



Realignment of Power between Sino – Russian Relations in the Asia- Pacific Region: India’s Prospects and Response

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Abstract

The main objective of the Paper is to understand the realignment of powers between Sino-Russia under the changing dynamic situation in the Asia- Pacific region. The Paper highlights convergence of interests between two great powers in the South China Sea and analyses the enhancing proximity after the Obama’s “Asia- pivot policy”(2011). It explores the convergence of interests between Sino- Russian relations in the Asia- Pacific region such as like economic and energy interests, security interests and increases the proximity for establishment of multi- polar world order. The paper analyses the geostrategic importance of the “Asia- Pacific” region with new triangular series of the US, India and Japan. It highlights the joint challenges and perspectives for India and ASEAN countries in the Asia- Pacific region especially after the China’s military modernization and its aggressive nature in South China Sea. The paper explores the consequences of power realignment in the Asia- Pacific region and its effects on Indo-Russian relations in the upcoming decades. The background of paper outlines the emerging geopolitical and geo- strategic trends in the Asia- Pacific region. And highlights how power realignment endeavors to difficulties for Asian Security Architecture as well as Indian Security.

Keywords: Power realignment, Asia- pivot policy, geo- strategic, asian security architecture.

Introduction

Historical Background: The history of Sino – Soviet (Russia) relations was very much up and down since the World War- II. It was the time of “Cold- War” when global world history was divided under the bipolar world order. And nations were divided into two different camps- one led by the US and other was under the erstwhile hegemony of former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). Each superpower annoyed to maintain its “*Status Quo*” in the world politics. The word ‘*Status Quo*’ means that maintenance the distribution of the power¹.

Simultaneously, each superpower tried to establish its hegemony among the nations. Meanwhile, in 1949 Peoples Republics of China (PRC) was established. Thereafter, Moscow – Beijing relations became very tense and China found itself isolated in international politics. It created pressures on Chinese policy maker to move toward the Soviet support and assistance. The first half of the 1950’s just after the establishment of PRC the two countries signed the treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance. But, none the less competition between the two communist countries in case of ideological, political, and competition for leadership of international communism. Simultaneously, China’s ambition to become a nuclear weapon state created the suspicion each side. On the other hand, under the slogan of ‘New Thinking’ Mikhail Gorbachev introducing ‘Perestroika’ and ‘Glasnost’ (1985) policies for liberal, moral and ethical principles to resolve the global problems. As the result these policies was led to a breakdown of former USSR (1991).

However, after the post- Cold War period the Sino- Russian relation was improved with great passion and enthusiasm. The new era of bilateral relations started after 1991 when Russian President Boris Yeltsin has taken an initiative to project the pro- west alignment with China and eastern countries. Therefore, Russian Foreign Minister Kozyrev with President Boris Yeltsin both visited in Beijing in 1992. The same year Russian troop withdrawal from the Mongolia due to such a reason its ambition to increase its proximity to eastern states especially with China for pro- western alignment. During this visit, Yeltsin announced that the central focus of our foreign policy to be “balanced between East and West”. Furthermore, both side decided to hold a summit every year to increase their bilateral relations with cooperation. Indeed, under this smart friendship Jiang Zemin first time visited Russia after the Mao Zedong. Both sides adopted a Sino- Russian “Constructive partnership,” and increased their proximity to counter the US hegemony². Russia- China was established the SCO (1996) with central Asian republics (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan) to increasing its military thrust in border areas. Moreover, presently the area of the SCO has extended to the high level of security issues and increased the cultural and economic proximity in this particular region. The establishment of SCO showed the cooperation between Russia and China with the central Asian states and increased the strength of the US lead organization NATO³. Later, Beijing and Moscow solved their border dispute and shaped the mechanism for annual meetings for smooth and reliable relations. Both, side realized such as similarities in the economic sector during the time was 2008- 2009 financial crises. Therefore, both Russia- China boosted

their economic growth by their exports such as Russia in natural gas and oil sector, and China in the manufacture and other industrial sectors. Both are aware of their role in with the responsible, permanent members of UN Security Council.

