



INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF CREATIVE RESEARCH THOUGHTS (IJCRT)

An International Open Access, Peer-reviewed, Refereed Journal

India's Foreign Policy Towards Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA) In Prime Minister Narendra Modi's Era

Sangramjeet Roy

M.Phil. Scholar, Department of Political Science,
University of Kalyani, Nadia, West Bengal, India.

Abstract

The Indian Ocean has long been the hub of great power rivalry, and the Indian Ocean Region (IOR) remains hugely important for India in view of geo-strategically. Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA) represents this region, and for strengthening relations with this organization, India needs to broaden its area of cooperation. Prime Minister Narendra Modi has been trying to unleash the potentiality of India's diplomacy towards Indian Ocean Region. Prime Minister Narendra Modi wants to strengthen the relations between India and IORA. Then, it is really necessary to understand to potentiality of IORA and its position on that matter. This article explains the role of India's foreign policy towards Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA) in Modi's era, and how IORA works regarding this area, and also how India maintains its relations with countries in Indian Ocean through this sub-regional organization. This article discusses on that particular note.

Keywords

India's foreign policy, Prime Minister Narendra Modi, IORA, Cooperation.

Introduction

India's foreign policy closely integrates with national security, socio-economic developmental priorities, core national values, peaceful and secure cooperation. Under Narendra Modi's Prime Ministership, India's foreign policy is more of a realistic and pragmatic turn, and his policies has taken significant turn without leaving its core of values. In 16th general election (2014), B.J.P. (Bharatiya Janata Party) led N.D.A. (National Democratic Alliance) government came to the power at the centre with Shri Narendra Modi as a Prime Minister. Since then, Prime Minister Narendra Modi has begun his journey with a view of diplomatic offensiveness. It has a clear indication of his desire to strengthen India's ties with neighbours and Indian Ocean Region (IOR). The Indian Ocean is playing an important role in this region, and it connects Middle East, Africa and East Asia with Europe and Americas. It is a home of four critical waterways¹ such as the Suez Canal, Bab-el-Mandeb, Strait of Hormuz and Strait of Malacca. The Indian Ocean Region (IOR) is being represented by Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA). Given its crucial geographical position, India needs to assure its policy making for enhancing cooperation with this region.

To deepen and broaden India's relations with this region, Prime Minister Shri. Narendra Modi introduced the SAGAR (Security and Growth for all in the region)² policy (Sigdel, 2020, p. 83-84) in 2015 for strengthening economic and security ties with its maritime neighbours as also to make Indian Ocean Region (IOR) to become more inclusive, collaborative and with nations respecting international law. It involves maritime forces to collaborative on information sharing, and helping other littoral nations in coastline surveillance, and infrastructure development including dep seaports, capability enhancement through maritime cooperation in the Indian Ocean Region (IOR). The SAGAR policy helps in leveraging blue economy to create opportunity for achieving socio-economic goals. In Prime Minister Atal Bihari Bajpayee's tenure, the 'Sagarmala' project was inaugurated. This project envisages massive infrastructure spending to upgrade major seaports, improve in-land navigable waterways, capacity enhancement,

¹ Pant, Harsh V. (2016): Indian Foreign Policy: An Overview, Manchester University Press, Manchester.

² Sigdel, Anil (2020): India in the Era of China's Belt and Road Initiative: How Modi Responds to Xi, Lexington Books, New York.

modernization and port-led industrial development. This project thus can be seen as to give the necessary push to the SAGAR policy. The SAGAR policy lays stress over the role of IORA as the facilitator of trade and blue economy management. This policy gives push to strengthening ties with individual member states of IORA.

In 2019 (17th general election), B.J.P. (Bharatiya Janata Party) led N.D.A. (National Democratic Alliance) again came to the power, and Narendra Modi, parliamentary leader of the B.J.P, started his tenure after his swearing in as a Prime Minister of India on 30th May, 2019. Prime Minister Narendra Modi has been trying to enlarge its domain of influence to make new relations with countries as well as with sub-regional organization³ like IORA. From India's geographical location, the sub-regional organization plays an important role in regional geo-politics. It is important to understand the role of IORA in India's foreign policy. India participates proactively in existing and future plans of IORA including establishing centres of excellence for maritime safety and security, exploring regional surveillance networks, capacity building programmes and sharing data on maritime transpiration systems.

