DEPARTMENT OF STRATEGIC AND REGIONAL STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF JAMMU

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Seed Grant Utilization Certificate

Certified that Seed Grant of Rs. 50,000/-(Fifty Thousand Rupees) sectioned to the undersigned under the RUSA 2.0 by the University of Jammu, for preparing the Research Proposal wide letter no. RUSAJU/2/2019-20/36/3428-3499, dated 05.11.2019 and re-appropriated by the competent authority of the university under various budget heads wide letter no. RUSAJU/2/2020-21/36/3822-23, dated 08.01.2021, has been utilised as per the following details:-

S. No.	Items	Amount Sanctioned	Amount Utilized	Balance
1.	Consumables	Rs. 0/-	Rs. 0/-	Rs. 0/-
2.	Travel (Domestic & Field)	Rs. 15,000/-	Rs. 7,570/-	Rs. 7,430/-
3.	Contingency	Rs. 9,000/-	Rs. 7,687/-	Rs. 1,313/-
4.	Any other Head	Rs. 26,000/-	Rs. 25,080/-	Rs. 920/-
	Total	Rs. 50,000/-	Rs. 40,336/-	Rs. 9,664/-
	After the re-appropriation of the balanced/un-utilized grant, balanced amount from "Travel (Domestic & Field)" & "Contingency" heads have been transferred to "Any other Head" i.e. Rs. 7,430 + Rs. 1,313/- = Rs 8,743/-			
1.	Consumables	Rs. 0/-	Rs. 0/-	Rs. 0/-
2.	Travel (Domestic & Field)	Rs. 7,570/-	Rs. 7,570/-	Rs. 0/-
3.	Contingency	Rs. 7,687/-	Rs. 7,687/-	Rs. 0/-
4.	Any other Head	Rs. 34,743/-	Rs. 34,619/-	Rs. 124/-
	Total	Rs. 50,000/-	Rs. 49,876/-	Rs. 124/-

Out of total sanctioned seed grant of Rs.50, 000/-, an amount of Rs.49, 876/- was utilised and the unspent balance was Rs.124/-.for preparing the Research Proposal for major research project titled: "Regional Organizations as an Instrument of Security Cooperation: A Study of BISTEC and India."

It is also certified that this grant has been utilised strictly following the prevailing rules/norms by taking the approval from the competent authorities of the University.

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Regional Organisations as an Instrument of Security Cooperation: A Study of the BIMSTEC and India

A

Proposal for Major Research Project

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Regional Organisations as an Instrument of Security Cooperation: A Study of the BIMSTEC and India

1. The Research Problem

1.1 Theoretical Formulations

International Organisations (IOs) – global organisations (GOs) and regional organisations (ROs) – reverberate the presence of a constant search for security, peace and development in the comity of nations and, are the key component of the global order. Member-states of the ROs are involved in multilateral security cooperation making it an important ingredient of their functioning. Some of them have, overtly, been formed as security organisations on the basis of doctrine of collective defence. In the traditional security context, the ROs contain some zero-sum characteristics having some downbeat impacts on international security. Instead of easing the "threat consciousness", they heighten it even more amongst the member-states of the defensive security alliance, exacerbate anxiety and tensions and, also, ingrain and accelerate the arms race (Bailes and Cottey, 2006, p.195).

Conversely, the ROs, meant for security cooperation, also, promote confidence among the member-states, encourage dispute prevention and resolution and, also, trigger cooperation in other non-security areas amongst the member-states as they prefer to settle their disputes peacefully rather than fighting physically and also reduce the possibility of war with their neighbouring states. Moreover, numerous ROs have adopted a broader approach and agenda of security cooperation involving democracy, human rights, trade, environment, cyber security, terrorism and natural disasters related issues. The ROs, formed with general objectives, keep significant dimensions of security cooperation among the member-states as well. Many ROs are primarily involving in the economic cooperation and have no overt security agenda. However, they are, also, seen implicitly promoting peace and stability alongwith conflict averting and management within their regional territorial frameworks (Bailes and Cottey, 2006, p.199). .

