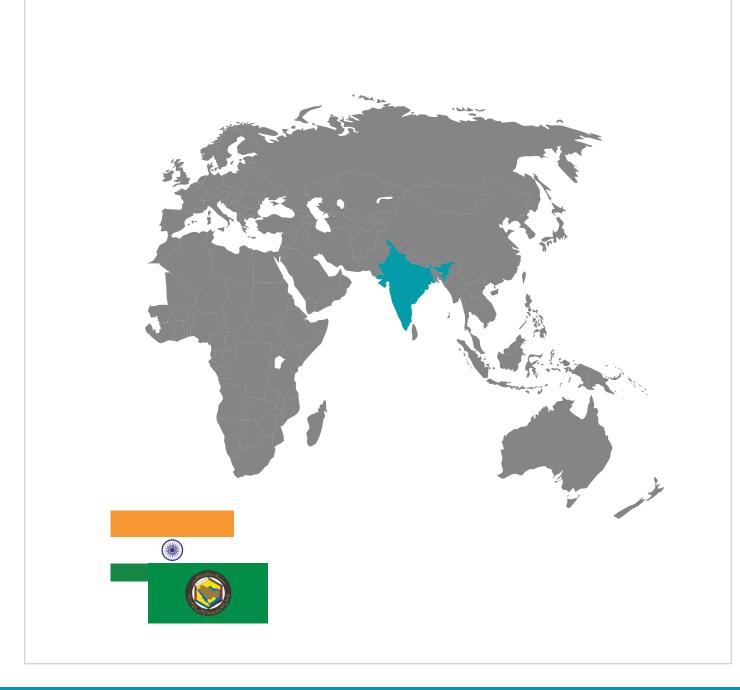


India - GCC Relations





Key Domestic Developments

India is a sovereign Democratic Republic and Union of States with a parliamentary form of government. It is formed out of three branches of government: the executive, legislative, and judicial branches. In addition, it also divides governance among a three-list schedule where the Union list covers foreign policy, defense, tax, and currency; the State list governs law and order and public health; and the concurrent list has criminal law, marital law, contracts, trade unions, education, and social security overseen by both the state and the union. The executive branch is run by a president, vice-president, and council of ministers. The legislature is bicameral, divided into an upper (House of State) called the Rajya Sabha and a lower (House of People) or the Lok Sabha.

The 18th Lok Sabha of India was chosen through the most recent national election, which took place in the spring of 2024. Prime Minister Narendra Modi led the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), sometimes known as the "Indian Peoples Party," to a plurality victory of 240 seats. Although the popular prime minister was re-elected to a third term, the BJP's inability to win a clear majority was widely interpreted as a surprising setback for Modi and the party, particularly as he had promised to win a 400seat supermajority. As a result, and for the first time in his political career, the 73-year-old Modi—a selfdescribed Hindu nationalist- was forced to lead a coalition government given that the Bharatiya Janata Party could not secure the 272 seats required to gain an outright majority in parliament. The National Democratic Alliance (NDA) now controls 293 seats or 54% of the House.

Prime Minister Modi does enjoy support due to his government's achievements in infrastructure development, healthcare initiatives like the Pradhan Mantri Jan Arogya Yojana (PM-JAY), and efforts to boost youth employability. Modi's stance on enhancing India's global standing and fostering a business-friendly environment also significantly influenced his electoral success. This victory reaffirms Modi's influence in Indian politics and sets the stage for further implementation of his vision for the country's development.

At the same time, India faces numerous domestic challenges. Throughout its history, India has struggled with maintaining employment and mitigating poverty levels due largely to its population size of 1.45 billion (2024), the largest in the world, having recently surpassed China. Although employment rates have fluctuated, there has been little influence in periods of low unemployment on the poverty levels because of the high number of low-wage jobs. Although many have a job, the salary is below living wages, doing little to mitigate the poverty crisis in the country. In addition, the younger generations boast a high level of education and choose to wait for better opportunities rather than settle for low-paying jobs.

Other challenges continue to place strain on India, including the ongoing ethnic conflict in Manipur between the Meitei majority and the Kuki minority communities. The northeastern Indian state of Manipur has conflict rooted in the colonial era when the British divided the region into two districts. Disputes over land and resources are exacerbated by the rapid population growth; political representation and ethnic identity are also factors of contention between the two groups, where the Meitei majority is accused of neglecting the Kuki community (the minority) and leaving the two groups vying for control of state government. Indian Prime Minister Modi was criticized due to his silence over the conflict in Manipur, mainly as violence has led to widespread displacement, death of citizens, and damage to infrastructure and economic activity.

