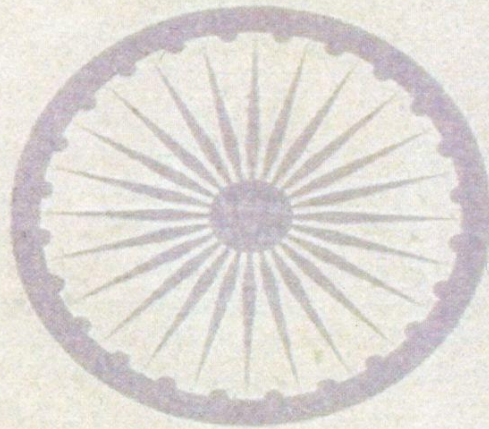


INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

CONFLICT & COOPERATION



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DR JANARDAN

INDIA'S EMERGING POWER STATUS AND ITS ENGAGEMENTS WITH BRICS

Introduction

BRICS is a forum of five emerging economies- Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa. It was formed in 2009 when originally there were four members and South Africa became BRICS' member during third BRICS Summit held at Sanya, China in 2011. The term BRICS (with a small "s") was coined by Jim O'Neil of Goldman Sachs in 2001 paper "The World Needs better Economic BRICS" from the initial letters of Brazil, Russia, India and China followed by an 's' to form the plural (Sekine, 2011; 1). The concept of BRICS was based on the assumption that the China and India would become the first and third largest economies by 2050, with Brazil and Russia capturing the fifth and sixth spots (Global Sherpa, 2015). While BRICS is the nascent and informal grouping but it is important and has pivotal role in international politics. The first summit of BRICS held on 16th June 2009 at Yekaterinburg in Russia and the major objectives of the BRICS forum which were highlighted by the first BRICS summit declaration 2009 were to foster policy coordination and political dialogue regarding international economic and financial matters, reform of international financial institutions, to promote cooperation in energy

fields, strong commitment to multilateral diplomacy with UN for greater role in meeting global challenges and threats etc. BRICS countries are channelizing their cooperation in the direction of creating multi polar order based on the democratic principles, rule of international law, mutual respect and equality. Their long term ambitions which have been highlighted by the Joint statement of the BRICS, Yekaterinburg, Russia, emphasis to reform the international governing institutions on following principles:

- Democratic and transparent decision-making and implementation process at the international financial organizations;
- Solid Legal basis;
- Compatibility of activities of effective national regulatory institutions and international standard-setting bodies; (BRICS Joint Statement 2009)

These are the emerging economies of the 21st century and have prominent role in enhancing global trade, promoting investment and finance. The economic, political and strategic positions of BRICS countries have potential to transform the international governing system. According to the UNCTAD Statistcs 2013, with 40 per cent (around 2.8 billion) of the world's population, nearly \$15 trillion GDP (2011), Some \$281 billion in foreign direct investment (FDI) flowed to the BRICS in 2011, which is accounting for nearly 20 per cent of global FDI flows, BRICS has become a major global economic force (UN ECA, 2013). In the last two decades, significant changes have taken place in BRICS countries' economies. The economic size in nominal terms (US dollars) has increased manifold- with Brazil by over four times, India nearly five times, China over fourteen times, and South Africa by over three times. China has emerged as the second-largest economy, followed by India in fourth position, Russia in sixth and Brazil in eighth (Singh & Dubé, 2012; 8). The four economies in the BRICS coalition in term of GDP figure are among the top ten. While

China, India, Russia, Brazil are second, third, sixth, seventh rank respectively, South Africa has twenty seventh rank in World Bank Development Indicator 2014 (According to the data provided by World Development Indicators Database, World Bank, December 2014)

BRICS countries' economies have grown stably in last one decade. Before began of recession in the world, China, India, Russia, Brazil and South Africa's economies have grown at the rate of 14.2 percent, 10.1 percent, 8.5 percent, 6.1 percent, 5.5 percent in 2007. During 2006-08, the average growth rate of China, India, Russia, Brazil and South Africa's economies were around 12 percent, 8.5 percent, 7.3 percent, 5.1 percent, and 4.9 percent respectively (According to UNCTAD, Trade and Development Report 2014).

