Chapter Three

THEORETICAL ASPECTS OF SECURITY AND REGIONAL SECURITY

Regional security in a broad sense can be taken to mean the degree to which relationships among states of a previously defined region as well as between those states and extra regional actors are free from violence or threats of violence stemming directly or indirectly from a number of possible geostrategic, political, socio-economic and psychological sources both internal and external to that region.¹

The pursuit of security has always been a matter of highest priority for human survival. Within the framework of the state centric system, security is commonly thought of in military terms as the capacity of one state to thwart armed invasion by the other. That meaning has increasingly been called into question as the waning tensions of Cold War coincided with the rising concerns over a variety of non-military threats to security.

However, this does not mean that non-conventional threats to security did not exist earlier. They were always there, only they have emerged with greater clarity in the post-Cold War period. Nor does it mean that military threats have vanished. Several regional conflicts have continued unabated and new conflicts have emerged. Hence there is a need to evaluate security in a comprehensive framework of military, ideological, political, economic, environmental and cultural threats at the local, national, regional, and international levels.

Much is said about global interdependencies of the cultural, economic, political or military kinds. The regionalists have drawn attention to local sources of

regional conflict including ethnic rivalries and long-standing territorial disputes. These were complicated by intervention, direct or through proxies, by major powers, due to the larger struggle for international power. So there is a need to study both the external and internal dimensions of regional security.

In this chapter we are concentrating on the theoretical analyses of the concepts of security and regional security and threats faced by the developing states in general terms. Regional specificities (South Asia and South East Asia will be discussed in the next chapter).

This chapter is in two sections. The first section focuses on the meaning of 'security'. What does security traditionally mean in international relations, and how has this meaning changed? Non-conventional threats to security will be analysed in this section. The second section will look into the concept of regional security, focusing on its external and internal dimensions. This section will also analyse how different and how interrelated regional security is from other 'levels' of security, i.e. national security and international security.

SECTION I

TRADITIONAL AND MODERN CONCEPTS OF SECURITY.

What is security?: Security has always been an 'ambiguous symbol'. The realist/neorealist paradigm has dominated the field of security studies for very long. The primary 'metaphor' utilized within the realist school of thought to describe the security problematic of national states is the 'security dilemma'. In a condition of international anarchy, states, by seeking to enhance their own security, create

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insecurity for other states. Deeply embedded in western thought, realism centres around this assumption.

Walter Lippmann states, “a nation is secure to the extent to which it is not in danger of having to sacrifice core values, if it wishes to avoid war and is able, if challenged, to maintain them by victory in such a war”\(^3\). Thus three points follow from the realist perspective:

(1) As is quite explicit ‘state’ is taken as the basic unit of analysis.

(2) Security is externally oriented i.e. threats to a state’s security arise from outside its borders.

(3) Finally, security threats faced by states are primarily military in nature.

The realist conception can be traced to Thomas Hobbes’ view of international anarchy - "the war of the against all"\(^4\). To end this state of affairs citizens defer to a powerful sovereign in order to secure domestic peace and safeguard the life and the property of the people against any foreign threat. As the nation state system lacks law enforcement institution, diplomacy and war are the primary means of furthering national causes and so the national states are the main actors.

Realists do accept that there are many actors other than states trying to shape international policy. However, only the states are significant, for only they have the power to determine the political outcome. It can also be mentioned here that neorealism, which has emerged as an attempt to update classical realism, gives

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particular weight to the role of hegemonic powers like the US or the former Soviet Union in establishing and maintaining order in the global system. In an effort to create a parsimonious theory at the system level, Kenneth Waltz gave explanatory weight to the nature of the system the number of actors and the distribution of capacities. He attributed the absence of war to bipolarity which he maintained was less war-prone than multi-polarity.\(^5\)

There were some scholars who did focus on international security rather than national security. But even they were more worried about reconciling security, viewed as freedom from external threats, with systemic security concerns. They argued, as Martin Wight says, "If there is an international society, there is an order of some kind to be maintained, or even developed. It is not fallacious to speak of a collective interest, and security acquires a broad meaning: it can be enjoyed or pursued in common."\(^6\)

As opposed to the realist view, Immanuel Kant\(^7\) proposed a scheme of perpetual peace based on the conviction that a system of nation states can be restructured by an enlightened political order to forge a community of mankind. The rational moral commitment of citizens will be the force behind the nation state's will to subsume their national interests under the rule of international law. His views provided guidelines for liberal thinking.

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\(^6\) Martin Wight, "Western Values in International Relations" in Herbert Butterfield and Martin Wight (eds) *Diplomatic Investigation* (London: Allen & Unwil, 1966) p. 103

The League of Nations, formed in the aftermath of the First World War, was viewed as providing an alternative to the European balance of power system, by creating a system of collective security. It rested on a view that a threat to the security of one member is a threat to all and required collective action. In the Wilsonian scheme all states in the new system were supposed to cooperate in the common cause of providing security and justice for all rather than engaging in competition and coercion. Realists like E. H. Carr and Hans Morgenthau challenged the Wilsonian argument on the grounds that it presupposed a harmony of interests among states governed by the principles of morality, while in reality relations among states are ruled by national interest and power considerations.