Food security is another continuing challenge for India as the constantly growing population has brought about a debate over the economy's future. The country is the world's second-largest producer of rice, and in May 2023, the government implemented a ban on exporting the commodity to control rising food prices. Supporters of the ban argued that it would protect food security domestically and stabilize food prices. Opponents, however, remark that it hurts consumers, impacts farmers' incomes, encourages smuggling and black markets, and undermines the World Trade Organization's rules on food trade. There is no



easy solution when it comes to food security in a nation that is teeming with poverty amongst a population that is equal to nearly a fifth of the world's population. The government is striving toward strengthening India's economy and standing in the international arena, hoping that solutions to such challenges will be found soon.

Key Economic and Social Data

GDP: \$3.937 trillion (nominal; 2024 est.)

GDP per capita: \$2,731 (nominal; 2024 est.)

Annual Growth Rate: 8.2% (2024)

Inflation: 5.4% (2024)

Population: 1.45 billion (2024)

Unemployment Rate: 9.4% (2024)

Credit Rating: BBB long-term and A-3 short-term unsolicited foreign and local currency sovereign credit ratings. The transfer and convertibility assessment remains 'BBB+' (2024)

India's Foreign Policy

Under Prime Minister Modi, India's foreign policy has been characterized by a proactive and assertive approach to enhance its global influence and secure its strategic interests. This was prioritized by strengthening ties with neighboring countries through the "Neighborhood First" policy, which focuses on regional cooperation and stability. The prime minister's outreach to neighbors aims to settle long-standing disputes and promote stronger cultural and economic relationships. India also seeks to challenge China's sway in the region, especially with the Act East policy to strengthen ties with Southeast Asian countries. After being long fixated on Pakistan, New Delhi's South Asia policy now centers on the more productive maritime geography of the Bay of Bengal, facilitating a more natural connection between South and Southeast Asia. The government has significantly emphasized the Indo-Pacific region, advocating for a free, open, and inclusive maritime order and bolstering ties with critical players like Japan, Australia, and

ASEAN countries. The "Act East" policy has further solidified India's role in Asian geopolitics, promoting economic and cultural linkages.

India is a member of several international organizations, including the United Nations, the World Trade Organization, the G20, and the BRICS group. India is also a member of regional organizations such as the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO). It has maintained a tradition of non-alliance where it accepts that multiple alliances better serve its national interests. India has long held the stance that global power should have more multi-polarity. It has been a critical player in the BRICS group of countries, and it has partnered with Russia, China, Brazil, and South Africa to develop the influence of the Global South.

Economic diplomacy has also been a cornerstone, with efforts to attract foreign investment and boost trade through initiatives like "Make in India" and "Digital India." Modi's diplomatic outreach includes leveraging India's soft power, showcasing its cultural heritage, and promoting yoga and traditional medicine globally. This comprehensive and dynamic foreign policy approach reflects India's aspirations to be a leading global power, balancing its strategic autonomy with constructive international engagement.

India has maintained positive economic ties with Russia and has avoided directly condemning the war in Ukraine, even at the behest of its Western allies. This reflects the country's desire to remain neutral and unpersuaded by external influence. Regarding its adversaries, India rivals China in terms of global ambitions, being the two most populous nations in the world, as well as two of the most highly influential Asian countries and contenders for upcoming global powerhouses in the imminent shift in the global order. In addition, its ongoing conflict with neighboring Pakistan means that its borders are not free from conflict in the form of a territory dispute over Kashmir and cross-border violence.



Ties between the United States and India have increased in recent years, with the fifth annual India-U.S. 2+2 Ministerial Dialogue (involving foreign and defense ministers from both sides) taking place in November 2023. During the meeting, the importance of the India-U.S. Comprehensive Global Strategic Partnership was reiterated, with leaders reaffirming their commitments to safeguarding a free, open, and inclusive Indo-Pacific and their shared commitment to democracy, human rights, and their "resolve to promote a resilient, rules-based international order with respect for international law..." This meeting was especially noteworthy considering the ongoing Israel-Gaza war that ignited on October 7, 2023. Notably, India, which had traditionally supported the Palestinian cause and recognized the importance of a two-state solution to the Israeli-Palestine conflict, stated its support for Israel and viewed the Israeli attack on Gaza as a "counterterrorism operation meant to eliminate Hamas and not directly target Palestinian civilians." In accord with the U.S. position, India's Prime Minister Modi called for humanitarian pauses but stopped short of calling for a ceasefire, indicating a warming of relations with Israel and a congruence with U.S. interests.

