CHAPTER V

SOUTH ASIA

MAIN FEATURES OF REGIONAL INTERACTION

A productive departure towards certain recent representation can be created by stressing the increasing introduction of the universal liberal centre of interstate political affairs on the one side and many recent but largely different regional spheres of subordinate systems on the other.

The regional subordinate systems of the interstate order are very different from each other in many ways. The extent of difference among any two sub-systems can differ. It is this variance in balance of power in South Asia and Middle East that is emphasized here.

It is significant to explain the basic differences in this unequalitarian pattern and different prominent forms, that have come out in the present dissertation on interstate political affairs. These standards stress. The significance of one important center of hostility and the direction for regional nations and problems to be conceptualised in relation to the fundamental bipolarity. A varied criterion on the other side emphasises the significance of various subordinate

systems and regional elements and stresses the complicated models of their interfusion allowing opportunity for changing influences concerning the issue of which kind of element is most important. This pattern is not like multipolar view; it basically discusses subordinate systems, instead of special doors; it emphasizes the dissimilarities among different sub-systems and regional alliances; and it concentrates on the complicated interfusions amid global and regional impacts not on the solid idea of a nation or bloc of states treating one another on different problems which create many interwoven trends of struggle.

Illusions like democracy against communism, imperialism opposed to socialism, or the notion counter to rural district are extremely hypothetical and divert — the consideration away from the differences between subordinate systems. Universal forms influence every subordinate system in a different manner as a result of its discriminative speciality. Finally, there is a theoretical pattern of the interstate arrangement resting on the idea of diplomatic separation that would create a condition rather equal to the venerable idea of atomic freedom inside particular units. Hence South Asian

2. ORAN R Young, Political Discontinuities in the International System, pp. 368-373.

3. ORAN R. Young, Political Discontinuities, op. cit., p.37.
nations like Ceylon prefer Regional and global joint operations.

It is attempted to unite constructional investigation with subordinate systems exploration to indicate the possible applicability of regional grouping to the methodical discussion of international relations of regions. Justifications are illustrated for mixing a relevance in sub-systems examination with concern in regional arrangements. By presenting a look of members in regional alignments of nations sharing in sub-systems; certain problems are determined that must be studied in some real and proper discussion of special regional organizations and subordinate systems. These days there has been enough focussing on the region as a subordinate system. This


concern has evolved contemporarily with discussions of organizations and integration both of which greatly concentrate on a region.

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This study basically considers subordinate system adjustment, which gives a region of diagnosis, that helps parallelism and provides to focus on the interstate political affairs instead of procedures for instance organisation and integration. The concern is not for the relation because of its own purposes. Instead the intention is to display a way of deciding the out of the way features which are to be blamed for the respective combination of alliance and counter-alliance, introduced between the states inside a certain region. The concern is the connection among such constituents as, power and arrangement nationalities and strength, intercommunication and sticking together. The consideration is not in comparing the diplomacies of various sub-systems, but with the degree to which subordinate system's concentration as a kind of regional discussion changes the comprehension of universal problems.

2. Recognition of a subordinate system

Nation-states are defined by incidents, political activities and partly by membership in the United Nations.

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The dominant systems, forms of the most potential of nations in any time in the past, is very hard to determine and its exact membership is an affair of continuous supposition, but there are at least least of competitors for predominant position and consequently least of powerful structures. There is also some unanimity among almost all observers: certain kind of bipolarity is set before every one. Regional or subsidiary systems, on its side, do not so easily afford ascertainment of sharp outlines: there are several set of possibilities, powerful determination and organizations. Therefore, the delineation of subordinate systems is not easy and simple. Attempts have been made on systems approach to study subsystems and to get a standard for these regions which is just and possible through different quantitative classification. Writers have identified fifteen subordinate systems and have tried to define them in various ways. Word system


is often used in Political studies. There are certain differences of opinion regarding its use. Scholars define and apply 'system' in different ways. For instance, certain writers apply word, "structure", to relate to the formal designing of the components of the system. All implications suggest a group of factors or units or elements which are seen to work in agreement with visible design. These differentiations abstain from applying the word, in a non-national meaning to relate to only a connected class of changeables. Though every class of elements is possibly allowed to be a system. Then a class of factors is a system. That is some variables distracted from the flow of activity are seen to be similar and explainable in formal manners to each other and as an aggregate to their surroundings.

In international relations, the use of, 'system', or idea to an area do significantly expand position for case studies of states systems. There have been comparatively


smaller number of influential systems in records; the subordinate system concentration will allow controlled experiment. premise regarding a state's conduct in relative context. It is for this reason, is a new pace in direction of a tentative oriented hypothesis of relative systems.

A system forms bounds to the foreign policy selection of nations of every state in it; that is, it makes outside theories that hit on both the aims (and ends) and the behaviour (and designs) of every nation's foreign policy. Certain specialists connect such significance to the idea of "system determinism" - in other words, that policy is fixed by the nature and arrangement of power in the system to which it belongs. Even if it is an over-estimation, it determines an important fact that a nation's external policy is the result of outside, and inside, circumstances.

Each perspective stipulates the importance of a special and interconnected trend of variables and gives an interpretative logic concerning the ever-changing foreign policy conduct. Another element is that nations work at separate


surfaces, and are commonly connected with different organizations. Besides belonging to a dominant system, they can be linked to the dominant system and one or more subordinate systems. Separate activities and choices arise from diverse groupings. It is advantageous to differentiate and interconnect discretionary actions with particular combination's of functions. Thus, for instance, Pakistan is a member of the Dominant System (bipolar bloc) and the Universal System. It belongs to two subordinate systems, South Asia and its border regions lie in Middle East. Pakistan deduces separate actions and judgements from separate associations. It is advantageous to divide and connect its policy deals with peculiar membership roles. In this manner Pakistan's foreign policy in respect to Kashmir, Germany, Israel, and nuclear tests is looked clearly in the background of these four associations distributively.

