

## **IMPROVING MILITARY SECURITY AND ECONOMIC COOPERATION IN THE GLOBAL SOUTH**

### **Protocol**

At the outset I would like to thank Professor Eghosa E Osaghae, Director General, Nigerian Institute of International Affairs for giving me the opportunity to address this distinguished audience. This lecture is a part of the program being done by the NIIA and the Peace Building Development Consult (PBDC) hosting the Foreign Policy School.

I shall cover this lecture in the following parts:

What is Global South?

The objectives of South-South Cooperation

The Relevance of the South-South Cooperation

Economic Cooperation in Global South

Why the Sudden Interest in Economic Coop in the South

Challenges to the Economic Cooperation in SSC

Shared Prosperity – India's Contribution to SSC

Security Cooperation in the Global South

Military Cooperation

Recommendations and Way Forward, and

Conclude.

### **What is the Global South?**

While there is no formal geographic delineation between the North or the West and the South, the level of economic, political, and social status brings about a clear demarcation. The Brandt Line starkly divides the world into developed and the euphemistically stated developing countries as the divide between the North and the South. The South in the mid-20th century when most of them achieved independence from their colonial masters, like our two countries, displayed a common set of insecurities and economic difficulties. The world view of the North and the world view of the South differed like two sides of a coin. With varying degrees of success, many of the countries in the South attempted to speak with a common voice to espouse similar political principles in favour of the norms of complete decolonization, non-intervention, non-interference, and non-alignment to bipolar imperialism in international forums.

It was not easy and needed the foresight and perseverance of Statesmen who realised the existing chasm and the need for those who do not form part of the club to form one of their own. The famed “Asian-African Conference” in Bandung in April 1955, and the subsequent efforts to consolidate a body of states into a formal institution—the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM)—against Cold War superpower manipulation, are the results of this exercise. As I said earlier, it was not easy. But for the persistence of some of the Statesman, the South could not have formed as an informal bloc even, owing to the narrowly defined interests of countries and to the interference and influence that the North had in shaping the policies of the world, even when they were not present in the room. For instance, even though they were strident members of the NAM, the People’s Republic of China actively pursued policies supporting Communist armed movements across Southeast Asia; Keita’s Mali received significant military equipment and support from the USSR with which it violently subjugated its nomadic populations; and Nasser’s Egypt actively influenced the politics of Middle Eastern countries to support the establishment of Baathist political regimes.

In today’s security environment, just as in the past, speaking of a unified and coherent Global South, whether politically or analytically, is equally problematic, but not unachievable. Many states that nominally fit under the label of the Global South are currently growing in terms of economic, military, political, diplomatic, and symbolic might, and they are also contesting many of the principles that have come to define the liberal international world order. The growth of these economies and politics amplifies inter-Global South competition for regional dominance within a potentially post-liberal international order. The South has realised that commonalities bring better understandings and this led to the emergence of various regional groups. SAARC, ASEAN, SADC, African Union etc. are but few examples of such Groups that showcase the requirement of common understanding of similar problems that transcend the national geographic boundaries and seek common, sometimes unified, solutions to them. A smaller geography makes it easier to identify and prescribe solutions and cooperative measures for unified growth.

However, the divisions within the Global South have increased in recent years, with some states gaining in economic and political power, while others have remained poor, or succumbed to violence and civil war. In the practice of contemporary international security, this fractured Global South is most evident in the two figures of the “weak state” and the “intervener state”. The more the North withdraws, it is replaced by these countries, which have risen and are ready to step in as a first responder, a reliable partner and an understanding friend.

**The objectives of South-South Cooperation are:-**

To foster and strengthen the self-reliance of developing countries by enhancing their creative capacity to find solutions and technological capacities to their development problems and formulate the requisite strategies to address them;

To promote and strengthen collective self-reliance among developing countries through the exchange of experiences leading to a greater awareness of common problems and wider access to available knowledge;

To recognize and respond to the problems and requirements of the least developed countries, landlocked developing countries, small island developing States and countries most seriously affected by, for example, natural disasters and other crises, and enable them to achieve a greater degree of participation in international economic activities.

