

---

# UNIT 25 DYNAMICS OF SOUTH ASIAN SECURITY

---

## Structure

- 25.0 Objective
- 25.1 Introduction
- 25.2 Dynamics of South Asian security
  - 25.2.1 Political dynamics and Inter-state conflict
  - 25.2.2 Indo-centrism
  - 25.2.3 Asymmetry
- 25.3 Nuclearisation of South Asia
- 25.4 Non-traditional Security
  - 25.4.1 Environmental Issues
- 25.5 Towards Regional Cooperation
- 25.6 Let Us Sum Up
- 25.7 Some Useful Books and Articles
- 25.8 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

---

## 25.0 OBJECTIVES

---

This unit deals with the sources of conflict in the South Asia region. After going through this unit, you should be able to:

- to identify the sources of conflict,
- explain the impact of nuclear factor in South Asia,
- define non-traditional security,
- explain how environmental issues impinge on security, and
- explain the future prospects of security of the region of South Asia.

---

## 25.1 INTRODUCTION

---

South Asia is the epitome of Third World and occupies juxtaposed problems, assets and culture with distinguished variance in economics, scientific and technological levels and factors accompanying development. In concepts, ideology and philosophy and hypothesis of international relations the South Asian subcontinent interacts with dimensions uncommon in the developed North. This unit focus on the security dynamics in the region not just in military terms but also political, economic and environmental security.

Traditionally, security has been conceptualised in terms of protection of state's territorial integrity, political independence and sovereignty. In the post-Cold war period, it is increasingly being realised that this conception of security fails to address the issues that arise from the two dominant trends of the times- increasing globalisation and rapid fragmentation. Both are trends which the nation-state is not particularly suited to deal with. It is in this context, that the security paradigm was deepened to focus on not just

on the state but on the groups and interests as well. The notion of security was broadened to include not only military but political, economic and social dimensions as well. These new dimensions are generally categorised as non-traditional security concerns. The principal thrust of this Unit is to analyze the dynamics of South Asian security which inter-alia shall involve discussion on various facets related to South Asian security. We will first examine the broad features of the South Asia region that have a bearing on security and then proceed to examine the traditional and non-traditional dimensions of security.

---

## 25.2 DYNAMICS OF SOUTH ASIAN SECURITY

---

Geographically, South Asia is a natural strategic unit surrounded by the great chain of mountains— the Himalayas, Karakorum, Hindukush in the north and by the Indian Ocean in the south, east and west. Historically from the earliest times, the peoples of this region have been intimately linked by race, culture, religion, and sometimes by political allegiance.

Political boundaries have not been constant in South Asia. Empires have grown and fallen. There have been different foci of political authority, though Delhi has the longest history of being the imperial capital. The British Empire in the eighteenth and nineteenth century encompassed not only what is known as the region of South Asia but also some region which is now-a-days part of West and Southeast Asia regions. It was during this period that the political boundaries were drawn over contiguous cultural landmass. The territorial boundaries of the seven countries of the region are thus colonial creations.

The most conspicuous feature on the face of South Asia is India, a veritable powerhouse in the region. In size, population, natural resources, level of economic development, standard of education, scientific and technological progress, gross national product and evolution of democratic political institutions, India is a relative giant.

In absolute terms, therefore, India is a big country surrounded by small ones, with the exception of China. Further, both as a consequence of geography and history, every country in South Asia is intimately connected with India. The same ethnic and religious groups to which their peoples belong are also found in India, which is a vast and heterogeneous country. Social organization and styles of managing the environment are similar between each South Asian country and its adjoining part in India; for example, between Nagaland and northern Burma, West Bengal and Bangladesh, Tamil Nadu and Sri Lanka. Formal boundaries do not, and indeed cannot, contain the cultural overlap. There are matrimonial alliances, family ties and social associations across the borders between India and all of its South Asian neighbours. For better or worse, this intermingling of peoples, cultures, and religions imparts a familial quality to inter-state relations in South Asia. This is in contrast to other geographical regions including Europe.