The system-oriented theorists in the post-Second World War period viewed various segments of the international system as linked. Their security and welfare were regarded as dependent of each other. Helga Haftendorn writes,

In the 1960s, with the Cuban missile crises as a catalyst it was increasingly recognised that ‘the security dilemma’... that an increase in one state’s security decreases the security of others—was not necessarily a zero sum game but could be overcome by cooperative strategies.” Further, with the “recognition that even a modified strategy of national security might not prevent a nuclear holocaust, emphasis shifted to a paradigm of international instead of national security.”

However, one thing common both to the realist and the systemic level theorists was the concept of security as externally-oriented. This development could be traced back to the evolution of the European state system beginning from the Treaty of

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Westphalia in 1648. The process of domestic state building within the European state system led to the legitimization of the system and the individual states, with security being considered synonymous with the protection of a state from external threats.

The Cold War, by perpetuating the balance of terror, succeeded in giving the western strategic definition of security an upper-hand. The concept of alliances for security purposes kept the external notion of security intact. Moreover, the security of the international system as a whole revolved around that of the European industrial states and North America.

However some theorists did start questioning the relevance of the state centric paradigm and the external orientation of security analysis with the technological, communication and transportation revolutions which blurred the distinction between 'high' and 'low' politics issues and domestic and foreign policy issues. The rise of non-state actors and new issue areas questioned the international system. Thus Richard Ullman opines:

A threat to national security is an action or sequence of events that (1) threatens drastically and over a relative brief span of time to degrade the quality of life for the inhabitants of a state, or (2) threatens significantly to narrow the range of policy choices available to the government of a state or to private non-government entities within the state.9

Traditionally realists have given less weight to economic factors in international relations. They have considered economic phenomena either to be autonomous or to be subsumed within more fundamental political phenomena.

In today’s changed scenario, Francis Fukuyama argued that change in the international system, decline in communism and the emergence of democracy signalled an ideological watershed. Economic calculations will replace security concerns in terms of global importance, “...the death of ... ideology means the growing common marketization of International Relations and the diminution of the likelihood of a large scale conflict between states.”\(^\text{10}\)

Another problem with the traditional view of security is that it assumed that concepts developed for Europe would readily translate into other regional contexts. The difference in culture and values affecting actions of government and transnational actors in other parts of the world were neglected.

The ‘security-dilemma’ metaphor when applied to the Third World fails on account of the differing conditions there. The threats to security faced by these states are usually internal. Before we move on to explain this further it is very important to make it clear that this does not mean that developing states do not face external threats. In fact, neither South Asia nor South East Asia (two regions of our comparative study) have been free of direct external threats to states. (This will be further dealt with in subsequent chapters). Brian Job suggests an ‘insecurity-dilemma’\(^\text{11}\) for understanding the Third World security problematic. It is what one calls the ‘weak state’\(^\text{12}\) syndrome. The Third World faces internal economic, social and political divisions resulting in the lack of cohesion, civil strife and vulnerability to

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external influence. Johan Galtung has introduced the concept of ‘structural violence’ to denote human suffering on account of unjust social structure.\textsuperscript{13}

So, broadly, security not only implies defending a state from its external and internal enemies, but of ensuring that the people do not suffer undue hardships and conditions are created for their all round development. Some theorists argue that social security and justice are not vital for ensuring political or physical survival in the sense that people are not prepared to fight for these. It could also be argued that including all possible threats to the well being of the people into definition of security would drain the term of its meaning. But one needs to keep in mind that the traditional definition of security presents a distorted perception of global realities. Article 55 of the UN Charter, though seldom invoked, also recognizes the link between peace, stability and the broad approach to security:

\begin{quote}
"With a view to the creation of stability and well being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations... the UN shall promote:
\begin{enumerate}
\item Higher standards of living, full employment and conditions of economic and social progress and development.
\item Solutions of international economic, social, health, and related problems."
\end{enumerate}
\end{quote}

Thus, recognising the need to broaden the concept of security to include environmental, economic, transnational organized crime, internal stability and demographic movements we will discuss security threats in the following pages. One point that needs to be kept in mind is that all these security issues are interrelated in one way or another.

Economic threats to security

Economic security can be seen as access to resources, finance and market necessary to sustain acceptable levels of welfare and state power. The end of the Cold War, disintegration of the USSR and the rise of new economic giants like Japan giving direct competition to the US has led many western theorists to argue that economic warfare is replacing military conflict. Noted political economist Alberto Hirchman argues, “It can indeed be shown that even if war could be eliminated, foreign trade would lead to relationships of dependence and influence between nations.”

However, for the developing countries the situation is much more precarious. In fact, for them insecurity is a product of the prevailing international economic order, perpetuating the hegemony of the developed few, subordinating all others to a peripheral position. After the Second World War, self-conscious effort was made to create a free trade oriented liberal international economic order due to the widespread belief that economic nationalism was a major contributing factor to the outbreak and spread of the Second World War.