A third rationalization, observed earlier, is that special Dominant System's center of interest or attention, misrepresent every international connections excluding those in East West Alliance System - and majority happens to be outdoors of that outline. The continuous interference of that focus directs to misrepresentation of opinion, and often, of judiciousness also. Ultimately, the examination of the system of South Asia, along with other subordinate systems
of the world aids to determine the barren argument on the
worth of inductive and deductive methods to a more exact
management of interstate connections. Both approaches have
a reasonable opportunity in this search. A use of present
patterns will experiment their adequacy and would thus direct
to improved supposition. The collection of evidence regarding
subordinate international political affairs will assist inductive
theory to be examined repeatedly in view of constantly
growing proofs. In the intersection and enrichment of inter-
national connections and south Asian analysis, both would
profit.

3. Definition of the subordinate
system of South Asia:

Every idea ought to be determined exactly if it is to
help an advantageous investigational determination. Still,
seeing that every inter-working can be looked in a system's
outline, one hundred existing nations can hypothetically shape
as good as five thousand dualistic systems. The idea of

13. Stanley Hoffmann, "International Relations: The Long Road
David J. Singer, "The Level of Analysis Problem in Interna-
tional Relations", Klaus Knorr and Sidney Verba editions,
The International System: Theoretical Essays, Special

19. James N. Rosenau, edition International Politics and
Foreign Policy, New York, 1961, p. 77.
subordinate-nation-system is increasingly rigid. It needs several positions, its extent is demarcated with basic emphasis on geographic regions. Though Brecher accepts Rosenau's view yet he maintains there are at least three nations; considered collectively, they are outwardly received by different states as making a discriminative society, or area, or part of the universal system; the members recognize themselves as such, nations in subordinate system are weaker in power to the states in dominant system, using a moving degree of influence in both systems. Alternations in global system have more impact on the subordinate system compared to the opposite. Within the contemporary universal order, there are five subordinate systems, South Asia, Middle East, United States, West Europe, and West Africa.

According to traditional geographical denominational region, South Asia, stretches from Pakistan to Indonesia. Nations belonging to it are, Pakistan, India, Ceylon, Nepal, Thailand, Burma, Laos, Cambodia, South Vietnam, North Vietnam, Phillipines, Malay, and Indonesia. China is not conventionally in this area and is ordinarily considered outside the limits of the description of south and South East Asia. Presently it is systematized, Southern Asia, yet, subordinate system is a political term also a geographic nation. The region is

essential but not an enough premise for its demarcation. Regions share in the politics of the international order.
The Southern Asian Region is created extremely noticeable by
the sharing of big nations—China and India—in a subordi-
nate order that also contains a number of smaller nations. It
would be practicable to treat South Asia as a number of
subordinate orders and to regard India and China as distinct
subordinate orders. In fact, there is no areal group of
nations that can be in true exact interpretation of border
suitabilityness be ascertained as a subordinate system of the
universal order. Such a system is recognized by many dissim-
lar measures like inter-relation in trade can in fix a form
of boundaries but these would have to be narrowly like with
others.

The Southern Asia subordinate order is one in which
the universal competitors the Soviet Union and the United
States have taken part, that could not have been immediately
derived from their situation in the international order, for

21. Bruce M. Russett and W. Curtis Lamb "Global Patterns of
Diplomatic Intercourse," Journal of Peace Research, No.1,
1969 (fn. 10) p. 69.

22. Talcott Parsons, "Order and Continuity in the Inter-
national Social System in James Rosenau edition, Intern-
national Politics, and Foreign Policy, New York, Free
Press 1961, pp. 324-325 and Antal Hajdari, Political
Unification, New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston 1965,
p. 8."
example the two, United States and the Soviet Union upheld India's position in the course of its fight with China. The questions of international leadership are particularly obvious and attempt for a regional equilibrium has been hard to achieve. China is an important peripheral nation. The later function of Macedon and China influence China and contemporary South Asian System. Twelve million Chinese exist in South Asia. This permits much power to China inside this system; like that of dispersed Germans within Eastern Europe during the last decade. Mainly significant, is the comparison of the Germans in Swietenland and the Chinese in Malaya and S. Singapore. Ill-balanced impact of China's minority group on the domestic political affairs of different nations is also comparable. This points up her hold in this region. Other justifications result from Chinese regional proximity with many communities of the system; this affords constant Chinese engagement with these smaller states, an important measure of belonging to some geo-political region. This form takes particular importance in view of China's past dominance in this system, and its aim of revived hegemony of this area. Due to these convincing grounds, although Brecher admits China in South Asia yet scholars omit big nations from

23. Schuman, A Short Account of International Political Affairs, New York 1948, Chapter I.

sub-systems for instance China and India in South Asia. China also belongs to other systems. Covering of China in this region shows containing of overlying areas—China, Southeast Asia, and South Asia. Merely two nation states, India and China have considerable relations to and effect most of the nations, in every sphere, by two-sided bonds.