In many cases, geography, culture, history and other objective logics have not alone facilitated in defining the regions and creation of ROs in the IR. Infact, regions, in the IR, are "political and imagined constructs" and various subjective perceptions and preferences have driven the creation and recognition of the ROs by the comity of

nations (Bailes and Cottey, 2006, p.198). In other words, regions are "...the political constructs of states. States create regional organisations, and by these means build and consolidate a region (Nolte, 2016, p.11)." Hence, security utility and other benefits have encouraged the states to pursue a "conscious policy programme" to construct the regions and the ROs in IR (Bailes and Cottey, 2006, 199)." Hence, the ROs have substantive impacts on the foreign policy behaviour of member-states and, are a significant tool for countries for advancing strategic and security interests apart from the economic ones in high politics and low politics arenas of their foreign policy (McCormick, 1979, p.502). Countries participating in the ROs are committed to act according to the objectives of respective organisations as they are associated only with those organisations which possess objectives convenient in pursuit of their national interests and, also, identical to the foreign policy targets.

1.2 Historical Context

The ROs, as the recorded human history reveals, were formed, first, in the ancient Greek city-states in the form of military alliances such as Amphiety Council, Delian League and Symachia for security cooperation. These were designed for defensive and/or offensive purposes against a common threats or rival states within and/or outside the region. The ROs also existed even in the medieval period, yet these became a constant feature of IR in the modern era. Significant developments in IR, for instance, the emergence of Westphalian system, disturbance of power-balance in Europe by Napoleon Bonaparte and emergence of the Concert of Europe laid the solid foundations of many new ROs – both military and non-military – in the different regions of the globe.

Two waves – old and new – of regionalism during the Cold War period and the post-Cold war period respectively triggered the process of regional integration (Karns, Mingst and Stiles, 2015, p.162). The Second World War, the Cold War and de-colonisation also resulted into the formation of various ROs including North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), European Union (EU), Organisations of African Unity (OAU), Arab League and Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) in different parts of the globe. The end of Cold War, velocity of globalisation, the rise of Asia-Pacific and export-oriented development strategies in the Third World countries not only fostered a more decentralised international system, but also, boosted the

process of regionalisation making ROs an integral component of IR and foreign policy agenda of the states.

Hence, amidst the complex global security environment, in the post-Cold war era, global community has only witnessed the surfacing of a variety of ROs. Most of these have been originally established for economic cooperation, and have, now gradually, added strategic and security cooperation as a significant ingredient in their structural-functional arrangement.

1.3 Contemporary Context

The ROs are not only influencing the domestic and foreign policy of the member-states, but turning into a vital instrument for pursuing their strategic and security related foreign policy agenda. The ROs offer member-countries a constructive alleyway to emerge as a great power. Great powers, as the European history reveals, have established such multilateral ROs to promote their values and protect national interests overlapping with other regional states. Even the existing great power, United States, and emerging powers, China and India, are giving importance to ROs alongwith bilateralism to achieve their security interests. Through multilateral cooperation, therefore, these groupings are assisting, not only the weak but also powerful states, in dealing with new strategic and security challenges to national and regional security as it is simply beyond the capacity of individual states to tackle with them unilaterally (Evans, 2013: 2; MacKenzie, 2010:1). The new structural-functional arrangement of multipurpose ROs, renovates them into a momentous apparatus for achieving the national, regional and global security goals of the member-states within a particular region or beyond it. Now, almost all the countries including India are trying to achieve their foreign policy objectives related to high politics and low politics by associating with and participating in creation, enlargement, consolidation and reinvigoration of different ROs in Europe, Africa and also Asia (McCormick, 1979, p.502).

1.4 Focus of the Study

In the given theoretical formulations and historical and contemporary contexts of the ROs in IR, the present study will analyse the utility of the Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC) in security cooperation in the non-traditional areas and India's role as New Delhi is emphasising on developing the concerned region as a "common security space."