While the recession has badly affected Russian, Brazilian and South African economies and have experienced negative GDP growth in 2009. Their GDP growth rate has fallen at rate -7.8 percent, -0.3 percent, -1.5 percent (2009) respectively. Chinese and Indian GDP growth have been less affected relatively and maintained 9.2 and 5.0 percent in 2009. Despite the recession in the world economies, Chinese and Indian economies have maintained the positive growth, which have strong role in leading the BRICS economic and trade cooperation. While Indian economy has maintained around 4-6 percent annual growth, Chinese economy has experienced around 7-9 percent growth, annually, during 2009-14 (According to UNCTAD, Trade and Development Report 2014).

In BRICS grouping, India has dominance position in IT sector, China has leading role in world transport, infrastructure area. Russia is rich in energy sector and South Africa has a leading role in tourism and financial sector. Brazil is an agricultural powerhouse and has also advancement in retail sector. China with the trillion dollars in hard

currency reserve and India's growing in IT sector, both developing blue water navies are opening the way for a multi polar era in world politics (Bandyopadhyay, 2012). They have also intra-bilateral and trade agreement with regional groups like MERCOSUR, SACU etc.

1. India's Emerging Power Status;

Emerging middle power status of India is one of the driving factors in participation of formation of BRICS coalition. The emerging power status recognition appears as a function of country's capability to identify and advance new international priority and create alternative agenda for international cooperation. Emerging powers have been also characterized by the combination of factors like regional powers, large population, which has growing middle class that are contributing in rebalancing economies, financial resources reflected in the size of their foreign exchange reserves and rise in the global powers hierarchy, particularly their influential role in International Financial Institutions and G-20 (Qobo, 2011: 9). Indian government with other emerging economies has actively participated in deciding global agendas of inclusive growth, sustainable and equitable development. India with its good corporate governance, financial sector skilled manpower and young force has become the new economic icon of the emerging powers (Baba, 2007: 1). While Indian economy has grown with stable rate during 2006-09. The average growth rate between 2006-08 was around 8.5 percent. It has been affected with recession in 2009. Though recession has affected, yet it has grown at the rate 5.0 percent (2009), 11 percent (2010), 7.9 percent (2011), 4.9 percent (2012), 4.9 percent (2013) and 5.6 percent was forecast in 2014 (According to UNCTAD, Trade and Development Report 2014).

The rising power's foreign policy is based on three pillars. First is to consolidate its regional position through promoting regional economic and political integration and promote peace, stability and

democracy. Second, is to follows multilateralism in order to pursue ambitious to play active role in international politics. A third important aspect, which has remained very important in Indian foreign policy, is to promote South-South Cooperation. Though according to Realists, international system is anarchy yet there is hierarchy of powerful states. Emerging powers are defined in terms of their behavior, which includes their active participation in international politics. Due to the presence of the big powers and their limited capabilities, emerging power states are not in condition to transform international system. Therefore, they support the status quo of international system and advocate reforming it in order to fulfill their interests as well as poor developing countries. They have crucial mediatory role at regional and global on important issues. These powers have made their image as 'good citizen' of the world through supporting the objectives of global peace, security and democracy. They are peace maker in international system.

Indian foreign policy has long been guided by the imperative of developing more prominent international role. It has been associated with ambitious to secure favorable external conditions for economic and trade development and to secure India's recognition as a significant international player at regional and multilateral level. India has gained economic stability with dynamic industrial and service sector, strong democratic institution and its active involvement within international institutions made its status as a rising power. Its foreign policy goals are to build bilateral, regional and global alliances to expand its influence in international politics. BRICS coalition provides one of the important forums for India to put its concern about global issues.

Emerging powers prefer to solve issues through negotiations and building consensus and exert their influence at multilateral level. Because they are not capable to impose their agendas, visions due to

dominance of great powers. Therefore, multilateralism and consensus building are major strategies of their foreign policies in dealing with developed countries. Their roles are deal maker in the presence of great powers. Countries like South Africa, Brazil and India perceived themselves as a bridge builder between the developed and developing states. Their diplomacy attached special significance to multilateral coalition building among states and non-states actors. The objectives are to strengthen the rule based system and provide opportunities for smaller states to participate on equal footing on the world stage (Leith & Pretorius, 2009, 348-49).