Like extent of the outline of the system of South Asia, its duration is discretionary to a certain extent. The year 1949, indicates the adequate completion of this state system. After Indonesia got freedom, the united continent of China emerged as a powerful nation, along with handing over of influence to India, Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon, and Philippines. Over and above both these appearances, generation of four moderate units inside Indo-China during 1954 and termination of British administration in Malay during 1967, were bordering to the region. Before the close of World War II, the whole region, leaving shaken China and Thailand was completely reliant on European nation-states; South Asia was politico-economically and geographically dependent on hegemonial (European) region. The nations of this place were experimenters of diplomacy, without sovereign, influential, self-

25. George Modelski, "International Relations and Area Studies, op. cit., pp. 149-150.

directed governments to deal with outside world. South Asia was known after World War II, formerly the region was governed by colonial powers.

4. Structural Characteristics

4. Distribution and Level of Power:

A basic constructional characteristic of every subordinate system is the delineation of influence, that is, dispersion and extent of strength of individual nations. This extent in South Asia is, in fact, moderate. No country of the system is able to manufacture nuclear weapons or missiles. Military strength of each nation, except China is not much, in either quantity or quality. These members are distinguished by low level of subsistence, slow economical development, dull cultivation, shortage of funds and technology, limited stable trade and commerce, and a low increase in population.

In regions of improved science, almost all members have atomic explosives and enough self-sufficiency. Whereas in South Asia nations differ much in size and influence. The territory is extended far, economy is arrested. These factors restrict the effect of India and China to their delivery.

spheres. India's better military power could possibly be influential with regard to Pakistan, Nepal, and Ceylon, but it regularly and speedily decreases in remotest East. For China, the restrictions of technicality and distance are particularly obvious in the co-toward islands of South Asia. There, the want of aviation and navigational force is evidenced. For every other nation state in the state-system, their inferior technical knowledge and insignificant strength hinders the use of authority, even in adjoining countries. The insufficiency at large further attracts rival groups, and major nations to interfere and pervade this unstable region. The intervention is hated and dreaded by most of the nations in the sub-system. Disagreement is obvious, in Krishna Menon's criticism of South Asia Treaty, he considered, the alliance "not a regional arrangement but a current version of protectorate", which has no place under Charter of United Nations. In fact, this general weakness in South Asia permits China, a marginal nation, possible free hand and real approach to this region. The existence of a comparatively forceful outside country, China, also reduces exercise of India's strength, not merely in South Asia but also with regard to close by-standers, like N. Nepal and Pakistan. There dispersion

of influence among both countries is incapable to command the region because of technical improvement is not much. This form, (that is distribution and level of a power) in South Asia, is different from other state systems. The shape here is more sharp than in Europe during nineteenth century. There were comparatively five powerful states, Russia, United Kingdom, France, Austria, Prussia, (Germany). The other obvious distinction was that there was no marginal great nation discussing every influential patterns inside the actual state system. Till then Russia had converted itself in a structural belonger, and America, a single potential competitor to China (in contemporary South Asia), continued an inactive spectator by the latest time of the European states system's age of quiet. When America began sharing during 1917, it turned to be a member of the European state system.

The configuration of authority also varied in old China and in primitive Greece. There was a bipolar model. But South Asia does not show a bipolar form. Furthermore, neither China nor Greece were subordinate state systems. They were self-determining almost all the time. The distribution of control in South Asia is slightly like the present dominant system, having two major nations, four medium states i.e. France, United Kingdom, Germany and China and a lot of small units. However, there are obvious distinctions. The usual
degree of potency in the predominant system and the able limit of capability of United States and Soviet Russia is infinitely higher than either of India or of China in nature and amount. This has important effects. It renders both a super power in their respective groups to a very large extent than India in South Asia.

The hierarchy of vigour is relative to that of the Middle East. Nevertheless, the dispersion is very dissimilar. There is not any strong nation in Middle East, actual or latent. Many nations in the Arab group are of the equal quality of might. Egypt and Iraq are the greatest. Yet, neither has the effective position like India or China in South Asia. Indeed, today both marginal nations Israel and Turkey, are more influential in comparison to anyone Arab nation's state—although the border is not certain. The configuration of potentiality in the United States, Western bloc, until now shows a different model. One about a major nation whose eminent, political, economical, militant and technical effectuality permits it a dominant position. Even Soviet Russia can not insist on a similar hold inside its group in the Eastern bloc. However, military has not, in general contributed such, in any sense and to its particular components.

a Integration.

(i) Economic arena (Colombo Plan and ESCAP)

An additional organizational relates to structural integration. South Asia is quite uniformed in this concern. Here is no general arrangement, or diplomatic organization, or mechanism, like military pacts. That is India or any country which like India is the member of socalled third force, has neither financial power, nor armed might, if one is pleased to say nuclear strength, armed strength. The two economic organizations, (Colombo plan, and ESCAP), including nearly each actor of this region do not serve any real function. In fact, the procedure of unification has hardly started.

Although in the economic sphere attempts are better, yet Colombo Plan cannot be separated from American and British help. Every unit in this region aims at economic growth, social improvement and vital government. This affords joint operation in such plans. Unlike the organization of South Asian states and Asian Relations Associations, Colombo Plan was introduced in South Asia by external powers in 1954. Its membership is obligatory like NATO, UNO and ESCAP. It is a series of special nation schemes. Constructional bonds in it are not much improved. A consultative committee meets

together every year to listen to comments and to help in interchange of opinions. The Bureau in Colombo serves as a regional bank for data, and technological help. The two organizations i.e. the Colombo Plan and SCAFÉ have accomplished a lot in furthering inter-state joint working, collaboration and in making an atmosphere of belief assignable to the giving of help by extra area richer powers.