This economic dimension was broadened to include the newly independent non-industrialised state of the Third World. However the economic institutions did not take into account the needs of the developing countries. Moreover, the complex system of inter-dependence increased politicization of economic issues and made the state all the more vulnerable to the international economic system. The mechanism of production, consumption and finance spread beyond boundaries to the point that

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human needs, in any one country, become dependent on activities and events in many others.

The major problem for most of the Third World countries is how to balance their payments i.e., how to achieve financial equilibrium between cost of imports and earnings from exports. Usually the states take recourse to borrowing from the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The IMF as a guardian of the post war monetary order in which the Third World has no influence, has come to be seen by the developing world as an instrument of western domination, impinging on their sovereignty by imposing unwelcome conditions on the loan it gives. It has been often argued that domestic aims and values have been thwarted by the application of IMF remedies and political conflict in the domestic setting has been heightened, Jamaica being classic example.15

Even the Brandt Commission Report (1985) criticised the IMF for putting the burden of adjustment primarily on the poor countries. As many poor countries export primary products for which demand is fairly inelastic, devaluation of currency worsen trade conditions.

A related issue is the external debt crisis, which threatens the financial stability of developing nations. Usually the debt crisis and its origin in the 1970s is blamed primarily on the ‘oil price shocks’ and deficient policies and corruption in developing

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15 For details see, Caroline Thomas, *In Search of Security: The Third World in International Relations* (Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, 1987)
countries. At first, higher oil prices created the need for external borrowing by major oil importing developing countries. Later, however it was the easy availability of external credit which led to the growing debt. To quote Masood Ahmed and Lawrence Summers "A key lesson of the debt crisis is that the commercial banks are inefficient instruments for channelling long-term investment finance to the poorest countries."

The period of repayment is shorter and rate of interest higher. As Table 3.1 suggests the cumulative debt of developing countries surpasses $ 1 trillion in 1986 and interests payments in the late 1980s exceed $70 billion a year. Net transfer of capital to developing countries turned negative during the same period.

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Table 3.1

<table>
<thead>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total debt stock</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>658.148</td>
<td>1,217,623</td>
<td>1,381,177</td>
<td>1,373,221</td>
<td>1,411,348</td>
<td>1,518,418</td>
<td>1,605,933</td>
<td>1,662,173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total debt flows</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Disbursements</td>
<td>13,250</td>
<td>118,181</td>
<td>116,925</td>
<td>124,697</td>
<td>125,683</td>
<td>123,804</td>
<td>143,098</td>
<td>142,931</td>
<td>167,059</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Principal repayment</td>
<td>6,809</td>
<td>46,172</td>
<td>82,674</td>
<td>95,184</td>
<td>97,685</td>
<td>93,854</td>
<td>99,438</td>
<td>95,938</td>
<td>104,057</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Net flow on debt</td>
<td>15,970</td>
<td>118,734</td>
<td>38,112</td>
<td>48,042</td>
<td>42,173</td>
<td>50,467</td>
<td>64,095</td>
<td>71,275</td>
<td>87,495</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Interest payments</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>53,292</td>
<td>73,833</td>
<td>73,114</td>
<td>83,149</td>
<td>78,871</td>
<td>76,816</td>
<td>79,726</td>
<td>74,438</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The multinational corporations too with their immense economic power are altering both national and international class structures, creating new social, economic and political divisions. Moreover, powerful nations have often used economic means either through sanctions, threat of sanctions, and aid, to interfere in poor countries or to make them toe their line. In fact, for political gains sanctions are applied in the economic field. For example, the US used the economic instrument in the aftermath of the Second World War to contain the spread of communism. In today's interdependent world, national and international economic security are closely related. Depression at the global level may lead to recession at home. The notion of financial collapse of a state has haunted the financial market of the world countries in the wake of the Mexican crisis. The UN Charter of Economic Rights and Duties dealing with issues like permanent sovereignty over natural resources and indexation of prices is ineffective without the support of western industrialized nations.

**Food security**: For the majority of people inhabiting our planet the most fundamental cause of insecurity is the lack of food. According to the data presented at the World Food Conference in Rome in 1984 "more people have died of hunger and starvation
during the post war years than were killed during World War II. About 90,000 persons die of hunger worldwide everyday." The traditional western concept views the problems of famine and starvation in Malthusian terms; rising populations overtake food availability, shortages result. Without negating the importance of population control, I would however like to stress that “ultimately the food problem is not concerned just with the availability of food but with the disposition of food. That involves economics, politics and even law. Starvations and malnutrition are related ultimately to ownership and exchange in addition to production possibility.”

Famines occur not due to the lack of overall availability of food but due to lack of access to it. Internally, class conflicts might lead to vested political interests blocking the agrarian reforms either from being adopted or implemented. External causes include machination of state and non-state actors with the former using food as a political weapon, and the latter, in the form of agribusiness, pursuing profit.

Developing states including in South Asia and South East Asia are vulnerable to these economic treats to security. Hence they have a motivation to deal with these issues collectively through regional cooperation.

