INTRODUCTION

Many scholarly works that appear at time of profound geopolitical change are intent on providing a view of the world that lies ahead. Certainly, the past few years, especially the 1990s, have witnessed fundamental change that was not expected by most observers, both the scholars or policy-makers. That change has not come to an end yet, and it is likely that there are some additional surprises ahead. A geopolitical transition does not necessarily tell us much about the coming world order(s). It does, however, provide new insights in the working as well as the ending of the previous geopolitical order.

This present work is concerned with South Asian geopolitics, and it, too, is inspired by the present change. But its primary objective is not to predict a new world order. Instead, it 'uses' the present geopolitical transition to understand better the preceding geopolitical order. At the same time, our view of the past geopolitical order determines in part our understanding of the current geopolitical transition. In their struggle for geopolitical domination, the superpowers made great efforts to expand their spheres of influence. For both, but especially the United States, this resulted in a global presence and worldwide influence. But 'spheres' of influence did not imply that the United States or the Soviet Union in fact dominated these areas. Rather, it meant that they were making efforts in that direction. In most cases, superpower rivalry affected, complicated regional developments.

The states of South Asia present an interesting scene on the plane of
political development. One comes across the dilemma and dialectic between
decentralization and concentration of powers, politics of change and politics of
status quoism, politics of purpose and politics of manipulation, secularization
of politics and communalization there of, going on in various parts of South
Asia. South Asia as a subordinate system of the international system has come
to assume a significant position. Its geo-strategic location, its social, cultural,
religious and systematic plurality and responsible for this significant position.

Studies in foreign policies, till very recently, have been carried out with
the nation-states as the focal point. This approach had its advantages. One
could always hope to collect abundant material on the subject and analyse the
mechanics as well as the processes of foreign policies with great competence
and confidence. One could test these decisions on the basis of a fairly objective
study of the national interests, about which there is often a consensus of
opinion inside the country. As the tools of micro-analytical studies in political
science became more refined and sophisticated. Most of the countries in the
past have been concentrating on their major relationships with one or two
countries only. As the European state system developed, this relationship
became multi-lateral. But one could always trace a kind of pattern behind it. It
is only recently that relations with other countries have taken such magnitude
that we have started thinking of the foreign policies of states in terms of their
global approaches and attitudes, their relations with states at an intermediatory
level and their relations with their immediate neighbours. This has made the
study of foreign policies fairly complicated, particularly because the global, the
regional as well as the neighbourhood policies overlap and clash with each other on different occasions.

The countries of South Asia- India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Maldives, Bhutan, Bangladesh and Nepal came to age at a time when the Europe centred international political system was changing to a global system. When the representatives of 51 nations met in San Francisco to draw up a Charter for the United Nations, they were still thinking in terms of a 5-power dominated-world, which is clear from the fact that these 5 powers the USA, the Soviet Union, Britain, France and China-were given veto powers. It was perhaps expected that between themselves they would police the world and safeguard its peace. But it soon became clear that England and France were no longer first class powers. For some years the United States walked across the globe like a colossus. Gradually the Soviet Union came up in nuclear strength, and the world became bi-polarized.

The space-time matrix with in the framework of world system approach as formulated by Peter Taylor in late eighties and with the initiation of globalization, there is a distinct shift in the geopolitical dispensation of external behaviour of a nation-state. Pure geostrategic determinants have become less consequential. Defence and security matters have a changed connotation. Security concerned are greatly diversified and hence nation states have to broaden their perspectives, beyond the military equation. Borders assumed different role and nations could think of regional interdependence. European Union is the case in point, which ushers an era of borderless society,
whose property depends upon collaboration, joint-ventures and peaceful coexistence. Inspite of much-coveted globalization, the regional process and region-building realities are more crucial and decisive than the international forces.

The making of foreign policy of a nation state is a greatly diversified process, where more than geography and strategy, the other aspects play a greater role. Jayant Bandopadhaya's (1978) formulation about foreign policy has substantially changed, in the sense, that it has become more complex to be understood. It is simply beyond geography or history and politics to be comprehended. To be more realistic and pragmatic in understanding, the working of foreign policy of a nation state one needs to opt a well-diversified thematic approach. Thematic in the sense that a great variety of factors and processes affect making of foreign policy of a nation-state.

