Chapter I

Introduction

Today energy politics is a timely, provocative, and pioneering exploration of an increasingly important topic in globalization era. Energy is critical component of economic growth, which is the ability and strengthens to do active physical things and the feeling that you are full of physical power and life. But energy resources are located in certain areas of the world. Most of the countries are utilizing some common reserves (Persian Gulf region, West Africa and Central Asia) for meeting their energy demands because three main regions are responsible for 80% oil and gas trade. So it has been always in dangerous hand of power politics. Energy politics is not simple issue of supply and demand. Energy politics can easily understand behind the major tensions of the world- first and Second World War, two wars of Persian Gulf region or present tensions over Iran and Ukraine. Present oil price politics is the result of misunderstanding among 12 members of OPEC. One side Iran and Venezuela want to cut in crude oil supply for checking decreasing price but other side Saudi Arabia and Kuwait are ignoring their concern. It seems that the US and the west are playing power politics behind this because low oil price will help to weak oil based economies like Iran and Russia. Low price will help to check Iran on nuclear issue as well as Russia on Ukraine issue.
because weak economy cannot afford economic restrictions and pull out struggle with the west.

South Asia, which is second fastest growing region in the world after East Asia and Pacific; is facing critical shortage of supply demand. Due to lacks of commercial energy resources, this makes obligatory to compete for energy supply, for where it comes. South Asia is home of near about one fourth of the world's population, has experienced a long period of fast economic growth, average 6% over the past two decades; is the second fastest growing region in the world after East Asia and Pacific with 6-7% GDP growth. South Asia is a problematic area in context of primary energy resources which makes obligatory to depend on import from abroad. According a estimate of 2006 South Asia accounts for nearly 4% of total global commercial energy consumption but contain only 0.5% of oil reserve (6.2 billion barrel), less than 1% of gas reserves (81.3 trillion cubic foot) and merely 15% coal reserves of world total. As like variations of population, area, economy etc., there are also variations in energy consumption among regional countries. Bangladesh and Pakistan is dominated by natural gas, Sri Lanka and the Maldives are dominated by petroleum, Bhutan and Nepal are dominated by hydroelectric and India by coal. South Asian countries are heavy depending on imported commercial crude oil and petroleum. Commercial energy consumption imports circle is 25% in context of Bhutan to 100% of Maldives. This region is importing about 19.4% of total...
commercial energy import of the world. Lack of proper access towards commercial energy resources and high price of petroleum are main challenge for economic development of the region.

South Asia region is called India centric region because India is the largest country in the region in term of economy, population and as well as military power. So, smaller South Asian nations are always engulfed in misperception of big brother syndrome. It has become the curse of the region that one country's internal problem tend to become the external problem of other, which opens the gate for extra-territorial power to play the power balancing game. Geographic location, China-US strategy to encircle each other and India China competition are main factors of external influence in energy politics of South Asia.

South Asia lies on the junction among South East Asia, Middle East and Central Asia. As thus, this region is under the boundary of main energy and trade transportation route. So, this region is always in the clasp of the notorious balance of power game. Emerging China, slowly and slowly is proved a main challenge of American interest, American strategy seems to promote India a great military and economic power ‘as balancer’ against China in Indian Ocean. As promoting to India its junior partner in India Ocean, America signed 123 agreement (2008) which provided not only the legal frame work for critical technology of military equipment but appease Indian energy demand. America has adopted reality that India, not Pakistan
can protect its interest in future in South Asian region. India has also inherent fear toward Sino-Pak intimate relation and China’s 'string pearls policy' to encircle India. China continue, is adopting the policy of arms supply to India’s neighbors and provide economic support through its ‘cheque book’ policy, to counter Indian influence in the region, which are creating unfavorable condition for Indian interest. Through its string pearls policy China is setting up a series of port along the Indian Ocean’s northern seaboard with the help of friendly nations. In this regard China is building the Gwadar port in Pakistan, Hambantota in Sri Lanks, Chittagang in Bangladesh and navy base announced in the Seychelles in December 2011. In such steps of China, it is only fear of cutting the energy supply during the time of rising tension or actual war with India or US. But these steps has flamed Indian fear that China is encircling India not only land but also around the sea.

