

CULTURAL COOPERATION AGENDA: THE CASE OF INDIA- ARGENTINA

ILEANA BERGIA¹, LAYLA V CROSETTO CACERES²

¹Advance Student of International Relations, the Catholic University of Cordoba, ARGENTINA

²Advance Student of International Relations, the Catholic University of Cordoba, ARGENTINA

ABSTRACT

This paper aims to capture and analyze the relations between India and Argentina around the cultural agenda, through the analysis of key events that have influenced the foreign policy of both States from the beginning of diplomatic relations in 1949 to the present. To this end, the theoretical contributions that will be proposed will be: the Soft Power guidelines, understood as the ability to transform the preferences of other states and the perceptions they have through immaterial sources; the concept of Cultural Diplomacy, understanding it as the use of cultural factors in international relations by state and non-state agents and the central arguments of Van Klaveren, an author who carries out an analysis from the most critical International Political Economy (1992). In turn, to obtain the gaze of a specialist on the subject, it was decided to conduct a qualitative interview with Sabrina Olivera, Master and doctoral student in International Relations, coordinator of the CARI working group on South Asia and a lawyer specialized in Public International Law.

KEYWORDS: India, Argentina, International Relations, Culture, Agenda

INTRODUCTION

The international scene has become increasingly complex due to the constant appearance of various new actors that permeate relations between States, which leads them to face new challenges (PNUD, CEPAL, 1988). In this sense, a new key actor that began to be projected with greater force in recent times was India, whose leadership is capable of exerting great influence/dominance worldwide, at the same time that it shares similar values and challenges with Latin America regarding the becoming international (Rishi Verma, 2018).

Thus, it should be noted that India and Southeast Asia have historically had little relevance within the foreign policy of the Argentinian Republic (Rubiolo and Baroni, 2017). However, cultural ties have united India and Argentina since the beginning of the 20th century, a period during which there were considerable visits such as that of the Indian poet Rabindranath Tagore, who stayed at Victoria Ocampo's home (Baroni, 2019). Consequently, from 1920, an Argentine Consulate functioned in Calcutta that dealt with commercial matters until the opening of the Embassy in Delhi in 1950.

According to Rubiolo and Baroni (2014), India and Argentina established their diplomatic relations two years after the independence of the great Asian, in 1949, during the current government of Juan Domingo Perón. In this period, only two trade instruments were concluded with India.

After the establishment of diplomatic ties, bilateral relations were maintained on a formal basis, but lacked initiatives that allowed further deepening. However, this has begun to change (Rubiolo and Baroni, 2017, p. 104). In fact, at present, the momentum of relations between the two States is strengthening since the current administrations share similar values for the future.

HISTORY OF CULTURAL RELATIONS

The relations between the two states were defined not only by their respective governments and with them, their foreign policies, but also by the geographical and cultural attributes that have generated different inclinations. They were strengthened with President Arturo Frondizi - the first Argentine President to visit India in 1961 - who tried to speed up ties with that country by meeting with Prime Minister Nehru. The latter built the country's foreign policy on moral values, acting independently concerning global affairs and being the voice of developing countries (Kodithuwakku, 2015). Therefore, this meeting was motivated by the allusive complicity of the search for peace, (Consulate General of India, 2015 cited in Baroni, 2019) as well as greater economic, political, and cultural cooperation (Beauge, 1992 cited in Baroni, 2019).

Years later, Onganía² assumes, seeking a greater rapprochement with India that led to the visit of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in 1968 (Singh, 1993 cited in Rubiolo and Baroni, 2017). Throughout it, they discussed different topics, such as the fact of concluding a cultural treaty

exposing points of agreement regarding cooperation issues within the UN guidelines (Baroni, 2019).

In turn, in 1973, Argentina adopted a more active stance concerning the international plane, which led to a closer relationship with India because it requested to be a full member of the NAM³. Likewise, the visit of the Indian Foreign Minister Surendra Pal Singh to Argentina contributed to the reactivation of relations.

Along the same lines, culture was an important part of the cooperation agenda, culminating in the signing of a cultural agreement to accelerate the procedures related to educational, artistic, and audio-visual visits, to reduce the gap of ignorance and promote cultural diversity among countries (Baroni, 2019).