IORA (Indian Ocean Rim Association) was formerly known as IOR-ARC (Indian Ocean Rim Association for Regional Cooperation), and currently represents a grouping of twenty-three countries, which are Australia, Bangladesh, Comoros, France, India, Indonesia, Iran, Kenya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mauritius, Mozambique, Oman, Seychelles, Singapore, Somalia, South Africa, Sri-Lanka, Tanzania, Thailand, United Arab Emirates and Yemen. In 1995 (29-31 March), the Government of Mauritius convened a meeting to discuss for strengthening and expanding the economic cooperation among countries of the Indian Ocean Rim, and this meeting was represented by Australia, India, Kenya, Mauritius, Oman, Singapore and South Africa. After that the membership was expanded by inclusion of Indonesia, Malaysia, Sri-Lanka, Yemen, Tanzania, Madagascar and Mozambique. Meanwhile IORA was formally launched at the first ministerial meeting in Mauritius on 6-7 March 1997. The IORA has six priority areas, such as maritime safety and security, trade and investment facilitation, fisheries management, disaster risk management, academic, science and technology, and tourism and cultural exchange⁴.

India is an important member-state in Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA), so this article concerns about India's role in this organization. Therefore, the thrust area of this study is to understand the evolution of India's foreign policy towards sea-based organization in the neighbourhood and Indian Ocean Region (IOR) in which IORA is taken as case studies.

Prime Minister Narendra Modi's era (2014 to until now)

The IORA's 4th bi-annual meeting of Committee of Senior Officials (CSO) took place in Phuket, Thailand on 19-20 June 2014. The Indian delegation was led by Smt. Sujata Mehta, secretary of Economic Relations & Development Partnership Administration (ER & DPA). This meeting discussed to develop the blue economy, women empowerment, maritime cooperation, human resource development and capacity building, tourism promotion, enhanced engagement with dialogue partners of IORA for cooperation in regional economic development. Also, this meeting highlighted the India's initiatives (since the last ministerial meeting in Perth, Australia on 1 November 2013) include the IORA Workshop on Fisheries Management, IORA Poetry Festival, the 2nd meeting of core Group on Cultural Promotion, Indian Ocean Dialogue and IORA Workshop on Women Empowerment and Poverty Alleviation. India announced a contribution of US\$ 100 thousand to the IORA special fund. India reiterated its commitment to depute a research analyst a research analyst to the IORA secretariat for enhancing area of research in this region. The 14th meeting of IORA Council of Ministers (COM) was held on 9 October 2014 in Perth, Australia. This meeting reaffirmed the commitment to building a more stable, secure, and prosperous Indian Ocean region, and to continue to advance this goal through policy discussion and the implementation of meaningful projects IORA's areas of cooperation. To deepening the cooperation, the private sector and the spirit of entrepreneurship are essential drivers of sustainable economic growth and development, to working collaboratively with Indian Ocean Naval Symposium and other relevant organizations to address shared maritime and security challenges.

The ORF (Observer Research Foundation) and RIS (Research and Information System for Developing Countries) New Delhi, jointly organized an international conference on the 'Prospects of Blue Economy in Indian Ocean' on 17-18 August 2015 in Goa, India. It had sessions on developing a comprehensive accounting framework for blue economy, fisheries and aquaculture, renewable ocean energy, ports, shipping, manufacturing and other sectors, and sea-based exploration and minerals.

The IORA's 16th Council of Ministers (COM)⁵ was held on 27 October 2016 in Bali, Indonesia. This meeting highlighted the commitment to gender equality and women's economic empowerment of women by adopting a declaration on gender declaration and women's economic empowerment, to note of the outcomes of IORA Women in Business Symposium: Implementing the IORA Women in Business Symposium (WIBS) was held in Jakarta, Indonesia on 11-12 October 2016. This meeting discussed the initiatives to promote economic cooperation and continue to explore all the possibilities and avenues to establish a work programme for enhances cooperation, to note the increase of IORA activities under the IORA Special Fund and encourage member states and dialogue partners to continue supporting the fund, the consideration of the possibility to establish the IORA Development Fund (IDF). This funding mechanism helps to support the implementation of projects, studies and capacity building programmes in the

³ Dosch, J., & Hensengerth, O. (2005). Sub-Regional Cooperation in Southeast Asia: The Mekong Basin. *European Journal of East Asian Studies*, 4(2), 263 – 286. Retrieved on August 10, 2022 from doi:10.1163/157006105774711422

⁴ Islam, Moutasi (April 2017). Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA) at 20: An assessment, Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies. Retrieved on May 5, 2022 from <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/332141355>

⁵ The 16th IORA Council of Ministers Meeting. Retrieved on October 12, 2022 from <https://www.iora.int/en/document>

Indian Ocean Region (IOR). Also, India and Australia co-sponsored a declaration on gender equality and women's economic empowerment in the meeting of COM. These types of initiative broaden the area of cooperation in this region.