Families are often disrupted by sibling rivalry and the identity problems of family members; so also in South Asia. Sibling rivalry, with its intricate causes and bitter consequences, characterizes many public stances adopted by India, Pakistan and Bangladesh towards each other which have the longest history of shared political allegiance. To a large extent the ruling elites of Bangladesh, Pakistan and India resemble sibling rivals. They contested for the affection and material rewards handed out first by the British colonialists, and then by the imperial substitutes, the new super powers, to the detriment of their ties with each other.

While the sources of conflict in a region with multi-ethnic and multi-religious societies are manifold, broadly, they can be traced to the colonial legacies, particularly, the drawing of political boundaries on a common cultural landmass and economic space and to the political dynamics in these post-colonial phase. The two geo-political features of the region, Indo-centrism and the asymmetry of power and resources among states in the have their own role in shaping the security dynamics in the region.

In South Asia, British colonialism not only acted as a unifying force but also as a force creating dissonance and division. While it brought the South Asian countries within the common colonial system, colonialism simultaneously sowed several seeds of discord which continue to plague interstate relations in South Asia even today. The differences between India and Pakistan over the two-nation theory and between Sri Lanka and India over the nationality of Tamil plantation workers are only two outstanding examples of dissensions among South Asian states which owe their origin to British (mis)rule. The final hasty retreat of the British and the ensuing bitterness generated between the ruling elites of the two major countries of the region gravely disrupted the traditional complementarity and cohesion.

In the post-colonial phase, the political dynamics in the countries of the region have been different owing to differences in the evolution of the forces of nationalism, the socio-cultural set up and the inherited economic structures. In India and Sri Lanka politics have remained generally stable and evolved smoothly. Other countries of the region have witnessed a cycle of democratic distortions and resurgence. Pakistan, Nepal and Bangladesh witnessed erosion of democratic processes and assertion of authoritarian governments in 1958, 1960 and 1975. Bhutan has always remained a monarchy, though there are now signs of democratic processes being introduced. There was a democratic resurgence in all these countries in the early 1990s, but forces of regression have again been on the ascendance in Pakistan and Nepal.

While such political divergences act as hurdles in strengthening regional cooperation, the emergence of sectarian forces in South Asian countries in the recent past is vitiating the intra-state and inter-state relations. It is difficult to precisely identify the factors that led to the rise of authoritarian and sectarian forces. But, you should note that the search for legitimacy by the authoritarian forces (like in Pakistan, Nepal, Bangladesh and Bhutan) and struggle for democratic power (as in India and Sri Lanka) has led to the mobilisation of sectarian constituencies. The rise of sectarian forces in the multiethnic and multi-religious societies of South Asia has alienated the minorities resulting in the rise of ethnic and separatist movements. In Sri Lanka, the Tamil insurgency since the early 1980s that poses a challenge to Sri Lankan unity and integrity has resulted from the politics of ethnic consolidation of the Sinhalese in the political system. In Pakistan, the separation of Bangladesh was the consequence of the dominance of Punjabi ethnicity under the grab of the Islamic state. Similarly, the sense of deprivation in North Western Frontier Province, Balochistan and Sindh as well as the rise of the Shia and Sunni sectarian conflict are the result of alienation caused by over centralisation and sectarianism. In Bangladesh, the Chakma unrest is a reflection of Bengali and Islamic assertion. In Nepal, the Terai movement of the Maoist insurgency of the late 1990s are manifestations of protest against the dominance of hill people, and against a Hindu state, respectively. In India, the unrest and ethnic turmoil in the northeast is a clear evidence of the failure of even a secular state to integrate its socially divergent groups.

