



UNISCI

UNIDAD DE  
INVESTIGACIÓN  
SOBRE  
SEGURIDAD Y  
COOPERACIÓN  
INTERNACIONAL

RESEARCH  
UNIT ON  
INTERNATIONAL  
SECURITY AND  
COOPERATION

ISSN 2386-9453

Disponible on-line:

Available on-line:

[www.unisci.es](http://www.unisci.es)

## INTERPRETING INDIA'S RISE AND ITS GLOBAL IMPLICATIONS

Guest Editor: Shantanu Chakrabarti

### PART-1: Conceptualising India's rise-external and internal dimensions

*Shibashis Chatterjee and Sreya Maitra*: India's Foreign Policy and the Quest for Global Leadership: Reflections on Ambition and Accomplishments.

*Jolita Zabarskaitė*: A Return to "Greater India"

*Vidushi Kaushik and John Doyle*: India's security approach and its space in global politics

*Ajaya Kumar Das*: Rising India's Soft Power: Illusion or Influence?

*Sohom Bhattacharyya*: Soft Power and the Rise of India: Global Implications of Narendra Modi's Foreign Policy

*Raj Sekhar Basu and Sayantika Biswas*: (Re)invention of diasporic tradition and the foreign policy making in the nation state: the Indian experience

*Ratnadeep Maitra and Tapas Das*: India and the Rare Earth Conundrum: Navigating Security, Geoeconomics, and Global Supply Chains

### PART II: India's global engagement- bilateral and multilateral

*Swaran Singh*: India and the Superpowers: From Bilateral Anchors to Networked Strategic Autonomy for *Viksit Bharat*

*Agnieszka Kuszewska-Bohnert*: India in the European Union's foreign and security policy. Strategic opportunities, structural constraints and political ambiguities

*Urbi Das*: Shifting Balances and Recalibrating Partnership: Assessing India-US Relations in the Indo-Pacific Region

*Subhadeep Bhattacharya*: Clash of the titans & India's Asia-Pacific predicament

*Priya Singh*: Beyond Conventional Diplomacy: Cultural Nationalism, Technology as Statecraft, and Geoeconomic Convergence in India-Israel Relations

*Kingshuk Chatterjee*: Energy, Expatriates, Security: The Hazy Contours of India's Policy towards the Middle East

*Tanwir Arshed*: India and the Non-Western Space: Mapping India's Potential and Possibilities in South Asia and beyond

*Anwesha Ghosh*: Soft Power in Hard Times: India's Cautious Re-engagement with Taliban ruled Afghanistan

*Tapas Das and Tanwir Arshed*: From Ally to Ambiguity India-Bangladesh Relations at a Crossroads

### TERRORISM

*Liu Chunlin and Prof Rohan Gunaratna*: Global Threat Assessment 2026

## **Revista UNISCI / UNISCI Journal**

*Revista UNISCI / UNISCI Journal* es una revista científica de acceso abierto, con sistema de evaluación por pares, sobre Relaciones Internacionales y Seguridad; ambas entendidas en sentido amplio y desde un enfoque multidimensional, abierto a diferentes perspectivas teóricas.

La revista es publicada tres veces al año —enero, mayo y octubre— por la Unidad de Investigación sobre Seguridad y Cooperación Internacional (UNISCI). Todos los números están disponibles de forma gratuita en nuestra página web [www.unisci.es](http://www.unisci.es)

El Comité de Redacción acepta colaboraciones en forma de artículos o reseñas de libros. Pueden enviarnos sus propuestas según se indica en las "Instrucciones para autores" que figuran al final de este número, así como en nuestra página web.

*Revista UNISCI / UNISCI Journal* is an open access, peer-reviewed scientific journal on International Relations and Security; both understood in a broad sense and from a multidimensional approach, open to different theoretical perspectives.

The journal is published three times per year (January, May and October) by the Research Unit on International Security and Cooperation (UNISCI). All the issues are available free of charge at our website [www.unisci.es](http://www.unisci.es)

The Editorial Committee accepts contributions of articles or book reviews. Proposals may be sent as indicated in the "Instructions for Authors" that can be found at the back of this issue, as well as at our website.