For better response to Chinese encirclement, India wants to close ties with America which is based mutual benefit. India is developing Chhabahar port of Iran, not only counter China’s strategy of developing Gwadar port in Pakistan but as for direct contract with Afghanistan and Central Asia without touching Pakistan’s territory. India is trying to develop close strategic relationship with Afghanistan and Vietnam to counter China’s strategy of encirclement. India’s ‘look east policy’ has silence significant role of
balancing China’s ‘string pearls policy’. Today, it is not only Japan but India also seems to welcome the U.S. in Indian Ocean.

In such power balancing scenario, all the external option for energy supply for South Asia seems to affect from this. At first, we take most controversial option nuclear energy. As we known nuclear fuel supply is controlled by NSG’s tight observation and without any major power or NSG support it is not possible, which is matter of power politics. Nuclear energy is responsible for less than 2% in total South Asian energy consumption, but it has played a crucial role in political suspicion and arms race and finally cause of nuclearisation of the region. Nuclear energy has carried by India and Pakistan for peaceful power generation and other creative aim. But security concern, due to external power involvement, has force to India to dilute its nuclear policy in 1960s.

After Soviet Union’s intervention in Afghanistan in 1979, Pakistan emerged front line state for the US and west regime, which encourage Pakistan not only to Islamize its army but also speed up its nuclear weapon programme with the help of China. Symington restriction, removed even the well knowing the Chinese critical nuclear technology transfer to Pakistan. Meanwhile, China signed a formal nuclear co-operation agreement with Pakistan in 1986. Finally India and Pakistan both have declared as nuclear weapon state in 1998.
Nuclear energy politics begins in 21st century with the notions of the ‘US-India entente as a natural friendship’ and ‘China-Pak all weather friendship’. Clinton visit to India in 2000 and Mushrraf’s visit to China in 2001, proved milestone in this power balancing game. The Indo-US 123 Agreement, 2008, probably seems to be the immediate counter reaction by the US to Chinese offer of eight nuclear reactors to Pakistan within ten year. This agreement, no doubt will improve of energy security of India but there is possibility of nuclear rivalry between India and Pakistan (disguise of China also). China may create another nuclear state in the region. We have seen that China provided four new atomic reactors to Pakistan in 2008, in spite of international objection. China argued that the reactor sales agreement with Pakistan based on the agreement of 1986, when China was not member of NSG, so rules and regulations of it could not apply on past agreements. China also favored Pakistan’s ambition that Pakistan also given NSG exemption like India to fulfill its growing energy demand. China has already signed a peaceful usage of nuclear energy agreement with Bangladesh in 2005 and its close relation with Myanmar and Bangladesh, is creating apprehension of nuclear proliferation. Thus, China-US rivalry seems to main hurdle to use the peaceful nuclear energy.

Much of the South Asian crude oil comes from Middle East and gas from Central Asia. These oil and gas bearing regions have been pertaining always in net of energy imperialism. We can see Russian hegemony in
Central Asia and the US hegemony in the Middle East. In such case, South Asian oil and gas supply has to meet these political complexities. The US is continuing pressuring the South Asian nations to cut the supply from Iran due to its attempt to isolate Iran. The US is opposing Iran- Pakistan-India (IPI) gas pipeline due to Iranian nuclear issue. American pressure seems to be a main reason of hesitation to India toward IPI. Although, Pakistan has signed a government guarantee agreement for Iran-Pakistan gas pipeline on 13 June 2010 for 25 years which will provide 750 cubic feet of gas per day to Pakistan and operate till 2014. Pakistan has clearly refused international pressure (especially the US), is sake of addressing its energy crisis. It is easy task to Pakistan to avoid the US warning but it is difficult for India. As thus, IPI was opposed by Pakistan in early stage due to long term benefit to India and later on it nettled in global energy politics.

$7.6 billion and1680 km long Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India (TAPI) gas pipeline is another multilateral adventure. India, Pakistan, Afghanistan and Turkmenistan inked the historical gas sale purchase agreement (GSPA) signed on 23 May 2012, which will become operational by 2018. But as like IPI, TAPI also nettled initially India- Pakistan suspicion on the issue if security and tariff revenue. But it was pushed by support of World Bank and the US. Today TAPI has gotten final touch in May, 2012. If this pipeline success, it will prove a triumph of multilateral and regional adventure of South Asia, which may transform the energy politics in South
Asia. The TAPI agreement will provide 90 million metric standard cubic meters gas per day (mmscmd) towards region for long period of 30 year. China has already built gas pipeline from Turkmenistan and largest importer of Turkmen gas. This pipeline has great security concern because it will run through instable regions of Afghanistan and Pakistan and also some suspicion about supplying capacity of Turkmenistan.