### **The Relevance of the South-South Cooperation**

As distances grow, the issues morph or change. The cultural bedrock on which the countries look at issues change. The traditional knowledge and experience of handling similar or same problems in the past varies. Approaches differ. In today's globalised world, problems do transcend boundaries, but solutions necessarily may not. The solutions need modification, adaptation and adjustment.

There are universal shocks that come in to affect the normal process and requires readjustment. The 2008 economic shock, the Covid-19 pandemic that changed how the countries now look at survival and at a secondary level cooperation, and the ongoing Russia-Ukraine conflict that has starkly brought to the fore that a distant conflict can upend the daily life and demanded changes on the go, are but examples of black swan events that determine how countries have to be on the look out to evolve and learn from each other. These events have brought in not only global recognition of problems but also the relevance of the regional solutions and decentralisation.

Then there is this issue of multilateral organizations which still reflect the world of 1945, of the mid-20th Century and not of the 21st Century. Do the existing Institutional arrangements that were established immediately after the Second World War cater to these requirements? Are they representative enough to understand and address the requirements of the developing world? Is the world view seen through the same glasses of 1945 able to meet the changing demands and aspirations of the soon to be 8 billion people, majority of whom actually reside in geographies that are in no way a reflection of the Western Societies? The answer to these questions is an emphatic NO.

Be it the United Nations, the World Bank, the IMF and other Bretton Woods Institutions, they represent a bygone era and continue to strive for their relevance through imposition of their will, when the majority of the countries have no say in the decision-making process. It is but natural to ask how are the aspirations and the requirements of 1.2 billion people of Africa and 1.3 billion people of India being addressed without their adequate presence. While there is no denying that these institutions have certainly done a decent job in terms of development of the under-developed countries, still have only perpetuated a system and a scheme that would suit their understanding and one that ensures their dominance. We are well aware of the conditionalities that were attached to the aid and the sometimes breathing down the neck attitude.

As my External Affairs Minister Dr. S. Jaishankar, had stated in his address to the Indian Institute of Management at Kolkata on 2nd November 2022, "It is today hard to separate vulnerabilities from dependence of risks from benefits in a globalized world. The weaponisation of everything is leading to a large change in international affairs. Trade, connectivity, debt, resources and even tourism have

become points of political pressure. Gaming of global rules and practices for national advantage can no longer be overlooked. Sharpening great power competition is inevitably creating stress factors across multiple domains. We are not just moving towards a different model of global interaction but also one of greater focus on national self-reliance. In India, we know this as Atmanirbhar Bharat or Self-reliant India.”

This holds good for every nation, particularly of the Global South. Thereby comes the relevance of South-South Cooperation which can bring in a focus on development and sharing of knowledge and capital, based on regional approach to problems through regional institutions as well as cross-continent knowledge sharing and capacity building. It has been noted by the United Nations Office for South-South Cooperation that SSC involves “different and evolving methods, including the sharing of knowledge and experience, training, technology transfer, financial and monetary cooperation and in-kind contributions. South-South cooperation can include different sectors and be bilateral, multilateral, sub regional, regional or interregional in nature.”

The countries of the Global South have decided to act according to their own interests, maintain their autonomy and not be drawn into a confrontation that they do not perceive as their own – the Russia-Ukraine conflict is a point to reflect. Resentment over the abuses of the colonial era, the perception that the West uses different yardsticks according to its convenience, and the rejection of one part of the world imposing its value system on the rest are some of the reasons for this.

Another modality of South-South cooperation is Triangular cooperation, a collaboration in which traditional donor countries and multilateral organizations facilitate South-South initiatives through the provision of funding, training, management and technological systems, as well as other forms of support.

### **Economic Cooperation in Global South**

The traditional instruments of aid, grant, loan and supply are undergoing transformational changes towards mutually beneficial methods of joint ownership/development, infrastructure building, and local capacity enhancement for sustainable growth. From tackling innovative sustainable growth barriers to managing the global upkeep with rapidly transforming digital technologies, there is a consistent need for economies to collaborate, innovate and change for the betterment of their societies.