The RIS (Research and Information System for Developing Countries), in association with the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India organized the Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA) Blue Economy Dialogue on 'Economic Potential and Commercialization aspects of Blue Economy in the Indian Ocean' on 4-5 November 2016 in New Delhi, India. The Blue Economy Dialogue fosters informed debate on the economic potential of blue economy in the IORA region in five crucial sectors of renewable ocean energy, fisheries, deep sea and off-shore mining, coastal tourism and urbanization and maritime and strategic dimensions. An international seminar on whether Indian Ocean maritime order was held on 19 November 2016 in New Delhi, India and with live webcast across IORA member countries. The Youth in IORA countries were under focus in conference on 'India and the Indian Ocean: Sustainability, Security and Development' was organized by Symbiosis International University in Pune on 18-19 December 2016.

India also conducted a workshop towards finalizing on MoU (Memorandum of Understanding) between IORA member states for cooperation in the Small and Medium Enterprise (SME) sector on 19-20 January 2017. A Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) was signed between Research and Information system for Developing Countries (RIS) of India and IORA on 16 January 2017 in New Delhi, India with the objective to enable greater institutional cooperation between IORA member states and RIS. The Vice-President of India Mr. Hamid Ansari led the Indian delegation to the first Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA) Leaders' Summit held on 7 March 2017 in Jakarta, Indonesia to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the association. During this summit, there were some important adopted, which were the 'Declaration on Preventing Violent Extremism and Countering Terrorism' and the 'Action Plan of IORA of the next 5 years'. Addressing the IORA summit, the Vice-President of India offered to set up an IORA Centre of Excellence (ICE) in one of the coastal cities in India. The centre is proposed to be set up with the objective of pooling of resources available with all the member states so that these can be accessed online by each member including their academics and researchers. On the maritime front, India offers the institution of an information fusion centre to coordinate Maritime Domain Awareness (MDA) and also offers to extend to all member states cooperation in the fields of hydrography.

The 17th Council of Ministers (COM)⁶ meeting was held on 18 October 2017 in Durban, South Africa. This meeting highlighted the importance of deepening regional cooperation and intensifying economic integration, particularly through the promotion of, and support for small and medium enterprises, and the opening of signature of the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) for promotion of Small and Medium Enterprises (SME). The 17th COM meeting points out the importance of addressing security challenges in the region, supporting the establishment of the working group on maritime safety and security and the working group on the blue economy as a means to strengthening the blue economy as a common source of growth and development. At the 17th IORA Council of Ministers (COM) meeting in Durban, South Africa, India announced a special contribution of US \$ 1,00,000 to the IORA special fund to support IORA activities pursued by the member states. India was also among the first signatories of the MoU (Memorandum of Understanding) among the IORA member states to promote small and medium enterprises.

India announced several initiatives to hosting a meeting of IORA Renewable Energy Ministers, an International Conference on Water Security and Sustainability in IORA countries, the second meeting of Experts on Maritime Safety and Security, a workshop for parliamentarians from IORA countries, a workshop on women's entrepreneurship and skill development, an innovation exposition focusing on technology and visit by media personal from IORA member countries. India hosted the 3rd Core Group Workshop of Water Science and Technology on 5th September 2017 in New Delhi, India, which was followed by Conference on Water Security and Sustainability organized in collaboration with the Confederation of Indian Industry (CII) on 5th September 2017. Two separate events were also organized in collaboration with Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI) in New Delhi, India in September 2017. An IORA Workshop on Women Entrepreneurship and Skill Development was held on 27 September 2017, followed by an IORA Innovation Exposition on 28-29 September 2017.