Myanmar and South East Asia are another option for energy supply towards South Asia but China’s influence and mutual misunderstanding seems to root out the effort of these nations. Bangladesh is bargaining with India for exchange of pipeline through its territory. Bangladesh wants many advantages for it, like reduce trade deficit, a corridor facility for Nepal’s goods towards Bangladesh sea port and wants to share of hydro-power which is generated in Bhutan.

Coal and hydro-power are two main sources of domestic energy resources in South Asia. India is the third largest producer of coal in the world, but political suspicion is main hurdle to proper use of cheap option in spite of costly import from abroad.

It is nature’s boon for the region, which is situated in lap of the Himalayan-Hindkush region. It is the source of three main Himalayan river systems Indus, Brahmaputra and Ganga which provides the opportunity for some largest hydro-power plant of the world. Some studies say South Asia region can developed only its 9-10% hydropower capacity.
In spite of legal framework of Indus water treaty (1960), India and Pakistan continue irritated on water resources. So, main dam projects in Kashmir region have been disputed for a long time. Baglihar, Salal, Kishan Ganga, Uri, Nimubajgo, etc. hydro-power project have been opposing by Pakistan time to time. In most of cases, Pakistan believes it has been the victim of Indian strong arm tactics. India is also opposing Pakistan’s Bunji, Basha and Neelam-Jhelum project. Indian oppose is basically on Chinese involvement in these projects and construction in Pak occupied Kashmir, which is legally part of India.

India and Bangladesh also have been quarrelling over water for a long period due to absence of any legal from work. They share the Ganga water according to adhoc agreement of thirty years signed in 1996. Bangladesh is opposing Gazoldobo Barrage (Tista river, West Bengal) and Tipaimukh Dam (Feni river, Tripura); Bangladesh wants to bargain Tista agreement with Feni.

The largest possibility of hydro-power lies in Nepal and Bhutan, which are nearly closed to India in context of economic and political relation. Both countries are totally depending on India to import it petroleum need due to landlocked nature. Approximately Nepal has 83000 MW total hydro-power capacities, in which 42000 MW is economically and technically feasible. Only 600 MW potential has developed, which is less than 2% out of 42000 MW. Understanding its importance India and Nepal
have been trying to develop hydro-power for a long time. In this regard both countries have signed the legal frame work of Koshi (1954), Gandak (1959) and Mahakali(1996) agreements ;for water sharing and management of transbounary rivers. But mostly, agreements are propagandized as Indian cheating in instable political situation in Nepal.

Since, India and Bhutan have well political understanding and there is no serious dispute, which provides the opportunity to both countries to response positively for mutual interest. As like Nepal, Bhutan also has huge potential for hydro-power Bhutan has total capacity of 30000 MW hydro-power generations in which around 24000 MW technically and economically feasible.Total of 24000 MW, only 1450 MW hydro-power has developed which is around only 5% of total. India imports near about 1400 MW hydro electricity from Bhutan. Tala, Chukha and Kurichhu are main project of Bhutan for exporting hydro-power to India. India has already committed in December 2009, to purchase at least 10000 MW hydropower by the year 2020. Thus, India- Bhutan co-operation on domestic resources, is clearly expressed the conclusion that political consensus can undermine the emerging dispute in energy co-operation like selling price, submersion of land and profit sharing etc.

Afghanistan, which is new member of SAARC, may play a major role in South Asian energy politics. America and NATO has announced to quit Afghanistan till 2014, in such condition political stability of Afghanistan
will determine the future of TAPI or any pipeline project from Central Asia. Sri Lanka’s welcome to China in Indian Ocean has created new complexities in India-Sri Lanka bilateral relation. India seems to suspect Sri Lanka as part of encirclement policy of China to counter India. Chinese step in Indian Ocean will flame military and strategic competition which will prove threat not only for security but also for energy politics.

1.1 Defining the Problem

Energy Politics is much more than supply and demand but it covers diplomacy, bilateral relation, military and political support and power balancing game. Economically poor countries such as South Asian nations, which are vulnerable condition in context of commercial energy resources, heavily influenced by price rising, subsidy, energy infrastructure, transport security, strategic reserves and new technology. Energy Politics of South Asia as a whole but the diverse sources of changing environment at few questions need to be addressed as research problem in study of politics of energy in South Asia in the age of globalization such as:

1. What are the growing imperial tendencies among dominants power in the age of globalization.

2. How the politics of energy in South Asia is going on in the changing global economic world order and how it can understand?
3. What impacts of energy imperialism on the politico- strategic scenario of South Asia?