The provision of enhanced frameworks that facilitate social, economic and political cooperation on every level among countries of the Global South has become an ever-more significant topic on the global stage. As the Global South becomes an increasingly important driver of the world’s economy, South-South and intraregional trade become more central to development discourse. To facilitate and strengthen cohesion among growing economies in the Global South, cross-country networks encouraging competitive business environments is key.

Calling for greater integration among Southern countries, however, is not to be seen as a method of strengthening countervailing powers against the North. Rather, SSC efforts mark a transitional philosophical shift to recover strengths and

values inherent in Southern countries and to enhance these common values through links in various economic spheres. These values include respect for sovereignty, mutual benefit, non-interference and non-aggression. As such, principles of SSC are grounded in the meaningful engagement of stakeholders and beneficiaries in more inclusive and sustainable economic development landscapes through the exchange of expertise and experiences of development challenges. In fact, in many instances, SSC has been proven to reap higher benefits than North-South trade relationships, indicating that the promotion of SSC is a more viable alternative for sustainable economic growth.

### **Why the Sudden Interest in Economic Coop in the South**

A number of different circumstances emphasize the motivations behind the recent push for greater SSC in the economic domain. The first is one that is more prevalent in economic discussions today, that is, the challenges and barriers that North-South relations cause for the Global South in terms of uneven development. This is reflected in trade whereby advanced economies export manufactured goods and import primary commodities from Southern States, confining value-adding activities and technological advancement to their Northern counterparts.

The second concerns the growing economic might of the Global South and the rising contribution of the region to the global economy. The worldwide convergence in GDP is reflected in the strong growth in Southern economies that took off around 2000. Southern economies, especially India and China, saw a surge, with both showing impressive growth rates from 2003 till date.

The third factor is the promotion of reduced barriers between countries not just in North-South relations but more so in South-South trade. This particularly allows a focus on facing smaller challenges in sectoral trade barriers between Southern countries that would support the overall push for more equal trade relations. Trade between Southern countries is an extremely important part of uplifting these economies and introducing more cohesive regional integration.

The fourth factor is grounded in promoting regional and trans-regional public goods across the Global South through SSC. The importance of mutual benefits among Southern economies builds on the idea that knowledge-sharing and infrastructural capacity-building are critical to combating circumstances shared by other regional partners. Through greater infrastructural development, countries can more easily access various methods of trade, both physical and digital, to boost economic output and increase domestic development. When countries in one region face a similar issue, for instance lack of digital infrastructure as in the case of Africa, they are disadvantaged in their trade interactions with other actors and do not benefit in the same way as their counterparts. This leads to an information gap and can further tip trade imbalances across the Global South, resulting in greater economic development challenges. The sharing of development solutions among countries of the Global South is at the heart of SSC and in this sense, cross-issue cooperation becomes key to mutual benefits.

The fifth and last factor is rooted in altering North-South power relations to combat the existing disproportionality in political relations. Regional architectures and organizations have transformed the power equation and enable the South to embark

on the path of self-reliance and mutual assistance. This is illustrated by the emergence of ECOWAS, BRICS, SCO, AU, ASEAN, SAARC, BIMSTEC, CARICOM, NDB, AfDB, AIIB etc.

A strong illustration is the contribution of the New Development Bank (NDB) to advancing Southern development agendas through the elevation of partnerships that curate knowledge-sharing among Southern institutions. In its 2017–2021 agenda, NDB committed to more effective capacity-building that best facilitates the assessment and implementation of projects to improve project scale. Thus, greater cooperation among developing countries results in deepened economic relations in so far as these relations create fairly beneficial conditions and strengthen regional political power.