Among the initiatives carried out between both States to achieve an even greater cultural relationship, is the creation of the Indo-Argentine Friendship Association in 1976, which operated for 8 years. In addition to this, the Indo-Argentine Institute of Culture based in Calcutta and Buenos Aires was founded, including, in addition, dance, film, art, and literature festivities (Baroni, 2019). All these actions were carried out in a period in which Argentina was led by Rafael Videla - under a dictatorship - based on economic and military diplomacy, conditioning the components of foreign policy. In this way, the position adopted, coupled with an ideal of expansive nationalism, led to the international isolationism of the Republic (Russell, 1984).

On the other hand, with the return of democracy in 1983 with Alfonsín, Argentina tried to move away from the East-West logic, which meant a great change in the perception of foreign policy (Zurita, 2010). Therefore, during his government, he sought a greater insertion at the international level and, because of this; he visited India where he stated that it was very important for both States to act jointly both in bilateral and multilateral spaces. During its development, an agreement on cultural cooperation was signed that proposed a program of cultural and educational exchange for the late 1980s (Singh, 1993 cited in Rubiolo and Baroni 2017).

In this sense, in 1992 the Memorandum of Understanding was signed between the National Academy of Exact, Physical and Natural Sciences of Argentina and the National Academy of Science of India to promote easy access to information and the exchange of scientists between both nations. Later, at the India Summit, different documents were signed, among which is the Agreement for the Establishment of a Joint Argentine-Indian Cooperation Commission (Baroni, 2019).

According to Baroni (2019), it is possible to observe that Argentina and India share different multilateral spheres that serve as spaces for contact and exchange of criteria

related to becoming international. Among them, it is worth mentioning the following forums: G77, the NAM, the UN, and issues such as south-south cooperation promoted by LATINA. At the same time, the relations through MERCOSUR took on greater strength both in the cultural and commercial spheres, given that "India is the sixth commercial partner of Argentina" (Adalberto Giavarini cited in IDB, 2019) in the 21st century.

REPRESENTATION OF DIPLOMATIC DIRECTIONS

Currently, the Argentine embassy is in New Delhi and its ambassador is Hugo Javier Gobbi of the consular constituency in India (except the state of Maharashtra and Karnataka), Sri Lanka, Maldives, Bangladesh, Bhutan, and Nepal. In turn, the General Consulate and Promotion Centre is located in Mumbai, whose consul is Guillermo Eduardo Devoto with a constituency in the States of Maharashtra and Karnataka (MFA⁴ 2021).

In other matters, India has its embassy in Buenos Aires where Mr. Dinesh Bhatia assumed the position of Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador in the Argentine Republic and Ms. Juhi Jalota is currently the second consular secretary and secretary of culture and information. The embassy also has a first, second, and third secretary (Embassy of India, 2018).

Likewise, the Consulate General was created to strengthen existing ties and strengthen relations between the two nations, fostering cooperation. It has a consular district throughout the territory of the Republic and has two heads of consular section and a second secretary (MFA, 2021).

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The properties of India's Soft Power will be addressed as a way of projecting itself to the international system as a "peaceful" power. The concept, coined by Joseph Nye, refers to the ability to transform the preferences of other states and the perceptions they have through immaterial sources, namely: institutions and norms; and ideological and cultural attraction. It consists of the ability to acquire what is desired through persuasion instead of coercion, from intangible aspects (Olivera, 2021).

Concerning Soft Power, the concept of Cultural Diplomacy will be presented, understanding it as the use of cultural factors in international relations by state and non-state agents (Olivera, 2021).

At the same time, the central guidelines of Van Klaveren (1992) will be proposed, who maintains in general that in the study of Foreign Policy there is a fairly clear division between the external factors that influence or determine the foreign policy of the countries and the internal factors that are also conditioning factors. However, there are

grey challenges in this division, such as the appearance of transnational actors that are located in an international territory and that permeate internally. To do this, it raises the importance of taking into account intermestic factors in this difficulty of being able to differentiate whether these factors are external or domestic to a State.

We start from the premise that Foreign Policy is guided by both state and non-state actors. As such, Foreign Policy behaviour consists of decisions and actions that correspond to both external factors as well as internal factors and the aggregate of intermestic factors (Van Klaveren, 1992). In short, it is projected to the international system, exerting influence in bilateral/multilateral/transnational spheres because the actors attend to both external and internal demands.

