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# QUAD as a Pillar in Strengthening Regional and Multilateral Cooperation: **ACT East Perspective**

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#### Abstract:

In an era of shifting geopolitical dynamics, India's rise as a pivotal force in the Indo-Pacific region stands as a defining element in shaping the global order. India's strategic initiatives are pivotal not only for regional stability but also for shaping the future of global multilateral cooperation.

This paper examines India's strategic utilization of the QUAD platform as a critical component of its 'Act East Policy'. It provides a detailed analysis of India's interests in the QUAD, particularly in enhancing regional cooperation and security with a focus on ASEAN countries. The study also explores the potential role of 'QUAD PLUS' in expanding India's multilateral engagements within the Indo-Pacific framework. Additionally, this paper delves into India's strategic vision in the Indo-Pacific, framed around the four pillars of the Act East Policy (Commerce, Culture, Connectivity, and Capacity Building). The analysis underscores QUAD's role in reinforcing India's strategic position and advancing its diplomatic objectives in the Indo-Pacific region.

Keywords: QUAD, ACT EAST POLICY, QUAD PLUS, ASEAN, 4C's of Act East Policy, Indo-Pacific.

#### **INTRODUCTION:**

In shaping global politics the stake of Indo- Pacific in current times is strategically high, eventually, promoting India as a pivotal player in this region. The notion of Indo-Pacific has gained significance as the international strategy eastward aiming at increasing strategic importance of India and Indian Ocean has security and strategic dimensions. (Singh, 2021)

Firstly, the contemporary global order has built politics more economical and economics more political. Hence, the dependency brought geostrategy as the outcome. Secondly, India made a conscious choice by accepting Indo-Pacific as part of its independent foreign policy. It signifies a major shift in the global power from the Atlantic Ocean to Indian Ocean. (Singh, 2021). Thirdly, the Chinese military and economic rise has been a factor for major powers including India in shaping their respective foreign policy in the Indo-Pacific. The China- Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) and Belt & Road Initiative (BRI) are some of the major point of contention in the Indo-Pacific. Furthermore, the India's Act East Policy and QUAD collectively undertake to promote the common objective of free, open, inclusive and rules- based order in the Indo-Pacific.

Therefore, this paperoutlines the elaborative analysis of Indo-Pacific as emerging power center with a emphasis on India's foothold in the region. Additionally, examining the strategic role of Act East Policy to ensure regional stability, prosperity and peace while promoting multilateral cooperation. Further, this work will also provide a deep insight in QUAD'S role in the Indo-Pacific as an Indian platform to promote its geopolitical and geoeconomical interests. Altogether, this paper involves qualitative approach to examine, explore and analyze.

## ASIA- PACIFIC TO INDO-PACIFIC: INDIA'S HISTORICAL ROLE:

Tracing the history of shift in global power dynamics since Cold War and after, India has always sought to influence affairs of global order-evident with initiative like "Non- aligned Movement". However the rapid turn of events involving end of bipolar world brought the rise and assertiveness of China in larger Indian Ocean scenario following its growing political and economic prints towards Pacific. This accelerated geopolitical and economic security challenges in the Indo-Pacific strategically brought the major power inclination toward India, the world largest democracy to promote and establish a secure, resilient, prosperous and peaceful Indo-Pacific.

The adoption of terminologies according to changing power and economic dynamics has been a noted phenomenon. Seemingly, 'Asia-Pacific' is the post- cold War period construct. However, its narrow focus and emerging economic and human resourcepotential in Indian Ocean enlarged the domain while shifting the focus to Asian powers. Additionally, the strategical advantage of the region boosted the former into 'Indo-Pacific'.

The year 2006 marked the advent of the concept of Indo-Pacific. However, it was since 2010 the concept has gained momentum in Asia and beyond. The term Indo-Pacific represents the confluence of two vast geopolitical and geoeconomical dissimilar region into a singular strategic and geopolitical arena with shared regional security and economic concerns. For long, the idea of "Indo-Pacific "has gained a dominant usage among the political analysts, statesmen, think tanks, policymakers and in academia. Eventually USA with major players of Indian Ocean building a secure Indo-Pacific maritime region where India is seen as the stalwart in promoting regional stability and multilateral ties.

