CONCLUSION

Thanks to the series of summit meetings that took place between Soviet Union and the American leaders during the closing year of 1980's - while the INF Treaty eliminated an entire class of nuclear weapons\(^1\), the Conventional Forces Reduction Treaty envisaged the elimination of certain levels of Conventional Weapons from Europe\(^2\) - the 1990's began heralding the down of wars has come to be fashionably described as the post cold war era in world politics. Not only Soviet-American relations improved substantially, but, the map of Europe undergone significant changes with re-unification of Germany, the virtual disintegration of Warsaw Pact and the survival of NATO as a large political alliance. The feeling of the 'dejure' in the West about its military and ideological victory is manifested in such pronouncements as the "End of the History".\(^3\) It is not easy to say that the end of the cold war brought the end of the power rivalries between the major powers. The retreat of Soviet Union from the world politics and the emergence of a "uni-polar world"\(^4\) with the United States as the only surviving superpower, posed vital new challenges to our decision-makers.

The Soviet Union is now, more inclined towards Europe and United States than Third World countries. Soviet Union, has been urging India to resolve its problems with China and

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2. For details, See, The Times of India, November 11, 1990.


Pakistan peacefully and bilaterally with the emerging new world order in the post-Gulf war period, the world has witnessed numerous spectacular developments and adjustments in the domain and scope of international relations. There is a new kind of security environment in which the nation-states are most likely inclined to enlarge their conception of security in a world becoming increasingly inter-dependent. In a larger, frame work, the subject of security has come to involve the whole paraphernalia of protecting and promoting vital national interests and perennial core values in the changing world, implying the absence of real or potential threats whether posed by external sources or internal turmoil.

More significantly, their security consensus are broadening to encompass the economic issues, the ecological degradation and other non-military threats. The debt problem of the developing nations has received increased attention though the steps taken so far fall very much short of what is needed. There is still a considerable flow of recourses from the South to the developed world, culminating in further recession of economy of the former. The debt trap worsens the developmental process and ultimately endangers security. As regards ecological dimension of non-military threats, there is a perceptible sensitisation in all parts of the planet earth about the grave dangers of the environmental degradation due to the continued emission of carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases in the atmosphere, the emission of chlorofluorocarbons gradually depleting the ozone layer. As a result narco terrorism has crossed national dimensions. Terrorism, both anti-state and state-sponsored, is also flaring up.

1. During his visit to India in 1988 in reply to Question from press, Gorbachev said that he favoured Indian and China resolving their disputes peacefully and bilaterally.
mostly coupled with religious, ethnic, ideological, separatist and related tendencies. It has given rise to indiscriminate and selective use of violence or threat to use violence, including murder, sabotage and subversion, the destruction of public property and records and in some cases the hijacking of airlines and ships, holding passengers as hostages, the capture of the holy places, kidnapping government officials, diplomats and business executives.

It is altogether appropriate to revisit the South Asian countries relations in this "security" frame of reference. Asian security issues are based on the regional countries pursuits. Global, regional and domestic compulsion add to these complex, set of threats.

South Asia and New World Order

With the rupture of the bipolar system and the emergence of new centres of power, and like any other region in the world, South Asia has started experiencing the realities of a new polycentric world. In the new polycentric world, South Asian countries would be guided by new paradigms and parameters as compared to what we have been used to in the past. South Asia is one such region in which the variables of regional security problems are autonomous and indigenous but the inclination of extra-regional powers for increasing interdependence and cooperation in various fields would pave the way of stability and socio-economic development, ultimately leading to the peace and tranquillity in the whole region. However, a polycentre international order would undoubtedly make interstate relations in this region more complicated, because all the seven nation states of South Asia - India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Sri Lanka, Nepal and Maldives are developing countries and are passing through different stages of development and nation-state building. Certain speculations are being made by a number of scholars and nation security-oriented experts on the possible paradigms of international
regional and national security in a polycentric world.¹