Clearly, nation-building process is still an unfinished task in the region. Almost all the countries in the region face the threat of political disintegration. Given the ethnic and religious overlap in the region, ethnic, religious and linguistic conflicts in one country invariably have an impact in the other country of the region. The contiguous and open boundaries allow easy flow of people, goods and ideas across the borders interfering with economic and political relations. Most of the internal security crises that plague South Asian states have a cross-border dimension, and many are inter-related. Whether it is the Maoist insurgency in Nepal, the persistent ethnic problem in Sri Lanka, the increasing use of Bangladeshi territory by Islamist extremists, the proliferation of small arms, or the menace of drug trafficking and narco-terrorism, each has significant transnational dimensions. States in the region, often accuse each other of covertly or overtly lending support to separatist and the dissident movements.

## 25.2.2 Indo-centrism

With none of the South Asian countries sharing borders with each other, except with and through India, the region is geopolitically Indo-centric in character. One consequence of this is that India's intra-regional interactions are inherently bilateral. India cannot avoid interactions with its neighbours, while none of its neighbours have a similar compulsion to interact with the other South Asian country, except India. It is, therefore, not surprising that India figures prominently in the inter-state problems of the region.

## 25.2.3 Asymmetry

The asymmetry in size, population, power and resources between India and the rest of the countries of South Asia is another feature of the region that has a bearing on inter-state relations in the region. The predominance of India in the region has had an intimidating impact on its small neighbours. India's neighbours have often perceived India as a big brother seeking to translate its physical domination of the region into a political and economic one. They have often raised concerns over motives of Indian actions. Though the India troops intervened in Sri Lanka (1971 and again in 1987-89), in Bangladesh (1971) and in Maldives (1989) and returned upon completion of their mission, these interventions were seen by the neighbouring countries as benign and on the other occasions as hostile. 'Hostile interventions' have raised the spectre of Indian hegemony, but 'benign interventions' have been welcomed as aiding the cause of regime security. On its part, India at one time, was concerned over the possible ganging up of the neighbours to embarrass, if not emasculate its regional pre-eminence.

Such mutual suspicions and fears arising from the asymmetry in the region has also been an obstacle in the strengthening regional cooperation. Almost all the countries of the region suspect that both in bilateral and regional economic engagements, the larger and stronger economy of India will secure more benefit at their cost.

An important consequence of the predominance and centrality of India in this region is the differences in the pursuit of strategic goals. While India has a sub-continental approach to its security, its neighbours have much restricted visions that are coloured by their local views rather than their perception as members of the South Asia region. Indian security concerns are related not just to the conflicts in the region, but to events in Central Asia, the Indian Ocean and to the changing world environment. India has sought to play an independent role consistent with its policy of nonalignment, avoided joining the Cold War alliances, and sought to minimise the role of the external powers in the region. On the other hand, its neighbours have sought to counter balance the regional predominance of India by cultivating extra-regional powers. India figures prominently in the security concerns of its neighbours. Conflict with India has wholly defined the security debate in Pakistan. In Sri Lanka the security debate has been defined by its Tamil problem and by the Indian presence in the north. The security concerns in Nepal centre around its efforts to balance India and China on its southern and northern borders and by perceived threat to its identity from the civilisation similarities between itself and India.

And much to the consternation of India, external powers have often exploited the regional/strategic dissonance to promote their specific interests in the region and around. While the United States has taken advantage of Indo-Pakistan differences from the early 1950s, China took advantage of the Indo-Nepal tensions resulting from consequences of King Mahendra's dismissal of democracy in the Himalayan Kingdom in 1962. The haphazard emergence of a variety of conflicting international strategic interests in the post-Cold War exacerbated regional tensions. Since the September 11 terrorist attacks in the US, the focus of the international community has shifted to this region and Afghanistan. The US engaged Pakistan as an ally in its campaign against international terrorism. Despite Pakistan's emergence as 'a frontline state' in the US' efforts to capture Osama bin Laden and eradicate his Al Qaeda network, the Pakistani state, through its external intelligence agency, the Inter Services Intelligence (ISI), continued with its policy of aiding terrorist organizations active in the state of Jammu and Kashmir and other parts of India.