Environmental Threats to Security

Broadly speaking environmental security concerns the maintenance of the local and the planetary biosphere as the essential support system on which all other human enterprises depend. Far from being a zero sum game, it is a critical dimension

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on which many states and in many important respects humanity as a whole will gain or lose together.

Global climate change has received the most attention in the last few years due to the discovery in 1985 of a hole in the ozone layer over Antartica, which protects life from the sun's harmful ultraviolet rays. 1988 was the warmest year till 1990, a year of heat waves, famines and droughts. Here too the brunt will be felt more by developing countries. Robert D. Kaplan writes,

Part of the globe is inhabited by Hegel's and Fukuyama's Last Man, healthy, well fed and pampered by technology. The other, larger part is inhabited by Hobbes' First Man, condemned to a life that is poor, nasty and short, although both parts will be threatened by environmental stress, the Last Man will be able to master it, the First Man will adjust to the loss of underground water tables in the western United States... Even as the Maldives Island off the coast of India, sink into oblivion... 18

The expected doubling of heat trapping greenhouse gases over pre-industrial levels by the middle of the present century is projected to raise the average temperature of the earth between 1° and 5°C. Such radical changes would lead to an ecological catastrophe of unimaginable proportions. 19 According to the report of the United Nations' Intergovernmental Panel on Climate change, (IPCC) since the nineteenth century the earth's average temperature has risen 0.3-0.6 degrees celsius and sea levels have risen 10-25 centimetres. The average temperature in 2100 will be two degrees higher than today and sea levels will rise an average of 50 centimetre and


up to a metre in places. A one metre rise in the sea level would submerge islands, salt water would intrude on rivers and coastal areas affecting freshwater supplies and severally hamper fishing. IPCC predicts that other serious effects of global warming would be droughts, water shortage and wildfires.

Similarly, acid rain destroys animal and plant ecosystems. 'Acid rain' is a general term used to describe a range of pollution effects. Several air pollutions, particularly sulphur and nitrogen oxides can cause acidification of the environment. As said earlier environmental issues know no boundaries. Sulphur oxide, nitrogen oxide, and other pollutants borne on the wind from China, where anti-pollution measures are inadequate, fall on Japan as acid rain, killing forests.

The Rio Summit and major global treaties on natural resources and environment protection (Table 3.2) did show that the world is moving towards recognising the disastrous impact of environment degradation, but it will be too naïve to believe that the world is fully conscious of it today. At the Rio Summit in 1992, an ambitious programme was adopted by more than 178 governments known as the Agenda 21. According to the well-known agricultural scientist and president emeritus of WWF-India, Dr Swaminathan "There is very unsatisfactory progress and the deliberations at Earth summit have failed to deliver the goods." Dr Swaminathan explains that global carbon dioxide emission has increased by 4.5 per cent in the last five years, after the Rio summit, "Tropical forests are getting depleted and it is unfortunate that the initial euphoria after the Rio summit has waned," he adds. The Kyoto Protocol (1997) translates into a mere 5.2 per cent

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20 Cited in Turja Sen; Rio to Kyoto: Lessons to be Learnt, The Statesman, 1 December 1997.
### Table 3.2

**Major Global Treaties on Natural Resources and Environmental Protection**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Treaty</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Resource Protected</th>
<th>Number of Participating States</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anarctic Treaty</td>
<td>1959/1980</td>
<td>Environment and Marine resources</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuclear Test Ban</td>
<td>1963</td>
<td>Atmospheric protection from radioactive fallout</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ramsar</td>
<td>1971</td>
<td>Wetlands, waterfall Habitat</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World Heritage</td>
<td>1972</td>
<td>Natural heritage</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ocean Dumping</td>
<td>1972</td>
<td>Marine protection from dumping</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CITES</td>
<td>1973</td>
<td>Endangered species</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MARPOI</td>
<td>1978</td>
<td>Marine protection from oil spills/pollution</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long-Range Transboundary Air Pollution, Europe (LRTAP)</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>Regional atmospheric Protection from transboundary Industrial pollution</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migratory Species</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>Wild animals</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law of the Sea</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>Access to common-property marine resources</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ozone Layer</td>
<td>1985</td>
<td>Ozone layer protection</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montreal Protocols</td>
<td>1987</td>
<td>Atmospheric protection And CFC ban</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basel Convention</td>
<td>1989</td>
<td>Protect land and water by restricting transboundary movement of hazardous waste</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bamako Convention Africa</td>
<td>1991</td>
<td>Trans boundary hazardous waste movements</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Climate Treaty</td>
<td>1992</td>
<td>Reduction of atmospheric greenhouse emissions</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biodiversity</td>
<td>1992</td>
<td>Protection of biotic resources, Especially tropical rain forests</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Participating countries are either contractors or signatories to the agreements.
overall reduction by the development countries in their greenhouse gases (CHC)
emissions over 1990 levels by the year 2012.

- **Energy and Resource Security**: Resources security, an inherent part of
environmental security, refers to access to both non-renewable resources like
strategic minerals and fossil fuels as well as renewables water and marine
resources including fish. In terms of renewal resources, resource security is
usually discussed as security of production and supply.