### **COMITÉ CIENTÍFICO / ADVISORY BOARD**

#### **Mustafa Aydin**

*Professor of International Relations,  
Kadir Has University Rector*

#### **Mely Caballero-Anthony**

*Director of the Non-Traditional Security Center,  
Rajaratnam School of International Studies,  
Singapore*

#### **Terrence Guay**

*Professor of International Business,  
Pennsylvania State University*

#### **Tai Hwan Lee**

*Senior Fellow,  
The Sejong Institute, Seoul*

#### **Miranda Schreuers**

*Chair, Environment and Climate Policy  
TUM School of Governance*

#### **Haksoon Paik**

*Director, Center for North Korean Studies,  
The Sejong Institute, Seoul*

#### **John Ravenhill**

*Professor of International Relations  
University of Waterloo*

#### **Sten Rynning**

*Associate Professor of International Relations and  
Security Studies, University of Southern Denmark*

#### **Dan Tschirgi**

*Professor Emeritus of Political Science,  
The American University in Cairo*

#### **Romualdo Bermejo**

*Chair in Public International Law,  
University of León*

#### **Ralph Emmers**

*Co-Chair  
Centre for International Studies and Diplomacy  
SOAS*

#### **Massimo de Leonardis**

*Professor of History of International Relations,  
Catholic University of the Sacred Heart, Milan  
Chairman of Int. Commission of Military History*

#### **Shantanu Chakrabarti**

*Associate Professor, Institute of Foreign Policy  
Studies, University of Kolkata*

#### **Arvind Kumar**

*Professor and Chairperson,  
School of International Studies  
Jawaharlal Nehru University*

#### **Kostas Ifantis**

*Professor of International Relations,  
Panteion University*

#### **Reinhardt Rummel**

*Professor of International Security, Munich  
University*

#### **Leonard C. Sebastian**

*Associate Professor of International Relations,  
Rajaratnam School of International Studies,  
Singapore*

#### **Terry Terriff**

*Chair, Centre for Military and Strategic Studies,  
University of Calgary*

**Alessandro Politi**  
*Strategic & OSINT Analyst*  
*Director of NATO Defence College Foundation*

**Mikael Weissmann**  
*Associate Professor,*  
*Swedish Defense University*

**Edward Halizak**  
*Former Director of the Institute of International*  
*Relations. Warsaw University*

**COMITÉ DE REDACCIÓN / EDITORIAL COMMITTEE**

**DIRECTOR / EDITOR**

**Antonio Marquina**  
*Chair in Security and Cooperation in International Relations, (emeritus)*  
*Complutense University of Madrid*

**SECRETARIO DE REDACCIÓN / EDITORIAL COORDINATOR**

**Gloria Inés Ospina**

**AYUDANTES DE REDACCIÓN / EDITORIAL ASSISTANTS**

**Belén Lara, Mónica Miranzo, Carlos del Río, Patricia Rodríguez,**

## DIRECTORIOS Y BASES DE DATOS / *ABSTRACTING & INDEXING*

CATÁLOGO LATINDEX • COLUMBIA INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS ONLINE (CIAO) • CSA WORLDWIDE POLITICAL SCIENCE ABSTRACTS • DIALNET • DIFUSIÓN Y CALIDAD EDITORIAL DE LAS REVISTAS ESPAÑOLAS DE HUMANIDADES Y CIENCIAS SOCIALES Y JURÍDICAS (DICE), CSIC • DIRECTORY OF OPEN ACCESS JOURNALS (DOAJ) • GOOGLE SCHOLAR • HOMELAND SECURITY DIGITAL LIBRARY • INDEX ISLAMICUS • INTERNATIONAL GOVERNANCE LEADERS AND ORGANIZATIONS ONLINE (IGLOO) LIBRARY • INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL SCIENCE ABSTRACTS • INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND SECURITY NETWORK (ISN) PUBLISHING HOUSE • INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND COUNTER-TERRORISM REFERENCE CENTER • ISOC — CIENCIAS POLÍTICAS Y SOCIOLOGÍA, CSIC • LANCASTER INDEX TO DEFENCE & INTERNATIONAL SECURITY LITERATURE • NATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH ADVANCEMENT (NIRA) POLICY RESEARCH WATCH • ONLINE COMPUTER LIBRARY CENTER (OCLC) • SCIRUS • SCOPUS • ULRICH'S PERIODICALS DIRECTORY • WORLDCAT • INTERNATIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE • POLITICAL SCIENCE COMPLETE • EMERGING SOURCES CITATION INDEX (ESCI) WEB OF SCIENCE (WOS)