Among the factors that shaped the security relations in South Asia since the 1980s is the nuclear issue. The nuclear factor in the security dynamics of the region emerged covertly in the 1980s and overtly in the late 1990s.

## 25.3 NUCLEARISATION OF SOUTH ASIA

Indo-Pakistan relations have not been harmonious right from the start as they arose in the history of partition, suspicion, fear and insecurity. They remain tense as the major problems between the two- the Kashmir problem, Pakistan's involvement in encouraging terrorism in Kashmir, the Siachen glacier etc-remaining unresolved.

It is in this context, that the nuclear issue began to impinge on South Asian security. While India nuclear capability was demonstrated as early as the mid-1970s, when it conducted a Peaceful Nuclear Explosion, it preferred to maintain nuclear ambiguity. Pakistan, according to most estimates, had acquired nuclear capabilities with the help of China in the later half of the 1980s. Both India and Pakistan ended their nuclear ambiguity in May 1998 by conducting a series of tests at Pokhran and Chagai, respectively.

The raison d'être of nuclear programmes of India and Pakistan has been different, India pointing to security threats from China and the nuclear monopoly of the big five while Pakistan pointing fingers at India itself. However, the shared perceptions between the two new nuclear weapon states have been that nuclear weapons would guarantee national security and provide an element of stability in bilateral relations.

The most important impact of nuclearisation has been felt in the area of regional peace and stability. The rapprochement between the two countries that was evident from events of that followed the tests- the 10<sup>th</sup> SAARC summit, the bus diplomacy between the two countries and the Lahore declaration- suggested that mutual deterrence has come to prevail between two new nuclear weapons states. However, the rapprochement was shattered by a limited war, the Kargil conflict, and the military take over in Pakistan by General Pervez Musharraf. Pakistan also did not dilute its strategy of using Islamist extremism as an instrument of state policy. The Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir remained the prime target of this strategy, and of the activities of Pakistan-based Islamist terrorist groups. The Kargil conflict clearly indicated the failure of deterrence. Thus, while the existence of nuclear weapons appears to have diminished the probabilities of large-scale conventional wars, a range of 'non-standard', irregular' or low intensity wars have become the most prevalent manifestations of confrontation between India and Pakistan. South Asia remains the most dangerous region, a nuclear flash point, as a limited war could escalate into a nuclear conflict or terrorist activities could trigger off a chain of actions leading to the use of nuclear weapons.

### *Factors affecting stability in South Asia*

On the political front, there have been institutional restraints on leaders in India while taking decisions, though at critical moments, these have been sidetracked as in 1987 in Operation Brass tracks. In Pakistan, restraints have been non-existent, as it has always been dominated by the armed forces that have decided peace and security issues in the region. Leaders on both sides are aware of high state of tension in which they coexist where even a trivial conflict sometimes can assume serious proportions. In the case of risk taking, it is evident that South Asian leaders oscillate between extreme caution and irresponsible gambling.

Technically, both, India and Pakistan, have the capability to deliver nuclear warheads to big cities- with the remotest chances of missile interception. Missiles cut flight-time to just three minutes- too meagre for preventive action, and bound, according to former naval chief N. Ramdas, to trigger instant retaliation with devastating consequences. At no point in the Cold War conflict between the two superpowers was lag time less than 30 minutes. Moreover, between the Eastern and Western bloc of countries, there were scores of early warning systems, hot lines, permitting action lights, and crisis



defusing devices. There are none between India and Pakistan. The region, therefore, requires dealing the nuclear issues with a sense of urgency.

Finally, in South Asia, a structural asymmetry exists and confronts the region making it less stable in the future than in the past. China is a wild card in South Asian security issues particularly in the context of Indo-Pak nuclear proliferation and regional arms control. Even though China is not a direct threat to India there is a considerable force in China's nuclear presence in the subcontinent as a result of China's military relationship with Pakistan. Despite the thaw in the India-China relations, China is, and is likely to remain the primary security challenge to India in the medium and long terms.