India with its South Asian neighbours has many infrastructural linkages based on colonial legacies, common history, race, religion, language and cultural backgrounds. This combined with monsoonal unity is unique when compared to other regions. They stand inextricably linked. The region has a rich mosaic of pluralism and its national societies are deeply divided, vertically and laterally, by diverse cultural cleavages. Ethnicity plays a critical role in transcending across the borders and threatens the existence and cohesion of a nation-state. The political violence in India, Sri Lanka and Pakistan is example of this. This has become a strong potent factor in deciding the basic contour of our relations and mutual understanding and finally the very spirit of coexistence.
and peace. The violent individuals and groups have become very sophisticated in their operations and tactics.

Very intimately associated with it, is the drug production, trafficking and narcotic trade. The South Asian region is most favourite place where terrorism and drug-trade go rampantly together. Since militants need lot of money to buy arms, they find drug smuggling the best way to make money side by side. The drug smugglers sell arms to the extremists groups. The clandestine arms-market and the drug mafia both travel along the same route and sustain themselves in causing havoc and destruction. Further, the violent groups or organisations require external sources to carry on their activities. External support has frequently been demonstrated as a crucial factor for the survival of the terrorist groups and the ethnic violence in this region of south Asia. All this has far reaching ramification. This amounts to far more serious regional imperatives to affect India's external linkages. India's neighbourly behaviour get highly conditioned and tempered.

There is a paradigm shift from 'negative security' to 'positive security'. Nations and regions have passed through intense period of negative security all through the four decades of the Cold War. Regions have witnessed intense and costly arm-race and nations have spend enormous resources in maintaining so called arms-parity and high-level of deterrence, both in the conventional and nuclear arms-build up. South Asia region is no exception inspite of professed non-alignment policy of the countries of the region. The super-power and the nations dealing with arms sales have made deep inroads in the economics and
societies of countries like India and Pakistan. Billion worth of arms deal have been made at the cost of these countries and still the fever is running high in the name of nuclear capabilities, fanned and supported by the western nations and the big neighbour China.

Progress in disarmament should be accompanied by measures to strengthen institutions for maintaining peace and the settlement of disputes, both bilateral and international by peaceful means. It is necessary to encourage and strengthen non-military alternative and strategies for assuring security of states. Specially, with reference to India and Pakistan, there is a need to shift the focus from strategic studies to peace studies and conflict management. Osgood has proposed a system for graduated reciprocal initiatives in tension-reduction (GRIT) in which each nation could increase the overall security by making peace initiatives. Here it is necessary to make an assertion that we must strive for 'Geopolitics of Peace' and adhering not with geopolitics of tension and conflicts. 'Geopolitics of Peace' should guide our regional efforts to usher in regional peace, development and prosperity.

Taking further the issues of 'positive security' the regional echoes have become strong or for much more important aspects of security, which needs to guided by regional geographical compulsion. These compulsions are strong enough to call for our cooperation, e.g. the questions and issues associated with the Himalayan ecology affecting Pakistan, India, Nepal, Bhutan and Bangladesh, the menace of desertification, dwarfing our development efforts in India and Pakistan, the havoc created by natural disasters such as the 'cyclonic
floods, devastating silting process, and the sharing of river-water causing unhappy relations with our neighbours like Nepal and Bangladesh. In other words, it is environmental security which is more significant for millions as compared to the strategic security.

There are themes and thematic approaches to put a new framework on our foreign policy framework. The canvas is more intricate, complex and pragmatic as compared to what we had in the past decades when only military security paradigms were more significant and compelling. We were compelled to have Pakistan as the corner stone of our foreign relationship and we were greatly influence by the international or global frame work of the super-power rivalry. The regional cast was subordinate to the global parameters. Now in the decades to come, the regional frame is going to be more effective and controlling our foreign policy planning. Geopolitically, it is more desirable and pragmatic.