The second IORA Meeting of Experts on Maritime Safety and Security in collaboration with the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA) was organized on 7-8 November 2017 in New Delhi, India. The well attended event got together experts from the IORA member states, who deliberated on the maritime security issues confronting the Indian Ocean and Highlighted the coordinated approach required to successfully manage these challenges. For enhancing media cooperation, India also conducted a meeting of media personal and journalists from the IORA member states from 12-17 November 2017 in implementation of an initiative announced by India.

The Minister of State for External Affairs of India, Gen. (Dr.) V.K. Singh (Retd.) attended the 18th Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA) Council of Ministers (COM) meeting in Durban, South Africa on 2nd November 2018. This meeting also highlighted the collective commitment towards the formation of working groups on maritime safety and security, blue economy and women economic empowerment, that relations with countries in the Indian Ocean Region and nurturing a climate of peace and stability are important cornerstones of India's foreign policy, and the flagship project of the establishment of an 'IORA Centre of Excellence-the Digital Knowledge Hub. This digital knowledge hub is being developed to collectively pool the knowledge resources, expertise by and for the member states. India supports the intensification and invigoration of IORA activities, from renewable energy and the blue economy to maritime safety and security. In a changing global geo-political scenario, IORA has a vital role to play in realizing

⁶ The 17th IORA Council of Ministers Meeting. Retrieved on October 12, 2022 from <https://www.iora.int/en/document>

our common vision for the region. IORA has today grown in substance and carved a definitive place of itself. India's vision for the region is of advancing cooperation and collective action and of using our capabilities for the larger benefit.

The IORA's second Renewable Energy Ministerial Meeting was organized by IORA, Government of India, and Confederation of Indian Industry (CII) in New Delhi on 2-4 October 2018. It was held alongside the 1st International Solar Alliance General Assembly and second Global REINVEST (Renewable Energy Investment Meeting and Expo). These three events were jointly inaugurated by Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi, in the presence of Secretary-General of the United Nations on 2 October 2018 in New Delhi. The three events collectively aim at creating the alternative of clean energy for a green future.

India hosted a training programme at the IORA-Regional Centre for Science and Technology Transfer (RCSTT) Coordination Centre after the signing of an MoU between the Centre on Medicinal Plants at Council of Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR)-Central Institute of Medicinal and Aromatic Plants (CIMAP) and Tehran based IORA-RCSTT (February 2018) at Tehran. The training programme on diversity, documentation, gene banking and database for medicinal plants was organized for IORA Member Countries and Dialogue Partners from 25 November -1 December 2018 at IORA-RCSTT Coordination Centre on Medicinal Plants at CSIR-CIMAP Campus, Ministry of Science & Technology, Lucknow.

India has been the Lead Coordinator of the IORA Priority Area-Disaster Risk Management announced the first meeting of Cluster Group on Disaster Risk Management on 5-6 February 2019 in New Delhi. As a part of IORA Disaster Risk Management Cooperation, India hosted delegates from IORA member countries at India's 4th Annual HADR exercise on 2-4 August 2019 in Chennai. The 19th IORA COM meeting was held in Abu Dhabi, UAE (United Arab Emirates) on 7 November, 2019. This meeting underscores the benefits for multilateral cooperation among member states in the pursuit of a more peaceful, stable and prosperous Indian Ocean Region (IOR). Also, this meeting affirms steadfast commitment in supporting the IORA as a platform to enhance constructive dialogue, and to support the IORA's efforts to promote sustainable growth and balanced development in the Indian Ocean rim. IORA's cluster group on Disaster Risk Management (DRM) which held its first meeting in New Delhi in February 2019, this was being appreciated by the member states of IORA during this meeting. This meeting highlights the India's new DRM working group DRM and the Publication of First edition of a booklet of 'IORA Guidelines for Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief (HADR)'. India has contributed USD 1 million to IORA special fund to further support to assist the secretariat for enhancing cooperation.

Therefore, India's commitment to IORA, India hosted a two days capacity building exercise on 28 & 29 November 2019 in Kochi. This exercise called Somalia-Yemen Development Programme was targeted at the fisheries experts and policy makers from Somalia and Yemen for assisting to enhance skills in artisanal fisheries. India also hosted 6th IOD (Indian Ocean Dialogue) on 13 December, 2019 in New Delhi. This dialogue describes the importance of Indian Ocean Region for expanding its development cooperation.