### **Challenges for economic cooperation in SSC**

There are notable challenges to the strategic revitalization of SSC in the economic domain that affect the inclusiveness and sustainability of the southern countries. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, UNCTAD and UNDP have put forward a number of interconnected bottlenecks that are hindering the full potential of South-South and triangular cooperation. Overall, the challenges include the heterogeneity and complexity of SSC modalities; the inability of countries to manage and participate in South-South and triangular cooperation; and policy incoherence and lack of institutional capacities available in Southern countries. Some other factors are,

#### **Weakness in Institutional Framework**

Existing institutional frameworks illustrate a weaker component of SSC. Many countries do not have a formal institutional set-up for SSC and suffer from huge coordination and harmonization problems. Some Southern countries often have a top-down system for SSC where the onus on deciding the projects rests only with the Heads of State.

#### **Mind-set Transformation and Capacity Development**

Some Southern partners marginalize others in preference to products from somewhere else; others lack information regarding the benefits of SSC. Thus, there is a need for a better understanding of what SSC is in order to benefit fully from its diversity. One of the challenges faced during project implementation is the cultural and religious differences between the partners that need to be considered and respected.

#### **Development of Partnerships**

Some countries are not taking steps to engage in and develop strategic partnerships. Partnerships present a huge opportunity, especially if capacity can be strengthened to engage in and lead to strategic partnerships. These efforts deliver at both global and country levels.

#### **Insufficient Communication**

Another barrier to SSC is insufficient communication and lack of awareness about SSC at all levels. There is a strong requirement amongst the partner countries to increase awareness and support for SSC projects at the grassroots level. Strategies that may be useful in improving communication are networking, partnerships and platforms to share ideas and experiences of best practices, including in political pluralism and good governance; intergovernmental meetings and regional exchanges on SSC; regular updates and communication on SSC opportunities; and greater engagement with more local and community-based actors.

### **Shared Prosperity – India’s Contribution to SSC**

On 12 March 2015 the Prime Minister of India had used the word SAGAR, which means ocean in Hindi, and stands for Security and Growth for All in the Region in an address in Mauritius. The goal of this project is to seek a climate of trust and transparency; respect for international maritime rules and norms by all countries; sensitivity to each other’s interests; peaceful resolution of maritime issues; and increase in maritime cooperation in India’s neighbourhood. In addition, in his address to the Ugandan Parliament, PM Modi articulated the "Ten Principles of India-Africa Cooperation" which forms the basis of India’s engagement with Africa, which can be paraphrased as “India’s priority is not just Africa; India’s priority is Africans – every man, woman and child in Africa.”

As part of these initiatives, the Indian government, has assisted countries in the Indian Ocean region with exclusive economic zone surveillance, search and rescue, and other such activities, including first responder initiatives. Vaccine Maitri (or Vaccine Friendship) is a humanitarian initiative undertaken by the Indian government to provide COVID-19 vaccines to countries around the world. The government started providing vaccines from 20 January 2021 and till date has delivered around 162.9 million doses of vaccines to 96 countries. Of these, 14.3 million doses were gifted to 48 countries by the Government of India. The remaining 107.1 million were supplied by the vaccine producers under its commercial and 41.5 million were supplied by COVAX obligations. In addition, 200,000 doses of COVID-19 vaccines were gifted by India to the UN peacekeepers to be distributed to all UN peacekeeping missions.

COVID also saw Indian relief missions with Indian Navy ships carrying 600 tons of food items, medical assistance teams and essential medicines to the countries in the southern Indian Ocean. This relief mission provided assistance to Mauritius, Maldives, Madagascar, Comoros, Seychelles, Indonesia, Vietnam and Thailand. In December 2021, food aid was delivered to Mozambique amidst a double blow of coronavirus and drought. Following the MV Wakashio oil spill off the coast of Mauritius in August 2020, India extended its support to the Mauritius government and international efforts by sending 30 tons of technical equipment and materials, supplementing the oil spill containment and salvage operation.

