## Crisis and Possibilities in Education in Asia and Africa

The Bandung Conference of 1955 represents the first large-scale Asian—African meeting to strengthen South-South cooperation in development. Although the newly independent countries in Asia and Africa were at the bottom of the prosperity pyramid, the progress made by these countries in the post-Bandung decades is commendable. The Asian countries increased their share in GDP by three times, share in industrial production by ten times and per capita income converged with global average. This fast progress made by these countries, especially in Asia is partly attributed to their high investment in education and human capital formation.

The post-colonial policies in the newly independent countries in Africa and Asia emphasised on investing in education as a strategy for rapid progress in all sectors. The Education for All (EFA) conferences at Jomtien in 1990 and at Dakar in 2000, the UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) for 2015 and the United Nation's Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) for 2030 have played influential roles in promoting access to education in less developed countries. The total global student enrolment (all levels) increased from 436 million in 1960 to 2.1 billion by 2022. The priority accorded priority to primary education in most countries of Asia and Africa have resulted in massive expansion but has not led to improved learning. Hence, the learning crisis and the cumulative learning deficit have become challenges in these regions.

The priority action shifted towards secondary and higher education, following the discussions in the World Education Forum in Dakar in 2000 on 'After primary education, what?' The increased interest in secondary education stemmed from the demand for skilled labor from an expanding industrial sector and from a belief in secondary education's contribution to poverty reduction, reduced fertility and child birth in poor families. Although the global enrolment (GER) in secondary education increased to 77 per cent in 2022, the average for African countries remained low at 45 per cent. The efforts to expand secondary education is challenged by high unemployability of the graduates. Vocational secondary education is a commonly suggested strategy to improve employability.

The OECD countries have universalized higher education, middle income countries have massified the sector and it remains a small sector in most of the African countries. Since private sector is driving the growth in African and Asian countries, equity considerations are compromised. The massification of the sector and the high rate of unemployment among university graduates are posing challenges for the direction of change to be affected in the sector. However, the scope for expansion of the sector is high in Asian and African countries.

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# Global South in a New Strategic Order: Is it Time for a Paradigm Shift?

The challenges to the post-cold war international order have long been unfolding but an unusual conjunction of some rapid-paced political, strategic and economic developments indicate that it may well have reached a turning point by way of effectively challenging the underlying structuring principle of a rules-based liberal international order. This challenge is being mounted not only by the contending states like China's growing economic power and Russia's invasion of Ukraine in 2022 alongside the Hamas's attack against Israel resulting in the latter unleashing genocidal violence in Gaza but more importantly, by the US President Donald Trump-led Republican administration which is determined to recast the global economic order with its drastic measures of imposing a wide-ranging tariff regime against foes and friends alike. While these developments pose challenges both in the ideational as well as material domain of the international order, this paper draws insights from the Bandung spirit to ask: is it time for a paradigm shift? I briefly explore such possibilities and challenges in three domains. First, the ongoing Israeli genocide in Gaza and the South Africa-led challenge to the same in the International Court of Justice brings the attention back to the most important legacy of the Bandung conference in terms of mobilizing international support for global decolonization and delegitimizing the practices of colonialism. Second refers to the challenges to the current international nuclear order with the Ukraine war and the looming dangers of an armed confrontation between Iran and US-Israel combine on the one hand and North Korea on the other hand, sending rather contradictory messages to all those who had signed on the NPT. Finally, I ask if the IR scholarship in the Global South can take the lead in re-working the foundational knowledge categories of this discipline which may well have profound implications for its practices.

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# **Bandung and the North-South Divide:**

The Bandung Conference, participated in by 29 countries in 1955 marks its 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary this year.

It is appropriate to look into the <u>four goals</u> set up in the conference at the Bandung meet and to find out whether those have any reality in the current geo-political and economic scene.

The goals included, first <u>peace at a global level</u>. With two war fronts currently in devastation, it does not require much to point out the total absence of peace or even efforts to bring in peace in the planet.

The second goal was to have <u>international cooperation</u>. There have been efforts, mostly by developing countries to form groups which can counter the hegemony of the advanced economies in North. Such associations include the BRICS (5+4),Saarc,ASean, UN sponsored ECLAC and UNCTAD. While those provide forums for voicing disagreements by the South, the effectiveness is in doubt so far.

The third and fourth goals, on <u>end to Colonialism</u> and to <u>Imperialism</u> brings in serious concerns relating to what the South , as subordinated entities, is currently faced with We will lay some emphasis on different aspects of issues as above.

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# **Reforming the Global Trade System**

Biswajit Dhar

In its eight decades of existence, questions regarding the legitimacy and democratic credibility of the multilateral trading system have often been asked on two fundamental grounds. The first stems from the questions regarding its internal legitimacy, essentially the transparency and inclusiveness of its decision-making processes. Questions regarding transparency have become more louder in recent decades, while issues regarding inclusiveness, especially from the point of view of the majority of its members, the developing countries have been raised even before the adoption of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).

A second set of questions have arisen regarding the institution's external legitimacy, which have arisen more frequently since the establishment of the World Trade Organization (WTO). External legitimacy concerns the ability of the institution to respond to its external critics, namely, the non-state actors, who have argued that the institution is a "non-democratic, bureaucratic/autocratic supranational authority". According to some commentators, "perception of legitimacy matters, because, in a democratic era, multilateral institutions will only thrive if they are viewed as legitimate by democratic publics". They add that if there is a lack of clarity about "appropriate standards of legitimacy or if unrealistically demanding standards are assumed", public support for these institutions "may be undermined and their effectiveness ... may be impaired".