La Revista UNISCI, para fomentar el intercambio global del conocimiento, facilita el acceso sin restricciones a sus contenidos desde el momento de su publicación en la presente edición electrónica. Es obligatorio citar su procedencia en cualquier reproducción total o parcial. Todos los contenidos se distribuyen bajo una licencia de uso y distribución Creative Commons Reconocimiento 4.0 (CC BY 4.0). Esta circunstancia ha de hacerse constar expresamente de esta forma cuando sea necesario. La Revista UNISCI es una revista de acceso abierto, lo que significa que todo su contenido está disponible de forma gratuita, sin costo para el usuario o su institución. Los usuarios pueden leer, descargar, copiar, distribuir, imprimir, buscar o enlazar los textos completos de los artículos, así como utilizarlos para cualquier otro propósito lícito, sin necesidad de solicitar permiso previo al editor o al autor. Todo lo anterior se realiza de acuerdo con la definición de acceso abierto de la BOAI. (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/deed.es>)”

La Revista UNISCI se adhiere al Código de conducta y buenas prácticas establecido por el Committee on Publication Ethics (COPE) (Code of Conduct and Best Practice Guidelines for Journal Editors y Code of Conduct for Journals Publishers). En cumplimiento de este código, la revista asegurará la calidad científica de las publicaciones y la adecuada respuesta a las necesidades de los lectores y los autores. El código va dirigido a todas las partes implicadas en la gestión y publicación de resultados científicos de la revista, a saber, equipos editoriales, autores y revisores. Los trabajos que no cumplan con estas normas éticas serán descartados

*UNISCI Journal, in order to promote the global exchange of knowledge, facilitates the access to their content without restrictions since the beginning of its publication in this electronic edition. It is compulsory to quote the journal in any reproduction, being total or partial. All articles are distributed under a license for use and distribution, Creative Commons Recognition 4.0 (CC BY 4.0). This circumstance has to be clearly stated in this way when it is necessary. UNISCI Journal is an open access journal, meaning all its content is freely available to users and their institutions. Users can read, download, copy, distribute, print, search or link to full articles, and use them for any lawful purpose without requesting prior permission from the publisher or author. All of the above is in accordance with the BOAI definition of open access. (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/deed.es>).*

*UNISCI Journal abides by the code of conduct and good practices established by the Committee on Publication Ethics (COPE) (Code of Conduct and Best Practice Guidelines for Journal Editors and Code of Conduct for Journals Publishers). In compliance with this code, the journal will ensure the scientific quality of the publications and the appropriate response to the needs of readers and authors. The code is addressed to all parties involved in the management and publication of scientific results in the journal, namely, editorial teams, authors, and reviewers. Articles that do not meet these ethical standards will be discarded.*

© UNISCI, 2026 ISSN 2386-9453

c. Hermanos SanRomán 5

POZUELO 28224 Madrid, Spain

E-mail: [amarqbar45@gmail.com](mailto:amarqbar45@gmail.com) / Web: [www.unisci.es](http://www.unisci.es)