### ***Prospects for Stability in South Asia:***

A nuclearised South Asia is a reality as neither India nor Pakistan would be inclined to renounce nuclear weapons unilaterally or bilaterally. A multilateral convention inducing them to give up nuclear weapons is still in dialogue and unlikely to translate into reality in the near future. It has also been understood by both countries that a war, conventional or nuclear cannot be beneficial to either side politically, economically or militarily. Yet the assumption is that South Asia remains an area of crisis where stability is wafer thin although such a situation need be stabilized through a series of measures that can be operationalised most effectively within a cooperative framework. In this context, cooperative security in South Asia becomes more relevant and a viable alternative to competitive security. Cooperative security envisages inter-state relations where disputes may take place within agreed upon norms and established procedures without any kind of violence. It seeks to address relations through collaboration and mutually accepted basis rather than confrontation via military involvement. Confidence Building Measures (CBM's) and Confidence Security Building Measures (CSBM's) are tools to maintain cooperative security. A beginning in this direction of nuclear risk reduction measures has been made through a series of bilateral agreements including the one that concluded on 28 June 2004 in New Delhi envisaging the setting up of hotlines at various decision making levels between Islamabad and New Delhi.

### **Check Your Progress 1**

**Note:** i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with the model answer given at the end of the unit.

- 1) In what ways does the asymmetry of power and resources in South Asia affect the security dynamics of the region?

.....

.....

.....

- 2) How does the rise of sectarian forces affect the security in South Asia region?

.....

.....

.....

- 3) Why is the South Asia region described as a nuclear flash point?

.....

.....

In the past decade or so, several scholars and security analysts have felt that the traditional concept of security has failed to deliver meaningful security to a significant proportion of the people of South Asia— who between them comprise more than one fifth of the world's total population. They point out that that for most people in the region, the greatest threats to security come from poverty, disease, environmental contamination, crime, and unorganized violence. For many people, a still greater threat may come from their own state itself, rather than from an “external” adversary. They urge for deepening of the conception of security to include not only threats to the state but also threat to human security, that is, security of the individuals and groups in a society. After all, the fundamental purpose of the state is not only to protect the security but also to promote the welfare of its citizens. These scholars also urge for broadening of the notion of security to include not only “external” or military threats but also non-military threats emanating from political, economic, social and environmental sources. These include cross-border movements of population, ethno-political, socio-economic, and communal-religious politics; terrorism with its seminal linkages to money-laundering operations, and arms smuggling; environmental degradation spawning its related problems of deforestation and desertification; internal migration; chaotic urbanisation and so on.

It is only in recent times that security studies have begun to grapple simultaneously with problems of external threats and human and non-traditional security concerns. Accordingly, problems of external threats, internal social cohesion, regime capacity, failed states, economic development, structural adjustment, gender relations, ethnic identity, and transnational and global problems like AIDS, drug trafficking, terrorism, and environmental degradation have become areas of concern for security studies.

One danger in broadening of the notion of security is the difficulties in drawing a line between non-traditional security, broadly conceived to include human security and issues of welfare and governance. Those who advocate the broadening of the conception of security, however, argue that non-traditional security does not include all health, welfare, and development challenges. They say these issues become security concerns when they reach crisis point, when they undermine and diminish the survival chances of significant proportions of the citizens of society, and when they threaten the stability and integrity of society.

It is beyond the scope of this unit to examine all non-traditional security threats. We will take up environmental issues. Like other non-traditional security threats these have complex linkages with state security (non-military) and security of individuals and groups (human security).

### 25.4.1 Environmental Issues

Environment has multifold implications for security-regional, non-military and human security. It can also potentially lead to conflict between communities and states, as a result of spill over effects of pollution and competition over scarce resources.