Mainly, the proximity between two major powers is increasing with admiration of time in the Asia-Pacific region especially after the Obama's Asia- Pivot policy. Therefore, the Sino-Russian relations are improving with cooperation and mutual understanding. Both enlarged their proximity closeness in the Asia- Pacific region to counter the US supremacy in this particular region. Sino- Russian realignment in the Asia- Pacific region creates the antagonism for the US defense multilateralism policy. Though, both are also increasing their individual approaches to upsurge their relations with ASEAN nations. Russia increased its influence in the Asia- Pacific region after its declaration of RFE policy that initiated in 2004. The Policy motivated by internal pressures such as the lack of social, economic and security development problem in the Siberian region and all Eastern parts of the Russia⁴. Meanwhile, after the US pivot in the Asia- Pacific region Russian policy maker searched the alternative for the regional leadership role in this particular region. At the same time, Russia also involves in Ukraine crisis. Moreover, Russia increased its proximity to China, Japan, South- Korea and others ASEAN countries. Russia diversified its geopolitical portfolio with ASEAN countries in the Asia- Pacific region, especially with Vietnam and Indonesia. On the other hand, China also claimed to the leadership in the South East Asia. However, recently it is also changing its attitude towards the Asia- Pacific region, especially after the US Asia pivot policy. It accepted the Russian role in this particular region as an equal partner. Currently, Russia-China both is taking joint initiatives such as purpose to make the cooperative security architecture in the Asia- Pacific region. Both, Russia- China enlarged its friendship in regional institutions such as APEC, ARF, SCO, CICA, and reliable dialog partners with ASEAN countries⁵. Both, Russia -China became close to stopping the US influence in this region. Therefore, Russia- China were increased its realignment during the last two decades. Continuously, both are increasing their geo- economic, geo- strategic proximity for fulfillment the ambition such as the US free Asia- Pacific.

Objectives: i. Analyses the realignment of powers between Russian- China relations with particular focus on the Asia-Pacific region. ii. India's prospect and response toward the new realignment.

Methodology

Both analytical and descriptive methods have been used. The data for the research has collected from the both primary and secondary sources. The primary sources include United National Trade Statistics Database and Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) and various other foreign policy documents.

The secondary data is collected from different books, journals, articles, and the newspapers like The Hindu, The Indian Express and The Economic Times etc.

Enhancing Sino- Russian proximity: future Analyses: Economic and Energy Interests- The economic relation between Russia-China has been a major matter of concern in the world politics. Both, Russia- China are biggest actors in the international politics after the US. Both have a Geostrategic, geopolitical and economic concerns with each other from the time of the Soviet Union. The critical move of Soviet foreign policy ensued during the final stage of the Gorbachev regime. When he visited Beijing (1989) with the grit to increase the economic proximity with Beijing and upsurge the rapprochement in the commercial sector. After that, since the downfall of the USSR Russian Finance Minister visited in China in 1992. And signed the agreement with Chinese counterparts for Most Favored Nation (MFN) status for Russia and ensured the border trade between two native nations. Russia-China trade increased 22 percent, almost US \$4.406 million in 1992, compared to the US \$3,963 million during the time of Sino- Soviet relations⁶. Moreover, Russia- China increased their economic and technological cooperation with the help of Intergovernmental commissions. Gradually, in 1995 level of Russia- China economic relations reached approximately US \$4,242 million which was higher in comparison to the year of 1994. The third summit of Sino-Russian partnership was held in 1996 in which both the countries decided to increase the equal trust and strategic cooperation on each side. Continuously, both Russia- China was announced joint declaration for a 'multipolar world' in April 1997. The economic paradigm shift started with the Putin visit to Beijing (2000); he confirmed that China is a large strategic partner in the eyes of Russia⁷.

Beginning of the 21st century was one of the transactional periods of Sino- Russian economic relations. The year 2002 turned the level of Sino-Russian bilateral trade almost 38.59 percent from its previous year business. Moreover, bilateral trade between Russia-China was increased in the year 2004, 2005, and 2006. It reached approximately US \$40,305 million in 2007. Suddenly, the level of bilateral trade between Russian-China was declined 30.10 percent in 2009, due to such a reason behind the financial crisis in the year of 2008. After that, again in 2010 the level of bilateral trade between Russia-China was increased 50.96 percent and reached near the US \$58,842 million⁶.