A key resource scarcity issue is the growing scarcity of fresh water. Israel
started the 1967 war in part because the Arabs were planning to divert the water of the
Jordan river system. Israel invaded Lebanon in 1982 partly to secure access to the
Litani river. Water is also a contentious issue in South Asia, for example, the issue
of distribution of the Ganga waters between India and Bangladesh. On the Nile, there
are disputes between Egypt, the Sudan and Ethiopia, with the down-stream state-
Egypt-being dominant both economically and militarily. Similarly the devastating
'soccer war' in 1969 between El Salvador and Honduras involved environmental
factors (Table 3.3).

Deforestation is taking place at an alarming rate. Nearly half of the world's
original forest cover has been lost. According to the 1998 “Living Planet Reports” of
the WWF, the greatest reduction has been in Asia where about 70 per cent of the
original forest cover has been lost. The world’s forest cover, not counting

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York: W.W. Norton, 1994).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year(s)</th>
<th>Countries/Conflicts</th>
<th>Resources in Disputes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1932-1935</td>
<td>Paraguay-Bolivia (Chaco War)</td>
<td>Oil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>Arab States-Israel (Six-day War)</td>
<td>Water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>El Salvador-Honduras (Soccer War)</td>
<td>Arable Land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972-1973</td>
<td>Iceland-United Kingdom (Cold war)</td>
<td>Fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>China-Vietnam (Spratly Islands Dispute)</td>
<td>Oil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>United Kingdom-Argentina (Falkland-Malvinas War)</td>
<td>Fish, Oil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>Iraq-United Nations Coalition (Persian Gulf War)</td>
<td>Oil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

plantations decreased by 13 per cent between 1960 and 1990, from 37 million square kilometres to 32 million square kilometres—and average annual loss of about 1,60,000 square kilometres. Some like the tropical rain forests harbour precious biological diversity of species.

Thomas Homer Dixon \(^{22}\) distinguishes between three types of conflicts. They are:

- Simple scarcity conflicts: They arise when states calculate their interests in a zero-sum or negative sum situation such as those that form resource scarcity.

- Group identity conflicts: These are explained and predicted by group identity theories. Such conflicts are likely to arise from the large scale movements of population brought about by population changes or environmental changes.

- Relative deprivation conflicts: As developing societies produce less wealth because of environmental problems their citizens will probably become increasingly discontented by the widening gap between their actual level of economic achievement and level they feel they deserve resulting in violent reactions.

The main objective of energy security is to assure “adequate, reliable supplies of energy at reasonable prices and in ways that do not jeopardize higher national values and objectives.”\(^{23}\)


The 1970s oil crisis brought the issue of energy security to the forefront aggravated by the fast depletion of fuel wood as a source of energy. Today we are straining the Earth's carrying capacity (the largest number of any given species that a habitat can support indefinitely). Part of this could be attributed to the process of modernization. What is needed is environmentally sustainable economic growth.

Individual states especially in South Asia and South East Asia cannot protect themselves from these environmental and energy security threats alone. So, to deal with these problems, they should regionally cooperate.

**TRANSNATIONAL ORGANIZED CRIME**

Transnational organised crime is growing rapidly and represents a global phenomenon that is penetrating political institutions, undermining legitimate economic growth, threatening democracy and rule of law.

**a) Transnational Drug Cartels:** Illegal drug trafficking has become a major concern for international community due to its grave repercussions for national, regional and international security. Drug trafficking is a major fund raiser activity resorted to by terrorist organizations. With the amount of finance and power that drug syndicates command, in many states undermining the state machinery they have virtually established a parallel administration.

Two of the world’s largest drug producing areas include parts of South Asia and South East Asia. They are known as 'Golden Crescent' comprising Afghanistan, Iran and Pakistan & 'Golden Triangle' comprising Thailand, Myanmar and Laos. (These will be further examined in the chapter on Transnational Organized crime).
b) Terrorism: The spectre of political violence and terrorism has come to acquire a grave significance. Terrorist organizations resort to piracy, kidnapping, looting of public and private property and killing to achieve their ends. In many cases such acts get national and foreign patronage making the state in question all the more vulnerable.

A new term is coming into vogue to describe inter and intra-state violence - 'low intensity conflicts'. Terrorism may or may not come under low intensity conflicts. Basically terrorists target the non-combatant population to inculcate and feeling of terror, whereas low intensity conflicts could be between two armed groups without civilian involvement. As nuclear and other sophisticated weapons had increased the power of a modern state beyond measure and put a lid on high intensity conflicts. Dissident groups are more likely to resort to 'low intensity conflicts' than to launching an open civil war.

Threats to Nation-Building

Nation-building involves "the formation and establishment of the new state itself as a political entity, and the processes of creating viable degrees of unity, adaptation, achievement, and a sense of national identity among the people." The term ‘nation-building’ is generally used to denote that a state has already been created.