Meanwhile, providing India's centrality in Indian Ocean to promote a secure Indo-Pacific maritime theater. The latter has been re-instrumentalized by the former Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe in 2007 to counter the China's rising dominance in the region. The former USA- China-

Japan partnership was primarily an economic conception, whereas the latter encompasses broader strategic and geopolitical consideration to establish 'rule & order' based free, open and secure Indo-Pacific arena (Shah, 2023). To comprehend it better, the Japan's version of Indo-Pacific securing 'FOIP' at the centreis the oldest and most developed vision with an emphasis on developing strategies for:

- 1. A peaceful, stable and prosperous international environment with a set of universal values.
- 2. Aims at regional revitalization and quality growth for all.
- 3. Addressing global issues and promote human-security. (Thu, 2020)

The Secretary of State Hillary Clinton voiced the phrase "INDO-PACIFIC" in 2010 during one of her visit to Honolulu depicts integrated Indian and Pacific into singular geopolitical region. (Upadhyay, 2014). Alongside, U.S.A's effort to integrate Asian economies with Pacific together with strengthening defense ties has stood evident by launching multiple multinational partnership and investments with countries of near east. Therefore bringing Indiastrategically a pivotal stature and centrality. Primarily, India has comparatively influential role in promoting and maintaining regional cooperation and stable multilateral ties in Indo-Pacific attracting USA and other powers to build closer ties with India.

"In October 2017, the then Secretary of State Rex Tillerson made a speech in Washington, in which he described "Indo-Pacific" as "the entire Indian Ocean, the Western Pacific, andthe nations that surround them" and highlighted India's role by stressing that the United States and Indiamust serve as "the eastern and western beacons" of the Indo-Pacific or as "the port and starboard lightsbetween which the region can reach its greatest and best potential". (Haruko, 2020).

Simultaneously, the Indo-Pacific in order to stay influential embarks on multiple initiatives engaging Asian powers with Pacific. In order to expand its role and dominance in global order, highlighted the 'North-South Partnership'to primarily create single yet common geopolitical and geoeconomical maritime community.

#### INDIA AND QUAD:

Initially, Quadrilateral Cooperation was the construct to respond Indian Ocean tsunami of December 2004 called as 'Tsunami Core Group'. (Buchan and Rimland, 2020). Later, following its strategic significance in the Indo-Pacific shore up QUAD'S formation in 2007, again collapsing in 2008. The realm of growing strategic competition across Asia and coinciding geopolitical interest and geoeconomical concerns brought together U.S.A, Japan, India and Australia once again under a common umbrella called Quadrilateral Security Dialogue in the year 2017. The shared aim of all four powers is to boost up a "rule- based" order in the Indo-Pacific, draws the ultimate partnership for the purpose.

The significance of India in the Indo-Pacific has been upgraded further with the

Washington's 'Indo-Pacific Strategy' which opine for the 'free and open Indo-Pacific'. Henceforth, the QUAD partnership ensures India's presence in the Indian Ocean Region (IOR) as the 'net security provider' and an alternative to China's assertive policies. (Lee, 2020)

While the QUAD platform highlighted the naval engagement for protecting Sea Lanes Of Communication (SLoCs), India is strategically building and modernizing its naval potential that might challenge the economic and strategic interests of dominant China in the Indo-Pacific region and establishing its centrality in the region and beyond. QUAD'S platform for nurturing India's ties with U.S.A, Japan(The Asian Tiger Economy) and Australia has drastically increased the major power competition in Indo-Pacific domain, putting a concerning challenge to China's assertion and dominance in the region. Moreover, the 'comparative advantage' of China in the region, especially among ASEAN nations has been widely challenged.