As Baroni (2019) mentions, the Foreign Policy behaviour of a country is not exclusively due to one variable but results from a plurality of both external and internal variables. Along the same lines, is Van Klaveren (1992) shows that, due to the plurality of actors, among them, we find intermestic factors that allow differentiating what type each variable is? Following Bernal Meza (2005), Van Klaveren (1992) makes a clear distinction between internal and external factors. Within the latter, the author distinguished between; the systemic perspectives; those of dependency; and power politics. As for the internals, he divided them into four categories: decision-making processes and internal politics, bureaucratic politics, leadership, and orientation of the type of regime.

The emphasis on internal factors allowed the experts to overcome the limitations of traditional studies of power politics, which considered that States proceeded independently of internal social and political forces in the pursuit of self-evident national interests (Van Klaveren, 1992 cited in Tini, 2005).

Likewise, within the domestic factors, it gives supremacy to the population, the identification of resources-geography, will, capacity, and degree of development, and to the characteristics of the political, economic and cultural system (Van Klaveren, 1992 cited in Miguez 2020). Finally, it underlines the importance of the capacities or resources, tangible or intangible, that the State has at the time of formulating foreign policy, namely; geographic, demographic, economic, cultural, and ethnic factors (Van Klaveren, 1992 cited in Busso 2019). Ultimately, cultural and historical factors provide a framework of historical values and perceptions that configure elites. The dependency perspective focused on the phenomena of cultural and educational cooperation and exchanges, often seen as instruments for penetrating Latin American societies (Van Klaveren, 1992).

In this framework, Latin America and the rest of the globe find their foreign policy subject/influenced by the capabilities or resources that each actor possesses. It is for this reason that how the actors use their foreign policy resources is subject to the transparency of the purposes, goals, and strategies developed (Van Klaveren, 1992).

In addition, other transnational actors that have gained relevance added to the flow of international communications and the penetration of many political systems by official and unofficial agents of other States, have resulted in the disparity between the previously mentioned factors being more diffuse.

Nonetheless, Van Klaveren (1992) states that transnational factors are often integrated into the internal decision-making process through local agents and institutions and that mediation mechanisms and practices vary from country to country and from case to case. Furthermore, India has exercised "soft power" over many centuries, projecting on many of its "neighbours" a large number of cultural elements that contributed to forming an image of the country (Barroso, 2015, p.146). For this reason, culture is the primary source of its Soft Power (Varma, 2007, cited in ŁOŚ, 2019). Likewise, the importance lies in the fact that Indian culture is considered one of the few that could become an alternative to the West, to Western values (ŁOŚ, 2019). Added to this, Indian support for democracy and freedom is a value that reinforces its soft power (ŁOŚ, 2019, p. 14).

Moreover, the fundamental characteristics of soft power include "culture" (when it pleases the rest of the actors), values (when they are suggestive and consistently practised) and politics (when they are considered inclusive and legitimate) "(Nye Jr, 2009, p. 161 cited in Mahapatra, 2016 p. 2). Nye also argued that cooperative power arises from soft power and immaterial sources such as "cultural and ideological attraction, as well as the rules and institutions of international regimes" (Blarel, 2012, p.28).

Thus, the Indian state in recent years has recognized the potential power of culture, as Manmohan Singh stated in 2011: "India's soft power is an increasingly important element of our expanding global footprint."(Singh, 2011 cited in Thussu, p. 128).

Consequently, as a "return" of this power, the intention to reactivate Nalanda University in cooperation with Japan, Singapore, China, and South Korea can be mentioned today, a significant fact because from there, Buddhist knowledge has spread throughout the Asian continent. Furthermore, the figure of Gandhi and "non-violence" has also contributed to the project of Soft Power (Barroso, 2015).

Also in the last decade, India launched several initiatives to lead its country to advance in the international

community, among them it is worth mentioning; the public diplomacy division within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs created in 2006 and the worldwide expansion of the Indian Council for Cultural Relations⁵. These initiatives helped highlight India's cultural assets abroad (Ramachandran, 2015, cited in Stéphanie M.-L. Heng, 2016)

Adding to the above, the ICCR, established in 1950, represents the country as a plural and multicultural society (Blarel, 2012 cited in Olivera, 2021). Among its main objectives are support and advice to cultural centres in India and houses of Indian studies in foreign universities, granting scholarships to foreigners to study in the country, and the organization of cultural festivities (ŁOŚ, 2019).