In the post-cold war era, many new powers, which have emerged including India, South Africa, Brazil etc, they have also different role and behavior from the traditional middle powers. Constitutively and behaviorally, these emerging powers as emphasized by Eduard Jordaan, are differ from traditional middle powers. While traditional middle powers are stable democracies and have egalitarian society, emerging middle powers are less stable democratic and unequal society. There are gap among the various sections of emerging powers' society. They are recognized by low quality of living standard and belong to middle economic status. The traditional middle powers have privilege position in world order and are in core position of global order. The emerging middle powers are in semi-peripheral position but unlikely traditional middle powers, they have strong regional position. While traditional middle powers have weak and ambivalent regional position. Emerging powers have dominance regional position and have regional influence. Their foreign policies and action are strategic regionally oriented in the direction of regional integration. According to Prof. Maxi Scheman, the term middle power without emerging attached to it does not necessarily have a geographical connotation or one referring to a level of development. Traditional middle powers as defined in the literature would seem to exclude the regional position of a state

aspiring to or enjoying the status of being middle power. But emerging powers have regional position. They are regional powers which have responsibility to establish peace, security and stability in their respective regions. Whereas, roles and the functions of traditional middle powers were concerned on world scale and they were subordinate to or in the direct presence of the superpowers and as interlocutors bridging the space between the powerful and powerless in international system (Schoeman, 2000; 2-3).

But emerging middle powers are part of their regions and share the responsibilities to support the least developing countries, which make differences their roles and functions from the traditional middle powers. Behaviorally, emerging powers follow multilateralism in international politics and are characterized as stabilizer, conflict reductionist, willing to comprise to take benefits and committed to promote security and order in world system. Emerging powers, dictated by their semi-peripheral status, compared with the core position of traditional middle powers in the global economy, favor greater reform to global rules and structures. The solidarity shown by developing countries within several fora provides opportunities to emerging middle powers to fulfill leadership role and to gain access to the market of developing states masked by rhetorical references to South-South cooperation and third world solidarity (Jordaan, 2003; 176).

Their regional positions provide strength to play vital role in shaping agendas of world politics within multilateral institutions. These emerging powers serve as interlocutor between the regional and great powers. India has been recognized as an emerging power on the basis of its roles, which it has played in peace making, stability and democracy. It qualifies the behavior of an emerging power. Its emerging power status is one of the major determinant factors in the formation of collations like IBSA and BRICS. India being as an

emerging power is aspiring for larger role in international politics aligning with likeminded countries- Brazil, South Africa. It has followed soft balancing, which is also an important strategy of emerging power state in international politics.

Forum like BRICS, IBSA provide a platform for political and diplomatic consultation to the rising powers. The formation of BRICS Forum has facilitated India a new platform to deepen their political, diplomatic coordination and enhanced economic collaboration. The enhanced interactions through BRICS forum are complementing to deepen their relations at inter-regional and multilateral level. It also serves as platform to share their views, policies in order to make common stands on several important issues at multilateral fora. The main political objectives of BRICS Forum are to enhance political consultation and coordination between partners on global issues such as international terrorism, peaceful resolution of conflicts and sustainable development.

2. BRICS countries' hegemonic position in their Regions;

One of the important determining factors of BRICS cooperation is regional dominance of its partners. The regionalism has provided new opportunities for regional hegemons like India, South Africa, Brazil, China to solidify their hold on their near abroad through the pursuit of regional trading arrangements such as Mercosur, SADC, SAARC, SCO and the consolidation of their leading economic position over the region in institutionalized form provides a springboard for global action (Alden & Viera, 2005; 1080). While India, South Africa, Brazil have hegemonic position in Southern Africa, Latin America and South Asia, China has dominance position in Asia. Russia is insisting to revise the Eurasian Economic and trade cooperation. China is insisting to develop silk trade route. Their regional dominance in economic, political and military, have given them to play specific role at regional and multilateral level. India has

dominance position in the South Asian region. With land 3,287 thousands square km., is the first in the South Asia and seventh largest country in the world. According to World Bank's World Development Indicators Database 2013, India with its \$1,876 billion GDP (2013) is one of the largest economies of the world. From military point of view India is the biggest power in the South Asia with nuclear capability and its military investment is around \$25.5 billion, which is the largest investment on military in SAARC countries.