There is a deep-seated element of contention between the largest but continental power, India and its smaller neighbours. India is motivated by both its historical impulses and contemporary perceptions to continue its drive for hegemony to maintain peace in the region. As a response, the smaller powers would naturally make efforts to ensure their survival as a sovereign states. While other countries of the region are too weak economically and militarily to stand up to India, Pakistan is the one regional power which has persisted in resisting the Indian drive for hegemony. Notwithstanding the India pressure by itself, Pakistan has had to conduct an active diplomacy, and also entered into an alliance relationship with the west at the height of the cold war, not so much out of a genuine fear of communist expansion, as out of a desire to political and military leverage in the face of Indian threat. Pakistan's fears in this regard are imaginary for Strategic analysis in India make no secret of their new that Pakistan constitutes that one obstacle to what they consider to be India's natural and destined rise to the position of paramount power in the region.²

Despite the creditable beginning of SAARC and the Indo-Pak commission, it is evident that the enormous difference in size and power between India and the other constituents of South Asia give rise to misgivings among its neighbours. Pakistan finds, it difficult to reconcile itself to India's pre-eminence in South Asia; its policy makers emphasize that Pakistan can never accept such a situation.

"The India draws from history the strength and will needed to fulfill his graved design...
The Indians regard themselves as the inheritors of the glory of British India.... Mrs. Gandhi is hostile to any power that refuses to accept India's preeminent position, and in this the Chief culprit is Pakistan, about whom the Indian Prime Minister has a fixation bordering on the pathological. It was Indira Gandhi who was the architect of the upheaval of 1971.... which culminated in the disintegration of Pakistan".1

Pakistan's stances to the Indian approach and its overall foreign policy outlook can be seen at two specific levels - that dealing with problems of the region and the other with its relations with the superpowers. Speaking of the key factors in Pakistan's external relations Foreign Minister Yaqub Khan stated "Islamabad's policy on Afghanistan and vis-à-vis India and within that framework its ties with the superpowers, now constitutes, the most important area of countries foreign policy."2 At the regional level Pakistan considers Shimla Agreement to be equivalent to a No War Pact3 and the problem of Jammu and Kashmir to be a problem of continuing concern which should be solved on the basis of Shimla Agreement and the relevant U.N. Resolutions.4

Intra-regional Dimensions of South Asian Security Issues

India and Pakistan still remain trapped in the nightmare of enmity and tension.

The two countries could have settled down to good neighbourly co-existence with commonalities of languages and cultures fostering mutual sympathy, trust and understanding. The important thing is that since 1947, India and Pakistan

3. India Lok Sabha, Debate No. 16, Col. 343.
4. India Rajya Sabha, Debate, No. 16, Col. 35.
have not only saddled with bitter and mutually antagonistic postures against each other but have also fought three wars. Among the disputes and major issues that have incessantly aggravated their security concerns are the bitter legacy of the past, Kashmir dispute along with linked issues of Siachin, Wullur Lake Barrage, communalism and the ethnic disturbances, intermittent domestic problems, the indulgence of extra-regional powers, nuclear question and the current Kashmiri turmoil and the terrorist activities.

Pakistani leaders every now and then harp on the Kashmir issue; the internal policy of Pakistan demands that this issue be kept alive. No party or government, civil or military can afford to forget Kashmir at this stage in the evolution of Pakistan. Pakistan consider Kashmir 'A cap on the head' while India needs it from the strategic point of view.

A plethora of literature on these claims and counter claims has been written and is available. U.S.A. and the European Economic Community have urged both India and Pakistan to resolve their outstanding problems bilaterally within the framework of the Simla Agreement, China, another important actor in the polycentric world order, wants that both India and Pakistan should find a "just solution" to Kashmir dispute through bilateral peaceful negotiations. As regards India's ties with Pakistan, though the two countries have been able to

initiate an agreement on the non-attack of each other's nuclear and other key installations, the bilateral relations have generally suffered because of the growing help to terrorist. Some of the pronouncements of Pakistan's Prime Minister Nawaz Sherif that his government would continue to support terrorist activities in Kashmir and Punjab have contributed to a deterioration of Indo-Pak relations.