BIMSTEC is an inter-state regional organisation of seven countries of South Asia and South East Asia which are the part of Bay of Bengal Community comprised of Bangladesh, India, Myanmar, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Bhutan and Nepal. BIMSTEC provides an opportunity to its member countries including India for multilateral strategic and security cooperation and build their capacity to deal with new strategic and security challenges. Although it was established in 1997, initially, it had been much result-oriented organization. Yet, in the last few years, India has shown much interest in reinvigorating it and, converting it into a result-oriented entity. India is projecting itself as a global power and is striving to be a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) and Nuclear Supplier Group (NSG). However, it is facing opposition especially from China having nexus with Pakistan. The political and security scenario in India's neighbouring countries have changed drastically as its neighbouring countries, on the one hand, are drifting away from New Delhi and, on the other, building closer ties with Beijing posing a direct strategic and security dilemma for India in the region. China has systematically been raising its influence in the strategic backyard of India. It has been providing huge loans, investing and building critical infrastructure projects and, even offering military aid and political assistance in the UNSC by exercising its veto powers as it had resisted any intervention by the UN in the Maldives. Except Bhutan, its other neighbours are moving toward China's strategic orbit (Egreteau, 2008, p.943). They have already agreed to join its Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). China's increasing influence in its strategic backyard is a major strategic and security dilemma that India is confronting in IR currently. To counter it, India is cooperating with Japan in the Asia-Africa Growth Corridor (AAGC) which is termed as an alternative to China's BRI. It has also conducted joint naval exercises with the US and developed a joint strategic vision for the Asia-Pacific region. In 2014, India had invited the leaders of SAARC countries in the oath-taking ceremony of new government under Prime Minister Narendra Modi. However, New Delhi did not receive any positive response from Pakistan as it obstructed connectivity related initiatives in the SAARC Summit at Kathmandu in 2014 and also did not stop cross-border terrorist attacks against India. India re-emphasised on its 'Look East Policy' (LEP) terming it 'Act East Policy' (AEP) in 2015. After the Uri attacks in 2016 New exhibited more interest in the reinvigoration of the BIMSTEC by organising BRICS-BIMSTEC outreach Summit in Goa in the same year and, also,

further by inviting the BIMSTEC leaders in the oath-taking ceremony of Modi Government in 2019 as it could be instrumental in larger gains for India in the security and strategic cooperation in traditional and non-traditional areas.

Hence, in the context of these theoretical formulations, historical and contemporary of the research problem, following and related key questions are required to be studied:- (I) What is the security utility context of the formation of the BIMSTEC?; (II) In what type of international circumstances India is trying create Bay of Bengal region as a "common security Space"?; (III) What type of security cooperation has been achieved in the BIMSTEC by India?; and, (IV) What are the major hurdles in the way of achieving full security cooperation in the BIMSTEC?

2. Existing Studies and Research Gaps

Two types of studies exist related to the research problem of the present study.

First category of studies of the conducted by Acharya (2004), Bailes and Cottey (2006), Hettne and Soderbaum (2006), Bailes (2007), Kefale (2015), McCormick (1979) and Nolte (2016) are focussed on the theoretical aspects of the ROs and, explore their utility in the context of regional governance and security cooperation. Some of these studies especially conducted by Acharya, Bailes and Cottey and McCormick highlight historical and contemporary context and changing role of the ROs in IR whereas Nolte's study is based on the institutional social constructivist approach and suggest not to look at the ROs in isolation, but, in the context of whole architect of the concerned regions. Study of Hettne and Soderbaum explore relationship between GOs and ROs and talks about the "principle of genuinely shared responsibility" in IR. Kefale's study highlights the role of ROs in security governance and maintenance of international peace and security while Bailes's study analyses the regional security cooperation and various challenges to achieve it in South and North-East Asia.

Second category of studies includes the works of Gamage (2017), Kaul (2006), Kundu (2014), Pattanaik (2018), Wagner (2006), Xavier (2018) and Yahya (2006) cover issues like India's role in multilateralism, BIMSTEC as a RO, its performance in different fields and its relevance in the regional context. Wagner's study looks India's participation in ROs from New Delhi's overall foreign policy objectives of becoming a great power. Xavier's study make a comprehensive anslysis of the factors which have had boosted the regional integration in the Bay of Bengal creating the BIMSTEC and why India is giving emphasis on the BIMSTEC and also why other countries are

cooperating in this multilateral forum. The studies of Gamage, Kaul, Kundu, Patnaik and Yahya present an overview of the achievements, difficulties and positive aspects of the BIMSTEC. Gamage's study highlights more on the prospects of maritime security cooperation amongst the BIMSTEC member-states.