Brazil is located in the east-central South America. Due to its large size in the South America, Brazil is a continental country like US, Russia, China, India and it is described by George F. Kennan as 'monster country' (Lafer, 2000; 208). It has around the area of 8,515 thousands sq. km and is the largest country among the South American countries and fifth largest country in the world after Russian Federation, Canada, China and US. With the size of its territory (8,515 thousands sq.km.), population of 200.4 million (2013), GDP of around 2,244 billion (2013) (see table. 3), Brazil has regional hegemonic status and potential to shape regional and inter- regional economic, political order. Brazil occupies around 50 percent of the South American continent. Except Chile and Ecuador, Brazil has boundary with every South American country, which shows its pivotal role in integration of South American region. According to Jorge Heine, Brazil with a land mass of some 8.5 million square kilometers, the world's fifth largest, comparable to the continental United States, it is more a continent than country. With a population of 190 million and growing fast, it is not quite in the same league as China and India (which is why some people said there were only two BRICs in the wall). More than one out of three Latin Americans is Brazilian. With a GDP approaching \$2 trillion, it is the eighth largest economies (Heine, 2010). Brazil with a well-developed many sectors like agriculture and manufacture sector has South America's largest GDP growth rate (5.2 percent in 2008) by far and it is important player

in the world economy. According to World Bank's World Development Indicators Database 2013, Brazil with the GDP (\$2,244 billion in 2013) is the largest economy in South American Union of Nations (UNASUR). Besides size and economy, Brazil has also dominating position in military field among the Latin American countries. According to Military Balance 2008-09, Brazil is at the fifth position with 326 thousand military personnel in UNASUR and its military investment is around \$20.15 billion (2008), which is the largest military expenditure among the South American countries (Fleães & Wojcowski 2010; 11).

Comparatively Brazil and India, South Africa in BRICS coalition is small power in term of economic, military and size, but it is largest among the African countries, particularly in Southern Africa. Geographically, politically, economically, military, South Africa has dominance position among Southern African countries. It is the 5th and fourth populated (53 million in 2013) country (Source: World Development Indicators Database, World Bank). Economically, South Africa has 1st position (GDP around \$350 billion) in sub-Saharan countries, which ensure its economic dominance in African continent. According to Military Balance 2009, South Africa has 62 thousand military personnel (2008) and it occupies fifth position in African countries. But in the military expenditure context, it has first position (\$355 million in 2008). In context of military expenditure, South Africa can only compare with Algeria, Egypt and Morocco (Fleães, 2007; 21). China with around 1.37 billion population is more than four times that of USA and it is one fifth of the entire world's population. Its landmass is second only to Russia and it is the second economic power by substituting Japan. It is also second global military power in term of the budget and troop numbers (Gratius, 2006). Russia with 8,515 thousands square km of surface area is the largest country on the earth. Economy with 2,096 billion GDP (2013), Russia is revising

its economic and political space in international politics. The improving economic strength has allowed Russia to regain its dominant role in global politics.

Thus, the above description and analysis shows dominance position of South Africa, Brazil and India, Russia and China in Southern Africa, Latin America, South Asia, Eurasia and East Asia. They are hub in connecting important regions- Southern Africa, Latin America and South Asia and Asia. Their regional dominance in economic, political and military areas are making them as engine of economic growth and leading position in developing inter- regional cooperation.

3. India's Engagements with BRICS;

The BRICS coalition came in to existence as the result of pragmatic approach of the four emerging powers- India, Brazil, China, Russia and latter joined by South Africa. The coalition is working in practical, gradual and incremental manner in material the long term potential of these countries and promoting economic, trade and political cooperation among them. BRICS is the coalition of powerful nations in which two countries China and Russia are established global power. It provides opportunities to southern emerging powers India, Brazil and South Africa to become a part of influencing group and to play pivotal role in international politics. These regional dominant countries are power seeking and have ambition to play important role in international politics by strengthening their position in international organizations like WTO, IMF and UN. They want to gain power and maximize interests through forming regional and multilateral level coalitions, alliances. Their efforts are to increase their participation in various international organizations. Their foreign policies and actions are more guided by pragmatic approach comparatively ideological stands. BRICS countries are seeking to form a political club or to convert its growing

economic power in to greater geopolitical influence. Its main role seems to become a counterbalance of the power axis on the world scene with a broader economic and political goal (Arkhangel'skaya, 2012).