The purpose of the ICCR was from the beginning "to reactivate, establish and invigorate cultural relations and mutual understanding between the Indian state and other countries" (ICCR, 2016 cited in Mahapatra, 2016). Therefore, India pursues a cultural exchange that is applied to state and non-state actors, which adopt the language of cultural diplomacy (Olivera, 2021).

To complement the activities carried out by the Department of External Information and the Indian embassies, the Department of Public Diplomacy sought to shape international public opinion by, for example, organizing highly relevant guest visits to promote a positive image of the country (ŁOŚ, 2016). Thus, public diplomacy is part of one of the fundamental and modern tools of Soft Power, being an essential complement to Foreign Policy and, in turn, the national diaspora is of great interest in the development of soft power and diplomacy. Public (Wolpert, 2010, cited in ŁOŚ, 2019).

In this way, (Srinivas, 2019 cited in Olivera, 2021) the diaspora is studied as a resource that Prime Minister Modi considers necessary and important for the strategic development of his Foreign Policy. Therefore, the Indian projection through its diaspora, present in a considerable number of states and a relatively large volume (more than 20 million people) that contribute to the state of origin from various areas, also opens up the possibility of cultural diplomacy through it (Rodríguez de la Vega, 2014, cited in Barroso, 2015).

Adding to the above, (Oonk, 2007 cited in Rodríguez de la Vega, 2016) the heterogeneity of the diaspora is manifested and the perspective that the Indian⁶ government holds is mentioned. It refers to those citizens who do not reside in their country of origin, it includes people who took another nationality and are stateless according to what was indicated by Sharma (w.d.).

In such a way that, currently, the policy of Prime Minister Narendra Modi includes: addressing the diaspora of

the Indian state during visits to foreign states, welcoming foreign leaders in various locations in India repeatedly alluding to the culture and tradition of India in his speeches (Mahapatra, 2016).

Likewise, Delhi's strategy has always been a policy of not participating in unjust wars (Zajączkowski, 2009, cited in ŁOŚ, p.14). For this reason, the relentless support for UN peacekeeping operations was paramount for legitimizing and enhancing confidence and credibility in the policies taken by India (ŁOŚ, 2019).

All of this has contributed to enhancing the image of India as a land of deep spirituality, with a tradition in the management of coexistence between different beliefs (Barroso, 2015, p.146). Consequently, the fundamental objective of India's diplomacy has been to promote the image of the South Asian country as a "responsible power" as well as a reliable partner of the West (ŁOŚ, 2019). An example of this was the execution of the Gujral doctrine (Dixi, 1989 cited in ŁOŚ, 2019), which was based on the concept of increasing the power of India, but not at the expense of its neighbouring countries (Zajaczkowski, 2008 cited in ŁOŚ, 2019).

India's investment in Soft Power is undoubtedly increasing and this would indicate that the country is joining forces to ensure its emergence on a global scale. Thus, the politicians of this state have as a long-term focus to bring the power of their traditional and popular culture to all Asian countries, including Latin America (Iftekharul Bashar, 2009).

Therefore, the soft power of India is shaped by the synergy of the Indian government and the private sector that is booming in that state. This public-private partnership then becomes one of the basic strengths of the Indian soft power. Thus, as India emerges as a world power, the country's soft power will have a greater economic, cultural, and, in a certain way, political impact on a global level (Iftekharul Bashar, 2009). Therefore, its effect in areas such as art and culture, make up its soft power. In addition, the diaspora is considered relevant, whose importance was taken advantage of by governments and different companies (Thussu, 2013 cited in Olivera, 2021).

Now, the concept of cultural diplomacy alludes to the construction of cultural relations in different settings, counting on various actors who seek to shape their interests and identity (Montoya Ruiz, 2012 cited in Olivera, 2021). In this sense, it strengthens the bargaining power of the State by promoting understanding and recognition of the international image and overcoming stereotypes (Olivera, 2021).

In this way, it is observed that the cultural diplomacy that India uses in our country is characterized by being mixed, because it is exercised by initiatives that arise from the Indian government, by diplomatic representation,

and by people who have interfered in Indian culture and that promote/replicate said interests (Olivera, 2021). The Asian continent, and more specifically India, has its cultural hegemony. Thus, it can be concluded that the transfer of geopolitical power to that continent was also due to the growth of soft power (Olivera, 2021). Similarly, in the last decades the hard power capacities of India have increased since it is a country that has an emerging power and with the potential to fulfil a configuration role of the system (Sahni, 2007 cited in Olivera, 2021). In particular, the evolution of India's soft power is somewhat recent. In this way, Soft Power shaped the foreign policy and behaviour of the Asian State and, in this direction, cultural diplomacy has become a key element to achieve foreign policy objectives (Mahapatra, 2016 cited in Olivera, 2021).