Therefore, Russia- China Economic Relations are improving with the time and space especially last two decades. Russia has increased its oil exports to China almost \$20 billion in 2010. It shared the 5% of the export market with China as a fifth largest export market. On the other hand, China has become a major player in the Russian market⁸. During the visit of Russian Prime Minister Vladimir Putin in Beijing (2011) arose the question of the need to measure the enhancing bilateral trade between two

countries. During that visit, Russian decision makers were dissatisfied with the structure of export which mostly depends on energy and cheap material. On the other hand, China's export to Russia was diversified in the largest products like clothing, footwear, cars and some machinery and equipment. Furthermore, in 2011, China shared eight percent foreign direct investment inflow in Russia. And in 2012 it increased approximately US \$27,922 million, which was 7.7 percent of total FDI inflows from China in Russia⁵. Therefore, bilateral trade between two countries is growing with cooperation and mutual understanding. However, China increased its economic influence during the some previous years. The following table shows the Russia- China total export and imports during the year of 2001 to 2013.

Energy partnership is a perfect match between Russia- China relation due to such reasons geographical and geopolitical location of the both sides. China is searching the place for security of its supply routes. It wants to the diversification its energy routes like the Persian Gulf and others sea lines of communications. On the other hand, Russia is a second largest oil producer in the world and first producer and exporter of natural gas in the world. Russia also wants to diversify its energy export beyond the European market. Currently, Russia exports the 80 percent of the crude oil in the European market. It wishes to diversify its oil and natural gas portfolio in the eastern sides. According to International Energy Agency (IEA) estimated that China's oil demand will reach 16.5 million barrels per day in 2030⁹. Therefore, the energy dialogue between Russia-China was negotiated during the last two decades when both sides strengthen the diplomatic relations for fulfillment their desires. Russia- China built the oil pipeline route known as East Siberia- Pacific Ocean (ESPO) from East Siberia to the Pacific coast.

The project constructed in the two stages and completed from the Russian city Taishet to Skovorodino, further it extended by China National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC) Skovorodino to the Chinese border⁷. Instead, Russia under its policy "Russia for East" (RFE) retained the natural gas agreement with China on October 14, 2004. The agreement was occurred between Gazprom and CNPC for covers the entire issues and management of natural gas delivery from Russia to China. Furthermore, under this process June 24, 2009, Altai project was established. Moreover, Gazprom and CNPC signed, the comprehensive terms and conditions related to natural gas supplies from Russia to China by the western route. The first supply is planned for export for late 2015 with the contract period 2030 with the capacity of 30 billion cubic meters per year¹⁰. Therefore, there is a more future probability that Sino-Russian proximity in the energy sector will increase in the upcoming decades.

Defence and Security Interests: Since, the suppression of the Tiananmen Square democratic uprising in Beijing (1989), the western world was not willing to sell the arms to China. Meanwhile, after the fall of the former USSR, Russia got a

chance to become an important source of arms transfer for Beijing. Afterward, under this entire context Moscow increased its military industries and exports the weapons and new technology to China.

On the other hand, all these tools reshuffle the Chinese security forces and also helped the economic purposes such as creating its specific military industries that helped the Chinese arms exports. China purchased US\$ 15 billion of Russian weapons during the period from 1992- 2005 estimated almost 40 percent of Russian arms transfer sales. Mainly the paramount age of the Russian arms transfer to China was 2001 and 2006 when Russia exports average US\$ 2.7 billion of weapons to China.

Meanwhile, Russia dropped 2/3 arms transfer to China in 2007 due to such a false background of Chinese military industries and their trends of copying the Russian arms technology for their individual exports¹¹. Instead, it was assessed that during the time was 1991- 2010 almost 90 percent of conventional weapons transferred from Russia to PRC. China imported several traditional weapons such as Su-27/Su-30 combat aircrafts, military transfer, helicopter Mi-17 and types of 877E, 636E submarines and long-range missiles i.e.¹². Therefore, Russia- China both increased its proximity and cooperation for their security purposes. Russian exports of the major weapons increased during 2009-2013. It was around 28 percent and half of its exports of major weapons increased with China, India and Algeria¹³.