Environmental degradation poses a threat to the national security by increasing the prospect of conflict. Environmental issues become identified as threats to international or regional security when they undermine the social, economic and ecological health and well-being of neighbouring countries. Environmental stress creates a condition where political processes are unable to handle its effects resulting in political upheavals and military violence.

Environmental degradation also has human security implications. It can represent a direct threat to individuals-through the effects of pollution, ill health and vulnerability to natural disasters. It can represent a threat to the coherence and stability of communities-by undermining their capacity to operate as productive communities, or their capacity for the provision of public services.

Poverty, injustice, environmental degradation and conflict interact in complex and potent ways. Climate changes, marginalization of sections of population due to desertification, deforestation, or displacement of people as refugees, as in Bangladesh, deforestation in Nepal, resulting in mass movement of population to India exemplify human security issues.

The problems of South Asian countries present a grim scenario of environmental resource exploitation because of accompanying increase in population, poverty along with educated unemployed youths resulting social chaos and political instability. While there is a great deal of effort for growth and development adverse trends in economy, inadequate development policies, inequities in multi-racial and multi-ethnic societies complicate the linkage between environment, development, security and conflict making the region more complex and insecure.

Environmental conflicts often manifest themselves as political, social, economic, religious or territorial conflicts, or conflicts over resources or national interests, or any other type of conflict. They are traditional conflicts induced by an environmental degradation. Environmental conflicts are characterized by the principal importance of degradation in one or more of the following fields: overuse of renewable resources; overstrain of the environment's sink capacity (pollution); or impoverishment of the space of living.

A major challenge that the states of South Asia face today is one of reconciling the huge population resource with the finite resources of the region. The possibility of conflict remains high as the capacity of the states in the region to support their current population is decreasing due to the scarcity of resources.

Water has been a major source of regional discord. Due to the geographical proximity of the region all the major rivers that form part of the most populous regions are in the northern part of South Asia flowing through the territories of more than one country. And it is here that there are recurrent disagreements over water sharing. The Indus Basin, the Farakka Barrage were perennial sources of disagreement. Likewise, recurrent floods are also a major problem between India and Bangladesh. Pollution also contains the seeds of conflict. Pollution of rivers, inland water bodies and seas is on the rise. Pollution can contribute to secondary social problems as migration beyond national boundaries damaged food production and human health resulting in scarcities to induce conflict. Similarly, South Asian food requirements which are growing can lead to limited food availability and famines which in turn contribute to political instability and these seemingly local events have regional implications also.

Thus, at the regional levels South Asian nations need to arrest the processes of ecological damage and to preserve peace, security and develop the human resource potential of South Asia in consonance with environmental resources.

---

## 25.5 TOWARDS REGIONAL COOPERATION

---

The efforts at exploring avenues of cooperation within South Asia on a multilateral basis and institutionalization of these preliminary attempts in South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) have been a manifestation of the ingrained feeling among the political elite and decision makers in the Indian subcontinent that there is an inherent geographic, cultural unity, similar climate conditions as well as economic complementarities that needs institutional expression.

The creation of SAARC in December 1985 has been a tangible manifestation of seven member nations determined effort to cooperate regionally to work together towards finding solutions towards their common problems in a spirit of friendship, trust and mutual understanding. The goal to create an order based on mutual respect, equity, shared benefits will help to promote the welfare and prosperity of their people and will improve their quality of life.

Since the nation-states are themselves in the process of being formed in the region.



the concept of a supra-national region seems novel and contradictory to the immediate task of nation building. Nation-states are absolutely central and crucial for any project in South Asia. If regional economic cooperation has failed to take off, it is because most nation-states themselves are major failures.

The success of SAARC will ultimately depend on the wisdom and prudence of member states to take advantage of the goodwill generated by the enterprise and resolution of political differences. With the pace of democratization gaining momentum in the region, along with the compulsion of the emerging world order the journey begins towards achieving the goal "United we stand and divided we fall". This in essence is the challenge before SAARC.