### **Security Cooperation in the Global South**

It is common knowledge that peace and development have a direct correlation. This has also been enunciated in the preamble of the 2030 Agenda for

Sustainable Development adopted by all United Nations Member States solemnly declared that “There can be no sustainable development without peace and no peace without sustainable development”. In the policy arena, parallel developments gave rise to the concept of “human security.” A milestone event was the publication of the United Nations Development Programme’s first Human Development Report in 1994, which expanded the notion of security to take account of “freedom from want”. Human security, according to the report, is about people and not about territories; it is about development and not about arms. Framing security with reference to freedom from social and economic threats such as poverty, ill-health, and environmental degradation, the report conceptualized international security from the individual level up: “The world,” it declared, “can never be at peace unless people have security in their daily lives”. Not only might many future conflicts occur “within nations rather than between them—with their origins buried deep in growing socio-economic deprivations and disparities,” but threats to human security are increasingly becoming global. Poverty, AIDS, environmental degradation, and terrorism respect no national borders, the report noted, and the search for security thus lies “in development, not in arms”.

The report stands as a key maker of the merger of development and security and the association of underdevelopment with conflict. Over time, the idea that there can be “no security without development, and no development without security” is quite simply the new common sense, and as some scholars perceptively argue, development has in this way re-invented itself as “a structural form of conflict prevention” and as a valuable and indispensable tool in the armoury of liberal peace. By the same token, security has also been repackaged and re-invented, and in the post-Cold War era militaries and security establishments eagerly began embracing the broadening of the security agenda to include non-military aspects as a means of maintaining their own relevance in a rapidly changing geopolitical environment that emphasized humanitarian intervention and peacekeeping rather than defence and warfare. The result has been an increasing fusion of development and security policies and knowledge, so much so that the two are at times almost indistinguishable. Security concepts extend to Energy security, food security, internal security, climate security etc.

South-South Cooperation offers an additional and complementary path to renew, revitalize and multiply the alternatives to sustain inclusive development and peace through enhanced security. Importantly, this needs to be done with Global South countries directly affected by insecurity, instability and violence being at the forefront of policy and programming processes. South-South Cooperation thus, is a unique prospect to increase knowledge transfer and enhance policy coordination in the security domain as the world moves towards an increasingly multipolar world.

In 2019 the United Nations Day for South-South Cooperation on 12 September marked of the 1978 adoption by consensus of the Buenos Aires Plan of Action (BAPA). Importantly, the “Second United Nations High-Level Conference on South-South Cooperation”, in which 145 Member States endorsed an outcome document guiding the future of South-South Cooperation was held in 2019. In the last few months, the world has seen a paradigm shift in international relations as well as security alliances post the start of the Russia Ukraine conflict in Feb 2022 and easing of the COVID pandemic to some extent. This is thus, a good time to reflect and work on ideas to support the expansion of the global agenda for Southern



solidarity for inclusive peace, security and development, leading to increased security cooperation in the Global South.

For this to take shape, I shall put forth certain key issues which need our attention.

### **The first is Increased Trust**

For practitioners working for many years in peacebuilding, conflict prevention and development, the evidence that only through “multiple paths and inclusivity” it is possible to achieve durable peace, is not new. Concentration of decision-making power, knowledge and resources in the hands of a few actors is likely to lead to division, conflict and lack of understanding. Therefore, it is essential to identify and bring into fold all those who are involved and affected – in other words, we need to perhaps coin a new word - multiplestakeholderism.

As South-South Cooperation embraces the key principle of South-South solidarity as a key pillar to build a new world, Southern Member States are opening up new routes to work together, listening to each other and sharing knowledge while improving policy coordination. This may lead to increased mutual understanding, trust and reciprocated accountability, fundamental pre-conditions to create contexts of security and stability. Earlier in the talk, I had mentioned about the different plurilateral and regional organizations like the AU, ASEAN, SAARC, ECOWAS etc. that have used this approach for better coordination, understanding and development of trust.

In complex political times, it is also vital to increase cross-continental exchange of ideas, moving beyond regional boundaries, Latin America and the Caribbean, Africa and Asia must come even closer together to protect “global commons”, supporting each other in achieving the Sustainable Development Goals. We have much to gain and learn from each other’s experiences, avoiding past mistakes.