Primarily, QUAD contributed in the India's 'Indo-Pacific strategy', further defending and maintaining India's centrality and control in the IOR. Secondly, it promotes India's geopolitical diplomacy in ensuring regional stability and enhancing multilateral ties to further bring peace with prosperity, leveling up India to the stature of 'net security provider' of the region (Khurana, 2015). On the other hand, the QUAD commitment to 'Malacca Dilemma' is rapidly ensuring the Beijing's vulnerability. China's economic dependence on the Malacca Strait can't be overshadowed. Meanwhile, India's growing naval presence in the Eastern Seaboard near Malacca strait is detrimental to the Chinese interest. There are almost 15 Indian warships deployed for surveillance and ensuring secure SLoCs in the Indian Ocean on Mission Based Deployment (MBD), interrupting the SLoCs in the Malacca strait. With the hurdles in the Eastern sea trade route the connection of China has been in severe restraints causing concerns in China's economic development, trade and energy. Alongside establishing India as major emerging power in the Indo-Pacific and its growing influence in Indian Ocean Region (IOR). Furthermore, through QUAD, USA and other powers supporting India's take in the region strengthening the multilateral ties and regionaldiplomacy capacity of India.

Therefore, QUAD partnership revolves around the purpose of 'free and open Indo-Pacific (FOIP), further ensuring the counter to the Chinese assertiveness to the region, commitment to maritime security, in hand with enhanced 'rule-based order' and building a common and conducive Indo-Pacific while, rationally boosting the India's geopolitical image as 'net security provider' due to its geopolitical proximity and its strategic potential. In addition it is clearly demonstrated by India's active participation in 'Malabar Exercise' in disputed South China Sea. Yet another addition is proposed Asia- Africa Growth Corridor to counter MSR and BRI.

## **India's Strategic Choice: The Act East:**

The advancement of the 'Act East Policy' from the 'Look East Policy' of 1990s has been

conceived as the India's strategy to strengthen its foothold as a major power in the region and beyond. It lies at the core of India's 'Indo-Pacific Strategy' which involves QUAD as the crucial player. Primarily, it aims at preserving India's diplomatic, economic and political aspirations with South and North East Asian countries across Indian and Pacific region, alongside bringing significance for Washington to promote and protect India's cause in IOR to build a reciprocal power to cop Beijing. Moreover, since 2014 delivering 'truism' became a noted phenomenon in the India's Foreign Policy thuscreating a qualitative change, therefore reframing 'Look East to Act East'.

Substantially, evolving into Act East, it initiated exceptional opportunities for India to transform into a serious strategic player in East Asia and Indian Ocean Region. While examining India's multifaceted engagement, Act East Policy (AEP) is an attempt to innovatively revolutionize and connect economic, political, diplomatic, strategic and cultural ties of India to South and South East Asia with centrality on ASEAN countries. Meanwhile bringing in focus the 'India's strategic genius'.

The AEP of India spin majorly around these geopolitical, economical and strategic tenants. Firstly, Act East of India boosted engagement with ASEAN which is in turn ensuring India's region wide presence. Substantial engagement of India with ASEAN has been recorded through various summits and agreements like India- ASEAN Free Trade Agreement of 2015. Secondly, it boosted India's strategic depth in eastward zone. Seemingly, this qualitative transition is ensured not only through several bilateral and multilateral diplomatic summits rather also involves ministerial visits. P.M Modi and Former External Affairs Minister SushmaSwarajof India visited all the Southeast Asian countries during the first term of Modi's administration. Infact, the 12th East Asia Summit of 2017 was attended by P.M Modi himself promoting India's foothold in Southeast Asia. Furthermore, India is determined to restore the strategic balance and superiority based of 4 C's (Culture, Commerce, Connectivity and Capacity Building) of India's Act East Policy in the maritime neighborhood. Hence, New Delhi has been constantly expanding its military ties and relations with Asian states like Singapore, Indonesia, the Philippines and Vietnam. Besides, upgrading India-ASEAN countries ties through 'Exercise Force-18' of 2016, the New Delhi-Singapore Maritime Partnership through Singapore- India Maritime Exercise (SIMBEX) proved to be most productive for Indian Navy in Southeast Asia. Similarly, Act East Policy also brought upswing in India-Indonesia maritime and strategic relationship. Simultaneously, the India's choice Act East Policy is particularly determined to curb out China's threat to India in the Indian Ocean Region and beyond. India's rise of power strategically shadowed by China has been countered by Act East Policy through shifting balance of power in New Delhi's interest. The central strategy involves military alliances, trade partnership and bilateral visits in the Southeast Asian countries alongside experts analyze it as challenge to China's assertive and centrality in the region. Additionally, the QUAD partnership can't