The 20th COM meeting⁷ of IORA was hosted virtually by UAE on 17 December, 2020. Minister of State (MoS) of Ministry of External Affairs (MEA), Shri. V. Muraleedharan led the Indian delegation. The COM adopted the IORA's solidarity and cooperation statement in response to Covid-19. The MoS highlighted IORA's importance as a platform for regional cooperation in the Indian Ocean Region (IOR) and the wider Indo-Pacific. He noted the contributions made by India, as coordinating country in two priority areas of IORA namely Disaster Risk Management and Academic, Science and Technology. Keeping in view the post-pandemic comprehensive recovery, the MoS called for greater cooperation in the field of traditional medicine and wellness tourism among IORA Member States. Taking forward India's commitment to strengthen IORA, the MoS noted the deployment of an IT expert by India at IORA secretariat and further announced India's initiatives in the form of implementation of e-office system and setting up of Mahatma Gandhi library at the IORA secretariat. As the lead country on the IORA priority area of academic, science and technology, India hosted the 2nd IORA experts group meeting on academic, science and technology in August 2020. India invited IORA member states for two capacity building courses which were hosted by ITCOO (International Training Centre for Operational Oceanography), INCOIS (Indian National Centre for Ocean Information Services) in field of marine ecology for understanding sea level, and fisheries for fishery oceanography in October and November 2020 respectively. These types of initiatives like training programs also help to broaden the relationship between India and IORA's member states.

The Ministry of External Affairs of India in collaboration with Indian Council of World Affairs and the Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA) secretariat hosted a virtual capacity building workshop for IORA member states on the 1982 UNCLOS (United Nations Convention on Law of the Seas) on January 29, 2021. India organized this capacity building workshop in pursuance of its commitments to IORA Member States under the IORA working group on maritime safety and security and the sixth Indian Ocean Dialogue hosted by India in New Delhi in 2019. It focuses on four major areas like 1982 United Nations Law of the Sea Dispute Resolution and Freedom of Navigation, issues of freedom of navigation, sustainable fisheries development and illegal, unregulated and unexpected (IUU) fishing, and protection of the marine environment and issues of marine scientific research (MSR).

The twenty-one (21) IORA Council of Ministers (COM) meeting⁸ was held in Bangladesh on November 17, 2021. India virtually participated in this meeting, and the Indian delegation was led by Minister of State (MoS) of Ministry of External Affairs

⁷ The 20th IORA Council of Ministers Meeting. Retrieved on October 12, 2022 from <https://www.iora.int/en/document>

⁸ The 21th IORA Council of Ministers Meeting. Retrieved on October 12, 2022 from <https://www.iora.int/en/document>

(MEA) Dr. Rajkumar Ranjan Singh. The MoS reaffirmed India's strong commitment to strengthening IORA, the largest and pre-eminent organization in the Indian Ocean Region, to promote peace, security and prosperity in the region as well as in the wider Indo-Pacific. He highlighted India's contributions as coordinator of the IORA priority areas of disaster risk management (DRM). During the strategic dialogue on the topic impact of Covid-19 and perspectives of economic recovery in the Indian Ocean Region, providing an overview of India's own experience of combating Covid-19 pandemic, the MoS underlined India's assistance as the first responder in the region to various countries in the Indo-Pacific during the Covid pandemic and emphasized India's readiness to share the experience in the spirit of solidarity. For that purpose, India undertakes various initiatives such as assisting the IORA secretariat, conducting capacity building workshops in the area ranging from yoga and traditional medicines to remote sensing, UNCLOS and Ocean data management.

India hosted the 8th Indian Ocean Dialogue⁹ under the theme was the 'Post-Pandemic Indian Ocean: Leveraging Digital Technologies for Health, Education and Trade in IORA Member States' virtually on 15 December 2021 with assistance of the Indian Council of World Affairs and Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA) secretariat. The aim of the 8th IOD was to understand how IORA member states embraced and used various digital technologies and platforms to overcome Covid-19 disruptions in the health, education, development and trade sectors. The Hon'ble Minister of State, Dr. Rajkumar Ranjan Singh delivered the key note address to underline the need for greater collaboration among IORA member states in the true spirit of solidarity to combat the pandemic. He noted the critical role of new and emerging technologies and reaffirmed India's readiness to extend all possible support and cooperation in this regard. The IOD is a premier forum for open and free flowing dialogue among various stakeholders like scholars, experts, and policy makers from governments, think tanks and civil societies on strategic issues of interest and concern facing the region and beyond. This meeting reaffirms utmost solidarity and unwavering commitment in supporting the IORA to play a pivotal role to promote inclusive development in the Indian Ocean through constructive dialogue and concerted efforts. It recognizes the constructive and interactive role of the member states. This meeting also highlights to further discussions to develop a statement to help guide IORA's engagement and cooperation in the Indo-Pacific region.