On the other hand, China is increasing its military budget. Therefore, it is increasing the tension between the South East Asian countries as well as India's maritime security. Russia-China both sides decided to conduct the bilateral military exercises in December 2004. Both sides set the military exercises due to such purposes to increase the organizing cooperation and methods to fight against the global terrorism, fundamentalist, and separatist forces. Both, Russia- China organized the "Peace Mission 2005"¹⁴. It was the one of the first joint exercise in the history of Russia- China relations. The exercise, conducted continuously eight days with three different stages. The first phase of consultations held at the famous Vladivostok port Russian Pacific region. And the next two steps of this exercise were completed in the famous Chinese Shandong Peninsula situated on the Yellow Sea.

The core design was this employment to increase the cooperation and strength between two strong members of the SCO and demonstrate the proximity and cooperation against the global terrorism. Furthermore, the same pattern followed by both sides and hold again "Peace Mission 2007" exercise⁹. Subsequently, under this entire context Russian Deputy Prime Minister Sergei Ivanov said that the main purposes of these "Peace missions" to demonstrate the Russia-China joint military capabilities in the multipolar world. Intentionally, Main focused area of these "Peace Mission" was selected by both sides Shandong Peninsula, which situated nearby Asia -Pacific region.

Table-1
China's Trade with Russia during the Period of 2001 to 2013 (\$ US million)

Years	China's Exports to Russia	China's Imports from Russia	Total Trade
2001	2,71,04,71,970	7,95,87,94,510	10,66,92,66,480
2002	3,52,07,42,377	8,40,66,90,131	11,92,74,32,508
2003	6,02,99,26,895	9,72,80,68,486	15,75,79,95,381
2004	9,09,81,15,927	12,12,74,11,073	21,22,55,27,000
2005	13,21,12,83,269	15,88,99,42,926	29,10,12,26,195
2006	15,83,24,87,030	17,55,43,27,123	33,38,68,14,153
2007	28,52,98,95,037	19,68,85,78,673	48,21,84,73,710
2008	33,07,58,49,922	23,83,27,61,729	56,90,86,11,651
2009	17,51,37,71,415	21,28,29,52,148	38,79,67,23,563
2010	29,61,20,73,703	25,91,39,93,644	55,52,60,67,347
2011	38,90,30,17,967	40,36,25,99,801	79,26,56,17,768
2012	44,05,65,51,091	44,13,82,78,872	88,19,48,29,963
2013	49,59,11,71,963	39,66,78,28,205	89,25,90,00,168

Source: United National Trade Statistics Database.



Source: Haas, de Marcel. (2005). Russian- Chinese military exercises and their wider Perspective: Power play in Central Asia. Conflict Studies Research Centre (CSRC).

Figure-1
Shandong Peninsula in the Asia- Pacific Region

Instead, Russia- China both sides hold the military exercises time to time and increase the defence proximity. Recently, both Beijing and Moscow organized the two giant exercises, one such as hold by infantry forces with the code of "Peace Mission-2014" and second "Joint Naval Sea- 2014". It was initiated by Chinese President Xi Jinping and Putin in Shanghai during the CICA meeting¹⁵. Therefore, many of the joint militaries exercises embraced by both sides for fulfilling their defense and strategic interests. Continuously, both sides engaged with a strong will and with the vision of security for future generations. Currently, Russia- China both agreed to conduct the naval exercises in Asia Pacific and Meditation Sea in the upcoming year 2015¹⁶. Thus, it is clear alarmed to the US and it's alliances that Russia- China both cannot want to the US presence in this entire region. Therefore, complete situations created the

dilemma around the Pacific countries that how they save their interests. On the other hand, India also worried about Chinese aggressiveness in the South China Sea and its closeness with Moscow in this entire region. Recently, Russia- China started the world largest natural gas pipeline in November 2014 from the eastern Siberian city of Yakutsk in the east part of China. The Russian gas producer Gazprom hopes for the top deal agreed May to supply China 38 bcm a year after 2018. In which CNPC agreed to purchase \$400 million in gas from Russia over the 30 years¹⁷. Therefore, it is a clear message to the European market from Russia that it has an appropriate and alternative market for its continuous increasing gas account.