(ii) Political field:

The political arena is distinguished by occasional meetings amidst nations of this area. The Asian Relations Conference 1947, the Delhi Conference of 1949 and the Bandung Conference during 1955 are special incidents. No stable means of territorial joint working emerged, inspite of earnest attempts at the first and third of these assemblies. Because of the competition of India and China, not either was inclined to accept the hegemony of the other. Less powerful states were afraid that either India or China or both of them would govern the region. As for Colombo powers, matured during 1954, of the Asian states inside the Afro-Asian group at the Universal organization missed structural integration or even a mutual posture towards major nations and their disagreements. Still the Bandung Conference was the critical event on the

development of South Asian order. It demonstrated the refusal of Western opinion that every thing was less important than the so-called Cold War. By affirming supremacy of anti-colonialism, the conference announced the territorial self-determination of South Asia and its non-entanglement, where practicable, in the rival East-West contest for power. Jawahar Lal Nehru said, India was not going to join a war if it can help it.

Thus members of the subordinate international system in the usual opinion shape distinguished section of the world's organized body of people and their influence is in some way bent and deviated advancing from dominant in the direction of subordinate system.

(iii) Security Sphere:

The extent of associational unification in South Asia is quite inferior compared to other sub-systems. Both the blocs are much organized Western bloc through NATO, for its protection in security and political field, Judicial Court


34. Jawaharlal Nehru, op.cit., p. 34.

(European Courts) in judicial field, economic bodies like Common-Market, Schuman Plan, OECD in economic field and a legislative-executive instrument (Council of Europe).

Soviet Block:
Likewise Soviet bloc is organized through Warsaw Pact, for its protection in security and political sphere (Council for Economic and Mutual Assistance) an economic organ in economic field, a number of bilateral contracts for joint operation between different states and persons therein exist. Besides these institutional attempts members of Communist party often assemble in meetings like that of Politburo (Presidium). These assemblies and those of various Congresses, add to gradual organizational progress of member states.

American System:
Unlike, Southern Asia the American order is the highly organized. Organization of American State (OAS), is a multifaced established machinery, in the history of state orders, there is a permanent executive organ (the Council), a law enacting body (Pan American Union), a comprehensive security contrivance (Foreign Ministers Meetings, Inter American Peace Committee,

Defence Committee and Defence Board) and Specialised bodies, Economic and Social Council, Council of Jurists and Cultural Council) and specialised agencies for active operation (statistical Institute, Commission of Women, Sanitary Bureau) and plenty of congresses and conferences on functional matters. This organisation though quite emphatic in writing, is not frequently so powerful in actual inter-state joint-operation among twenty-one Republics.

Middle East System:

Like wise in Middle East system, Arab League consists of a (Majlis or Council), for joint inter-state co-operation, seven permanent committees work in economic, social, political, cultural, and health sphere, a secretariat, Military organization, joint Defence Council, Chiefs of staff committee, and an increasing number of specialised agencies. The Arab League in other matters has a structural basis which is yet missing in South-Eastern Asian system.


C. Nature and Frequency of Interaction: South Asia:

The level of organization depends much on the nature and frequency of interaction among the nations of the region. Merely India has effective connections with nearly all the states of the system. Aside from structural political bonds, different nations have restricted international connections for instance Pakistan with India and, via SEATO, with Philippines and Thailand; Thailand with Cambodia and Burma; China and India, Ceylon with India; Malaya with Indonesia and Philippines with its SEATO participants. Inter-working between the nations of this system is, hence, imperfect that is not continuous regionally inside members. Further, it is nearly two sided in organisation, so inc instances of many-sidedness are international organisation, SEATO, Colombo Plan and SCAFE, which do not tie up the members. Most international relationships are of inconsiderable magnitude, although there are deviations. Extremes are almost constant strain among India and Pakistan and rare strained peace amid India and Indonesia. Continent of China has re-entered effective contacts with various members of South Asia since 36 Bandung Conference, but these are not so firm as of India.

South Asia has enough uniformity, in factors like, socio-cultural homogeneity common diplomatic adjustments,

structural membership or economic interdependence. The extent of accord in it is really not better than Western nations and even inferior to either Latin America or Eastern Europe.

**Relation Between South Asia and Other Systems:**

The most significant characteristic of the South Asian subordinate system is the continuous interference by the Dominant System. Both Communist and Western nations strive to exert influence in this region. The Western bloc by means of the Colombo Plan, a multipurpose organization, Commonwealth, bilateral help and propaganda, Communists interfere through a security instrument (Communist military bloc), bilateral help from Peking and Moscow, revolution and intervention by Chinese minority group. Both Communists and Westerners try to get the support of nations of South Asia, which are not already bound to any alliance, specially India and Indonesia. Both sides also meddle with the issues of this region, straighly by assisting the civil war in Vietnam and Laos and indirectly in Guinea (West Irelend) and Kashmir. As can clearly be seen, in different Anglo-American sponsored resolutions on Kashmir in the Security Council and the Soviet roles are American (Sunker) mediations among the Netherlands and Indonesia. This penetration is made easy, because of unfortunate wants of South Asian nations for economic help can be given merely by external states, want of coordination, instability of many nations in this region.
In all the nations of South Asia, only India retaliates. It
interchange, effectively constantly by means of voluntarily
playing as a mediator, at United Nations and at other places,
with reference to the Congo, the Middle East, Berlin Laos,
and disarmament. For all nations except India and China,
South Asian system is basic, if not only, framework of foreign
policy, that means foreign policies off all the states of
this region including those which are members of SHAPE and
CENTO are based chiefly if not solely on regional motives for
examples, Pakistan dreads India and wishes to get help to
settle Kashmir dispute; Philippines and Thailand were afraid
of Chinese aggression. No doubt India's outlook with regard
to certain disputes reveal regional motive for instance.
Kashmir, Goa and the treatment of its nationals in Burma,
Ceylon and Malaya. Nevertheless on more important issues,
the chief emphasis is on entanglements in regard to universal
questions for example Tibet in 1950, Laos from 1954 and
Vietnam lately.