The 22nd IORA COM meeting was hosted by Bangladesh on November 24, 2022. The Indian delegation was led by Minister of State Dr. Rajkumar Ranjan Singh, he highlighted India's contributions as coordinator of the IORA priority areas disaster risk management and science, technology and innovation towards capacity building and strengthening of IORA secretariat. The COM adopted the IORA's Outlook on the Indo-Pacific (IOIP) which guides enhancement of IORA's engagement in the Indo-Pacific region. India leads the process of development of the IOIP.

The IORA represents one of the most diverse and geo-strategically important regions of the world with a heterogeneous mix developed, developing, Least Developed Countries (LDCs) and small island developing states. This sub-regional organization plays an important role in regional geopolitics for India's foreign policy. In consonance with Prime Minister's strategic vision of SAGAR policy, there is a qualitative transformation in India's approach to the Indian Ocean Region during the period. India's engagement with the member states of the Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA) has further intensified as the association completed twenty-five years of its establishment. Prime Minister Modi has tried to redefine India's strategic periphery, reimagining the country's neighbourhood on more favourable terms. India is the lead Coordinator of other significant areas like academic, science and technology, and area of disaster risk management. The digital knowledge hub is envisaged to serve as a data centre and a resource of expertise, knowledge, data and analysis. This is being developed to collectively pool the knowledge, resources, expertise by and for the Member States. India continues to make progress for making policies to strengthen its relations with IORA for developing regional cooperation.

The aspect of India's foreign policy has remained unchanged for past few decades. But Prime Minister Narendra Modi has chosen to be more assertive. For enhancing the cooperation in this Indian Ocean Region (IOR), India's foreign policy must work through the channels of regional organization like Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA), which can play an important role in advancing this goal, and to value the contributions and support the activities of developing the area of the region.

Bibliography

Books

- Campbell, Gwyn ed. (2003). *The Indian Ocean Rim Southern Africa and Regional Cooperation*, Routledge, New York.
- Hook, Glenn and Kearns, Ian (1999). *Sub-regionalism and World Order*, Palgrave Macmillan, London.
- Muldoon Jr, Jmaes P, Aviel, JoAnn Fagot, Reitano, Richard and Sullivan, Earl ed. (2011). *The New Dynamics of Multilateralism: Diplomacy, International Organization and Global Governance* Routledge, New York.
- Malone, David M. (2011). *Does the Elephant Dance? Contemporary Indian Foreign Policy*, Oxford University Press, New York.
- Micheal, Arndt (2013). *India's Foreign Policy and Regional Multilateralism*, Palgrave Macmillan, England
- Malone, David M., Mohan, C. Raja and Raghavan, Srinath ed. (2015). *The Oxford Handbook of Indian Foreign Policy*, Oxford University Press, United Kingdom.

⁹ The 8th Indian Ocean Dialogue. Retrieved on November 15, 2022 from https://mea.gov.in/press-releases.htm?51/Press_Releases

- Madhekar, Anita and Kaur, Harpreet ed. (2021). *Evaluating Trade and Economic Relations Between India and South-East Asia*, IGI Global Publishers, United States.
- Prantl, Jochen ed. (2013). *Multilateralism: Through the Looking Glass of East Asia*, Springer, Germany.
- Pant, Harsh V. (2016). *Indian Foreign Policy: An Overview*, Manchester University Press, Manchester.
- Patel, Bimal N., Malik, Aruna Kumar and Nunes, William (2017). *Indian Ocean and Maritime Security: Competition, Cooperation and Threat*, Routledge, New York.
- Prabhakar, Akhilesh Chandra, Kaur, Gurpreet, Erokhin, Vasisitii, ed. (2019). *Regional Trade and Development Strategies in the Era of Globalization*, IGI Global Publishers, United States.
- Pande, Aparna ed. (2021). *Handbook on South Asian Foreign Policy*, Routledge, London.
- Sikri, Rajiv (2009). *Rethinking India's Foreign Policy: Challenges and Strategy*, Sage publications, New Delhi.
- Schottli, Jivanta ed. (2015). *Power, Politics and Maritime Governance in the Indian Ocean*, Routledge, United States.
- Skhuja, Vijay and Narula, Kapil (2016): *Maritime Safety and Security in Indian Ocean*, Vj Books Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, India.
- Sigdel, Anil (2020), *India in the Era of China's Belt and Road Initiative: How Modi Responds to Xi*, Lexington Books, New York.