be overshadowed in protecting India's cause in the region. Finally, the trend explored the QUAD commitment accelerated India's Act East Policy with immense diplomatic support, immediately bringing India's Foreign Policy to adopt and practice 'Act East, Go South and Balance China'. (Shah, 2018)

Therefore, the continuous penetration of India in deep South and Northeast Asia highlights credential of being an 'responsible naval power and stakeholder' in the region. Additionally, the revised Look East is systematically shifting India as the global and regional power. The Project SAGARMALA reflect one such foothold of India (Khurana, 2018).

# **OUAD AS 4C'S OF INDIA'S ACT EAST POLICY:**

Envisioning Security for All and Growth of All (SAGAR), India's Prime Minister Narendra Modi highlighted major pillars of India's Act East Policy which encompasses 4C' S-Culture, Commerce, Connectivity and Capacity Building where security and prosperity remained at the focal point.

Firstly, India's strategic focus involves promoting 'Connected Globe from East to West and North to South', wherein the endorsement of AEP in India's Foreign Policy is further a added compliment to it as India's Foreign Policy recent trend reflect the narrative 'together we are strong'. Hence, the QUAD commitment accelerated the connectivity of India Ocean to Pacific. Secondly, the AEP highlights the strategic objective of safe, open, inclusive, free and secure Sea Lanes Of Communication (SLoCs) which closely align QUAD'S interest in the Indo-Pacific to respond to China's assertiveness in the South China Sea and Malacca Strait. Thus sharing the common geoeconomical agenda tostrengthen trade relations and commerce ties in the region. Alongside, India's interests has been vividly voiced by Prime Minister Modi at the platform of Shangri LA Dialogue held in Singapore in 2018 enumerates as 'Rule- based Free and Open Indo-Pacific'. (Lalwani, 2019)

Further, analyzing Act East Policy not only on paper but in spirit involves energized cultural ties, capacity building, enhanced commerce and connectivity favouring New Delhi in the Indian Ocean Region, additionally Indo-Pacific in the larger domain. Capacity Building has been steered up in the region through multiple regional and multilateral engagements via QUAD, Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA), Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC), Indo-Pacific Economic Corridor (IPEC) and several more. India's longstanding commitment towards the 4C's encompasses contours of security and terrorism, energy security, trade and commerce, healthcare and climate change. Notably, the immense cooperation involves agreement between ONGC Videsh Ltd and PetroVietnam in South China Sea with interest of oil exploration (Rajendram, 2014). Meanwhile, Kaladan Multi- Model Transit Transport Project and BCIM Economic Corridor Project is yet another marble achieved for promoting 4C'S in the

respective region.

The period between QUAD 1.0 and QUAD 2.0 has upgraded intra-QUAD Dialogues into multilateral agreements and exercises providing added advantages to India's growing strategic, defense and economic stature. Altogether boosting it's image from a 'balancing power to a global one'. Counting on Indo- U.S.A relationwith Communications Compatibility and Security Agreement (COMCASA) of 2015 followed by Logistics Exchange Memorandum of Agreement (LEMOA) OF 2016 can be procured as glimpse of strengthening stronger ties. The Indo-Japan relation also sprouted up with the passage of India Civil Nuclear Cooperation Agreement, 2017 and with Australia the AUSINDEX Exercise has seen to rise in scope. Further all these collectively bringing secure, stability and connected Indo-Pacific from traditional and non-traditional security threats while highlighting India's strong foothold in the Indian Ocean Region especially among ASEAN nations. (Buchan & Rimland, 2020)