Tel.: (+ 34) 91 7155650



## CONTENTS/INDICE

<i>Antonio Marquina</i>	Editorial Note	7
<b>INTERPRETING INDIA'S RISE AND ITS GLOBAL IMPLICATIONS</b>		
<b>Guest Editor: Shantanu Chakrabarti</b>		9
<b>PART-1: Conceptualising India's rise-external and internal dimensions</b>		
<i>Shibashis Chatterjee and Sreya Maitra:</i>	India's Foreign Policy and the Quest for Global Leadership: Reflections on Ambition and Accomplishments	15
<i>Jolita Zabarskaitė:</i>	A Return to "Greater India"	35
<i>Vidushi Kaushik and John Doyle:</i>	India's security approach and its space in global politics	49
<i>Ajaya Kumar Das:</i>	Rising India's Soft Power: Illusion or Influence?	67
<i>Sohom Bhattacharyya:</i>	Soft Power and the Rise of India: Global Implications of Narendra Modi's Foreign Policy	95
<i>Raj Sekhar Basu and Sayantika Biswas:</i>	(Re)invention of diasporic tradition and the foreign policy making in the nation state: the Indian experience	107
<i>Ratnadeep Maitra and Tapas Das:</i>	India and the Rare Earth Conundrum: Navigating Security, Goeconomics, and Global Supply Chains	119
<b>PART II: India's global engagement- bilateral and multilateral</b>		
<i>Swaran Singh:</i>	India and the Superpowers: From Bilateral Anchors to Networked Strategic Autonomy for <i>Viksit Bharat</i>	131
<i>Agnieszka Kuszewska-Bohnert:</i>	India in the European Union's foreign and security policy. Strategic opportunities, structural constraints and political ambiguities	153
<i>Urbi Das:</i>	Shifting Balances and Recalibrating Partnership: Assessing India-US Relations in the Indo-Pacific Region	173
<i>Subhadeep Bhattacharya:</i>	Clash of the titans & India's Asia-Pacific predicament	187
<i>Priya Singh:</i>	Beyond Conventional Diplomacy: Cultural Nationalism, Technology as Statecraft, and Geoeconomic Convergence in India-Israel Relations	205
<i>Kingshuk Chatterjee:</i>	Energy, Expatriates, Security: The Hazy Contours of India's Policy towards the Middle East	227
<i>Tanwir Arshed:</i>	India and the Non-Western Space: Mapping India's Potential and Possibilities in South Asia and beyond	241
<i>Anwasha Ghosh:</i>	Soft Power in Hard Times: India's Cautious Re-engagement with Taliban ruled Afghanistan	263
<i>Tapas Das and Tanwir Arshed:</i>	From Ally to Ambiguity: India-Bangladesh Relations at a Crossroads	279
<b>TERRORISM</b>		
<i>Liu Chunlin and Rohan Gunaratna.</i>	Global Threat Assessment 2026	299





***EDITORIAL NOTE/NOTA EDITORIAL***

**Antonio Marquina<sup>1</sup>**  
*Director, UNISCI*

This special issue, dedicated to India and focusing on its rise on the international stage, foreign relations and global implications, attempts to explain and understand the changes and transformations in its role in the emerging new international order.

Coordinated by Professor Shantanu Chakrabarti of the University of Calcutta, the special issue brings together a group of professors and researchers to provide a comprehensive overview of India's relations with various countries. Beginning with the United States, China, and Russia, the issue highlights India's complex management of diversification and its interactions with key partners, particularly the major nuclear powers. These interactions have evolved from "conventional compartmentalised bilateralism" to an "increasingly interconnected strategic ecosystem shaped by defense-industrial linkages, geo-economic networks, and the diplomatic logic of rivalrous multipolarity". Its policies towards developing countries and its non-alignment are also highlighted in various articles. The important role of soft power in its foreign policy approaches is also pointed out, as are the illusions created outside military and traditional systems of power. These illusions, as in the case of the European Union and its proverbial lack of vision, have collapsed with the decline of the order created by the United States after World War II and the end of the Cold War.

Other aspects highlighted include the role of its multiple diasporas and the potential influence of the Indian culture.

This issue also covers specific articles on relations with the United States in the Indo-Pacific, as well as different assessments of regional security, and the balance and priorities of the Indian Ocean versus the Pacific. The different priorities and limitations in interaction with the European Union are clearly explained, as are India's cautious approaches to Israel and the Middle East. Finally, several articles attempt to unravel the changing contours of relations with South Asia, examining the recent challenges posed by Taliban-ruled Afghanistan and Bangladesh following the overthrow of Sheikh Hasina.

However, it does not cover India's relations with Pakistan or other important Asia-Pacific countries such as Japan, Australia and South Korea. The rivalry between India and Pakistan, as well as India's relations with Japan and the QUAD, will be discussed in detail in future issues of the journal.

---

<sup>1</sup>Antonio Marquina Barrio is Chair in International Security and Cooperation (emeritus) and Director of UNISCI  
E-mail:<amarqbar45@gmail.com>



Once again, we would like to thank Professor Shantanu Chakrabarti for coordinating this special edition of the journal.