Another major factor aggravating Indo-Pak security concern is the nuclear issue. With China being a nuclear power and Pakistan crossing the nuclear threshold, India has not closed its nuclear option. Public evidence indicates that both states are within easy reach of nuclear device. Indeed the present ambiguous situation seems to suit the interests and pocket books of both countries. A Pakistani bomb would mean the loss of American financial and military support and would be followed by a much larger Indian programme. An Indian bomb might lead to greater prestige in the developing world but, it too would be followed by a Pakistani equalizer and might endanger India's access to western high technology.¹

While advocating international peace and disarmament, India has sustained a thorny arms race with Pakistan which has created ever higher degree of insecurity for both. This is a fallacy. It is imperative connectedness of security policy with defence preparedness to multidimensional approach to security. At the diplomatic level, it calls for a shift towards political techniques of conflict resolution and confidence building measures. As a matter of fact, India has brought almost all South Asian nation-states except Pakistan within the confines of her informal regional security framework. In the case of Nepal, Bhutan and Sri Lanka, formal treaties,

accords and agreements have connected these countries with the regional security framework of India. Most significantly, even through Nepal might have strived to balance China against India in the diplomatic game, Nepal could not, but follow the Indian line on all security issues affecting South Asia in a polycentric world order. India had for more than two decades been persuading Nepal to agree to a common endeavour on water resources development and proceeding with hyde/multipurpose projects on common rivers.

As regards Bhutan, it is worth mentioning that the way in which Bhutan finds accommodation in the security framework of the South Asian sub-system is still marked largely by the strategic perceptions of the past and the China factor. Bhutan agreed, to be guided by the advice of the Government of India with respect to its foreign relations. Under Article VI of the Treaty 1949, Bhutan could procure military hardware and other defence items, through India, only with the support and approval of India.

Like other South Asian nation-states, Bhutan also faces the problems of development and nation-state building. At the same time, the ethnic Nepalese factor in the southern Bhutan constitutes an emerging threat to its internal stability and security. Bhutan's King Jigme Singye Wangchuk elaborated his country's security concern in the following manner, "our people in the minority. Second, they felt that Sri Lankan Tamils are going to win and Sri Lanka is going to be split, in Nepal the peoples movement has been successful, and India has the Kashmir problem as also in Assam and Punjab. So the time was conducive to revolt against the government". 1

Turning towards Indo-Sri Lanka scenario, it can be speculated that the strategic and political dimensions of

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1. Chadha, Kumkum, "We are not fighting for the throne", an interview of Bhutan King J.S. Wangchuk, published in The Hindustan Times, November 17, 1981.
their security framework have been rapidly changing on the basis of emerging patterns of relations between them over the recent years. India's perception of Sri Lanka factor has been compounded by an ensemble of many considerations. There has been, firstly, the influence of Tamils on the domestic politics of both Colombo as well as New Delhi. Secondly, there has been serious threats to India's security due to the influx of refugees of Sri Lankan Tamil origin as the fall-out of the escalating Sinhala-Tamil ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka since July, 1983 and evidently, India's approach and direction to the management and resolution of this crisis. There have also been, thirdly, some irritants in the Indo-Sri Lanka relations that related to the political and diplomatic behaviour of Sri Lanka Government towards India. Furthermore, Geo-political and geo-strategic and responses to Sri Lanka turmoil.

The intensification of the ethnic turmoil since 1983 onwards created a situation in which Sri Lankan Government had to sign the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement in 1988 which not only enabled the Indian forces to enter Sri Lanka with the specific goal of restoring peace and tranquillity in its strife-torn areas but also prevented Sri Lanka to make its Trincomalee port available for military use by any country in a manner deleterious to India's maritime and other interests. Initially, the Indo-Sri Lanka, accord brought Sri Lanka into the fold of mutual security system and also strengthened Indo-Sri Lanka relations. India resolve to pursue the strategy that if external support was needed to meet the domestic upheaval in any neighbouring country of South Asia.