4. How much energy supply of South Asian region is influenced by global power politics and regional power politics?

5. Why South Asian countries are not utilizing their common energy resources properly?

6. What are the challenges and possibility of energy cooperation?

1.2 Defining the Scope and Region

Although the energy politics has become a worldwide burning issue, which is full of many complexities. Therefore we do not want to propose to discuss each and every variable of energy politics. Though the brief mention can not be avoided for drawing a better analysis, rather focus area will be priority the changing dimension of energy politics in context of major power regarding South Asian region. Research is focused on commercial resources of energy mainly fossil fuel, which is responsible of 79% energy consumption of South Asia. But non-traditional resources like nuclear energy or renewable energy sources are not ignore. Energy politics of bilateral and multilateral are better discussed rather than unilateral analysis.

The region South Asia is used as such geographically locates for countries lying South of Himalays and Hindkush Mountain which is
surrounded by the Indian Ocean from three sides. The term South Asia is used for eight members of SAARC (South Asia Association for Regional Co-operation)-India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan, Sri Lanka, Maldives and Afghanistan.

1.3 Defining the Task

It needs to point out that the thesis has been written on the premise that after the end of cold war energy imperialism has been growing worldwide. India has become natural strategic ally of the United States and South Asia has a major role in energy politics due to rapid economic growth. South Asia is geographically an Indo-centric region so any steps for energy security for the region cannot work successfully without India's significant role. Therefore all discussion in different chapters of thesis accepts India's point of view as an important variable. As the fulcrum of the South Asian region, India is central to region or abroad energy cooperation. I have tried to probe with the best of my knowledge and capability discuss the challenges and possibilities for energy co-operation in South Asia region in changing pattern of global energy politics. In this process, I have made a modest attempt at the systematic and intellectual analysis of carefully verified observations of many prominent scholars of relevant topic for research purpose.

1.4 Dividing the Task
The research problem has been investigated along with following subdivisions:

1. Introduction

2. Energy imperialism and politico-strategic scenario in South Asia: An Overview

3. Energy politics between India and its major neighbours with special reference to Pakistan and Bangladesh.


5. Search for energy security in South Asia in the age of globalization: Challenges and prospects.

6. Conclusion

The writing of this thesis has been attempted while keeping basic paradigm in mind that energy cooperation is vital for the region in context of the precondition of development peace and better easy life styles which protect from poverty and easy access of all people of the region. Therefore energy multilateralism must be promoted because unilaterally it cannot achieve properly.

A brief outline of the chapters of thesis has been given here-in-after.
In the first chapter of the thesis an attempt has been made of look into the introduction of South Asian energy politics, which find out the cause why these countries struggling for energy security and what are the challenges before them? It also analyses major power’s interests in Indian Ocean and how much it affect regional energy politics.

The second chapter of this thesis discusses the imperial tendency of globalization and dominant power. It also discusses the issue of energy politics that it is much more than supply and demand. Democratic states ignore and even violet the democratic norms during their energy policy making. Arms supply, economic and political support, technology transfer, petroleum prices and energy route and many issues are influencing not only supply region but it also influence those countries which are importing the energy resources. South Asian nations are also netted in these puzzles for importing abroad energy resources as well as domestic level. It also explains the external power role in regional energy politics. It also highlights the US policy towards India and China towards Pakistan.

The third chapter of thesis is devoted to the study energy politics between India and its major neighbours with special reference to Pakistan and Bangladesh. Bilateral political mistrust among these three major countries is snatching the transnational proposals for gas like IPI, IMB as well as flaming the dispute over water sharing and establishing regional energy greed.
The fourth chapter of the thesis discusses about energy politics between India and its neighbours: Nepal, Bhutan and Sri Lanka. China's increasing influence in Nepal, and Sri Lanka is not only threatening India's security but also play important role in energy co-operation among these nations. Nepal has huge hydro-power capacity but its political instability and anti-India lobby are always seems a hurdle to energy security for Nepal and India. Political milieu between India and Bhutan gives it boom for developing hydro-electricity between Bhutan and India with mutual benefit.

The fifth chapter of the thesis is devoted to different option for energy security of South Asia. It explains the challenges and prospects of every major option and also discusses country wise analysis for searching energy security. It also highlights the importance of energy multilateralism.