At the turn of the millennium, the developing countries had made significant efforts to ensure that the questions regarding the legitimacy of the WTO could be addressed through amending several key covered agreements that would make them more democratic. With Donald Trump threatening to obliterate the existence of the multilateral trading system, can the developing countries rediscover the "Bandung Spirit" to not only counter this immediate threat, but to also re-energise their efforts to democratise the WTO?

# Patterns of Regional Cooperation: Re-articulation of the Bandung Spirit in Contemporary Global South Institutions

### Abstract:

This study critically explores how the Bandung Spirit a legacy of anti-colonial solidarity, sovereign equality, and non-interference has been rearticulated and operationalized within contemporary Global South regional institutions. While traditionally examined through ideological or historical lenses, this study approaches Bandung as a dynamic normative framework that adapts to changing geopolitical pressures. Using a comparative regionalism lens, the study examines three regional organizations—ASEAN, the African Union (AU), and BRICS as case studies. These entities represent diverse regional experiences shaped by colonial legacies, strategic autonomy, and evolving power asymmetries. Correspondingly, the study to which Bandung principles are embedded in institutional discourse, diplomatic behavior, and policy outcomes. Combining discourse analysis of official communiqués and summit declarations with quantitative indicators such as voting patterns in international organizations, intra-regional aid flows, and partnership agreements the study notices a new mood. By treating Bandung norms as adaptive rather than prescriptive, the study challenges normative bias and highlights how sovereignty, non-alignment, and multilateralism are (selectively) invoked to serve evolving regional interests. Thus, this analysis contributes to the understanding of Southern-led institutional behavior and the contested nature of postcolonial solidarity in global governance.

Key Words: Regional Cooperation, Bandung, Global South, ASEAN, AU, BRICS.

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## **Global Climate Crisis and Responses**

Global Climate change is a human-induced crisis of unforeseen proportions. It has grave consequences not only for the stability of the natural or environmental system, but also the sustainability of the growth process in the global south.

The global goal of temperature stabilization at 1.5° or 2° above the pre-industrial level is likely to be breached in the next one or two decades with severe impacts on social and economic systems. Global greenhouse gas emissions continue to rise despite commitments made by countries under international conventions such as the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change 1992 and the most recent Paris agreement on Climate Change 2015. The reasons lie in the unwillingness of the global north to take responsibility for reducing their historical emissions and help developing countries to make transition to greener economic systems and cope with the adverse impacts of climate change.

Most major economies of the world have announced their intention to move towards net zero emission by mid-century. However, the pace of transformation is slow. Sectoral transitions at the national level are beset with the challenge of inequitable energy access, lack of climate finance, and inadequate availability of transformational technologies and fuels. In addition, vulnerable countries like India need to find additional resources for adapting to climate change while building climate resilient infrastructure. On the other hand, developed countries are trying to dilute their responsibility. by co-opting multilateral development banks and private sector in financing transition under market driven conditions. Under these conditions, failing multilateralism and emerging unilateral trade measures are likely to create further roadblocks in the progress towards climate stability and a world free from carbon emissions.

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# **Persisting Neglect of Food and Nutrition Security**

## Abstract

The world is behind in meeting the SDG goals on hunger and malnutrition. Food insecurity has been increasing over the last decade due to multiple reasons, including growing inequality, unemployment, food price volatility and climate-change induced vulnerabilities. Supply chains that were broken during the COVID pandemic exacerbated the issue. Simultaneously, the problem of obesity and overweight, related to the increasing consumption of ultra-processed foods, is also growing. In this context, there is a need to take a food systems approach and move towards a decentralised food system. As seen in the Indian experience, welfare measures through the PDS and National Food Security Act play a significant role in addressing vulnerability to starvation. However, these schemes also need to be overhauled to move towards the long-term agenda of sustainability, nutritional security, and decentralised food systems.

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## **Bandung Commemoration Event**

## Reimagining multilateralism and the UN

### **Abstract**

Historical Context of Bandung: The Bandung Conference underscored the struggles of newly independent nations against colonialism and imperialism. The conference established principles of national sovereignty and racial equality, which continue to resonate in today's geopolitical landscape. Meanwhile, the United Nations was founded with the aim of preventing wars, yet its effectiveness has been questioned due to the actions of powerful nations. Independent India played a pivotal role in advocating against colonialism and racial discrimination within the UN. However, the discourse has evolved to reflect the complexities of modern geopolitics and the persistence of racism.

Current International Landscape: The end of the Cold War has led to new conflicts, the rise of China, and ongoing issues such as climate change, human trafficking, and economic disparities, which disproportionately affect the Global South. The Ukraine crisis has highlighted the double standards in international relations, where the actions of major powers are often treated differently than those of smaller states. This has created a sense of instability among Global South nations.

Need for Reform in Multilateralism: Reform within the UN and other international institutions is necessary to better represent the interests of developing countries, advocating for a more inclusive global governance structure. India is positioned as a potential leader for the Global South, proposing initiatives for development and cooperation, while also seeking a permanent seat on the UN Security Council to enhance its influence. The US geopolitical tantrums of recent weeks reflect the truly "morbid symptoms" of a dying old order. It's time to make way for a truly multipolar and just international order and to reshape international norms and address pressing global issues.