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24 Wendell Bell and Walter E. Freeman (eds) *Ethnicity and Nation-Building - Comparative International and Historical Perspectives* (Sage, 1974) ‘Introduction’, p. 11
and a community of solidarity is to be built within it. There may still be regional, religious or ethnic loyalties but these do not threaten the very existence of the state i.e. the nation-state has the ultimate claim on its people's loyalty. Clifford Geertz writes, "they [internal political conflicts] threaten governments or even forms of government, but they rarely at best... threaten to undermine the nation itself, because they do not involve alternative definitions of what the nation is, of what its scope of reference is."  

Nation-building arose as a major academic issue mainly in the post Second World War period with the process of decolonization. Karl Deutsch put forward an interesting pattern of nation-building involving a five fold process beginning with the independence of internal subcultures to their final assimilation.\textsuperscript{26} The process, however, is very complex with different levels of social mobilisation, political participation and communication systems.

Security threats are often related to the process of nation-building in many third world states. The boundaries of Third World states have been drawn for administrative convenience during the colonial period showing immense disregard for existing cultural and linguistic heterogeneity. Nation-builders had to attempt a transfer of the loyalty of the people from traditional centres of authority to the state. There exist within each state minorities not always willing to accept or identify with the majority rule resulting in social conflict. Developing countries lack what has been called 'unconditional legitimacy'. In the Weberian concept of legitimacy one

\textsuperscript{25} Clifford Geertz "The Integrative Revolution", in Clifford Geertz (ed) \textit{Old Societies and New States} (Free Press 1963) p. 111

\textsuperscript{26} Karl Deutsch and William Foltz (eds) \textit{Nation-Building} (Atherton Press 1963) pp. 4-8.
component is a common belief in a given political and social order which is usually lacking in these states.

The problem of creating an homogeneous and integrated society was compounded with the apparent need for these new states to industrialize and have rapid economic growth which were seen as prerequisites for modern statehood. Thus the issue of nation-building became inextricably involved with the whole question of modernization and development.

Adding to the problem was the lack of infrastructure and poor communications that these nations faced after independence. Moreover economic growth was planned with focus on urban-based industrial promotion believing that there would be ‘trickle-down’ effects. However this has not happened in practice thereby aggravating disparities. It is not easy for any traditional society to accept change in its cultural values and ethos which modernization brings with it, thus creating instability.

Barry Buzan characterizes these states as weak states. Weak states have:

as their principal distinguishing feature... their high level of concern with domestically generated threats to the security of the government... weak states either do not have or failed to create, a domestic political and social concern of sufficient strength to eliminate the large-scale use of force as a major and continuing element in the domestic political life of the nation. 27

On top of this it is expected that the Third World states should accomplish the enormously complicated and traumatic process of nation-building without any violence in a matter of three or four decades. In the Western experience of the state building the process was very violent and long drawn out.

27 op. cit. No. 12.
...building of states in Western Europe cost tremendously in deaths, suffering, loss of rights and unwilling surrenders of land, goods or labour...Building differentiated autonomous, centralised organization with effective control of territories entailed eliminating or subordinating thousands of semi autonomous activities ... Most of the European population resisted each phase of the creation of the strong state. 28

We can say that in the same way 'weak states' elsewhere will evolve into secure nation-states with time. Mohammed Ayoob says “time is therefore the crucial variable in explaining the difference in the security circumstances of today’s third world as opposed to other modern states.” 29

**Demographic Threats to Security**

Jessica Tuchman Mathews 30 argues for broadening of the security concept to include ‘demographic issue’. A highly cohesive population with a pride in national identity may achieve much more than a larger population with internal fragmentation. Population pressure is often felt at the economic and environmental level. Population growth slows down the growth of per capita income. Economic and environmental refugees crossing over borders create a conflictual situation in the receiving state as well as in inter-state relations.

Deforestation in Nepal may have worsened the 1988 flooding in Bangladesh that led to an exodus to India. In the Western hemisphere, the Haitian exodus to the US in the late 1970s and 1980s was at least partly due to environmental degradation.

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Thus non-conventional threats to security interrelate at various levels of analysis, national, regional, and international as they go beyond the state's capacity to deal with them. Moreover, as said earlier, economic, environmental or demographic security issue all are interrelated. Economic security will not be for long if it is achieved in environmentally unsustainable fashion. Similarly ecological deterioration could have serious social consequences like fall in per capita food production.

SECTION II
What is Regional Security?

Security as a concept has been widely examined at both the state level as well as at the international level. However, the least studied area is the regional aspect of security relations. Broadly speaking, regional security calls for peaceful relations among regional states, within regional states and with extra-regional states not only in the military sense but also in terms of economic growth, environmental sustainability and social development. According to Mohammed Ayoob the concept of regional security is:

...often used in both the Third World and the West to denote an ideal type of regional order in which members of a particular regional subsystem are somehow able to attain a form of political 'nirvana' by either finding acceptable solutions to regional problems or by sweeping them so firmly under the carpet that they are not able to re-emerge to haunt them for at least the next few decades.\footnote{Mohammed Ayoob, "Regional Security and the Third World", in Mohammad Ayoob, \textit{Regional Security in the Third World} (Beckenhem: Croom Helm, 1986), pp. 3-23.}

The following assumptions are inherent in the concept of regional security:
• That the external states interested in the affairs of the region would either stop interfering in the affairs of the region or would be effectively deterred from doing so due to the existence of regional solidarity.