### **The next major issue is Ownership as an Enabler**

Another crucial South-South Cooperation principle points out to the “demand driven” nature of Southern collaborations. The BAPA+40 outcome document recognises the “voluntary, participative and demand driven nature of South-South Cooperation born from common objectives...”. This means that Global South countries pledged to respect the decisions and priorities set up by Southern counterparts when defining and implementing the peace and development policy agenda. It is about striking a delicate balancing act to avoid the negative consequences of interventionism and disregard of national sovereignty. The role of Northern partners or other multiple partners, including United Nations agencies and development banks, should be of facilitation as per priorities defined by the Global South. Non-conditionality is a must to be considered in the intricate dialogue among partners.

Scholar of peace acknowledge that ownership is an essential factor enabling lasting peace and security. In this sense, South-South Cooperation principles are a guidance to create contexts of sustainable positive policy change. It’s important that they are consistently applied considering aligned approaches, methods and tools.

## **Another major factor is Context Relevant Peace Endeavours**

The paradigm that “food for the goose is the food for the gander” applies only when we talk about geese and not when the flock has different species. Context relevant peace and development endeavours, moving beyond short-term policy interventions, is a fundamental pillar to enhancing security and sustaining peace. In this regard, the South-South Cooperation agenda clearly stresses the relevance of “proximity of experience” and also the multilayer and distinctive challenges faced by the Global South countries. More than simply working to manage crisis and mediate wars, policy processes and all involved stakeholders should commit to work on transforming the conditions that generate violence with special focus on poverty, inequality, various forms of discrimination and abuse of rights. The inclusion of all Global South countries perspectives to analyse the systemic causes of violence and, consequently, set up a more legitimate and context relevant agenda for inclusive peace and development is vital to achieve durable peace results.

Considering this, it’s notable that the BAPA+40 outcome document highlights the need to consider the economic, social and environmental dimensions of sustainability, stressing the need to work in an integral manner to implement Sustainable Development Goals with the aim to achieve peace and prosperity for all. A very diverse and complementary set of issues are integrated in the South-South agenda including, good governance, climate change, women participation, management of countries’ debts, urban planning, new technologies among others. The above mentioned “proximity” is a key factor to design legitimate and context relevant policy responses to achieve inclusive peace.

There are some examples which are worth emulating. The African Peer Review Mechanism is a platform to ensure that good governance practices are enhanced in the African continent, thus, promoting increased transparency and institutional performance, some of the key enablers of enhancing security and conflict prevention. Another example is the newly established Rwanda Cooperation Initiative where other Southern countries are invited to Rwanda to learn how the country moved from genocide and post-conflict crisis to inclusive economic growth. The Intergovernmental Authority for Development or IGAD’s Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism (CEWARN), in the horn of Africa, which brings together seven countries to coordinate and share lessons in early warning conflict prevention, also highlights the need to share insights on approaches and policy options to manage cross-border challenges. These are all examples where smaller local organisations are making a difference and enhancing regional security.

## **Technological Colonialism**

Technology, especially in the security and cyber domain is changing at a rapid pace. Terrorists and other anti-national elements as well as extremist organisations are able to source the latest equipment in communication and other fields from the black market and other dubious arms dealers. The same is however not possible for most of the countries in the Global South due to various import restrictions, technology denial regimes as well as prohibitive costs. This inequality is a systemic problem which can be termed as “Technological Colonialism.” To achieve a more equitable and inclusive global technological society, active involvement of stakeholders from

the Global South as co-researchers, co-creators, and co-designers of technology is required. This however is an issue, as in majority of countries in the Global South, skilled manpower is being lost to the North due to various reasons.

### **Military Cooperation**

An important Component of Security Cooperation is the Military Cooperation within the Global South. Countries in the Global South have been cooperating in the Military domain to some extent in the past decade to deal with terrorism, banditry and local conflicts. However, I purposefully brought this topic to the end of the presentation and would briefly touch upon it. As mentioned earlier, development and security go hand-in-hand. Emphasis needs to be given to economic development and ensuring security in all its manifestations. As my Prime Minister had recently said during his meetings at the SCO Summit, "Now is not a time for War". As far as Africa is concerned, the challenges that the continent faces are not necessarily war between nations, but internal security, strife, banditry and civil war. The usual paradigm for addressing military cooperation in terms of strengthening the Armed Forces of the countries may not be appropriate in handling such issues. The focus needs to be aligned with managing the differences and addressing the fundamental issues, albeit with a strong hand, but with a targeted approach. Most of these issues transcend borders or even providing easy movement in and out of countries so that the governments will have to tackle them together coming on a common platform. The Continent has already shown the way.