China's interest are more hard to determine. In some
issues her role in Bipolar bloc (Dominant system) is funda-
mental, as with her help to Castro and the FLN in Algeria
and her posture in the Congo and in Hungary during 1966. In

39. R.M. Vinacke, The United States and the Far East, 1945-51,
other cases, her membership in the South Asian subordinate system is distinct not confused, for example, boundary conflicts with Nepal and Burma, and her action at Bandung, and conciliatory attempt on the two fold nationality issue, in the Communist bloc, in the Indian Frontier issue. In South Asia mutual penetration in China and India is essential and occur often.

Besides these peculiarities there is the problem of the connection in South Asian system and contemporary Dominant systems. An investigation into the quality and degree of ingress or to say inter-ingression of the two regions will explain the extent of personal freedom of South Asia subordinate system; and its members. It will in addition, be a new pace towards accomplishing an aim of universal community of diplomatic order. Each and every of the nations in South Asia are members of universal system, and nearly each is a member of United Nations. Certain states, in addition, share in Dominant system for example Philippines (and South Vietnam) the Thailand, and Pakistan through SEATO; North Vietnam and China by means of Russian Facts. All others are comparibly self-determined for instance India, Indonesia, Burma, Ceylon and Malaya, although Nepal, Cambodia and Laos, too do not share with either Eastern or Western blocs, yet they are very unprotected to be specified as self directed nations.
5. What is a Nation?

Like an attempt to characterise 'region', the discussion of nation arouses the issue of defining the 'nation', by depending on certain processes. The question of searching the meaning of nation is a real inquiry. This turns to be ever-more apparent in view of the earlier armed breakdown inside Pakistan. Certain people declare, this indicates the tottering of Pakistan as a nation. It is true or not is insignificant, but the bare possibility that this can happen is very important. A delimiting of nation should determine for a nation disappearing, while the real individuals, the actual land, and plain fighting warriors and arms by which it was earlier connected continue to exist.

Considering Pakistan, it has a concrete influential military head, real bodily persons, enough land, substantial influence. Yet Pakistan as a nation can pass out of existence. Definitely for this reason, no matter how a nation is to be described, it is obviously quite theoretical and found by experience to be very deceptive.

Each nation-state is an internal part of a subsystem, the extent of its strength is not at all important to the specify its membership to a particular system. There are two exclusions to this reasoning; much strong and influential nations

are also effective in other subordinate systems in addition to their own, and there are few states that are on border-
line among two systems and are possibly regarded to exist together to a certain extent inside both systems, for instance Afghanistan (in the middle of southern Asia and Middle East), Burma, (amidst South Asia and South East Asia), Turkey (in between Middle East and Western Europe) and Finland (in Eastern Europe and Western Europe).

Extent does not of course delineate the subsistence of a system. It can be made of a nation and happen to be com-
paratively bigger in size for instance the Soviet Union, or it can be constituted of many states comparably short in the region for example the Middle East. At a place a sub-
ordinate system consists of a single nation indigenous or interior and sub-systems can be said to be the same. There is a complicated interplay among social, geo-political and regional elements. It is this interworking which is of real significant, in fixing the bounds of a subordinate system.

Laos, Togo and Jamaica are very tiny nations they have insig-
nificant or almost no power in regional interstate affiliation, for their influence estimation leave them very nearly inside the sphere of authority of one or more major nations. The persons of kampuchea and Laos have won freedom India has recognised it.

In the International system position of a nation appears additionally confused in different respects by practices that seems to hold to regionalism in various subordinate systems of North and South Realms. General reasonings concerning the future state appear misinformed. The deductive reasoning of a particular system can be more dependable. Hoffman argues, that prosperous politico-economical balancing and recourse to military pacts does not guarantee geopolitical organization. A different view is developed by Hass considering integration as an actual practice that slowly deteriorates the stand and working of a nation.

Whether the use of the needy by wealthy will direct to adjustment by diplomacy or disaster by opposition, is one of the important issues of the coming decade. To Calting information and skills of, "peace research", can intensify the evolution of more peace-creating trends. The inherent discussion among integration theorists such as, Hoffmann and Calting arouses a doubt whether or not the nation is more

42. Stanley Hoffmann, "Obstinate or Obsolete : The Fate of the Nation-State and the Case of Western Europe", (Daedalus, volume, 95, No.3 (Summer 1966) pp. 322-915).
capable to partake in military partnerships compared to mutual universal copartnerships United Nations? Walker F. Connor, argues that Geographical nearness does not obligato-
45 rily direct to integration, if remoteness is important quali-
46 fication then two integers joined by watergap are nearer in comparison to two units similarly remote but unrelated by ground. It is also observed that a solidity of inter working can be arranged by opposition and hostility lacking any intrinsic possibility for first stage balancing. No one variable demonstrates to guarantee, that an organization of nations be able of unable to fit as a region. Geographical contiguity is not a necessary characteristic of a region.