Establishment of Diplomatic Relationships

India-GCC Diplomatic Relations:

- Saudi Arabia (1947)
- UAE (1972)
- Qatar (1973)
- Kuwait (1962)
- Bahrain (1971)
- Oman (1955)

Key Research Centers and Think Tanks

- Observer Research Foundation (ORF)
- Institute of Economic Growth (IEG)
- Centre for Civil Society
- Centre for Policy Research (CPR)

- <u>Vivekananda International Foundation (VIF)</u>
- Institute For Social And Economic Change (ISEC)
- The Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies (IPCS)
- Research Foundation for Governance in India
- National Council of Applied Economic Research
- <u>Institute for Studies in Industrial Development</u> (ISID)
- Takshashila Institution

Selected Key Regional Experts

- Samir Saran, President, Observer Research Foundation (ORF)
- Dr. Hasan Al-Hasan, Senior Fellow for Middle East Policy at the IISS Manama
- Dr. N. Janardhan, Director of Research and Analysis Department, Anwar Gargash Diplomatic Academy
- Amb. Talmiz Ahmed, Former Indian Diplomat
- Ranjit Gupta, Adjunct Faculty member in the International Strategic and Security Studies Programme at the National Institute of Advanced Studies, Bengaluru, and Distinguished Fellow of the Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, New Delhi
- Samir Ranjan Pradhan
- P.R. Kumaraswamy, Centre/School/Special Centre, Centre for West Asian Studies, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University

Key Recent Literature

- A Decade of Modi's Foreign Policy: India Shows the Way
- India's Foreign Policy
- Non-Allied Forever: India's Grand Strategy



According to Subrahmanyam Jaishankar

- India's Foreign Affairs Strategy
- Continuity and Change in Indian Foreign Policy
- Asia in the GCC, A New Strategic Partner?
- India's National Role Conception and Relations with GCC Countries under Modi: A Focus on Saudi Arabia
- Indian Relations with the Gulf Cooperation Council Countries: Reality and Future

Key Developments in India-GCC Relations

Historically, the three main pillars of the India-Gulf relationship have been energy, trade, and protecting Indian expatriates. Since 8.8 million Indians live in the Gulf, India has a significant stake in its stability. The largest economic grouping in the region for India is the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC). In FY2022-2023, trade with the GCC accounted for 15.8% of India's overall trade, while trade with the EU accounted for 11.6%. With Saudi Arabia coming in fourth, the UAE is India's third-largest trading partner overall and has constantly been the country's leading trading partner inside the Gulf. However, a deal has not yet been finalized, even though India and the GCC declared in November 2022 that they intended to resume negotiations for a free-trade agreement (FTA).

GCC-India relations have witnessed significant growth in recent years, marked by deepening economic, strategic, and cultural ties. Economically, the relationship is underpinned by substantial trade, particularly in the energy sector, with India heavily relying on GCC countries for its oil and gas needs. Agreements like the UAE-India Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (CEPA) aim to enhance bilateral trade and investment, reflecting the robust economic linkages. Strategically, defense and security cooperation has intensified, with joint military exercises and collaborations in counterterrorism and maritime security. High-level visits and strategic dialogues have further cemented these ties, including Prime Minister Modi's visit to the United Arab Emirates (UAE) and Qatar in February 2024. The substantial Indian expatriate community in the GCC, as well as cultural exchanges and labor agreements, highlight the strong peopleto-people connections. As both regions pursue economic diversification and technological advancements, prospects for collaboration in areas such as renewable energy, digital technology, and innovation remain promising, underscoring a mutually beneficial and evolving partnership.

A new framework for India-Gulf connections is focused on investment, political relations, and defense and security cooperation. This framework results from India's expanding strategic and commercial interests in the Gulf area. Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates have declared their aspirational investment goals of US\$100 billion and US\$75 billion, respectively, as India grows in appeal as an economic market. With US\$15.3 billion in foreign direct investment, the UAE ranks seventh among all sources in India. As of March 2022, Saudi Arabia had invested US\$3.2 billion, and Qatar had invested more than US\$1.5 billion the previous year. Among the major projects is the US\$44 billion Ratnagiri Refinery and Petrochemicals project in Maharashtra, which Indian, Saudi, and Emirati oil corporations jointly develop.