INTERNATIONAL INSERTION

Argentina's international insertion throughout the past century and the current one have been fluctuating. It has been affected by each of the current governments that passed through our country. While some gave greater relevance to domestic politics over external factors, others inverted this equation. According to Simon off (2010) cited in Rubiolo and Baroni (2017), Argentine insertion strategies have been influenced by three polarizations: foreign policy (anti-communism and distrust of nationalist positions regarding the economy on the part of Washington), internal politics (Peronismo-antiperomn nismo), and economic (industry-field). The multiple combinations between them make it impossible to define the ongoing process of foreign policy. That is to say, international insertion did not have and does not have a clear definition that is maintained through the different governments, giving rise to the impossibility of defining a sustained course in foreign policy.

In addition to the above and due to the ups and downs that have been a fundamental part of the political history of our country, the international insertion of Argentina concerning the cultural agenda with India deserves a brief historical account. Knowing that the relationship between the two states was formalized in 1949, Perón prevailed on domestic politics over external factors, culminating in a few international agreements during his government. However, it was the foreign policy based on the third position adopted concerning the "non-aligned" countries, which did not allow a deep rapprochement with the South Asian country. Years later, throughout the de facto government, although the aforementioned cultural associations were opened, the position adopted ended in the international isolationism of the Republic (Russell, 1984).

Contrary to this situation, in 1983, Alfonsín adopted a position of reform to the given international order (Zurita, 2010). Therefore, during his tenure, he sought a greater

insertion at the international level. From that moment on, they began to give greater impulses to the region motivated by different issues. However, Menem's administration proposed a foreign policy based on the objectives of political stability and economic development, and how it would be fulfilled would be through the international reintegration of our country as an ally of the first world states (Jaquenod, 2013). Years later, Foreign Minister Taiana joined in 2006 and Cristina Fernández in 2009 to establish and deepen a common position in the international arena and build strategies outside the economic arena. Concerning recent years (Olivera, 2021), the Argentine State received various visits, such as Narendra Modi in 2018 at the "Yoga for Peace" event, where he presented himself as very close to the Indian diaspora. On this occasion, the prime minister delivered a speech on Soft Power outlining a clear display of cultural diplomacy.

From 2019 to 2020, the Embassy of India held a meeting with the Argentine Minister of Education. In addition, he spoke with the rectors of the National Technical University and the National University of Cuyo about the forms of cooperation in education and science. Indeed, the most prominent cultural diplomacy action in Argentina is the granting of scholarships to study in India through various means (Olivera, 2021).

SPECIALIST DATA ON THE CULTURAL AGENDA: SABRINA OLIVERA

To complement the information about the cultural ties between India and Argentina, it was considered necessary to include qualitative data obtained from conducting a semi-structured interview with Sabrina Olivera (2021). Olivera (2021) remarked that the most important milestones that have permeated the relations between India and Argentina are related in the first instance, with the Ramakrishna centre started by Swami Vivekananda in May 1897, which has a headquarters in Argentina, established in 1933 (Olivera, 2021).

Among the main objectives of the Ramakrishna Math and Ramakrishna Mission missions are: to spread the idea of the potential divinity of each being and the manifestation through each action and thought, to work for the integral well-being of society worldwide, especially by uplifting the poor and oppressed and promoting the development of harmonious character personalities through the combined practice of *Jnana, Bhakti, Yoga and Karma* (Ramakrishna Math and Ramakrishna Mission, 2019).

Likewise, another significant milestone is Yoga, which according to the Argentine Yoga Federation (2020) is made up of more than 400 schools of all methods, styles and specialities (Olivera, 2021 p. 169). It is one of India's biggest and longest-lasting export successes, practised today in all

corners of the world, both as a form of exercise and to manage stress (Kugiel, 2014, cited in ŁOŚ, 2019, p.13). It is for this reason that Argentina is extremely immersed in its festivities every September 21. In addition, yoga is the systematization of mysticism, the end product of a civilization that seeks to develop techniques applicable to all human beings instead of relying on the spontaneous gift of nature (Laxmi and Joshi, 2019, p.60).