Literature Survey

Keeping in mind the basic objectives of the study and the explanation to the regional ambiance, some important works have been selected for the purpose of this survey, so that it lends support in the formulation of the necessary framework of the study. Since the study is basically thematic in approach, therefore, there is a vast literature available but here only the few selected ones are taken.
John O’Lounghlin (1994) Dictionary of Geopolitics is the rich storehouse of the articles and approaches relevant to the study. It gives the basic critical review of various theories and approaches important in a geopolitical study. Whereas, Peter Taylor’s (1990), "The world in crisis" helps to develop a critical systematic approach to understand the changing character of world polity and importance of the Spatial framework. In the similar veins, the article of Ashley, R.K (1987), The geopolitics of geopolitical space: Towards a critical social theory of international politics, Alternatives, (Vol.12p. 403-434) points towards the relevance of geopolitical approach to understand the various aspects of international politics.

Taking the various important aspects of the study, one would like to have a brief and meaningful survey of the literature. One would like to arrange in a strict order according to the themes of importance.

to highlight to global problems, viz., war, terrorism and drug abuse. The author says that these problems are the legacies of longstanding cold war.

Andrew J. Pierre, *The Global Politics of Arms Sales* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1982): This book discusses the role of arms sales in international politics. It says that the arms delivered feed local arms race, and create or enhance regional instabilities. Major-General Afsir Karim, *Counter Terrorism: The Pakistan Factor* (Lancer International, New Delhi, 1991): In this, the focus is on the terrorist infrastructure in Punjab and Kashmir and the involvement of Pakistan escalating such terrorist activity in India. It also discusses, how the country sponsoring terrorism or insurgency provides financial help, often through voluntary organizations or emigrants, weapons, training, safe sanctuaries and other facilities for lunching operations. Major Shankar Bhandari and Major General Afsir Karim, *The Sri Lankan Crisis* (Lancer International, New Delhi, 1990): This book takes a look at the genesis of Sri Lankan Crisis, the ramifications of India getting involved in the crisis mainly from the geo-strategic angle.

Stephen Philip Cohen, *The Security of South Asia: American and Asian Perspectives* (Vistaar Publications, New Delhi, 1988): This book examines the diversity of policy perspectives among Indians, Pakistanis and Americans. It also deals with the outside interference in the South Asian region. Harpreet Mahajan, *Arms Transfer to India, Pakistan and Third World* (Young Asia Publications, New Delhi, 1982): The focus in this work is on the motivations underlying the supply of weapons and its implications both for the donors and


What is necessary now is to have a blue-print of alternative security system—a detailed alternative strategy. Clyde Sangar in his book 'safe and sound', links the armaments, insecurity and under development. According to him what we need today is a whole new system of non-military security. D.D. Khanna, and Kishore Kumar in their book 'The Dialogue of the Deaf': The India-Pakistan Divide, firmly believe that the Problem of Indo-Pak relations is more psychological and attitudinal rather than material in nature. There are a number of common issues and problems and also a desire to tackle them jointly, but this is hampered by a tendency to accuse each other for the existing situation. Barry Buzan's book *People, States and Fear: An Agenda for International Security Studies in the post-cold war Era*, 2nd ed. (Boulder, Colo,
1991). He clarifies the contestability of security and says it is flexible concept binding together individuals, state and the international system so closely that it demands to be treated in a holistic perspective.

In another paper, Lester Brown, Redefining National Security, (Washington: Worldwatch Paper 14, 1977) discussed the energy crisis and such "Economic Threats to Security" as inflation and migration, as well as 'food insecurity' and related factors such as deforestation, soil erosions, and the threat of climate modification, including the greenhouse effect. Michael Renner, National Security: The Economic and Environmental Dimensions, (Worldwatch Institute, 1989) talks of 'Environmental Security' as a positive concept which offer more fruitful basis for cooperation and security than military security and calls for strengthening of economic and environmental dimensions of global security. The World Commission on environment and development, Our Common Future (Oxford: Oxford University press, 1987) by Bruntland highlights long term sustainable development which is linked to environmentally sensitive Economic Development. At this juncture it is significant to mention the important contribution of B.C. Verghese (1990) The "Waters of Hope", New Delhi where he has focused on the various issues of sharing river-water among the South Asian nations. Anil Agarwal's (1986), The State of Indian Environment is an excellent compendium on the various aspects of environment and related sociopolitical dimension.