India-Saudi Arabia

- Secretary (CPV&OIA) Shri Muktesh K. Pardeshi concluded an official visit to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia from 4-7 May 2024 to strengthen the strategic partnership between India and Saudi Arabia. During his visit, the Secretary reviewed preparations for Haj 2024 in Jeddah and Madinah. He met with Vice Haj Minister H.E. Dr. Abdul Fattah Mashat and discussed logistical arrangements and infrastructure developments to improve pilgrims' welfare and comfort. This year, 175,025 Indian pilgrims will visit Saudi Arabia under the 2024 Hajj quota.
- In Riyadh, the Secretary held substantive discussions with H.E. Dr. Saud bin Mohammed Al Sati, Deputy Minister for Political Affairs at the Saudi Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and



reviewed the progress under the Strategic Partnership Council (SPC) and a number of topics of bilateral and mutual interest. The Secretary reaffirmed India's commitment to strengthening cooperation with KSA across various sectors.

- Saudi Minister of Foreign Affairs Prince Faisal bin Farhan bin Abdullah met on February 17, 2024 with Indian Minister of External Affairs Subrahmanyam Jaishankar on the sidelines of the Munich Security Conference 2024. During the meeting, they reviewed ways to develop bilateral relations in various fields and enhanced bilateral and multilateral coordination on many regional and international issues of common interest. The Saudi Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany attended the meeting, Prince Abdullah bin Khalid bin Sultan bin Abdulaziz, Assistant Director General of the Minister's Office, Walid Al-Ismail, and Advisor to the Minister of Foreign Affairs Mohammed Al-Yahya.
- In September 2023, Crown Prince Mohammad bin Salman extended his stay in New Delhi following the G20 summit to meet with Prime Minister Modi in a state visit to discuss enhancing the relationship's future between the two countries. The two leaders reviewed the work completed within the Strategic Council's Partnership framework. conveyed their satisfaction with the results of the two Ministerial Committees, which have strengthened the strategic partnership between the two nations in several areas: (a) the Committee on Political, Security, Social, and Cultural Cooperation and its subcommittees and (b) the Committee on Economy and Investments and its Joint Working Groups.
- In his address during a meeting of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) Contact Group on Kashmir, on the sidelines of the 78th session of the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA), Saudi Arabia's Foreign Minister H.E. Prince Faisal bin Farhan stated

- that Saudi Arabia is "exerting unremitting effort to mediate between the parties of the [Jammu and Kashmir] conflict" and that the ongoing unrest between the two sides poses a pressing challenge to the security and stability of the region.
- The Saudi Ministry of Communications Technology Information signed and cooperation agreement with India in August 2023 to strengthen Their partnership in digital infrastructure, e-health, and e-learning and strengthen their cooperation in digital research and innovation
- In June 2023. PM Modi thanked Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman for offering support during the emergency evacuation of Indian nationals from Sudan via Jeddah when violence struck in April 2023. Conversely, the Crown Prince offered PM Modi his full support in their presidency of the G20.
- On May 21-25, 2023, the Royal Saudi Air Force and the Indian Navy conducted a bilateral maritime exercise, "Al Mohed Al Hindi 23," in Jubail, Saudi Arabia. The exercise strengthened interoperability between the two forces through tactical maneuvers, search and rescue operations, and an electronic warfare drill.
- In March 2023, Saudi Arabia's Foreign Minister, Prince Faisal bin Farhan, met with India's External Affairs Minister, Subrahmanyam Jaishankar, to discuss bilateral coordination on various regional and international issues of mutual interest.

India-UAE

PM Modi's visit to the UAE on February 13-14, 2024, marked his seventh visit since 2015. The Prime Minister held bilateral meetings with His Highness Sheikh Mohamed bin Zayed Al Nahyan, the President of the UAE. The two leaders discussed ways to further deepen, expand, and strengthen the strategic partnership between the countries and exchanged views



on regional and international issues of mutual interest. During the visit, PM Modi inaugurated the BAPS Mandir, the first Hindu temple in Abu Dhabi, and addressed the Indian community in the UAE at an event in Zayed Sports City in Abu Dhabi.