6. What is a "region"?

To attach the word, "region", does not mean real or implied coordination and in fact does not indicate unification activity. Geographic environment can be explained in exactly separate directions by one who decides. For instance, how can


Middle East be delimited: Does it stretch from Morocco to Pakistan or is the boundary at some place in the middle? And what about Israel, which is different in culture with other nations of the region? And Turkey which though geographically to a degree is an area of Europe yet is aligned with the United States in CENTO. Thus regions can not be compared with each other. There is no penetringly recognizable Asian or South Asian subordinate system, even less than could be ascertained for other regions. In considerable manner Turkey is not an Asian or a European nation, neither is Haiti Latin American country, nor Japan an Asian one, so they can not act like their bystanders, on have national or diplomatical orders similar to them, same criticism apply, a bit slightly in analyzing specially Philippines as an Asian State, or Portugal and Spain as Western Europeans or Argentine like real Latin Americans. In South Asia or Latin America these differences of course are obvious, but examining the respective questions of definiteness real proof of these distinctions is met with.

The complex socio-economically adjusted access to the discussions of the international diplomatical appearance of which (South Asia) subordinate system is stress of this study is an instance, have interested common scholars these days for their corruption and planned violence.
7. Regional Organizations and South Asia

A subordinate system certain of whose middle states are members of the groupings that pass over sub-systemic limits while their relationships with different core nations are not consistent result to be somewhat unstable as a subordinate system (such as South Asia). This look show that some nations that have not earlier been regarded thus, have been considered belonging to a specific system.

Moreover, Alliance and Co-operative regional alignments have thought provoking impacts on different subordinate systems, in their mutual relations with each other, that originate owing to solidification and power.

The practical knowledge after World War II in different regional coalitions including NATO, has manifested, though presence of such alliances possibly has widened the degree of relations, yet when the disagreement of motive occurs, which is sure amid nations of dissimilar subordinate systems, affiliations mechanism is not usually effectual to deal with them competently. In comparison to cooperative groupings,

Alliance organizations conceivably be more suitable to extend the inter-connections in the procedure, which nations of one sub-system possibly have with those of different others. Yet it can not improve consistency in the nature of those relationships in the procedure.

Furthermore, an alliance grouping that is generated as the machinery for intervention of the nations of one sub-system inside other, for instance CENTO or SEATO be able to move reinvigorated counteraction of competitive nations, thenceupon intensifying not decreasing the disagreements.

To seek and explore the cases implicated in the evolutions of different organisational subordinate systems, in their inter-relation with each other. Neither simple subsistence of permitted regional forms allowed some catalysts in this evolution, as practical knowledge of their working sufficiently demonstrate, nor these organisations can be overlooked because today they are participating in the change of the interstate diplomatic order. Mitchell observes that, crosscutting memberships are the consequence not the motive of international coordination.

All the systems of the world are better organized in comparison to South Asia. Nye argues, integration progress slackens not increases with the time in less developed region. Etzioni offers, nations of the system are mutually dependent; members of communities are united. He thinks, power, intercommunication, ways of transportation, agreement informing an organization are necessary for integration. This likely be exceedingly significant in contributing to explicate why regional unification attempts do or do not develop. But fundamental interest is not the explanation of unification. The ideas and means suitable in one region do not take into the other. Moreover, the appearance of regionalism is certain times regarded as equal with the lack of regional unification. Regionalism can be a political word if so it is ideological facts it involves. Regionalism likewise be an analytical mask introducing what the globe's natural regions are or ought to be.

50. J.S. Nye, Peace in Parts, Integration and Conflict in Regional Organization, Boston 1971, Chapter III.


Brecher and Binsler show regional subordinate orders than are conceits for making intelligible mutual dependence in regional bonds and wider universe which confine them.

The development of world-wide corporations likely be a more important tendency in international arrangements. Increasingly such corporations are advancing world-wide strategies and incorporating the trade done at large in the development in the United strategy. Global corporations for instance likely prove to be significant catalysts by considering group of nations as regions and acting agreeably. Emergence of multinational corporations and rise of a more international ideology between different social and functional associations are some of the elements pretended to be reforming the nation to suit the recent requirements of the age. But socialist nations and recent emerging states-nations are at times liable to important intervention from more influential industrial nations and multinational corporations. In South


Asia and Middle East, immense military assistance has increased the degree of rivalry and created it to be much more hazardous, for instance American allies and Japan are unwilling to support demilitarization of Indian Ocean. Further, China has aided to the agitation in South Asia by its ideological and actual hand in petty warfare. These plans are dangerous for peace. The important impact of the trespassing nations on tools of mutual connections in Southern Asia, is witnessed to by the reality that domestic clashes often go together by peaceful consultations, participated by various major states.

Interfering nations are able to increase and ignite the rivalry, by inflicting their own political competition on the region, and by inspiring regional exploits. The partition of Korea and that of Vietnam are the instances of outside dominions dominating territorial struggles. Likewise the American representatives in Ceylon took a typical position in 1958, to excite two conflicting groups to attack the government: this stand was suggested to them by Bulles and the idea at its back was to discredit Bandaranaike and its administration.


In this way exterior nations can be instrumental to increase or decrease the extent of control of lesser states. Their existence can inspire partition or unification between the units of subordinate systems. Inter-ruptive nation-states help forward regional alliances as a method of stretching their authority or of helping the politico-economic advancement of the native nation. Their occurrence restrict regional solidification and develop deviating trends. No matter what is their impact, the outside nations must be looked as an intrinsic portion of the inter-state diplomacy of nearly each area, barring which the pattern of every subordinate system would be much different. Countering of inward influence serves to form regional groupings "closed systems" with regard to universal political affairs.

South Asia is less developed in comparison to other systems of the world. Gradual progress is in its initial stages and is likely to be so in near future. Many of its fourteen states can be easily every powered, because of serious domestic troubles leading to political instability.

