerging World Order: “India-China relations is at one of its lowest points India-Russia defence engagement strives to sustain its strategic rationale, Russia-China alliance is on an upswing while India-United States strategic partnership continues to exude a positive arc”. As the recent virtual foreign ministers meeting of the three countries Russia, India and China (RIC) ended, its significance in the changing geopolitics of Indo-Pacific calls for reconsideration (Tourangbam 2021). The global system is coming across of an unpredictable balance of power, with U.S. not showing the kind of devastating impact it used to, and Beijing emergence from military and economic perspective resulting in regional and global instability. While the global power order is clearly not a bipolar power system, the increasing U.S.-China super power conflict is creating problem for the multipolar world order. Moreover, the pandemic, which should have brought states together, ideally not resulted into encouraging indication of impactful multilateralism.

Since Russia’s Conflict with Ukraine, much has been noticed about India’s equivocation, in spite of this not sufficient action has been on the immutable truths beyond India’s control that will impact its strategies from now onwards. Russian activities have developed the limitations for every country, including India. Although U.S. intelligence suggested the likelihood of war, many, including Beijing were in dilemma about Russian President Putin’s appetite for risks. The war and immediate punishments declared by EU and the U.S. make one thing certain-this is Russia’s removal from the western part in the coming future.

This also suggests that for all the aims and decisions, Moscow and Beijing have established alliance that stands in direct against the United States established global order. China moved past its earlier dilemma and protected Russia, saying the U.S. and has set the ways for instant future-China and Russia inclined in on their bloc with Russian dependence on China for not only political, economic and technological.

The joint declaration post Putin-Xi Xingping meeting in the initial of February kindly said, “friendship between the two states has no limits, there are no ‘forbidden’ areas of cooperation...the new relations between Russia and China are superior to political and military alliances of the cold war era.” India’s stand including the choice to withhold from the UNSC vote on Russian anger towards Ukraine has been in line with its reply to the crisis of 2014. But, now, there are major differences beyond India’s control, but with the capable to affects its strategies. But, now, there are major differences beyond India’s control, but with the capable to affects its strategies and policies. This considers Vladimir Putin’s hunger for larger costs, also the geopolitical and geoeconomics consequence that would realise by the all. It would also including possible reconsideration on United States part about the whether rival power is in EU or Indo-Pacific. India’s action on Russian-Ukraine crisis will lead to ambiguous condition for India in which India cannot make a clear relationship with their trustworthy partners. So far Russia is satisfied with the stand of India. For now, it is improbable that these things will affect India’s action in QUAD group with United States, Australia and Japan’s Indo-Pacific policies. U.S. is conscious of India’s complicate situation when it comes to Moscow. But that barely lets India off the hook. After the things became clear Russia-China bloc will rise stronger

than earlier, cooperating their strategies and functions including in Indian backyard. As the emerging actor and the power more rooted in the international system, China will have more impacting Russia's policy. Over the last many years, China has positively developed their relationship in the South Asian region, beyond Pakistan. The states have mainly responded in a right way, not only because of added concentration it gets them from states for example India and U.S. A realignment of blocs can open up other advantages for these countries if they can search a approach to act around limitations or sanction. This is possibly why at the time of contemporary crisis; South Asian states have been active about taking stands.

South Asian countries with growing energy requirements may look greater supplier in Russia. Russia is already assisting to establish power plant in Bangladesh. While India and Russia have generally cooperated their efforts in the South Asian region, in changed circumstances, the informal thinking no longer hold. Thoughts of a strategy that detachment New Delhi from Moscow looks to go against the doctrine of realpolitik. But the problem lies in being capable to recognise what India can affect or what cannot affect. Regardless of how New Delhi sees it, prohibition will guarantee there is greater cost in doing things with Moscow. Equally. It does not matter that how much importance gives both he countries to each other. But Russia will now have to integrated China's advantages.

The dissimilarity in Russia's and India's perspective about world is certainly a lot starker and very nearer than earlier. Regardless of what India thinks now, in short period of coming future, it may necessary to see between its strategic autonomy and key interests.

Bibliography

(*Primary Source)

Baylis, John and Smith, Steve (2008), *Globalisation of World Politics*, New York: Oxford University Press

Beeson, Mark and Bisley, Nick (2017), *Issues in 21st Century World Politics*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan

Bolt J. Paul (2014), "Sino-Russian Relations in a Changing World Order," *Strategic Studies Quarterly*, (8)4: 42-69

Braun A, Yvonne and Dreiling C, Micheal (2018), "Social Problems in Global Perspective", A. Javier Trevino (eds.), *The Cambridge Handbook of Social Problems*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Butorov, Sergey Alekseevich and Kanygina, Olga Mihailovna (2020), "The Geopolitical Transformation of the World Order at the Turn of the Twentieth-Twenty First Centuries: Modern Realities and Prospects", People's Freindship University of Russia, Moscow: Russia

Claros, Dahl and Groff (2020), *Global Governance and the Emergence of Global Institutions for the 21st Century*, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press

Desai N., Pranav (2021), "The Changing World Geopolitics," Manorma Book, [Online Web] Accessed 20 March 2021 URL: (PDF) The Changing World Geopolitics (researchgate.net)

Duodo, Fredrick (2018), "Global Environmental Problems and Politics: An Analysis on Why Global environmental Problems are Difficult to Address through Political Solution" Stockholm University: Sweden

Karaduman Can, Ibrahim (2014), "Global Challenges for the World" Ankara University: Turkey

Marc, Alxender and Jones Bruce (2021), "The New Geopolitics of Fragility Russia, China and the Mounting Challenges for Peacebuilding", Brooking Institute: Washington

Lazaro, Juan Carlos Martinez (2019), "Strategic Vision for the Economic Challenges of the 21st Century", [Online Web] Accessed 5 Sep. 2021 URL: A Strategic Vision for the Economic Challenges of the 21st Century | IE Insights

Paul, T.V. (2018), "Assessing Change in World Politics," *International Studies*, 20:177-185

Pal, Deep and Mehta, Shibani (2022), "Russia-Ukraine Crisis: The New Player in India-Russia Relations is East, not West", [Online Web] Accessed 4 March 2022 URL: Russia-Ukraine Crisis: The New Player In India-Russia Relations Is East, Not West (bloombergquint.com)

Tharoor, Shashi (2020), *The New World Disorder*, New Delhi: Rupa Publication

Tourangbam, Monish (2021), "Russia-India-China Triangle Amid Stormy Geopolitics", [Online Web] Accessed 21 Sep. 2021 URL: Russia-India-China Triangle Amid Stormy Geopolitics (indiatimes.com)

Turner, Susan (2009), "Russia, China and A Multipolar World Order," *Asian Perspective*, 33(1): 154-184

*World Economic Forum (2020), *Economics: Trade and Connectivity in the Post-Covid-19 World*, Geneva

Yongnian, Zheng and Xin Wen, Lim (2017), "The Changing Geopolitical Landscape, China and the World Order in 21st Century," *China: An International Journal*, 15(1): 4-23