Sino- Russian Proximity for Multi- Polar World- Since, the remnant of the cold- war Russia searched the home for its re-

emergence in the new world order. Therefore, it moved toward the multilateral diplomacy and engaged with the various regional and global intuitions. Russia is still holding its identity as an ideological state with the pragmatic doctrine of the former USSR. Its foreign policy based on both liberal and pragmatic base policies. The beginning stage of the Russia's multilateral diplomatic efforts initiated toward the western side. Russia moved towards the Western lead institutions to increase its participation with a group of G7 and make the suitable situations in the International Monetary Fund (IMF). It also strengthened its cooperation with NATO after 1991. Furthermore, it ratified the human action of reciprocal relations; security and cooperation (1997) for increased its close association with NATO in the diverse disciplines. Meanwhile, Vladimir Putin in his presidential campaign elaborated the "Great Russia" slogan. It was the greatest mark by Russia's national priorities to search the alternative to the West in a coming couple of years. Indeed, Putin settled the bilateral relations with many of the European countries like Germany and England. It also stands with western counterparts in the "War against Terror" policy after the 9/11 attack¹⁸.

On the other hand, Putin administration shifted its policies towards the Asian continent to fulfill its ambition for the establishment of a multipolar world. Thus, it breaks the intensity of its relations with major Asian nations such as China, India, Japan, South and North Korea. Russia increased its bonding with China under its Policy "Russia for East" after 2004. It strengthened the relations with China in case of natural gas and oil export from the last couple of years. On the other hand, China also wants to increase its relations with Russia to counter the US unilateralism. Therefore, Chinese policies also moved toward Russia to increase its proximity to the name of a multipolar world order. Russia- China both strengthened its proximity in an independent and soft approach. China is one of the Asian emerging powers in the new world order. It enlarged its multilateral strategic efforts and focused the multilateral institutions to expanding its power in this particular region especially in the East Asian region. Furthermore, China's engagement in various institutions and its peaceful and constructive policy help it to make a solidify image in the entire world¹⁹.

On the other hand, it is very important to know that Sino-Russian realignment of powers is increasing especially after the end of Russia's role in the group of G8 countries²⁰. Therefore, Russia is looking toward China for major non- Western alignment under the new world order. There are two common notions motivate the Sino- Russian partnership one is regarding the multi-polar world and second motivated by to play the role of active companies in the United Nations Security Council²¹. Russia- China both are members of the organization of developing economies such as Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa (BRICS). Currently, the BRICS countries established the New Development Bank (NDB) in its sixth summit Fortaleza May 2014. Furthermore, both are members of

the SCO, which is looking like antagonism of the NATO. Thus, both have the ambition to increase the engagement moreover the world institutions for counter the US lead world order.

Realignments of Powers: India's prospects and response:

Realignment of powers between two major powers creates the new security dilemma for India's maritime security. Convergence of Sino- Russian interest in the Asia- Pacific region would create the situation for India, how India safe its maritime interest in this particular region. Moreover, under the new world order Asia- Pacific region known as "Indo- Pacific" region obvious reason of Indian hegemony in the Indian Ocean region. This term is used by former foreign secretary Shyam Saran for the US acknowledgement of the Pacific and Indian Ocean as an 'inter-linked geopolitical space'²². India developed this term especially after the US pivot policy in the Asia- Pacific region. Consequently, it reflects how India has the potential to play its role in this particular region. India moved one step forward toward its strategic partners such as the US and Japan. Silently, it wants to increase its strategic relations with these powers in upcoming decades. Gradually, India wants to uplift its strategic position in the Indo- Pacific region with the help of these powers. On the other hand, it also wants to maintain its strategic autonomy in the Asia- Pacific region. Continuously, India increased its relation with the US especially after the Indo-US nuclear deal. Moreover, India, US came close in the name of International terrorism.

On the other hand, India has a suspicion about the US pivot policy obvious region of its relative decline in the Middle East and Afghanistan. Furthermore, India has suspicion about the US pivot is it long or short term rickety policy. Therefore, India wants to increase its naval capabilities and maintain its strategic autonomy in the Indo- Pacific region. Recently, the INS Vikramaditya super aircraft carrier joined the Indian Navy after the long negotiations with Russia. It can carry on ten helicopters and 24 MiG fighter jets at the same time²³. Furthermore, Indo-US Malabar annual naval exercise held in the July, 2014. Currently, Japan again joined the Malabar series of exercises with the US and India and increased the strategic trilateral cooperation. They have also planned for ASEAN countries to join naval exercise series to expand their broad cooperation in this particular region²⁴.