Southern Asia is most debatable area because here is an intricate snare of defense groupings in this region. This is

a reason to suggest an organisation where security could be deliberated in an adequate method as independent as practicable, from the devices of external nations. Galtung suggests United Nations System of Regional economic commissions placed in the same relation to the Security Council of the United Nations as the Economic Regional Commissions consistent with Article 52, 53, 54 of United Nations Charter. Thus no revision of the Charter would be needed. Institutions proposed appear to fit easily in the common pattern of the United Nations and regions of the world. Proposed institutions are (SCE in Geneva for Europe, OCLA in Santiago de Chile for Latin America, RCA in Addis Ababa for Africa, SCAFE in Bangkok for Asia) under the authority of Economic and Social Council. In this way it possibly would be adequate that no nation can be a member of more than one Regional Security Commission to evade the effect of multiplication of major nation impact through manifold memberships defended by existence in the region. This would then manage the Soviet Union the United States, France and Great Britain ruled out because they all would like better to be members of the SCE (Security Commission for Europe). Some method of the delegation of both the Vietnam,

both the Koreas must be discovered and this question probably be showed a fresh beginning in a recent organization. The ECAFE should be placed in a non-aligned Asian nation. The strain in agreement and separation amidst the different subordinate orders produces restricted opposition relation of a very strange quality particularly amidst the major nations. But it is only future that can tell if these low monetary and diplomatical prices would consequently be joined with great payments or it would be practiciable that the security commission be able to evolve into debating discussions and comparatively theoretical investigation groupings with less or no impact on making resolutions.

President unstable nature of southern Asia order is quite obvious. Today definitely there is much political mutual penetration amidst various global regions. This mutual interpenetration in west and east is quite obvious. In gradual political development southern Asia has come to be more equal than lower in order.

9. Textural Characteristics of South Asia:

South Asia include my nations. Transportation from one state to another is restricted because distances are much, journey and contacts from one state to another is restricted to a small number of people because of low economy. Radio
facilities between states are not much, excluding India-Ceylon, India-Pakistan and India-Burma. Even if a few Indian, Ceylonese, and Pakistani newspapers are possibly in reach in another country, Press communication is not much. Television facilities do not exist with majority of them. And there are innumerable languages, not only in southern Asia but many times inside a single state e.g. fourteen languages do exist in India, two or more in Ceylon and Pakistan, in addition many different languages in other states of this region.

In contrast in Middle East distances are not much, Nations are regionally adjacent, location though an obstacle is negotiable. Arab nations have a common language, which facilitates contacts by means of Radio, Press, visiting heads. Moreover Arabic is known far and near. It is spoken and written in general open communication is much greater. Arabic is also understood in outlying nations like Iran, Turkey, and Israel.

The United States system is likewise provided with a knitted contact texture. A general language is an asset, though the ruling nation and Brazil stand alone. An advanced air transport service helps the contact. T.V. Radio, Press integrate the nation in information sense. In present

62. Fredrick Williams, Dean, Annenberg School of Communications, University of Southern California, of the Hindustan Times on Free Flow of Information and Communications Revolutions, USICA, New Delhi December 1980, 32 minutes black and white Video Recording, 303, Fre.
international order, influence of a major nation can intentionally change the domestic policies of other nations agreeable to its decision making process.

Asian order enclose many states that are farily wanting in domestic strength. As a consequence Asian politics are marked by border questions, domestic civil conflict and upheavels and risks of rival interference in shaking down processes, economic advancement is low in comparison to western nations.

Three loose kinds of governments is prevalent in South Asia. Democracy, resting on Anglo-American pattern, with certain deviations, likely be distinguished in India, Ceylon, Malaya and Philippines. The Soviet or Communist form is obvious in North Vietnam and China. Every other nation shows certain kind of authoritarianism. It possibly be lenient, as in Pakistan from 1958, or strict, as in South Vietnam from 1955 until now. It likely be military control, as in Burma or Thailand or absolute monarchy, as in Nepal or civil dictatorship as in South Vietnam or a changeable mixture of civil rule, like in Indonesia. In all these states the Chief elements of democracy are lacking partly or completely. In certain

63. Max Beloff, "Federalism as a Model for International Integration", Year Book of World Affairs, Volume 13, 1959, pp. 188-204.
nations, neglect of public freedom is as much as in some
Communist countries, and the medium of governments are
equally unjust. In many military has come to be very influ-
ential, either using influence straightly or has maintained
an alert position to take command from a staggering civil
control and to operate as protector of the government. But
authoritarianism is not complete in either of them. This
is an important difference among the units of South Asia
and Communist governments. But they continue quite far
from democracy as is communism. All three kinds of adminis-
tration in South Asia are Western in the manner that they
are the inheritances of Western era in the South Asian
experiences. Democracy is the straight imposition of past
colonial controllers. Communism is the creation of Westward
fancies and the illustration of a non-Asian nation. Even
the non-Communist rulers apply skills and rules received
from West to retain authority.

Neither variety of political governments in kinds and
stability is unusual, nor is it an essential origin of stru-
ggle inside this area. The chief factor of inner governments
in this system is weakness history shows it. Pakistan and
Indonesia are quite distinguished examples. In the initial
eleven years of its existence, Pakistan had four presidents,
and eight cabinets; political managements in provinces was
dissolved thrice-in East Bengal (1954-55), in Punjab (1948-51),
in Sind (1951-1953). In eight years (1947-1955), there were seven Chief Ministers of Sind, Public elections were never held. In 1954, a serious constitutional emergency turned up, when the nation was caught by a combination of one hundred and fifty politicians in 1953. They all were busy in a bad diplomatic strategy to get official seats. These opportunists were turned out by Mohammad Ayub Khan. Military continued to rule till 1962, and Field Marshal Ayub Khan legally governed the nation. President Ziaul Haq is present head of Pakistan.