Hedley Bull's book The Control of Arms Race stands out. Insisting on the primacy of security considerations, the unity of strategy and arms control.
The author explores many facets of arms control. Of equal importance is the work of Thomas Shelling and Morton Halperin—entitled *Strategy and Arms Control* that provides the first coherent framework for understanding the relationships between security, defence and arms control. Another prominent work is that of Lawrence Freedman. In his comprehensive study entitled *The Evolution in Nuclear Strategy*, Freedman describes the impact of nuclear weapons on strategic thought.

*The Cold War as Cooperation: Superpower Cooperation in Regional Conflict Management* edited by K.E. Kanet and Loldozeiz, proposes that the Soviet/U.S. competition in the past four decades actually impose constraints on the cold war that kept it from turning into a real war.

*Daedalus,* (Winter, 1991) contains a collection of articles on Arms Control—Thirty Years on—by reputed scholars like Joseph Nye, Schelling and Freedman. But all said and done, despite the vast amount of literature available there is one aspect of Arms Control which has been totally neglected i.e. nuclear arms control as an integral part of the Cold War both in aspect of discord and cooperation. The year 1989 made it clear that the Cold War—meaning— a volatile international climate, salience of military moves and thinking, and widespread belief in the possibility of a full scale "hot" war has come to an end.

The book *International Terrorism: National, Regional and Global Perspectives* (New York, 1976), edited by Alexander Yonah assesses the importance of terrorism in national, regional and global perspective *Terrorism*
Paul Wilkinson in his article 'Terrorism: International dimension' in the book *The New Terrorism* (London, 1986, edited William Gutteridge) that international terrorism posed a great challenge to the concept of law at national and international levels. It challenges the democratic foundation of a society. Kupperman and Trent's book *Terrorism: Threat, Reality, Response* (Stanford, 1979) investigated the technological and management aspect of anti-terrorism. He came out with a conclusion that the physical consequences of major acts of terrorism are no different from natural disaster or large industrial accidents. The book *Hydra of Carnage: International Linkages of Terrorism, The Witness Speaks* (Massachusetts, 1986) edited by Ranan and others reveals the support factor to terrorist activities at international levels.

There are number of works available which deal only with the definitional aspect of terrorism. John Dugard articles (*International Affair*, January 1974) and "Towards the Definition of International Terrorism" (*American Journal of International Law*, July 1973) basically dealt with the determination to define terrorism. Biran M. Jenkins has given his opinion in his article "Statement about Terrorism" (*Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 463, No. 11, 1982), that terrorism is best defined by the quality of the acts, not by the identity of its perpetrators.
There are dozens of books on the foreign policy aspects, ranging from K.P. Misra (1988) to Bimal Prasad (1988) but for the purpose here, the reference to Jayant Bandopadhayaya's book on the making of India's foreign policy should be made for the proposed study.

Chapter One deals with the regional cooperation in South Asia, viz-a-viz India's policy stand towards the countries in the region.

Chapter Two gives emphasis on the making of India's foreign policy especially major changes during the 1990s.

India's Emerging regional structure has been discussed in Chapter Three. South Asian security aspect forms the main objective, including environment conservation and regional ethos.

Chapter Four forms the study of regional imperatives, equations and overall impact on the South Asian nations viz-a-viz major powers.

Chapter Five discusses the global aspects, the impact on the geopolitical and regional imperatives towards policy adjustments. New structures to restore global stability has been outlined.

Chapter Six forms as prospects and trends being concluding part. The balance of power in respect of foreign policy regional imperatives are summarized here. India's foreign policy has certainly been influenced by its experience and geopolitical location.