Washington affirmed it as a regular exercise of Malabar series. Silently, it is strategy to counter the Chinese ambition in Indo-Pacific region. Recently, India invited Japanese prime minister on the 65th republic day for strengthening their proximity. Currently, India's new government has a desire to increase its proximity with Tokyo in the defense and railway sector. Gradually, convergence of interests between India- US and Japan in the Asia- Pacific region to create the new geo- strategic dynamics in this particular region. Further, the "middle powers coalition" is also increasing during the last couple of years. Therefore, under this new coalition India, Japan, and Australia increased their proximity in the Indo- Pacific region to counter

the new realignment in this particular region. The new government also renewed the Sager Mala project for the port development in the coastal belt in the India Ocean Region (IOR).

Recently, the INS Vikramaditya super aircraft carrier joined the Indian Navy after the lengthy negotiations with Russia. On the other hand, realignment of power between Sino- Russian relations especially in the Asia- Pacific region creates the suspicion for the US and its alliances. Russia China wants to the "US free Asia- Pacific". Both were moved towards to counter the US hegemony in this region. It is necessary for India to understand the Sino-Russian proximity after the US Asia- Pivot policy. Recently, all these changing dynamics could increase Indian vulnerability. It would create the situations such as like "Russi- ChiniBhai- Bhai"²⁵. Consequently, there is alternative for India to join the Sino- Russian club or the US lead alliance. Indeed, it could follow its multi- alignment policy¹. And increase its proximity with each major power bestowing its interest and multilateral approach.

Future Analysis: The power realignment between China-Russia makes the strong consequences in the upcoming decades. The Paper describes all new dimension that happening in the Asia- Pacific region. The paper analyses that India is willing to engage itself in the great power politics under the new world order. It also wants to establishment of multipolar world. It doesn't want to the US or China- centric world order. It wants to fulfill its own ambition by the multilateral diplomacy with both major powers. India should establish a bilateral maritime security dialogue with China that would allow an open discussion of each other security interests²⁶. It would be helpful for India to balance the power game with China. The US strategic pivot in the Asia- Pacific region, push the Russia-China to enlarged their realignment in the Asia- Pacific region. The realignment of Russia- China shifted the attraction of global politics towards the Asian Continent. Both, Russia- China restructured the power mechanism and changed the direction of relations under the new world order. Both, Beijing and Moscow increased the geo- strategic, economic and defense cooperation in this region to maintain the status- quo in the Asia- Pacific region. China individually claimed the wider maritime zone in the South China Sea. Although, it is also accepted the equal partnership with Russia in the Asia- Pacific region, especially after the US strategic pivot. The realignment of two great powers creates the new dynamics in the Asian Security Architecture. India has a special security concern in the Indo-Pacific region, especially after the new realignment between the two Asian powers. Russia shifted towards the China due to such a reason like Russia's antagonism with the US over the Ukraine crisis.

Therefore, the realignment created the new challenges in the Russia- India relations. Further, due to China's rapid rise and its new realignment with Russia creates the maritime security dilemma for India in this particular region. India as a middle

power has a different apprehension towards the US strategic pivot in the Asia- Pacific region. It has ambitions to play an active role in the multi-polar world order. Therefore, it has a different response towards the US pivotal policy comparison to Russia and China. India's new government is following the "Multi- Alignment policy" that was introduced by Mr. Shashi Throor during the UPA- 2 regime. The policy endorsed the relations with all the great powers. However, the new realignment created the dilemma for India's multi- alignment policy under the new dynamics in the Asia- Pacific region. India is the center of attraction between the two major entities such as the US lead Western group and China and Russian periphery. Indeed, India is facing a non- traditional security threat after the realignment between Sino- Russia. There is a future probability India can purchase the natural gas from Russia. Therefore, the new realignment created the dilemma for the India's energy security due to its closeness to China. Currently, India is responding towards the new realignment under the changing security architecture in the Asia. It has maritime security concern in the Indo- Pacific region, especially after the Chinese rapid rise and its realignment with Russia.