• That the regional states would have succeeded in successfully managing the ethnic, communal or economic problems within the regional states themselves, thus eliminating intra-state sources of inter-state conflict.

• That the inter-state tensions of the region are manageable and institutional mechanisms are available for resolving differences.

The historical experience in the Third World both under colonial rule and after political decolonization has been very different from the modern European nation-state system. These boundaries are drawn by colonial powers with complete disregard of ethnic, religious or cultural heterogeneity resulting in ethnic conflicts. This has serious repercussions for the regional security environment. This can spill over and challenge the regional configuration of states where a group want reunification with another state. This regional problem would have international repercussions with extra-regional major power interference.

Internal problems become externalized with severe consequences for regional security in a number of ways:

(a) This could lead to intervention and subversion from outside. As Mohammed Ayoob Points out, "fragile polities, by definition, are easily permeable"\(^\text{32}\)

(b) This could lead to the growth of militarization. Fragility emanating from the lack of unconditional legitimacy forces these states to more or less depend on

\(^{32}\) Ibid. p. 14
instruments of coercion. This in turn adversely affects regional security in the following ways:

- Military build up requires procurement of arms from the great powers, providing them an open chance to interfere in regional affairs further aggravating the situation.
- Military build up by one state enhances the threat perceptions of other regional states creating a tension in the region.
- Counter-insurgency operations can spill into contiguous territories creating or increasing conflicts. Thai-Malaysian and Thai-Burmese relations are examples.33

(c) The promotion of external conflict can be resorted to in order to unify a divided state. "Groups seeking self preservation and no more may be driven to a foreign policy of conflict if not open war in order to defend themselves against the onslaught of domestic rather than foreign enemies,"34 as in the case of Pakistan.

**Threat Perceptions:** The internal dimension of regional security also includes threat perceptions. Policies are formulated not on the basis of objective reality but on the basis of interpretations of that reality.35

Threat perceptions can exist along the following dimensions:

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33 op. cit. No. 1.
(1) *Geopolitical Dimension*: Threat perception may arise due to geographical proximity, discrepancy in size, or in geographically disadvantageous location.

(2) *Historical Dimension*: Memories of bad experiences like wars and domination by foreign power.

(3) *Doctrinal Dimension*: Each state has its own value system inculcated in people through the socialization process. When two or more value systems collide, mutual threat perceptions increase.

(4) *Socio-Cultural Dimension*: Perceptions of threat arise from enmity with another socio-cultural group, or fear of another country supplying help to a potentially rebellious group.

(5) *Economic Dimension*: Threat perceptions arise from fear of economic domination by a minority group in a country or fear of economic domination by another country.

Sukhumbhand Paribatra and Chai-Anan Samudavanija give the Kampuchean example to show the inter-linkage between internal dimensions of security in a state and regional security. In South East Asia internal tensions had an adverse impact on regional security specially when the external dimension is also present, like conflict and rivalry between great powers.

The Kampucheans problem arose and got aggravated due to the:

- Failure of four successive regimes in Kampuchea to establish and maintain legitimate rule.

- Mutual threat perceptions between Vietnam and Thailand based on geopolitical, historical and ideological reasons.
• Mutual threat perceptions between Vietnam and China based on geopolitical and socio-cultural factors.

• Vietnam’s conception of its own role as the leader of entire Indochina, champion of anti-imperialist forces which stands in juxtaposition to Thailand’s conception of itself as a frontline state and also PRC’s conception of its role as a great power and the champion of the communist revolution.

• Conflict and rivalry between the PRC, the former Soviet Union and the US.\textsuperscript{36}

The External Dimension of Regional Security: The external dimension of regional security is often related to the question of dependency, hegemony and conflict of interests. The more intimately a major power is committed to support the security of a particular region, the more dependent upon it the regional states tend to become. In those cases where regional states are situated in close proximity to a major extra-regional power, regional states might slide under its hegemony thereby surrendering their freedom of action in many respects.

The question of cooperation with external powers is another contentious issue having security repercussions. If a regional state militarily decides on working with an extra-regional power, it might arouse tension among other regional states. US-Pakistan relations is an example of this. Moreover, sometimes actions of regional states themselves provide an extra-regional power with a chance of interfering in internal affairs of the region. The nature of internal communist threats and Soviet support for Vietnam were two of the reasons for the natural tendency of ASEAN

\textsuperscript{36} op. cit. No. 1.
members to look to the west for security support. However, an external power could also act as a catalyst in forging the regional security notion among the regional states.

Regional Security Complexes

Barry Buzan’s Concept of the Regional Security Complexes: Buzan views the decentralization of the international security system and the indigenous patterns of regional security as increasingly important features of the system in the twenty-first century. Buzan defines the security complex as a “group of states whose primary security concerns link them together sufficiently closely that their national security cannot realistically be considered apart from one another”. As a concept, the security complex suggests that states in the region interact both negatively, because of rivalries, and positively, because of shared interests. Buzan argues that security complex rests on interdependence of rivalry rather than on shared interest.