A good example is the **Multinational Joint Task Force** (MNJTF), which is a combined multinational formation under the auspices of the African Union (AU) working under the supervision of the Lake Chad Basin Commission, comprising units from Nigeria, Cameroon, Chad, Niger and Benin. With Headquarters in N'Djamena (Chad) it is tasked to bring an end to the ongoing Boko Haram and ISWAP insurgency. Another example is the establishment of the Gulf of Guinea Inter-Regional Network or GoGIN project that covers 19 coastal countries, from Senegal to Angola, and works closely with the regional organisations like the ECOWAS and others. With the Yaoundé Code of Conduct as a foundational agreement, a maritime security architecture consisting of international, regional, zonal and country level components have been created, which became known as the **Yaoundé Architecture**. The full operationalisation of this has seen a drastic reduction in piracy in the Gulf of Guinea this year, which had peaked in 2021. In addition, countries, especially in Africa have been routinely assisting each other militarily with deployment of forces to assist whenever required.

### **India's Assistance to Security**

India has had excellent relations with the countries of the Global South which have been nurtured over a period of time and took birth when most of these nations got independence in the 1950s and 60s. The Indian Armed Forces have helped establish a number of training establishments, especially in Africa, with the Nigerian Defence Academy at Kaduna and the Naval War College at Port Harcourt being prime examples. In addition, India has had permanent training teams in Botswana, Tanzania and mobile training teams in many more countries. India has also supported the capacity building of the host countries armed forces with a no strings attached policy, particularly in the Counter-Insurgency and Counter Terrorism

strategies. Almost all countries in the Global South including Africa have benefited from the ITEC programme, which offers fully funded courses run at training institutions in India.

India also offers to provide state of the art Defence equipment as well as technology to its partner countries with no conditionalities. In the recent times many countries in South Asia have procured supersonic missiles as well as other critical equipment from India. India also offers to assist the local defence industrial entities in host nations to scale up and modernise their setups as well as offers assistance in setting up of research as well as design schools in the defence domain. Another focus area is assistance in the Cyber and Space domains, which are the strong points of India.

## **Some Recommendations and Way Forward**

### **Economic Cooperation**

- Speak as one voice in international forums to the extent possible, regional discussions prior to major policy discussions at the global level.
- Work towards regional Free Trade Areas within the Global South to increase cost competitiveness of products.
- Promote voices/ people from the Global South for posts in organisations such as WTO, the IMF and the World Bank to influence policy formulation and making sure interests taken into account.
- Greater harmony among regional organisations like BRICS, SCO, BIMSTEC, SAGAR, ECOWAS etc. by giving observer status to have cross participation. Overall motto of Shared Prosperity.
- Develop consensus on actions to prevent Climate Change, while preserving the Global South's right to development to offset decades of exploitation of global resources by the West.

### **Security and Military Cooperation**

- Increased engagements and exercises to build trust
- Sensitivity to security concerns, especially neighbouring countries
- Use of regional multilateral and plurilateral security organisations to resolve local issues rather than going to the global stage and having other interests come into play
- Knowledge sharing to overcome Technological Colonialism.
- Co-development of niche/ critical technologies to offset costs

- Sharing of training infrastructure with poorer countries to enable capacity building of armed forces, example of India's ITEC programme.

### **Conclusion**

I would like to conclude by stating the well-known that, while the South is not a monolith, the problems affecting them have similarities and therefore, the understanding between them can be brought forth more easier than with the other side. As a political strategy against domination, the aspiration of a Global South remains alive, as expressed for example in the confident re-statement of Pan-Africanism in the African Union. Our future endeavours should aim for maximising the gains from our diverse strengths and shared growth for shared prosperity.

Thank you.