These coalitions and forums, alliances are instrumental in strengthening their image and strength in influencing international system. These emerging powers are keen to get space in international power arrangement system. The world order is in transition, which is passing from uni-polar world towards multi-polar. Yet it is not completely settled down. There is power shifting from the Western to Eastern world in international politics. The new centers of power are emerging from Southern world. The concept and the emerging reality of BRICS- Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa- as a geopolitical and economic grouping of nations introduces a new dynamic to global governance and economic relations (Grodhan, 2011; 31).

In the views of Shaw, Cooper et al, a post-bipolar triad of distinctive state types, which is gradually evolving- first world club around the OECD, second tier of emerging economies and third extensive and heterogeneous third world, are producing a new three world structure. The emerging economies are aspiring towards the top tier of the global architecture (Shaw and Antkewics et al. 2007; 1256). In the process of power shifting, the behavior and roles of Southern emerging powers are getting crucial role in reshaping the global order. Countries like South Africa, Brazil, and India occupy middle position between center and periphery. Their behavior, strategy are centered on middle power strategy in direction of creating multi-polar world. Their strategies are to build regional power pole of the new emerging world order, since their region serves as regional power base in acting autonomously in international politics.

The Hegemon Stability theory casts the foreign policy options to intermediate (middle-range) powers in binary terms: they can either balance against the dominant states or bandwagon with it (Preez, 2007; 18). BRICS countries are aware of their power and status in international system. These countries found themselves as mediatory role between developed and developing countries because they are not so powerful to transform international system, which is dominated by developed powers. Therefore, their strategies are based on the realistic ground of international politics. The efforts are to increase their strength and importance through increasing their participation by playing mediatory role in international politics. Among BRICS countries- India, Brazil and South Africa, China are fastly growing powers of South and they want to reform international system, which is based on discrimination rules. They are more interested in reforming international system because it strengthens their position along with developing countries in international organizations. They are supplementing their collective strength through BRICS and other forums in order to increase their weight on various multilateral fora. The joint strength of India, Brazil and South Africa in BRICS Forum make more capable to these rising powers in maximizing their interests as well as developing countries' interests. The BRICS is to find a counterbalance for the structures controlled by the traditional centers of the world economic and political power i.e. the historical destination of BRICS seems to be creation of necessary prerequisites and tools to reestablish a balance in world system (Darydov, 2012). Emphasizes are to utilize their potential along with like-minded developing countries in order to become major power in international system. There is tough competition in international economy in capturing market, exploiting raw material and expanding trade relations. In the era of liberalization building strong economy has deceive role in strengthening state's power in international system. Therefore, BRICS countries also look liberalized economy as important field for maximizing wealth, building power through

expanding their transnational economic and trade relations. According to Karns and Mingst, international politics, multilateral diplomacy provides opportunities to the small and less developed states to build regional blocs, coalitions in order to increase their bargaining power at multilateral fora. India which has got economic stability and strengths in last two decade by maximizing the opportunities of liberalized market, is trying to expand its economic and trade engagements with rising BRICS economies. While Indian government has actively participated in all six BRICS summits and signed several MoUs with other partners, it has also engaged with BRICS countries at multi-lateral level regarding the regional and global issues.

3.1 India's Engagements with BRICS countries at Multi-Lateral Fora;

India is engaging with emerging powers at multilateral fora, due to their similar policies, stands and sharing interests on various issues. Indian participation in groups and forums like BRICS and IBSA, have enhanced their political and diplomatic interactions within international institutions. These Forums have set up a political framework not only to foster the cooperation among them but also sustaining a regular political dialogue geared to coordinating positions and developing joint approaches to key global issues and to the development challenges (Vaz, 2010; 26).