"It seems to me that it is an event that is an expression of the cultural diplomacy of India in its international projection, particularly in its bilateral relationship with Argentina and that involves many actors. For this reason, when we talk about cultural diplomacy we are not only talking about what comes from any official instance such as the embassy, but we also have to mention civil society and the private sector as well as academics. " In addition, "I am referring to the projection of a Hindu India adopting Yoga as a representation of India, leaving out other religions beyond the fact that it has been presented in international terms as India's gift to the world, the gift to humanity. " (S. Olivera, Personal communication, October 4, 2021).

Similarly, presidential visits are another important factor when it comes to the cultural agenda. In the first place, President Cristina Fernández de Kirchner in 2009, aimed to deepen and establish common positions in international spheres and form a strategic association beyond the economic sphere (Olivera, 2021). In turn, Narendra Modi's visit in November 2018 at the G-20 meeting integrates another important milestone. As Modi points out, India has the "Ds that no other country has in the world" with similar intensity: democracy, demographic dividend and demand (Girault, A.G et al., 2014, p.40).

Finally, in return for it, it was President Mauricio Macri who carried out a high-level visit to the Indian state in February 2019 (MEA, 2020 cited in Olivera, 2021). This visit was purely commercial, however, topics such as tourism, education and exchanges were discussed (Olivera, 2021).

FUTURE OF THE CULTURAL AGENDA: INDIA-ARGENTINA

Looking to the future, S. Olivera warns that: "From my perspective, I think that if we are going to increase trade relations with India, there will come a point where the cultural issue will also be relevant because we are not talking about a nearby country, neither geographically nor culturally. In other words, at some point we are going to need an approach or knowledge of culture to establish relationships with that country, relationships that are lasting and successful (...) then, unfaillingly, the cultural issue is going to have to be introduced if we want, for example, to place a product on the market "(Personal communication, October 4, 2021).

CONCLUSION

In recent times, culture has acquired a strategic role in the international projection of India since it helps it to adopt the role of a peaceful and friendly power in its cultural cooperation agenda, in this case with its counterpart, Argentina, making use of soft power. Within this bilateral relationship, internal, external and intermestic factors; the performance of state and non-state actors; civil society and the private sector; as well as widely disseminated cultural practices are extremely important because they constantly permeate the actions of the states.

Thus, by Olivera (2021), culture becomes the fundamental space that enables entry into other areas of negotiation and cooperation between countries.

Continuing with the above, although it is true that Argentina does not occupy the first place for the projection of power of India since it is a country not only culturally but also geographically distant. It is also true that from the beginning "they have always enjoyed good health in this regard" (S. Olivera, Personal communication, October 4, 2021) despite the various positions and policies adopted by governments. In this way, it should be noted that "India is associated with that mystical, religious, spiritual land, so it is not perceived as an enemy, but these characteristics make it stand out, if you like, in a more empathetic way." (S. Olivera, Personal communication, October 4, 2021).

Concerning soft power, (Olivera, 2021) India makes use of cultural diplomacy to project its objectives on the international scene, it seeks to strengthen the state identity abroad, promoting intercultural dialogue where the configuration of an image is important country-specific. In addition, following Van Klaveren (1992), although Argentina and India have different cultures, throughout history it is seen as state and non-state actors have permeated foreign policy to achieve greater cultural cooperation, making specific use of cultural and ideological factors within the same framework of values that shaped their relationships and their international insertion. In other words, for Argentina and India to achieve their foreign policy spirit, in line with national purposes, they must ask themselves what is the place they want to occupy, with a desire to project culture abroad (Flores and Barroso, 2019).

In this way and in brief considerations, the Soft Power in the bilateral relationship between India and Argentina is incorporated in highly relevant issues for both states, such as the growth of the countries, both in their material and non-material capacities "to undertake a virtuous development course "(Rocha Valencia and Morales Ruvalcaba 2011, p. 268 cited in Flores and Barroso, 2019).

Finally, at present, “given the impetus of the current management of the embassy and the favourable reception it has from the management of the national government in Argentina, it would give the feeling that everything that has to do with commercial and economic matters will advance and it will increase, which is nothing new because it is a trend that has been taking place for the last 20 years” (S. Olivera, Personal communication, October 4, 2021). Consequently, it is possible to glimpse how relations between Argentina and India have strengthened over time because the objectives pursued in foreign policy are identified by both governments as common in the future, something that is reflected in the words of former Foreign minister Felipe Solá "India is an example of sustained democracy, it is a nation with a large number of different ethnic groups and languages, with different thoughts and cultures that coexist" (...), "We look to the future similarly "(MFA, November 7, 2020).