The six and last chapter of thesis concluded the energy politics of South Asia that South Asian countries have to co-operate in energy sector due to lacks of resources, but their effort have been heavily influenced by geopolitics, historical experiences, big-small country syndrome, failure in understanding mutual sensitivities and external influence. Due to political suspension and rivalry, they are neither seems to co-operate well at common domestic resources nor co-operate at different option for abroad supply. It also gives few well research recommendations regarding the ways and
means for promoting energy co-operation and stability for energy security in South Asia.

1.5 Methodology

To pursue the objectives of this research, historical, descriptive and analytical methodology has been used. It is an attempt of energy politics in context of South Asian countries, which is an empirical inquiry under research strategy in totality, intended to investigate a contemporary phenomenon by using multiple source of evidence of primary and secondary resources.

The method historical applied to obtain discussing political rivalry and mistrust with historical expiries, which is continue determining relation of countries of region and it also used in discussing in imperial tendency of dominant power to exercise their hegemony in energy resources riches areas. Descriptive method is used in discussing different treaties and general diplomatic relation of countries. Analytical method has been used to analyze impact of regional countries as well as external power for achieving their goals in global context, which brings a new dimension in South Asian energy politics.

1.6 Review of the Literature

During my research work, I have extensively drawn from and depended on the following books and articles:

This book is an excellent effort to discussing South Asian energy politics and energy co-operation scenario. Book provides country wise analysis of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal and Bhutan and shows India's commercial energy consumption heavily depend on coal and Pakistan and Bangladesh on natural gas. Nepal and Bhutan use mostly hydro power and combustible biomass. Nuclear energy is being developed only in India and Pakistan, not seems to economically feasible for energy security as well as renewable energy. In addition to domestic reforms, bilateral and multilateral cooperation in needed but there is a history of lost opportunity due to political rivalry and mistrust. Iran-Pakistan- India natural gas pipelines are limbo due to internal and external politics. Book also provides an executive summery in the form of policy prescriptions. Although book talks about energy and security in South Asia but Afghanistan, Maldives and Sri Lanka are totally ignored.

• Marie Lall (ed.), *The Geopolitics of Energy in South Asia* (Institute of South East Asian Studies, Singapore, 2009)

In this edited book, many scholars discuss the importance of energy security in country's foreign policy. Due to economic growth of South Asian nations has influenced their relation with neighbours especially for China, Myanmar, Iran, and Afghanistan. China as well the US wants to protect their
interest in Indian Ocean with the help of South Asian nations especially with India and Pakistan. Book provides a South Asian perspective on the geopolitics of energy, with a central focus on India and also give a brief summary how India's global and regional foreign policy making has changed in light of India's search for energy and how this is affecting the relationship on a global level between Indian and the US, as well as on a regional level between India and the other Asian nations. The book also provides view from Bangladesh and Pakistan as well as how this shifting reality is affecting relations between India and Southeast Asia. Marie Lall talks about why India move from moral non-alignment to nuclear deal with the US and Aparna Shivpuri Singh's article briefly discuss the regional integration in South Asia and energy cooperation and its opportunity and challenges. Strategic location of South Asia in Indian Ocean and interest of major power is discussed by Iftikhar A. Lodhi.


In this book author describes the colorful history of oil and explains the fundamentals of oil production. Book provides a unique and controversial perspective of oil industry because it has been marked, since its inception, by a succession of booms and busts, each one leading to the same psychological climax and flawed political decisions. Author clearly
explains the myth that oil price increase due to growing consumption and overshadowed by the threat from Islamic terrorism in oil rich Middle East. I agree with arguments of Maugeri that we are facing neither a problem of oil scarcity, nor upcoming oil blackmail by forces hostile to the West, Only bad political decisions driven by a distorted view of what our problems are, and who is to blame for them, can doom us to a gloomy oil further. It is a excellent work of author to explain to lay readers how the oil industry developed, how it works and where it is headed. Book provides a debatable argument that the world is not running out of oil- there is more than enough oil in the ground. Book is divided into two parts- first part gives an overview of the history of "black gold" and second part is about challenging the arguments of the oil, which predict a bleak future characterized by growing world demand and a declining world supply of oil and gas.


  This book tells about the truth behind attack over Iraq in 2003 by Bush administration. Some decades ago America promoted Saddam Husain and his Baath’s Party but Bush administration invaded on Iraq to protect the US interest in Middle East. Book's thrust fits well with the US strategic drive to dominate planet, using oil as key control lever.