Articles

- Brown, Seyom (2012). *Toward a Policy of Modular Multilateralism: The Future of Alliances and Multilateralism in a Fragmenting Global System* American Security Project. Retrieved on February 26, 2022 from <http://www.jstor.com/stable/resrep06062>
- Benzaken, Dominique (2017). *Blue Economy in the Indian Ocean Region: Status and Opportunities*, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies. Retrieved on April 25, 2022 from <http://www.jstor.com/stable/resrep05888.14>
- Brewster, David, (2019). *Facing Our Multipolar Future in Indian Ocean*, Australian Strategic policy Institute. Retrieved on February 26, 2022 from <http://www.jstor.com/stable/resrep23065.10>
- Dosch, J., & Hensengerth, O. (2005). *Sub-Regional Cooperation in Southeast Asia: The Mekong Basin*. *European Journal of East Asian Studies*, 4(2), 263 – 286. Retrieved on August 10, 2022 from doi:10.1163/157006105774711422
- Hamanaka, S. (2015, December). *What is Sub-regionalism? Analytical Framework and Two Case Studies from Asia*. *Pacific Focus*, 30(3), pp. 389–414. Retrieved on August 10, 2022 from doi:10.1111/pafo.12062
- Haran, V.P (2018). *Regional cooperation in South Asia*, *Indian Foreign Affairs* vol.13, No.3, 195-208. Retrieved on March 10, 2022 from <http://www.jstor.com/stable/45341131>
- Islam, Moutasi (April 2017). *Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA) at 20: An assessment*, Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies. Retrieved on May 5, 2022 from <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/332141355>
- Kaura, Vinay and Rani, Meena (2020). *India's neighborhood policy during 2014 to 2019: political context and policy Outcomes*, *Indian Journal of Public Adimistration* 66(1), Sage. Retrieved on February 24, 2022 from doi: 10.1177/0019556120906072
- Rana, Pradumna B. (2017). *Political and policies to deepen economic integration in IORA*, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies. Retrieved on April 15, 2022 from <http://www.jstor.com/stable/resrep05888.13>
- Sakhuja, Vijay (2016). *Indian Ocean Politics and Security*, Institute of Peace and Conflict. Retrieved on April 25, 2022 from <http://www.jstor.com/stable/resrep09391.23>
- Waidyatilake, Barana (2017). *The Indian Ocean Rim association: Scaling up?*, Institute of South Asian Studies, No. 262, National University of Singapore. Retrieved on May 5, 2022 from www.isas.nus.edu.sg

Official Documents

- Annual Reports of 2014-2015, 2015-2016, 2016-2017, 2017-2018, 2018-2019, 2019-2020, 2020-2021, 2021-2022, 2022 of Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs. Retrieved on March 15, 2023 from www.mea.gov.in
- IORA 20th Commemorative Leaders' Summit Declaration and the concept note of 2nd IORA Blue Economy Ministerial Conference, the documents of 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, 20th, 21st & 22th IORA Council of Ministers Meeting, and data on Reports and Agendas of IORA. Retrieved on October 12, 2022 from <https://www.iora.int/en/document>
- The documents of 4th, 5th, 6th & 7th Indian Ocean Dialogue. Retrieved on November 15, 2022 from <https://www.iora.int/en/flagship-projects/the-indian-ocean-dialogue>
- The 8th Indian Ocean Dialogue. Retrieved on November 15, 2022 from https://mea.gov.in/press-releases.htm?51/Press_Releases
- The Data of IORA Sustainable Development Program (ISDP). Retrieved on November 15, 2022 from <https://www.iora.int/en/flagship-projects/the-iora-sustainable-development-program-isdp>
- The Press Releases of Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India. Retrieved on January 21, 2023 from https://mea.gov.in/press-releases.htm?51/Press_Releases
- The Bilateral and Multilateral Documents of Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs. Retrieved on January 21, 2023 from https://mea.gov.in/bilateral-documents.htm?53/Bilateral/Multilateral_Documents