The Indo- Pacific region is seen of the convergence of policies between "India's Look East Policy", Australia's "Look West Policy" and more recently the US "Asia- Pivot" policy. New Delhi is opposing the new realignment in the Indo- Pacific region with the shadow of the US, Australia, and Japan. Individually, India renewed its policy implications towards the Indo- Pacific region with the new vision of the NAM- 2.0. The policy is responding to the new realignment in this region with the dynamic policy change towards the "Look East to Act East Policy". On the other hand, India is increasing the middle power coalition with the Japan and Australia in the Indo- Pacific region. Further, New Delhi is shifting towards the defensive multilateralism to active multilateralism. The new government also focused the India's reappearance as a self-insured nation in the global politics. Therefore, the new regime concentrated the regional mechanism in the South Asia as well as Indo- Pacific region. It will increase the positive unilateralism among the South Asia as well as ASEAN countries.

Conclusion

In the concluding remarks, we can analyze that India has a potential to increase its position in the entire world as a self-insured nation as well as responsible regional power. Therefore, under the new circumstances Asian security architecture is not China-centric, but also India-centric and India can play a very active role in the Indo- Pacific region. Therefore, India has also the vision to establish the peace, prosperity and security in the Asian Continent as well as the Asia- Pacific region. There are some recommendations that how India can sustain its presence in the Indo- Pacific region and maintain its strategic autonomy under these new dynamics.

Recommendation: Extend the SAARC Mechanism: India should make the healthy effort to extend the SAARC mechanism to increase its regional interests. There are two countries such as Mauritius in the South Indian Ocean, and another Myanmar is a reliable option or bridge to interlink the India's physical connectivity with ASEAN countries. Therefore, if these countries will join the SAARC, definitely it would increase the India's regional influence over the region and extend the India's reach towards the ASEAN countries.

Buddhist diplomacy: The Buddhist diplomacy is one of the tools to counter the Chinese hegemony in the Asian Continent. China used the Buddhist legacy in the term such as like "Peaceful rise of China" to increase its idealist approach behind its ambitious policies in the entire world. Though, India is one of the Buddhist heritage countries that save the Buddhist legacy. The new government has an option to use the Buddhist diplomacy to upsurge its idealist stretch to counter the Chinese influence among the ASEAN countries.

Focus the Regional or sub- regional integration: India should focus the regional as well as sub- regional integration in the Indo- Pacific region. The New Delhi should focus the regional or sub- regional institutions such as ASEAN, SAARC, BIMSTEC, and Mekong- Ganga Cooperation, etc. It should promote itself as a responsible regional power and increase the positive unilateral approach.

India's Strategic Autonomy: India should maintain its Strategic autonomy in the Indo- Pacific region. It should continuously follow its multi- alignment policy with each superpower. It should also carry on its individual efforts in this particular region.

Indo- Pacific as a New Regional Security Architecture: As the new dynamics in the Asian security architecture, India highlighted the 'Indo- Pacific' term for ensuring its involvement in this particular region. Currently, India should promote the Indo- Pacific region as new regional security architecture. India should develop the Indo- Pacific region as a new economic zone that has full probability to make the healthy and free trade atmosphere between the Indo- Pacific countries. Therefore, it will save the common interests of India as well as ASEAN countries.

India should propose the G5 institution in the Indo- Pacific region: As the US strategic pivot in the Asia- Pacific region and the new realignment of Russia-China creates the new dynamics in this particular region. Therefore, India should propose the G5 (India, Japan, Australia, South Korea and Vietnam) institution in the Indo- Pacific region to counter the new dynamics in the Indo- Pacific region. India has a good relation with these countries in the Indo- Pacific region. Therefore, India should propose the new mechanism in this particular region to make sure its geo- strategic, political and economic proximity to these countries rather than welcome the US in this particular region.

Therefore, realignment of power in the Asia- Pacific region is making a new world order. Russian re- emergence and rapid rise of China create the new dynamic situation in the Asia- Pacific region. Therefore, as per final remark the realignment of power between Sino- Russia is the major concern with India's foreign policy in the new world order.

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