As regards Bangladesh, it can be stressed that its major security concerns are the product of its domestic vulnerabilities, the challenges of nation-building, the tribal subnationalism in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, the environmental challenges, the high population growth rate and its divergent perception and position on the issues of mutual interest
vis-a-vis India. A section of the public opinion in Bangladesh, including the government circle itself, subscribes to the view that the Indian factor overshadows the rest of external threats to the security of Bangladesh. Negotiations on eastern water settlement and the transfer of Tin Bigha through the Indo-Bangladesh Agreement of 1974 have been striking examples. As the Supreme Court has decided in favour of the transfer of Tin Bigha to Bangladesh and transfer has taken place, this should be followed to remove the last hurdle in enforcing the 1974 Agreement. This would certainly open fresh avenues of mutual trust and cooperation in other fields, B.G. Verghese has rightly observed that "India has much to gain from Bangladesh than a few additional cusecs of water in the lean season or some mud flats in the Sunderbans and there could be a whole host of mutually beneficial trade between them. The idea does not appear to have crossed the mind of policy makers. Hereto, diplomacy could secure development, communication, national integration and security in what is one of the most vulnerable parts of the country".

As regards Maldives, it can be visualised that for all practical purposes, its political stability and interests be protected and promoted within the framework of the SAARC, and India should be more inclined to do so as a consequence of the commonalities of interests in the Indian Ocean. Maldives was already indebted to India for its ready support to foil a coup be Elat on November 3, 1988. Equally, notably is the fact that the SAARC Heads of State or Government not only condemned the attempt to destabilise the Maldivian

2. Ibid.
Government, but also strongly criticised, "These acts of violence which disrupted the peace and security of a member state", and extended their full solidarity with the Government of Maldives.\(^1\) Indian support to foil the coup attempt in Maldives has sent some wrong signals abroad, particularly in Australia.\(^2\)

Taken as a whole in the intra-regional perspective, it can be speculated that South Asia is an Indo-Centric region to the extent that India is capable of playing as the central actor in this region on account of its tangible elements of power and performance. The Indian objectives have not only been to strengthen defence preparedness for traditional military roles but also to support the cause of "non-interference" and "non-aggression" in the region. India's South Asian neighbours on the contrary "avoid any public commitment to the Indian security system, but their own security policies are based upon the assumption of an Indian guarantee against extra-regional aggression".\(^3\) India now faces greater threats to its territorial integrity, sovereignty and development from domestic turmoils which are thriving rather than slowing down.

Counting the external dimensions of threats, the point can be made that India still has disputed borders, and bears the responsibility of protecting her long coastline and offshore interests and scattered island territories. In such situations, India needs to maintain a certain level of 'military built up' for larger security role. It requires a formidable base of strategic, political, economic, scientific

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3. Leo E. Rose, n. 5, p. 381.
and technological strengths to get rid of harmful threats.

An Approach to Security in the Post Cold War Era

In the context of the overall security environment and underlying perceptions of actual and potential threats, the point can be made that a significant regional, and perhaps global role awaits India that incapable of adjusting her policies to the emerging situations. India being drawn systematically into the security dialogues process now evolving gradually in the broader framework of the Asia-Pacific region. It implies that no nation-state can be free from "harmful threats".

In view of the security environment and underlying perceptions of actual and potential threats, the point can be made that a significant regional, and perhaps global role awaits India and admittedly India is a regional power. Despite, all the plus points said above, some scholars have put their views in a different way. Kimit Israni and Haku Israni has depicted that 'India being rich in resources and having a big land area and a large population could have become a superpower after independence but, did not mainly of the two reasons given below:

1. "India has almost never had the right people in the seats of political power.

2. The wrong people in the seats of political power, of course, could not take the right approaches to solve the countries problems and lead the country in the right direction".