## Check Your Progress 2

**Note:** i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with the model answer given at the end of the unit.

- 1) From the non-traditional security perspective, when do development challenges become security threats?

.....

.....

.....

- 2) How is environmental degradation both a non-traditional and human security threat?

.....

.....

.....

## 25.6 LET US SUM UP

South Asia is beset with numerous problems— the traditional problems arising out of proximity of member countries in the region, the predominance and centrality of India in the region and the political dynamics in the states. With the nuclearization of two important and antagonistic members of the region, namely India and Pakistan, the region has emerged one of the major flashpoints for nuclear conflict.

The SAARC, the first manifestation of regional cooperation in the region is trying to shatter sickles of mutual distrust and strengthen cooperation between the countries of the region. However, political problem is proving to be major hurdle. As we observed, the political problem has its roots in the South Asia nation-state. The drawing of political map on a uniform cultural landmass and economic space has not only resulted in inter-state conflicts but has eroded the foundation of regional thinking. The division into nation-states is strong.

Some commentators have argued that it would be appropriate to define a new concept of security, which encompasses not only military security but also broader issues such as poverty reduction, environment conservation, energy and food security. It is argued that such an approach will: (a) contribute to a shift from state-centric security perception to individual security, and (b) will encourage countries to jointly address the issue of "Common Enemy". While the Indo-Pak cooperation in sharing Indus waters strengthens such arguments and institutional mechanism in the form of SAARC exists, the initiatives on meeting the challenges of human development and security are yet to concretise.

It would be, however, erroneous to conclude from this unfortunate past experience that there cannot be any strategic harmony in South Asia. The region is a natural strategic unit surrounded by the Himalayas in the north and the Indian Ocean in the south. Moreover, countries in the region often coordinated their approaches to the questions of disarmament, including chemical and nuclear weapons, at the United Nations or elsewhere. In the 1970s, they have displayed a strong consensus on some of the key aspects of the proposal on Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace. Furthermore, there are areas of bilateral security arrangements, understandings and concrete cooperation among the South Asian countries, notwithstanding occasional irritants and apprehensions in implementation. The only serious dilemma in South Asia's strategic harmony is that of India-Pakistan conflict, which seems to be erupting into more serious dimensions when the army becomes politically assertive in Pakistan.

---

## 25.7 SOME USEFUL BOOKS AND ARTICLES

---

Iftekhharuzzaman. (ed.). (1997). *Regional Economic Trends and South Asian Security*. Manohar: New Delhi.

Cohen, Stephen P. (ed.). (1987). *The Security of South Asia: American and Asian Perspectives*. Vistaar: New Delhi.

A.R.Deo. (1991). *South Asian Neighbours*. World Focus. Vol. 12 Nos.11-12.

A. Singh. (1997). *The Military Balance: 1985-1994*. ACDIS, Occasional Paper, Univ. of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign: UIP.

---

## 25.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

---

### Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Asymmetry in power and resources breeds suspicion and mistrust. It is responsible for the pursuit of divergent strategic goals by the countries of the region.
- 2) The rise of sectarian state alienates ethnic and religious minorities resulting in conflicts within a state. Given the socio-cultural overlap and contiguous and open borders between the countries of the region, such intra-state conflicts have the potential to turn into inter-state conflicts.
- 3) Nuclearisation has diminished the possibility of large scale war in the region, but limited conventional wars and state sponsored terrorism that have become the new modes of conflict have the potential to escalate or trigger nuclear conflict. Hence, the region is described as a nuclear flashpoint

### Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Developmental issues become security concerns when they reach crisis point, when they undermine and diminish the survival chances of significant proportions of the citizens of society, and when they threaten the stability and integrity of society.
- 2) Poverty, injustice, environmental degradation and conflict interact in complex and potent ways. Desertification and deforestation marginalises and displaces people which exemplify human security issues. On the other hand, depletion of resources and mass movement of people have potential for inter-state conflict and therefore constitute non-traditional security threats.