- In July 2023, India and the UAE signed a Memorandum of Understanding on the Local Currency Settlement system. The agreement allows bilateral trade between the two countries to be made in Indian Rupees and UAE Dirhams. Traders can choose which currency they would like to exchange in, and the MoU is meant to enhance and strengthen cross-border transactions and economic cooperation between the two countries.
- In July 2023, Prime Minister Modi visited the UAE in a sign of reinforced commitment to strengthening bilateral cooperation. The two leaders discussed working together on renewable energy – including green hydrogen, solar power, and grid connectivity.
- In July 2023, Abu Dhabi Investment Authority (ADIA) announced its commitment to India's Gujarat International Finance Tec-City (GIFT City), which aims to facilitate investment opportunities for the UAE in India.
- In July 2023, the Abu Dhabi Department of Education and Knowledge (ADEK) signed an MoU with India's Ministry of Education in which the Indian Institute of Technology Delhi (IIT Delhi) would establish an overseas campus in Abu Dhabi, scheduled to begin offering courses in January 2024.
- On March 15, 2023, the Reserve Bank of India (RBI) and the Central Bank of the United Arab Emirates (CBUAE) signed a Memorandum of Understanding to promote innovation in the finance sector. Under the MoU, both parties will be able to conduct proof-of-concept and pilots of bilateral Central Bank Digital Currencies to improve the process of crossborder transactions.

India-Qatar

- In June 2024, talks took place in Doha between External Affairs Minister Dr S Jaishankar and Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Qatar Sheikh Mohammed bin Abdulrahman bin Jassim Al Thani. During this meeting, both sides exchanged views on regional and global issues, including the situation in Gaza. India and Qatar are commercial partners; in addition to importing gas from Qatar, India was also successful in getting eight of its naval veterans freed from detention and death sentences in Oatar
- In November 2022, India's Vice President, Shri Jagdeep Dhankhar, visited Doha to attend the FIFA World Cup 2022 inauguration ceremony at the invitation of H.H. Amir of Qatar Sheikh Tamim bin Hamad Al Thani. During the visit, the two leaders discussed the presence of the Indian community in Qatar.
- In September 2022, the All-India Football Federation (AIFF) signed a strategic alliance with the Qatar Football Association (QFA) through which the two federations will allow for cooperation in terms of technical support, the organizing and hosting of youth competitions, and the exchange of football and governance experts.
- A Qatar Coast Guard delegation participated in the 10th Search and Rescue Exercise held by the Indian Coast Guard in August 2022 in Chennai, India.
- In July 2022, India's International Financial Services Center Authority (IFSCA) and Qatar Financial Centre Authority (QFCA) signed an MoU to enhance cooperation in using technology to develop financial products and services.
- In June 2022, India's Vice President Shri M. Venkaiah Naidu visited Oatar to meet with H.H. Amir Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa Al Thani and Oatari Prime Minister H.E. Sheikh Khalid bin Khalifa bin Abdulaziz Al Thani, during which



VP Naidu chaired the India-Oatar Business Forum in association with Oatari Businessmen Association & Qatar Chamber of Commerce & Industry.

India-Oman

- On June 26, 2023, India's National Security Advisor, Shri Ajit Doval, visited the Sultanate of Oman to meet with His Majesty Sultan Haitham bin Tarik and discuss key aspects of the bilateral relationship, including economic and technological development, mutual security, and regional stability.
- In March 2022, the Foreign Minister of the Sultanate of Oman, H.E. Sayyid Badr bin Hamad bin Hamood Albusaidi, visited the Republic of India at the invitation of External Affairs Minister Dr. S. Jaishankar. Both sides reaffirmed their commitment to developing and enhancing a close strategic partnership during the visit.
- From August 1–13, 2022, the armies of India and Oman participated in the fourth iteration of the 13-day military drill known as "Al Najah," which took place in Rajasthan. Air Force Station Jodhpur hosted the sixth iteration of the five-day joint air exercise "Eastern Bridge-VI," which involved the Indian Air Force and the Royal Air Force of Oman. The training was successfully conducted from February 21-25, 2022. Similarly, between November 19-24, 2022, off the coast of Oman, the Indian Navy and the Royal Navy of Oman took part in the 13th iteration of the bilateral exercise "Naseem Al Bahr"

India-Kuwait

On July 24, 2024, the sixth round of Foreign Office Consultations (FOC) between Kuwait and India occurred in Kuwait. Mr. Aseem R. Mahajan, Joint Secretary (Gulf), Ministry of External Affairs, led the Indian mission. H.E. Ambassador Sameeh Essa Johar Hayat, Assistant Foreign Minister for Asia Affairs of Kuwait, prompted the Kuwaiti mission. During the FOC, both parties reviewed their bilateral relationship in detail and shared their opinions on regional and global issues of mutual concern. Both parties expressed their happiness with the historically close bilateral connections. They decided to expand their collaboration in several areas, such as political relations, frequent highlevel meetings, commerce and investment, education, technology, health, culture, and people-to-people interactions.