So far making India a great nation they emphasized that "the need to prepare an exceedingly bold and imaginative blue print. Hence, let us lay down the policies and programs that we are going to follow in various pheres of national life over the next twelve years". Speaking

1. Israni, Kimat and Haku Israni, India a Superpower ?, Lancer International, New Delhi, pp. 2-3.
about India’s education level, they have the reasons to say that the literacy picture on all India level is even more dismal. The level of literacy as revealed by the 1981 census, was only 36 per cent for the country as a whole. The constitution of India provided for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of 14 years within a period of 10 years. But, in 1980, only 65% of the children in the age group of 6-11 attended schools and the percentage decreased to 42 per cent in respect of the age group of 11-14 years. These scholars have a cause to say that:

"It means that as many as 500 million, or about the population of America and Russia put together, are hardly making any contribution to the enrichment of the country. These 500 million constitute two-thirds of our 'human resources' that we can not afford to neglect. It is really mind-boggling to think as to what India can not achieve, given the additional backing of these 500 million people with the power of literacy to guide them. At present these 500 million are a kind of permanent drag on India's economic resources".¹

Speaking about the energy crisis in India, they have vehemently commented that:

"It is a matter of great shame that even though India is endowed with very rich energy sources from solar through water to nuclear, the country suffers not only from acute shortage of power but, power is costly and its supply is faulty. This hopeless state of affairs, in the area of power supply in the country is attributable to various causes".²

Michael Holdonty, former President of the American Association of Petroleum, Geologists, while addressing 4500 petroleum industry officials in September 1979 said:

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¹ Ibid, p. 6.
"The world probably has as much undiscovered fuel under ground as has been discovered so far and as such there is great urgency to search for and find new oil reserves. During the 1990s, half of the world's production will come from fields not yet found and that the largest undiscovered fields are thought to be in Asia".

India after independence has not yet been able to explore sufficient oil resources. According to the Western Chart Saturn is Sextile to Neptune which shows the country's abundance in oil.¹

In the field of water power, the total annual supply of water in Indian Rivers is estimated to be 25 million cusecs. Of this hardly 10 per cent is utilized and the rest runs to waste. In the Second World War Germany and Japan were defeated. Japan also had to bear the burn of two atomic bombs. Both the countries were in complete ruins when the war ended. But, the surprising post-war economic growth in Japan and West Germany followed by similar economic miracles in Taiwan, South Korea and tiny Singapur are trying to tell us something important which India has failed to follow.

Dr. Shashi Gadgil, Professor of Managerial Sciences at Long Island University, New York said:

"India needs creative juices of thousands of entrepreneurs to pull up its economy by its bootstraps. Don't tell them what they can not do, but, what they can do - what they are free to do. Let them build. Let them manufacture and market in a free market economy and they will create jobs by the millions. Even the zealot par excellence - the Peoples Republic of China has turned to individual entrepreneurship and the free market. Let us accept the fact that a socialist pattern of society and centralized planning has failed".

¹ Sreeramamurthy, A., India's Horoscope, Astrological Magazine pp. 556-57.
Anon pointed out that any cause is a lost cause in India, without a reduction in population. Today about 75 per cent of the world's population lives in the underdeveloped countries. About 50 per cent live in extreme poverty. In addition, the less developed nations, including India have the highest birth rates in the world. It is reported that a person born in the rich industrialized countries will consume during his life time about thirty times as much as a person born in Latin America, Africa and Asia. The root of the problem is that the population does not increase in arithmetical progression, i.e. by simple consecutive addition (1, 2, 3, 4 etc) but, in geometrical progression i.e. by exponential growth or multiplication 1, 2, 4, 16 etc. This exponential growth rate for population is a great potential danger for India. The growth rate which was 5.75% in 1911, 84.25% in 1961 has reached to 254.00% in 1991 and is 843.93 million.¹

As regards India's defence these scholars have their own thinking. On the basis of 'Force Ratio'² India stands at No. 16 maintaining 1.6% Pakistan at No. 11 having 5.2% and Israel 46.2%, which is the highest in the world military power. General MacArthur describing about failures of armies once said:

"The History of failure in war can be summed up in two words : Too Late. Too late in comprehending the deadly purpose of a potential enemy, too late in realizing the mortal danger, too late in preparedness : too late in uniting all possible forces for resistance, too late in standing with one's trends".