NOTES

¹Argentine Council for International Relations

²Former Argentine president

³Non-Aligned Movement

⁴Ministry of Foreign Affairs

⁵ ICCR

⁶The government of India qualifies the diaspora as: “a generic term that describes both people emigrated from territories that are currently within the limits of the Republic of India and their descendants” and notes that these people “resident in distant lands”“retained their emotional, cultural and spiritual bond with their country of origin” (The Indian Diaspora, para. 1 and 2, cited in Rodríguez de la Vega, 2016, p. 5).

REFERENCES

- Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo - BID (2019, 13 septiembre). *LATINDIA: INTEGRACIÓN SUR-SUR*. Conexión Intal. Disponible en: <https://conexionintal.iadb.org/2018/07/02/ideas/>
- Baroni, P. (2019) *Política exterior argentina hacia la República de la India: Factores políticos económicos, internos y externos (2003-2015)*. Universidad de Rosario. Facultad de Ciencia Política y Relaciones Internacionales, Pp. 56-66. Disponible en: <http://biblioteca.puntoedu.edu.ar/bitstream/handle/2133/16653/TesisBaroni.pdf?sequence=3&isAllowed=y>
- Barroso, M. (2015). Ambedkar y el “poder blando” de la India.. *Journal de Ciencias Sociales*. doi 10.18682/jcs.v0i4.327. Recuperado de: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/315940462_Ambedkar_y_el_poder_blando_de_la_India
- Bernal-Meza, R. (2005). América Latina en el mundo. El pensamiento latinoamericano y la teoría de las relaciones internacionales. Buenos aires: Nuevo hacer, Grupo Editor Latinoamericano. Cap. 7, pp. 243-272.
- Blarel, N. (2012) India: the next superpower?: India's soft power: from potential to reality? IDEAS reports - special reports, Kitchen, Nicholas (ed.) SR010. LSE IDEAS, London School of Economics and Political Science, London, UK.
- Busso, A. (2019) Los condicionantes internos y la política exterior. *El vínculo entre los condicionantes internos y la política exterior. Reflexiones sobre el caso argentino*. Ciclos, Vol. XXVI, Nro. 52 ISSN 1851-3735, pp. 3-32.
- Embassy of India (2018) Funcionarios de la embajada. Buenos Aires, Argentina. Disponible en: https://www.indembarg.gov.in/page_ol/officials/
- Girault, A. G., Ochoa, R., & Serrate, J. S. (2014). Los desafíos de la macroeconomía. In *El G-20 y las tensiones entre el rebalanceo y la fragmentación*. (pp. 29–44). Consejo Argentino para las Relaciones Internacionales (CARI). Recuperado de: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep21033.4>
- Iftekharul Bashar (2009) *Indian soft power: The role of culture*. *Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 13, No. 2 Recuperado de: [http://biliabd.org/article%20intl/Vol-13\(2\)/Iftekharul%20Bashar.pdf](http://biliabd.org/article%20intl/Vol-13(2)/Iftekharul%20Bashar.pdf)
- Jaquenod, A. M. (2013). La inserción internacional argentina durante la década de los '90 desde las tradiciones clásicas de las relaciones internacionales : Una lectura crítica. (Trabajo Final de Posgrado. Universidad de Buenos Aires.) Recuperado de http://bibliotecadigital.econ.uba.ar/download/tpos/1502-0757_JaquenodAM.pdf
- KMS Kodithuwakku (2015) *Soft Power as a Tool in Indian Foreign Policy*. Department of International Relations, University of Colombo, Colombo 3, Sri Lanka. Proceedings of 8th International Research Conference, KDU. Recuperado de: <http://ir.kdu.ac.lk/bitstream/handle/345/1239/dss-132.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>
- Laxmi, V. Joshi, G. (2019). Culture as a Tool of Soft Power in Indian Context. *A Peer-Reviewed International Refereed Journal*, 7 (Research Reinforcement),