3.1.1 Cooperation within World Trade Organization;

The homogenization and policy convergence by developing countries around the democratic norms, their dissatisfaction with developed countries' discriminatory policies and the willingness to act collectively in favor of developing countries, have brought India, South Africa, Brazil, China and Russia together within multilateral institutions. Following multilateralism approach in the foreign policies, their strategies are to build coalitions, alliances with those

countries which shares similar perceptions, views regarding the regional and international issues. Whereas, South African President Thabo Mbeki insisted to revive old South-South Cooperation spirit, Brazilian President Lulu De Silva advocated injecting Auto-Estima (self-confidence) in developing countries through empowering them, India, China along with other are also emphasizing to deepen their cooperation with emerging economies. Leader like Mbeki wanted to forge coalitions of important developing countries to fight against the global apartheid (discrimination) and redefine the content of the globalization in order to make it positive force for the development of poor countries. According to him, there is needed to make policies, programmes, initiatives among developing countries to make globalization more conclusive integrative so that poor countries could get equitable share of development. The formation of BRICS coalition reflects their collective vision for making efforts to reshaping world order. BRICS countries have acted together, on several occasions in resistance to developed countries' policies on the issues like cotton, public health, Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPs), Trade Related Investment Measure (TRIMs) etc.

"We reaffirm our support for an open, transparent and rules-based multilateral trading system. We will continue in our efforts for the successful conclusion of the Doha Round, based on the progress made and in keeping with its mandate, while upholding the principles of transparency, inclusiveness and multilateralism. We are committed to ensure that new proposals and approaches to the Doha Round negotiations will reinforce the core principles and the developmental mandate of the Doha Round. We look forward to significant and meaningful deliverables that are balanced and address key development concerns of the poorest and most vulnerable WTO

members, at the ninth Ministerial Conference of the WTO in Bali"

(BRICS Summit 2013, clause 15)

BRICS partners share similar views and attitudes towards capabilities market, products and invest development. They are seeking to overcome a range of challenges, which they are facing at global level. They have cooperated with each other in international institutions by taking similar stands on various issues. The formation of most influential Group-20, during the Cancun WTO meeting, was possible due to the active mobilization of developing countries by India, Brazil, South Africa and China. They played crucial role in mobilizing developing countries in WTO and establishing group like G-20. When US and EU tried to impose an agreement on agriculture in WTO Conference at Cancun in 2003, which created fear of developing countries' marginalization, India, South Africa, Brazil mobilized with other biggest emerging powers of the developing world. They purposed an alternative proposal on agriculture signed by twenty countries, which blocked developed countries' agreement on agriculture. They also supported proposals of the alliance on Strategic Products and Special Safeguard Mechanism (SP&SSM), and special and differential concerns for the least developing countries (LDCs) (Hurrell & Narlikar 2006; 420-21). Their cooperation within BRICS Forum provides a framework to India for coordination on the issues like environment and intellectual property rights at bilateral as well as multilateral level.

Their emphasis is to solve the climate change issues in framework of the United Nations Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and Kyoto protocol. They support the common but differentiated responsibilities principles with respective capabilities in fixing responsibilities regarding climate issues. China, South Africa and Brazil's cooperation with India at multilateral fora, is also evident

at the UN with a 96 percent vote convergence rate and particularly its role in at the World Trade Organization Ministerial Meeting in Cancun in pressing agricultural subsidy regime (Arkhangelskaya, 2010: 2-3). They have also similar view regarding intellectual property right issue. According to them, Intellectual Property Rights need to apply in broader perspective taking the concern of public health and social problems rather than commercial perspective. A balanced intellectual property system is required, which takes broader framework of socio-economic development and serves as a means for growth, innovation and development in all countries. The major obstacle in providing cheaper drug to patient is Intellectual Prosperity Rights (IPR) issue. South Africa and Brazil have faced together on IPR issues in WTO when US filed case against them regarding cotton dispute, cheap drugs license issues etc. They have also fought against Intellectual Property Right in WTO in term of providing Local Anti-Retroviral (ARV). There is need to build cooperation to fight against discriminatory rule of TRIPS and its application in WTO.

3.1.2 Reform of Multilateral Institutions;

BRICS countries are insisting to reform and democratize international institutions and their decisions making process in the favor of developing countries' interests. Their concerns are to reform the Bretton Wood Institutions like IMF, World Bank, voting share in these institutions. Reform of the international financial and governing institutions is the centerpiece agenda of the BRICS countries.