Political turn was equally grave in Indonesia, lawlessness has been typical after Japanese left it in 1945. Neither theft nor petty warfare could be suppressed there. The chief region of anarchy has been the outlying islands, setting of four open rebellions in the 1950s. In the political sphere, also, disjunction has been the policy. Not any of the three leading parties, the Masjumi, the Nationalists, the Communists was sufficiently firm to maintain bold on the administration by making a coalition government, frequently the course of diplomatic affairs. Merely President Sukarno, made the example since Indonesia got freedom. In 1953, by the appearance of "guided democracy", pursuit of political

order improved. Even in India current riots in various main towns are quite sad signs of instability. The crisis of instability was equally severe in Thailand. There was an economic blockade by Thailand, and Thailand government was overthrown by a military coup in Bangkok during October 20, 1977. The crisis of instability is quite serious in Burma, since British departed. The British writer Maurice Collice wrote in his book, "Last and First in Burma", a chapter entitled "Implications of the British Defeat," that Britshers got a fatal injury by yielding to disgraceful overthrow and departure and deserting Burmese trodden up by the Japanese armament. This turn of event was indeed very sad.

First armed revolt in Burma started in March 1948 before Burma came into power. Minority community Kachins and Karen got displeased with Burmese administration and started revolt in opposition to the administration in the


aforesaid period which still continue. Witness witnessed a 70 major food crises during 1977. Present crisis of instability is equally serious in Afghanistan Kabul imposed martial law in the country during 1980. All the Arab States all of the Gulf States were in opposition to the events in Afghanistan all the Muslim person were in opposition of the move of the 72 Soviet Union there. Crisis in Sri Lanka, is evident as in the last three months the Sri Lanka administration has been compelled to announce a national emergency at two times. It had to mobilize airforce, navy armament para-military forces 73 police to face public demonstrations.

Model of instability is same in Middle East only sharp difference being there, it has greatly altered external policy like Kassas in Iraq and Nasser in Egypt from 1953. While in the American order does, instability lead to sharp change in foreign matters solely when complete government system is


changed like in Cuba. In South Asia till now entire flow of diplomacy has not greatly unsettled the constancy of external affairs in any of the states for example, within Pakistan, Burma, Indonesia, Thailand, Ceylon, Afghanistan or India. Yet, its impact on units is powerful, Diplomatical shift inside the nations show fair conduct to be hard. Moreover, it emphasizes the weakness and instability of system in general.

The subordinate system of South Asia is composed of fourteen nations, many of which are powerless and are below great domestic strains. Every one of them eagerly defends its recently gained position and stipulates internal motives, that could obtain social coordination. The procedure is beginning. South Asia is obviously quite less improved compared to other states systems. Many units have not got enough force to protect their freedom, aside from China and India. The state of subordinate system of South Asia lack influence hitted by two centres of power and ideology. The existence of, Russian Chinese, United States influence actual and dormant, generates a dangerous balance of power and a risky tense uncontrollable bond among dominant system and subordinate state systems. In these conditions, South Asia obviously looks like to the Balkans prior to 1914. It is situated in the middle of two blocs in the Dominant system. Its members are quite forceless unlike dominant politics.
Three of which have effectively interfered as a Soviet Union and Germany in Balkans; of course, one of them is a member of the Dominant system, and clashes inside South Asian region—for instance, in Vietnam and Laos tempt extra-areal powers to interfere in this region.

The actual risk, in such an illbalanced region of influence, is that one or more states can break or even draw in subordination and authority of an external nation; in case this happens to states as India or Indonesia, the effects would be extensive. The entire region would change, and force of outside units will grow even for other nations of South Asia; mark separating chief states from weak nations would pass away, and rival military pacts will get importance; if India falls out from the system possibly quick claim of Sino-Russian authority over the entire region could not be restricted.

10. **Concluding Observations**

Internal strength of many states in this regions; and the continuance of stable freedom in South Asia can lead to a firm universal diplomatic order. Present atomic ability of China has greatly altered the premise of this region, from the power of both the blocs, giving it more firm foundation.

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The rise of different effective institutions like Maphilindo, ASIA, and Asian Council in South Asia is important in view of expected Indo-China war and for the growth of regional order. Development achieved by ASEAN is a model of successful cooperation in South Asia. ASEAN initiatives towards adding to regional peace and stability are the objectives that ASEAN member nations have set for themselves of a zone of neutral freedom and peace in South Asia. Militant defeat of America in Vietnam produced deep impact on South Asia subordinate system. It showed the incapacity of a major nation to contain the consequences of an indigenous contest inside a weak South Asia State. United States efforts in China, Korea, and Indo-China were exposed and defeated. Before World War Japan was an influential element in the political affairs of South Asia there are different indications of revived Japanese influence in the system.

Both the blocks are attracted to penetrate in this region because in South Asia economy is low, political order is unstable, military is weak in comparison to super powers.


77. Reference Paper, Foreign Affairs, Australian Information Service, Australia Government can be publishing services, 1976.
and in social circle-their are domestic disagreements, disputes among different religions, sects and clans. Naturally, to be competent to manage its own internal problems, and face external penetration and play an important part in universal regional system, states of South Asia need social, economic, military and political development. Today security is advancement and not military machinery.