- **Shams-Ud-Din (ed.), Geopolitics and Energy Resources in Central Asia and Caspian Sea Region**, (Lancers Books, Delhi, 2000).
This book has taken a wide range newly discovered energy resources rich region-Caspian Sea region which has been both a source of concern as well as a window for opportunities for energy politics. During the cold war era this region is under the USSR hegemony but after cold war Caspian Sea basin seems a lucrative source of attraction to the world at large. Prof. Nirmala Joshi provides depth analysis of Russian interest in the region while Prof. Girjesh Pant talks about America's Caspian oil policy. Due to land lock region, this region clearly seems Russian hegemony for transport route because Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan heavily depend an Russian territory for pipeline, which is discussed well by Prof. P.L. Dash. China's involvement and its impact on Caspian Sea energy politics is excellently described by Prof. K. Warikoo. Central Asia may provide a great opportunity for South Asian energy security especially for India, which is analyze by Sanjay Kumar Pandey.

- **Brenda Shaffer, Energy Politics (Author Pres, New Delhi, 2007).**

In his book, Shaffer has produced an essential guide to the energy politics of twenty- first century. Author argues that energy and politics are naturally linked as two sides of coin. A country's ability to acquire and use energy supplies crucially determines the state of its economy, its national security, and the quality and sustainability of its environment. One side energy exporting countries use it as a tool to promote their foreign policy goals, while major powers always try to control the resources rich region.
according to their interest. Book provides a broad range of introduction of how energy factor affects domestic and regional politics with challenges of cooperation and conflict between producers and consumers. Book concludes with examinations of how politics and energy interact in six of the world's largest producers and consumers of energy: Russia, Europe, the United States, China, Iran, and Saudi Arabia.


This book clearly depicts that economic, military and political rise of China in few decades slowly and slowly proves threat for Asian security. China is consolidating old friendship with countries like Pakistan and Bangladesh, building new, inroads with Central Asia republics and bridging differences with Southeast Asian countries through institutional arrangements, as discussed by Amitav Acharya and P. Stobdan. Book includes speeches, articles and papers of different background of statesmen, policymaker, academicians and retired diplomats. Articles of this book provide a different perspective on bilateral relationship with China. The Book argues that China is facing difficulty to carry together the major power in context of Asian security. Although Russia- China relationship is emerging very cordial but such entente can not be guaranteed in future because both has common border and also have conflictual history. China's relation with Japan and India is also more problematic. In such conditions,
Michael Pillsbury and Harry Harding analyze that it seems the biggest challenge for China to manage their relation with major countries in Asian security. Terrorism in China, Tibet issue, energy security and environment problems for China are also discussed in this book.


This book provides the brief analysis about security and politics tactics in Indian Ocean region. This book is based on an international seminar on topic "China and the Indian ocean region" which organized by the National Maritime Foundation, New Delhi. Book talks about the Chinese fear to protect its transport and energy route in Indian Ocean because China has fear that the US and India may block the Malacca Strait in tension period which will have adverse effect on Chinese interest. So, China is following its 'string pearls policy' with help of friendly countries- Myanmar, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, which can be threat for Indian security. Raja Menon, Mira Sinha Bhattacharjea, Mohan Guruswami, Lalit Mansingh, Satish Chandra etc. covers almost all the aspect of strategic to economic and also makes some futuristic remarks.

Adopting leftist view, Nkrumah analyses in this book as hundred years (the second half of the nineteenth century and first half of the twentieth century) of changing tendencies of imperial powers. Book argues that after Second World War, developing areas of the world like Africa region become political free but economically developing countries are governing by many MNCs and trans-national organization, which use them as source of raw material and product market. Developed countries are only propagandize the welfare scheme as war against poverty, disease, hunger and illiteracy but their actual intension behind this to use and control the resources in context of their interest. Book suggests the way to challenge such economic empire to act on Pan-African basis, through a Union of Government. In other word decision should be collective by developing countries.


This book briefly analyses the security conditions of India during last decade of cold war politics, when China and the US blindly support to Pakistan for countering USSR and India. The Book advocates clearly nuclear Policy option for India because nuclear weapons availability could protect India's security concern in such conditions.