"We call for the reform of International Financial Institutions to make them more representative and to reflect the growing weight of BRICS and other developing countries. We remain concerned with the slow pace of the reform of the IMF. We see an urgent need to implement, as agreed, the 2010 International Monetary Fund (IMF) Governance and Quota

Reform. We urge all members to take all necessary steps to achieve an agreement on the quota formula and complete the next general quota review by January 2014. The reform of the IMF should strengthen the voice and representation of the poorest members of the IMF, including Sub-Saharan Africa. All options should be explored, with an open mind, to achieve this. We support the reform and improvement of the international monetary system, with a broad-based international reserve currency system providing stability and certainty. We welcome the discussion about the role of the SDR in the existing international monetary system including the composition of SDR's basket of currencies. We support the IMF to make its surveillance framework more integrated and even-handed. The leadership selection of IFIs should be through an open, transparent and merit-based process and truly open to candidates from the emerging market economies and developing countries.

(BRICS Summit 2013, clause 13)

Multilateralism is central in their foreign policies. The major imperative to form coalition like BRICS forum is multilateralism in their foreign policy. In the notion of John Ruggie, the multilateralism is an institutional form of cooperation that coordinates relations among three or more states on the basis of generalized principles (Taylor & Williams 2006: 2). India with other rising powers through forming several coalitions like BRICS, IBSA is committed to work together for strengthening their economic and trade relations and force the reforms of international system in direction of creating democratic and multi-polar world order. Southern powers, India, South Africa and Brazil, China share the view that majority of the

globe would be better served by multi-polar system, which can emerge through the building coalition with another and balancing traditional established power poles.

"We reiterate our strong commitment to the United Nations (UN) as the foremost multilateral forum entrusted with bringing about hope, peace, order and sustainable development to the world. The UN enjoys universal membership and is at the center of global governance and multilateralism. In this regard, we reaffirm the need for a comprehensive reform of the UN, including its Security Council, with a view to making it more representative, effective and efficient, so that it can be more responsive to global challenges. In this regard, China and Russia reiterate the importance they attach to the status of Brazil, India and South Africa in international affairs and support their aspiration to play a greater role in the UN."

(BRICS Summit 2013, clause 20)

Their soft power balancing strategy involves to strengthening the economic ties with emerging middle powers through trade and economic agreements (Fleines & Habib, 2009; 138-39). Their foreign policy approach to working with other states in collaboration for achieving common goals is founding principle of BRICS cooperation. They have actively followed multilateralism approach in showing solidarity with other emerging powers. In pursuing their interests through expanding relations, they have adopted pragmatic approach in their foreign policy in order to promote balanced relationship with developed as well as developing countries. BRICS countries have affirmed their commitment to pursuing policies, programmes and initiatives in direction of creating multi-polar order. The United Nations is central to a multilateral framework and there is significant

role for BRICS to collaborate and assume a more prominent role in global political and economic governance (Saran, Singh et al. 2013; 3).

India along with South Africa and Brazil which are the emerging middle powers of the South, are following pragmatic approach in pushing reformist agenda in international financial institutions. Their emphasis is to make international governing institutions more fair and transparent. Therefore, their efforts are to mobilize and consolidate developing countries in order to put pressure on developed countries to reform the unfair decision making process of international organizations and make them more democratic, inclusive to South. BRICS Forum has given to them an influential platform to develop and coordinate strategy in order to equalize the political and economic architecture of international system.

But, writers like Ian Taylor argue that these countries are supporter of reform rather than transforming international institutions. They are pragmatist in this context because they don't want to replace and completely restructure the global governing institutions like WTO, IMF. In the views of Oliver Serrao and Paul Henry Bischoff, South Africa's foreign policy depicts a tension, between its liberal democratic identity and its Southern identity, which contains strong social and economic dimension cooperation (Serrao & Bischoff 2009; 369-373). There are tensions between liberal values like human rights, rule of law, to promote justice and respects international law and their given its geo-economic and geo-political southern identities. They support the reform of the global governance systems rather than replace these institutions. According to them, developing countries need these institutions for negotiation with the developed countries on issues like subsidies, tariff reduction opening market etc. As Correa asserts:

"The WTO is an irreplaceable organization. We need it. We need it badly. We need a strong WTO and from the perspective of developing countries, this is really an irreplaceable forum- with all its shortcomings, with all its problems- this where (G-20) can make a difference. We can get some predictability. We can get some rules and we can get some enforceable rules in an area where in the past we had none (quoted in Taylor 2005, 244)."