- On June 25, 2024, Kuwaiti Ambassador to India, HE Meshal Al-Shemali, met with Indian Minister for External Affairs S. Jaishankar in New Delhi. During the meeting, both sides highlighted the development in trade relations between India and Kuwait during the past fiscal year, which amounted to \$1047 billion, marking an annual growth of 34.7%.
- In an effort to strengthen defense ties between the two countries, the Indian Naval Ship VISAKHAPATNAM docked at Al Shuwaikh Port for an Operational Turn Around visit on August 19, 2023. In addition, the Indian Navy participated in Kuwait's International Passage Exercise, a maritime drill aimed at enhancing maritime security in the Indian Ocean.
- In May 2023, the fifth India-Kuwait Foreign Office Consultations (FOC) were held in New Delhi. During the visit, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Kuwait, Sheikh Salem Abdullah Al-Jaber Al-Sabah, met with the External Affairs Minister of India, Dr. S. Jaishankar, to discuss various aspects of bilateral cooperation. They reviewed regional and international issues of mutual concern, including trade and investment, education, science and technology, health, and tourism.

India-Bahrain

In March 2023, a high-level delegation from Bahrain visited New Delhi and Mumbai. The visit was organized with the support of the Ministry of Industry and Commerce (MOIC)



and the Bahrain Economic Development Board (Bahrain EDB). It aimed to highlight key investment opportunities in the Kingdom of Bahrain and further enhance bilateral trade relations between the two countries. In line with the Economic Recovery Plan (ERP), the investment and trade opportunities highlighted by the delegation focused on Bahrain's financial services, manufacturing, Information Communication Technology (ICT), logistics, and tourism sectors. The delegation included over 60 representatives from various public and private sector entities: the MOIC, Bahrain EDB, Bahrain Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Bahrain Tourism and Exhibition Authority, Export Bahrain, and several leading Bahrainbased businesses and business societies. The visit additionally witnessed the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding between Export Bahrain and the Confederation of Indian Industry (CII).

GRC Materials

The Gulf Research Center produces various publications through its research programs, projects, and Gulf Research Meetings. The GRC's publications can be accessed on its website via this link, and the commentary and analysis can be found here.

- GRM Publication 2013: India and the Gulf: What Next?, Abubaker Bagader, Ranjit Gupta, Talmiz Ahmad and N. Janardhan
- Asia-Gulf Economic Relations in the 21st Century: The Local to Global Transformation, Tim Niblock and Monica Malik
- A New Gulf Security Architecture: Prospects and Challenges for an Asian Role, Ranjit Gupta, Abubaker Bagader, Talmiz Ahmad and N. Janardhan
- The Arab States of the Gulf and BRICS: New Strategic Partnerships in Politics and Economics, Tim Niblock, Alejandra Galindo and Degang Sun
- The Gulf States, Asia, and the Indian Ocean:

- Ensuring the Security of the Sea Lanes, Tim Niblock with Talmiz Ahmad and Degang Sun
- India, China and Globalization: The Emerging Superpowers and the Future of Economic **Development**, Piya Mahtaney
- GRC Publication 2013: GCC-India Relations, Ranjit Gupta, Christian Koch
- **India's Growing Role in the Gulf: Implications** for the Region and the United States, GRC & Stimson Center
- India, GCC and the Global Energy Regime: **Exploring Interdependence and Outlook for** Collaboration, Samir Ranjan Pradhan
- **Indian Labor Migration to the Gulf Countries**, Prakash C. Jain
- Gulf Research Meeting 2017: The GCC and the Indian Ocean; Economic Opportunities and **Political Challenges**
- Gulf Research Meeting 2012 Workshop: The India-Gulf Strategic Partnership in a Pan-**Asian Cooperative Paradigm**
- Gulf Research Meeting 2013: The Gulf and Asia Political Relations and Strategic Options in a Developing Scenario (China, India, South Korea, and Japan)
- Gulf Research Meeting 2011 Workshop: India and the Gulf: What Next?
- GRC Publication 2009: India's Growing Role in the Gulf: Implications for the Region and the **United States**
- GRCPublication 2009: India, GCC and the Global **Energy Regime: Exploring Interdependence** and Outlook for Collaboration
- GRC Publication 2009: India, China and Globalization: The Emerging Superpowers and the Future of Economic Development
- GRC Publication 2009: Indian Labor Migration to the Gulf Countries