Barry Buzan further makes a distinction between lower and higher levels of security complexes on the basis of the national capabilities of major participants. In a lower level complex the power of states is limited to the range of immediate neighbours, while the higher level complex either appears in the global context or is dominated by great powers.

Two key components of essential structure in a security complex are:

- Pattern of unity and enmity; and
- Distribution of power among the principal states.

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Shifts in either of these will lead to a redefinition of the complex. Power shifts resulting from internal factors can lead to the disintegration of an actor itself, like Pakistan in 1971, or the merger of two or more actors, for instance the unification of North & South Vietnam. Shifts could also be the result of differences in the rate of development among actors. External forces could affect the complex either by joining parts if adjacent or by making alignments within it. A security complex can exist and function regardless of whether or not the actors involved recognize it.

Regional Security: Comparisons with National and International Security

Regional security seems to be an essential intermediary stage between national security and international security. However, it is also qualitatively a different type of security. International security relates to the issues of war and peace at the international level. National security pertains to the protection of territorial integrity and the well being and development of the people therein. Regional security involves both avoidance of war among regional states as well as maintenance of the territorial integrity of member states and the well being of people in a given region. Thus, from the national security perspective the main concern is well being of the state. Military power is the principal instrument for ensuring this. However, the concept of national security today calls for a much broader view. It is about the physical, social and psychological quality of a society and its members.

On the international level, the end of the Cold War has changed the international security scenario. The ideological reason for interference in other parts of the world has been lost. Some argue that withdrawal of superpowers will open hand superpower withdrawal could also help in diffusing local conflicts and give more
freedom to work for peace. However, it is important to remember that this is a period
of change with continuity. Deep rooted structural relations of the North-South gap still
exist, there still exists deep polarization of the world's population into small areas of
relative wealth and much larger areas of relative poverty. We have a continuation of
centre (North) - periphery (South) relationship elaborated in the dependency literature
of the 1960s and 1970s. 'Centre' here implies the globally-dominant capitalist
economies, and 'periphery' the industrially, financially and politically weaker states in
an international system largely constructed by the centre. The components of
dependency are the magnitude of foreign supply of vital factors of production like
technology and capital, restricted developmental choices and domestic distortions for
the peripheral countries.

Thus, security has been widely examined at the 'state level' both in terms of
the internal stability of the state itself and in terms of its vulnerabilities to threats from
outside. Security has also been studied at the international level dealing with the
structures and characteristics of the entire international system.

On a different level of analysis we find regional security concerned with the
existence of peaceful relations among regional states, safety from extra-regional
threats as well as the internal development and growth of regional states. Regional
security is determined by the external effect of domestic policies as well as domestic
consequences of the regional level scenario. However, we cannot understand the
security problematic by dividing the three levels into watertight compartments.
Interrelatedness of the three levels of Analyses

National security, regional security and international security are all interrelated and interdependent in many respects. State conduct is conditioned by the international system. International regions affect the opportunities available to states. Thus international security is about what happens within regions and between them.

Regional stability is vital for intra-state growth and development. Lack of stability and widespread conflict at the regional level has led states to welcome external involvement which has in turn intensified internal cleavages and distorted developmental priorities.

Moreover domestic economic growth and development is related to the establishment of a sound international economic system of trade for the developing countries to ensure greater access to world market and resources. The effect of an unjust international economic system can be dealt with to some extent by regional stability and cooperation in matters of common exploitation of resources, providing markets to other regional partners for their products. Greater economic cooperation will help the political atmosphere also, "Past experience makes it clear that close and enduring cooperation in political field must rest on sound foundation of cooperation in economic matters."39 Conflicts at the regional level will divert essential resources needed for national development.

Thus, regional security is a prelude to national security so that precious resources need not be diverted to economically unproductive military tasks. Regional security can be achieved only when each state in the region feels the stake in

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maintaining regional security. Regional security gives a state psychological confidence. Peace in the region will attract foreign investments and technology for economic growth.

**Conclusion**

During the Cold War period security studies were dominated by military issues, arms race and ideological confrontation. The politico-military emphasis was high. As the Cold War recedes, economic, environmental and societal issues are pushing their way into the top ranks of the global security agenda. The East - West conflict might be over but the North-South difference still exist. In fact it has often been asked today whether new fault lines have come to the forefront, in the sense of inevitability of North South confrontation?

According to Helga Haftendorn, “A new paradigm of security should specifically meet the following demands:

(1) It should explain diversity and change-difference in various regions, transition from one dominant concept to another, systems transformation;

(2) It should be multi-focused, not limited to a single issue, area or level of analysis.”

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As different regions of the world have some salient internal dimensions quite distinct from other regions, so western notions of security cannot be universalized. In fact one of the primary benefits of regional studies is its comparative approach.

Thus regional security is a dynamic concept. Today studying regions and regional players is vital to understand the interplay between the state and the international system.