India's Act East Policy adopt by Modi's Administration in ASEAN- India Summit held in Myanmar, concentrated the Policy focus also on economic development and strategic security integration bringing India's bid to influence the Indo-Pacific via QUAD alliance. Moreover, this strategy perceives to be competing China's footprints in the region. Against China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), India promoted Partnership for Global Infrastructure and Investment (PGII) and other regional initiatives like Asia-Africa Growth Corridor via Japan partnership. (Shah, 2018).

Finally, India's strategic engineering with the QUAD steered up the view, calling the network as ASIAN NATO as the alliance to strengthen the security and capacity building via growth opportunities alongside, fostering technology for better people-to-people connectivity. QUAD has immense role to perform in promoting India's Act East Policy (AEP) at the global platform (Bora & Upadhyay, 2023). While joining the chord, the Chinese 'Salami Slicing Strategy' through 'String of Pearls' strategic play seemed to evolve more as endangering Indian Maritime Security. Infact, delving deeper in the South Asia region, China's diplomacy has created enormous regional instabilities and imbalances. In response to which India's Extended Neighborhood Policy bearing AEP as its strategic right hand is potentially garlanding China, the experts termed it as 'Necklace of Diamonds' strategy to counter China. It involves India encircling strategy towards China where Japan and the other QUAD members are key strategic and economic partners. Howeverin collaboration with QUAD states several joint infrastructure initiatives has been introduced such as with Japan, the Extended Partnership for Quality Infrastructure (EPQI) and the Tokyo- New Delhi Platform for Japan- India Business Cooperation in Asia-Africa. Therefore, holistically the QUAD can help India gain and gather concrete geopolitical and geostrategical advantages in the Indo-Pacific in general and particularly against China.

# **QUAD PLUS: THE FUTURE TRAJECTORY:**

It was in 2013 QUAD PLUS as a concept surfaced while it gained popularity in 2020 when the effort has been observed where representative from South Korea, Vietnam and New Zealand were included in the weekly QUAD meeting further, the presence of South Korea, Brazil and Israel in the QUAD meeting hosted by U.S.A to discuss the COVID-19 has boosted the speculation of QUAD PLUS. (Panda, 2022)

To consider QUAD PLUS in details, the core idea is necessary to be deciphered. Most importantly, it deals with the QUAD'S possibilities to expand and include other like- minded states. Certainly, the driving factor behind QUAD PLUS is its unifying purpose for the common cause. However, the lack of organizational setup and permanent secretariat acting as a push factor for other states reluctance to form the alliance. Furthermore the like-mindedness of QUAD states with countries like South Korea, New Zealand, Taiwan, Thailand has strategic and economic significance, cumulatively bring larger presence of QUAD in Indo-Pacific. The scenario must be viewed also as promoting multilateral cooperation and engagement as its outreach doesn't only limit to regional states, but also include other like- minded states from other regions such as the strong stakeholders in the Indo-Pacific, the E.U and the U.K. It gets potentially evident with the European Union's close ties with not only India rather Japan and ASEAN nations too by the release of it's 'strategy for cooperation in the Indo-Pacific' and the global connectivity initiative 'Golden Gateway' of 300 billion- euro. With the U.K its 'Global Britain' program for the Indo-Pacific has been recently unveiled. (Panda, 2022)

Institutionalizing QUAD PLUS can promote better geopolitical and strategic connectivity in the region. Throughout the South Asia, QUAD has better geopolitical and strategic connectivity and commerce ties via developed multilateral and bilateral engagement. Some such examples are Mekong-Ganga Cooperation, Indo-Pacific Economic Framework (IPEF), Malabar Exercise and many more. Therefore, adopting QUAD PLUS can affirmatively construct the network through merging more like- minded in the alliance.