- R.S. Yadav and Suresh Dhanda (ed.), *India's Foreign Policy: Contemporary Trends* (Shipra Publications, Delhi, 2009).
This edited book provides significant transformation in Indian foreign policy, during the last two decades due to many domestic and external determinants. Book is divided into six parts- global orders power centers, neighbourhood, regional understanding security challenges, and non-conventional affairs. Devendra Kaushik and R.S. Yadav provide theoretical understanding of the emerging world order, and also reveals about the operational dynamics of such change in the new millennium. Chintamani Mahapatra and R.S. Yadav are discussing about new aspects of interactions with global powers- the US and Russia. Roop Singh Bareth, Savita Pande, Uday Bhanu Singh, Baljit Singh, Rajendra Jain, Ashok Kumar and Suman Sharma are examined neighbours, extended neighbourhood and regions and institutions. India's security concerns in the post- nuclear status period have been evaluated by Kulwant Kaur, Rajpal Budania, Suresh Dhanda and Ajay Singh Manhas. Emerging determinants in India's foreign policy such as energy security, economic policies environmental and refugee concerns are discussing with depth by R.S. Yadav, Anand P. Mavalankar, Anand Mathur and Ram Niwas Beniwal.


In this book Mr. Singh has taken wide range analysis of India's national security from ancient times to present day and highlights how it would meet the emerging new world order and challenges it poses to
Indian's national security. Book prescribes India's relationship with the US and other powers including its neighbouring countries. Book also analyses the Chinese and the US interest in South Asia and South East Asia, which seems to check stability and peace of the region.


  This is a brilliant analysis of overall view of political and strategic issues which determines the relationship between China and its South East Asian neighbours. The Book is divided into three parts. The first part, entitled Issues, identifies the main tension areas of relation like- Tibet, Kashmir and border disputes as well as struggle for influence in Indian Ocean. The second part entitled Equations describes the bilateral relation between China and each of seven countries of South-East Asia. Third part of the book briefly analyses the policies of China and highlights the major shift in directions over the last fifty years.


  This book argues that like the weapons industry, the petroleum industry prospers on the revenue of conflict because major powers are adopting hegemonic attitude in furthering their interest in the hydro-carbon market. The book argues that by annexing oil-rich regions, the US will be
ensured of vital supplies and this is the 'rationale for the US troops in the Persian Gulf and the Central Asian region'. Due to economic growth India has to force to look for potential suppliers of energy resources from abroad. This book is premised on the pronouncement that it is in India's concern to defend its energy interest in the changing world market.


This book based on a conference on 'India's Energy Security: Foreign, Trade and Security Policy Contexts’, which are held in September 2006. The book is divided into four parts: understanding India's energy security concerns; the global context: trade and geopolitics; energy consumption and technology choices and nuclear energy for India- the debate. It discusses about India's energy security with its connection to poverty, economic development, and local and global environmental concern. India's energy import is facing geopolitical issue, market related interventions and hostile relation it neighbouring relation in context of active regional energy co-operation. The book dismisses nuclear energy significance in India's energy security on the basis of high cost and security and safety challenges.

This book presents the Baloch separatist insurgency as not only internal security of Pakistan but it seems insecurity in context of energy also. This province has coal and gas reserves as well as it has strategic location also because it embracing parts of South, Central and Southwest Asia. Without solving or managing Baloch problem, Pakistan cannot success to any pipeline from Central Asia or West Asia.

▪ **Ahmed Rashid, *Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil and Fundamentalism in Central Asia* (Yale University Press, the US, 2001).**

This monograph examines the Taliban's rise to power, its impact on Afghanistan and the Middle East and Central Asia, its role in oil and gas company decisions, and effects of changing American attitude towards Taliban. It also explains how the Taliban helped Al-Qaeda’s spread into Europe, North Africa, the Middle East, and the Far East. It also describes the new face of Islamic fundamentalism and explains why Afghanistan has become the world center for international terrorism.


In this book Keohane presents cold war politics and the US hegemony on world politics. According to him regimes were important in cold war era because regimes are made up of principles, norms, rules, and decision-making procedures. Behind any co-operation or conflict hegemon state has
some interest and all other states of regime act as subordinate. Perhaps cooperation is more positive term for what otherwise might fall into coercion the latent power of the hegemon acting as a shadow over diplomacy. The book is based on such assumption of valuation that all states of world are not equal due to follow the principle what may be gain for one may be valued as a loss by another.