Hence, these studies nowhere conceptualize India's approach towards the construction, participation and reinvigoration of ROs in the context of security and strategic cooperation in the general and the BIMSTEC's instrument utility for India for achieving security and strategic cooperation with other member-countries and to what extent and what type of cooperation has been achieved by India in BIMSTEC in the desired fields. Besides, how the emerging strategic scenario in South Asia is affecting the security cooperation with the BIMSTEC countries. Hence, the existing studies do not offer any explanation on the questions raised in the conceptual part of this proposal.

3. Objectives

The objectives of the present study are given as under:-

- To describe the emergence of BIMSTEC in the context of its security utility for its member-states especially India.
- To analyse the nature and level of security cooperation achieved by India through BIMSTEC.
- To find out the major hurdles, if exists any, in the way of security cooperation among the member-states.

4. Research Questions

The present study will focus on to seek the answer of following and related research questions:-

- What is the security utility context of the formation of the BIMSTEC?
- In what type of international circumstances India is trying create Bay of Bengal region as a "common security Space"?
- What type of security cooperation has been achieved in the BIMSTEC by India?
- What are the major hurdles in the way of achieving full security cooperation in the BIMSTEC?

5. Hypotheses

The study is based on the following hypotheses:-

- BIMSTEC is a result of "conscious policy" of the member-states especially of India.
- After the Uri attacks of 2016, India has visualised the security and strategic utility of BIMSTEC and, therefore, reinvorating it to promote security cooperation with other member-states in the non-traditional areas.
- China's increasing presence in the South Asia and South East Asia can discourage security cooperation in the BIMSTEC.

6. Structure of the Study

The present study will be divided into five parts. First part **"Introduction"** will include the conceptual framework of study and review of the existing studies on the research problem under study. Second part **"Historical and Contemporary Contexts"** will explain the circumstances that boosted the creation of BISTEC. Third part **"BIMSTEC and Its Utility for India"** will analyse India's security and strategic interests related to BIMSTEC. Fourth part **"BIMSTEC and Security Cooperation"** will explain the security cooperation among the member-states in the traditional and non-traditional areas. Last part **"Conclusion"** will present the finding of the study.

7. Research Methodology

The following research methodology will be applied to complete the proposed study:-

- **Nature of the Study:** The study will be descriptive, exploratory and analytical in nature. It will be based on deductive method.
- **Sources:** The study will be based on primary as well as secondary sources available in the shape of textual material and audio-visual form. Primary sources will includes BIMSTEC's official documents, press releases of the member-states, and speeches of the BIMSTEC leaders and annual reports of the foreign policy affairs' departments of related countries including India. Secondary sources will include books, research articles, opinions, and commentaries, perspectives published in various digital and non-digital forms.
- **Data Collection:** Both primary and secondary sources will be collected from BIMSTEC's office and Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Govt. of India, New Delhi.

Besides, Principal Investigator (PI) will also visit Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, Teenmurti, New Delhi; Central Secretariat Library, Shastri Bhavan, New Delhi; Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies (IDSA), New Delhi and; Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), New Delhi.

- **Data Analysis Technique:** Content analysis technique will be used for data analysis of digital as well as non-digital sources (written textual material, oral communications and audio-visual sources) to make a rigorous, replicable, and objective study of the research problem undertaken by the PI.

- **Report Writing:** Report writing will be done in the British English and pattern prescribed in Chicago Manual of Style (17th edition) will be used for the acknowledgement of sources and preparation of bibliography of the sources utilised in the study.

8. Schedule of Work

- **Identification of Sources and Data Collection**: In the first six months, identification of the relevant sources and study material will be done which will be followed by the data collection process from the sources identified by the PI by visiting various concerned offices and places in New Delhi.

- **Data Analysis and Report writing:** In the next six months, data will be analysed and report writing process will be completed.