India has a very bitter experience of suffering Ignoble defeat at the hands of the Chinese in 1962. Inspite of heavy cost of defence, India is not in a state of

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¹ Manorama Year Book 1993, Kollayam Kozhikode, Kochi, p. 394.
² A Nation's Force Ratio is the number of its full-time active-duty military personnel per 1000 population.
continuous alert Far Eastern Economic Review mentioned that 'money is spent in India but, it is spent badly'.

Lyndon H. Laronche, Jr. and other US experts by using advanced computer projections in a program entitled 'The Industrialization of India' 1980-2020 from backwardness to industrial power in 40 years have predicted that India could emerge as a super power next only to the USA and Russia if, it finds answers to its economic problems.

In this 'Comment' I attempt an overview and an analysis of India's emerging status as regional super power. Tracing the history of India's emergence as a regional power the first and formidable indicator was Indo-Pak war of 1971 which led to the splintering of Pakistan and emergence of an independent Bangladesh. It was a great victory at arms for India and power prestige of the Indian army. The second such indicator appeared in April 1984 when Indian troops as a consequence of Pakistan's intrusions moved shifty in Siachen Glacier area and occupied key areas on the high Saltoro ridge line. The third opportunity arose in the summer of 1985 when Indian troops as 'the forward policy' penetrated into hitherto unoccupied territory along the India-China border to check Pakistan's movement. The fourth indicator of India's emergence as a super power appeared in the winter of 1986-87 when India organized "Exercise Brass Tacks" involving about 150000 troops. In July 1987 Sri Lanka came the fifth indicator when India entered with Sri Lanka into "Indo-Sri Lanka Accord".

India has the fourth largest armed forces in the world. The first in South Asia. It has the military leadership and combat power potential to fight a war on two fronts and its Air Force to support the land forces. The Air Force has a strategic airlift capacity making airborne and air transported operations. The Indian Navy is gradually emerging as a formidable blue nations and is sixth in the world.
India's expansion and modernization of her armed forces place it in a unchallengable position. There is no doubt that India's size, population, her strategic location in the Indian ocean region, between the South-West and South-East Asia, her powerful industrial and technological potential, her economic viability make her the dominant nation of South Asia.

On political grounds India marks the history of uninterrupted constitutional government, devoted to the principles of democracy, secularism and non-alignment. There may be differences of opinion between North-South, Hindus-Muslims, problems may arise between states to states but, all citizens howsoever divided, stand unitedly when the nationalism is challenged. In a balance sheet of non-alignment, the friendly relations that India built up and maintained with most of the countries, the economic help and technical assistance she received from countries of both blocks and important role she could play in the world affairs particularly in contributing to the lessening of tensions are matters that need to be included on the credit side.

The national power is a function of material assets e.g. (a) geographical size and location, (b) size of population, (c) economic strength and development of science, technology and industry, social and political organisations and institutions and (e) military capability including the size and structure of armed forces, quality and quantity of weapons system, doctrines and strategies of employment of military forces - the five determinants are considered important for national power.1

In concluding, I would like to restate the parameters within which the arguments in this study have been presented

and the assumptions have been made. South Asia has some unique features. The ratio of population to resources is very unfavourable and some of the poorest nations in the world belong to this region. Nearly fifth of the world population live in South Asia, which is 2.7 per cent of the world's land surface and half of its area is unfit for agriculture. The manufacturing sector is still in infancy. The size of population is massive and the size of economy of South Asia is very small. The GPD is only one forth of Germany and 1/4 times of Netherland. The per capita income is lowest in the world and is less developed.¹

India has the largest area, the highest population, the profounding natural resources and commandable strong army to protect its borders, a navy to safe guard its ports and trade and no other dountry of South Asia can standby India in industrial developments. It is only India which has the capacity to act as a check to extra-regional powers from interference in the region. India is a guarantee of peace to small neighbour, a treasure of resources to needy neighbours and a ray of hope in the region. It is the best out of the good neighbours, economically more sound than any other SAARC country, militarily more strong than any other country in South Asia and politically more realistic than six nations. The study reveals undoubtedly, "the emergence of India as regional power".