So, there is need to reform and make them more transparent and rule based so that developing countries can maximize their interests. But lack of coordination is visible between BRICS partners on some issues like UN Security Council Reform, which reduces their bargaining power on multi-lateral fora. While South Africa is not willing to join G-4 Group following the mandate of African Union, China is not willing to support India's candidacy for UN Security Council's permanent seat.

4. Challenges;

There are several issues, concerns, inequalities and differences among BRICS' partners, which are obstacles in enhancing economic trade collaborations and engagements with each other's. Low ranking of BRICS countries in Doing Business Report are major problems in creating favorable and conducive environment for enhancing trade and investment activities in these countries. While China has 90th rank, India, Brazil, South Africa and Russia have 142th, 120th, 42th and 62th rank respectively (Doing Business World Bank Report, 2015). No BRICS country is in top 10 ranking in doing business world report which shows not good condition for doing business and investments. Several issues like custom duty and tariff issues are matter of concerns in promoting intra BRICS economic and trade cooperation.

4.1 Heterogeneous Nature of BRICS Group;

BRICS coalition is known for its diverse nature. While India, Brazil and South Africa are democracies, China's political system is based on one party rule and Russian Federation is based on highly centralized Presidential System. BRICS countries have inequality, wide spread poverty, health issues etc. Russia and Brazil are the most urbanized states among BRICS, China, India and South Africa still have to complete a long journey in term of urbanization, health care and poverty reduction. BRICS countries need to develop mechanism and share experiences in meeting social challenges like poverty, to tackle health care issues, education and other social inequality which are affecting their development. There is need to develop collaboration among them in skill development programmes, initiatives, sharing technical advancement, medical reform for social development.

4.2 Bilateral differences

Bilateral differences in the BRICS group are obstacles in developing trade and making political consensus on several contentious regional and global issues. While Clash of Political and geopolitical interests, boundary dispute between India and China are bone of contentious in BRICS. There is also tough competition between China and India, particularly for catching market and energy resources in African continent and South East Asian countries. There is also dissatisfaction in Russian and Chinese's bilateral trade structure.

Conclusion;

Thus, the emerging power status is one of the driving forces in formation of BRICS coalition. The BRICS coalition is based on economic concept of rising economies. Due to a powerful coalition,

BRICS provides a strong forum for India to play an influential role in international politics. In changing economic and power dynamics in global politics compel India to become the member of powerful coalition, alliances. But the heterogeneous nature of BRICS and differences between India and China regarding boundary issues and increasing tough economic and trade competition in Africa and Asia, particularly in South Asia are limiting factors in deepening BRICS trade and economic cooperation. There is need to tackle Indian security concerns, which is emerging due to Chinese's aggressive engagements with South Asian Countries.

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"When the benefits accruing to kings under a treaty, irrespective of their status as the weaker, equal or stronger party, is fair to each one peace by agreement shall be the preferred course of action. If the benefits are to be distributed unfairly, war is preferable."

The Kautilya Arthashastra - Kangle
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FINAL GRADE REPORT

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18402N	THEORY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS	4.0 B ONLY	
18403N	COMPARATIVE POLITICAL ANALYSIS	4.0 B MINUS	
18456N	INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY	4.0 B PLUS	
2004/H			
18406N	INTERNATIONAL LAW OF PEACE	4.0 B ONLY	
18514N	RUSSIAN POLITICAL SYSTEM	4.0 B ONLY	
18516N	GOVT & POLITICS IN SUBSARAHAN AFRICA	4.0 A MINUS	
18522N	SOCIETY & POLITICS IN THE SW PACIFIC	4.0 B ONLY	
2004/H			
18451N	POLITICAL THOUGHT-II	4.0 B PLUS	
18452N	PROBLEMS OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS	4.0 B ONLY	
18454N	POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY	4.0 A MINUS	
18455N	LEGAL CONTROLS OF INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT	4.0 B ONLY	
2005/H			
18453N	INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION	4.0 B ONLY	
18562N	INDIA PAKISTAN & GREAT POWERS	4.0 B PLUS	
18564N	FOREIGN POLICY OF NEW RUSSIA	4.0 A MINUS	
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