- ISSN 2348-3857. Recuperado de: <http://researchreinforcement.com/issues/English-Web-final.pdf#page=69>
- Lechini, G. (2006) Capítulo III. La política de la “no política” (1989-1999). En publicación: Argentina y África en el espejo de Brasil ¿Política por impulsos o construcción de una política exterior?, CLACSO, Ciudad de Buenos Aires, Argentina. Disponible en: http://biblioteca.clacso.edu.ar/gsd/collect/clacso/ind ex/assoc/D1219.dir/6_cap3.pdf
- Lós, R. (2019). Soft Power of India. Historia i Polityka. 9. Doi: 10.12775/HiP.2019.011. Recuperado de: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/336099094_Soft_Power_of_India
- Mahapatra DA (2016) ¿De un poder blando latente a uno 'fuerte'? La evolución de la diplomacia cultural de la India. *Comunicaciones Palgrave* . 2: 16091 doi: 10.1057 / palcomms.2016.91.
- Míguez, M. C.; Morgenfeld, L. (coordinadores) (2020) *Los condicionantes internos de la política exterior*, Buenos Aires. URL: <https://www.teseopress.com/condicionantesinternos>
- Ministerio De Relaciones Exteriores, Comercio Internacional y Culto. (2020, 7 noviembre). “*La Argentina y la India miramos el futuro de manera parecida*”. Actualidad. Disponible en: <https://www.cancilleria.gob.ar/es/actualidad/noticias/la-argentina-y-la-india-miramos-el-futuro-de-manera-parecida>
- Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Comercio Internacional y Culto (2021) *Sección Consular de INDIA en Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires*. Representaciones extranjeras. Disponible en: <https://www.cancilleria.gob.ar/representaciones-extranjeras/embajada/68>
- Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Comercio Internacional y Culto (2021) *Representaciones en el exterior*. Embajada en India. Disponible en: <https://www.cancilleria.gob.ar/es/representaciones/ei ndi>
- Olivera, S. V. (2021). Poder blando y diplomacia cultural de India. El caso de Argentina. *Internacia: Revista De Relaciones Internacionales*, (2), 152-184. Recuperado a partir de <https://revistas.pucp.edu.pe/index.php/internacia/arti cle/view/23824>
- PNUD-CEPAL (1988) Análisis y formulación de la Política Exterior. Proyecto de Cooperación con los Servicios Exteriores de América Latina. N°1. Santiago de Chile. Recuperado de: https://repositorio.cepal.org/bitstream/handle/11362/29426/S327N962A_es.pdf
- Ramakrishna Math and Ramakrishna Mission (2019). Ramakrishna Mission Delhi. Recuperado de: <https://rkmdelhi.org/about-us/ramakrishna-mission/>
- Rishi Verma, R. (2018). La relación India-Argentina en clave estratégica. *Journal De Ciencias Sociales*, (11). <https://doi.org/10.18682/jcs.v0i11.899>
- Rodríguez de la Vega, Lía (2016). La diáspora india, su relación con el país de origen y residencia: Panorama de los estudios realizados. *Revista Guillermo de Ockham*, 14 (1). [Fecha de Consulta 28 de Octubre de 2021]. ISSN: 1794-192X. Disponible en: <https://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=105345260007>
- Rubiolo, F.; Baroni, P. (2017) ; *Trayectoria de la inserción argentina en India y el Sudeste de Asia*; Sociedad Argentina de Análisis Político. *Revista S.A.A.P*, Vol. 11, N° 1, pp.103-126. Disponible en: <https://revista.saap.org.ar/contenido/revista-saap-v11-n1/articulo-rubiolybaroni.pdf>
- Russell, R. (1984). *Argentina y la política exterior del régimen autoritario (1976-1983) : una evaluación preliminar*. *Estudios Internacionales*, 17(66), p. 170-201. doi:10.5354/0719-3769.2011.15822.
- Stéphanie M.-L. Heng (2016) Diplomacy and Image-Building: India Rides on its Soft Power. Observer Research Foundation (ORF) ISSUE BRIEF No. 163. Recuperado de: <https://www.orfonline.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/IB-163.pdf>
- Van Klaveren, A. (1992). ¿Entendiendo las Políticas Exteriores Latinoamericanas: Modelo para Armar?, *Estudios Internacionales*, año 25, no. 98, pp.169-216.
- Zurita, M. D. (2010). *Las claves de la política exterior de Raúl Alfonsín*. V Congreso de Relaciones Internacionales. Universidad Nacional de la Plata. Disponible en: <http://sedici.unlp.edu.ar/handle/10915/40131>