**Kanti Bajpai, Saira Basit, V.Krishnappa (ed.), India's Grand Strategy: History, Theory, Cases (Routledge, New Delhi, 2014).**

This book is joint adventure of Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (Delhi) and Institute for Defence Studies (Oslo). It includes Indian history, modern ideological roots of India's grand strategy and the practice of India's grand strategy in selected areas of world politics. Almost essay of the book adopts historical background where new concept is difficult but its second part is important which unfolds understandings on 'Grand strategy in Modern India'. Last seven articles of this part describes India’s grand strategy with regard to, what has been the called, the core interests and vital peripheries- Pakistan, China, and the US, being categorized in the first segment, and Afghanistan, Iran, Israel and Africa in the second. Ali Ahmed contends that India's recent assertive postures towards Pakistan have been counter-productive driving Islamabad towards a sub-conventional proxy war. Tanvi Madan discusses the conflict and cooperation and geostrategic encompassing efforts of China to India.

This monograph examines that how the government makes balance between interest of the country's largest private company and national interest. It also examines the impact at high pricing of natural gas on Indian economy. Discussing Krishna- Godavari Basin issue as case study it says that sometimes Indian government prefers corporate interest than consumer interest.


This book is an excellent work for understanding South Asian conflict and possibilities of co-operation. It takes India as centre of region. So, book is written in bilateral mode with India as a constant party of each bilateral framework such as India- Bangladesh, India- Pakistan, India- Nepal etc. One of the major premises on which the author has proceeded to work is that "the mutual rapport among the ruling elites of a given region is an essential ingredient of regional co-operation. This rapport springs from shared sense of insecurity either internal of external or both. In the case of South Asia, this element is conspicuously absent" Thus region is engulf a big brother syndrome in context of India. Author also explains external power influence in South Asian conflict.
This edited book describes briefly for emerging importance of South Asia in world politics. Emerging Indian economy and inherent interest of major powers have made its attention among academic discussion since few decades. This first-rate symposium of scholars and former government officials goes for toward filling the gap by focusing on the international relation (and domestic developments, where relevant) of the South Asian states. Although the clashes over Kashmir and the war of 1971 that produced Bangladesh are duly analyzed, the authors also give significant attention to the politics of Afghanistan, Nepal Bhutan and to the sea states of Sri Lanka and Maldives. The initial chapters begin by surveying the foreign policies of individual states and are followed by examinations of specific areas, including nuclear development, ethnic conflict, region and politics, democratization and the effect of globalization and economic liberalization.

On the whole, this book provides different aspects and approaches of international politics in the post cold war era. Its theoretical exposition of fundamental subject of international politics like liberalism, realism, neo-liberalism, neo-realism, diplomacy, globalization, Marxist approach,
terrorism, environmental politics and WTO diplomacy, is nowhere to be found than here from the point of view of the student of general needs of the student of the subject.


This article examines the key characteristics underlying China's policy and perceptions about South Asia ad survey China's relation with South Asian countries in the 1990s and beyond. Author analyses that how China adopted inherent anti India policy for consolidating Indian neighbors to check India’s influence in the region. Article briefly discusses why China's entente cordite with Pakistan continues to flourish, underpinned by nuclear and missile co-operation. China has fear that India is playing power balancing tactics to counter its influence in Indian Ocean and South China Sea. Author concludes that Sino-Indian rivalry in Southern Asia and the northern Indian Ocean may be a dominant feature of future Asian geopolitics.


This article is excellent work on strategic view of energy because it explains that energy supply is much more than supply and demand. It argues that big strategic issues are not high prices at home but political effects
abroad: which countries will be the big winners and which the big losers, what challenges both winners and losers will pose for international security and global welfare, and the implications of changes in the global oil and gas markets, especially the control of resources by national oil companies.


Due to rapid economic growth, India has to force scramble for energy supply from abroad, where international politics makes it difficult because major, producing and exporting countries are using energy as a tool for blackmailing and enhance their influence in world politics. India is diversifying its import, trying economic reforms and aimed diversification of sources of energy. India is trying to equity stakes in oil field in Syria, Iran, Vietnam, Russia, Myanmar, Angola, Libya, Sudan and Iraq and trying to invest in LNG sector in Oman and Iran. India also continues negotiate with Bangladesh, Pakistan, and Iran for direct supply pipelines. Article examines why Indian attempts seem to fail or what is the main hurdle? According the article interests of MNCs, the policies of the west and the political fluctuations in Sudan, Myanmar, hostile relation with neighbouring countries and competition with China, are main hurdles for checking India's energy security.

In addition to the above, I have heavily depend on the various issues of China Report, South Asian Survey, Survival, Economic and Political
Chapter -I Introduction

Weekly, World Focus, Mainstream, India Quarterly, IDSA, South Asia Analysis Group papers, The Hindu, The Times of India, The Indian Express and South Asian Politics.

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