Strategically, QUAD PLUS would be beneficial to India in curbing dependence on China via building an alternative supply chains in the Indo-Pacific region such as bringing more countries to Supply Chain Resilience Initiative (SCRI) would ultimately build counter over Chinese dependency. Even the idea of QUAD PLUS is to include other crucial emerging economies to minilateral engagement in the Indo-Pacific (Panda, 2022). Altogether, QUAD PLUS has sufficient potential to enhance the effectiveness of QUAD and strengthen its strategy in the Indo-Pacific.

# QUAD'S SIGNIFICANCE AND OPPORTUNITIES TO INDIA:

A recent joint statement of QUAD Foreign Minister's Meeting, 2024 reaffirms the visions for stability and prosperity together with other countries in the Indo-Pacific and beyond with an unwavering support to ASEAN. It primarily highlighted the 2050 Strategy for the Blue Pacific Continent including the Pacific Island Forum additionally, in Indian Ocean a steadfast support to IORA. Secondly, the QUAD'S commitment and partnershipfor secure and stable cyberspace has been announced in 2023 in QUAD Cyber Ambassadors Meeting to improve cyber resilience and capacity building. It becomes particularly relevant for India as according to CERT In data India account for 1.29 Million cybersecurity cases in 2022. Significantly, the other front of opportunities for India and its regional centrality involves the partnership in 5G deployment and Semiconductor Supply Chain which enhanced India's technological security and capacity in the Indo-Pacific region. Altogether in the resurgence of Asia, and the global rebalancing, Indo-Pacific holds a central position wherein India's priorities as a net security provider and the commitment towards the progress of nations of the Indian Ocean is evident. Remarks byIndia's foreign minister S. Jaishankar at the opening session of 23<sup>rd</sup> IORA Council of Minister's, October 11, 2023 significantly stated India as 'a voice of the Global South' which is prominently reflected in its SAGAR Outlook and the Extended Neighborhood Policy, largely associated with the Act East Policy (MEA, 2023). Therefore in consonance with India's Vision of SAGAR, Indian Navy Ships and aircrafts has been deployed in IOR to enhance Maritime Security and undertaken 08 Missions to 16 friendly foreign countries. Alongside, India's efforts to strengthen its presence in the Indo-Pacific region involves multiple bilateral, trilateral and multilateral engagements and exercises. (PIB, 2022). Some of them are:

- VARUNA.
- JIMEX.
- KAKADU.
- KOMODO.
- MALABAR.
- INDRA.
- EXERCISE TIGER TRIUMPH and many more. (PIB, 2022)

## **CONCLUSION:**

This work has analyzed India's foothold in Indo-Pacific region with a special focus on it's strategy to shape a multipolar global order. An elaborative study has been done through this paper regarding QUAD'S role in fixing India as an balancing power in the Indo-Pacific region. This detailed analysis provides a deep insight in 4C'S of India's Act East Policy as an geopolitical and strategic stabilizer in the region. The special focus has been provided in the work regarding India's strategy to counter geoeconomical benefits and hegemony of China in the Sea Lanes Of Communication (SLoCs) of Indo-Pacific. Additionally the paper highlights the qualitative evaluation of the 4C's of India's foreign policy towards promoting and preserving the regional stability and security while enhancing the multilateral ties of South Asian economies in the Indo-Pacific and

beyond. However, this account also brought light to QUAD'S evolution into QUAD 2.0 as an strategic impetus to India's foothold in Indo-Pacific. The future potential of QUAD PLUS in the diplomacy of Indo-Pacific has also been highlighted. As per PIB Delhi, 2024 report, the QUAD leaders has launched the Indo-Pacific Partnership for Maritime Domain Awareness (IPMDA) in 2022 followed by Maritime Initiative for Training in the Indo-Pacific (MAITRI) in 2024to enable the QUAD partnership more in the Indo-Pacific region where reportedly QUAD members is expecting India to host the inaugural of MAITRI workshop in 2025. Altogether, the paper explores about the strengths of QUAD to enhance and promote the objectives of India's Act East.

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