An Analysis of The Regional Security of South Asia in Post 9/11 Period: Regional Security Complex Theory Approach

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Submitted to the
Institute of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts
in
International Relations

Eastern Mediterranean University
September 2015
Gazimağusa, North Cyprus

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ABSTRACT

This thesis aims to analyze the research question, "How has the regional security been affected in South Asia in post 9/11 period?" by testing the hypothesis that "Has the U.S. led global war on terror improved the regional security or has it turned South Asia into a more vulnerable region?" In order to answer our research question and test the hypothesis, I will try to address this question by drawing on a theoretical framework referred as Regional Security Complex Theory (RSCT) that is widely used, especially in the Regional Security literature. The central idea in RSCT is that, since most threats travel more easily over short distances than over long ones, security interdependence is normally patterned into regionally based clusters: security complexes. The topic requires to be studied because founders of the theory had used RSCT on South Asia on Post Cold War context, but there has been no update study of this theory on post 9/11 periods. Also I incorporated empirical evidences to test the results of hypothesis. I will employ a historically informed process tracing method, where I will collect information based on primary sources as the Conflict Barometer developed by The Heidelberg Institute for International Conflict Research (HIIK), declarations, interviews published on newspapers and various secondary data. Thus, this thesis will contribute to enrich the literature of International Relations on South Asian security studies at a time when the focus on South Asian security is not enough compared to its central position at current global security concerns.

Keywords: South Asia, security, Regional Security Complex Theory, Terrorism

ÖZ

Bu tez, bölgesel güvenliğin 9 Eylül saldırıları sonrasında Güney Asya'yı nasıl etkilediğini, "Amerika Birleşik Devletleri destekli küresel savaşın bölgesel güvenliği geliştirdiği mi" yoksa "söz konusu savaşın Güney Asya'yı daha kırılgan bir bölgeye dönüştürdüğü mü" hipotezini test ederek analiz etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Hipotezi test etmek ve sorunsalımıza yanıt bulmak için, özellikle bölgesel güvenlik literatüründe sıklıkla kullanılan Bölgesel Güvenlik Kompleks Teorisi'ni referans alan bir teorik çerçeve çizerek bu sorunsalı açıklamaya çalışacağım. BGKT'de temel düşünce, çoğu tehditin uzun mesafeden ziyade kısa mesafelere daha kolay sirayet ettiğinden, karşılıklı güvenlik bağlılığında bölgesel olarak kümelerin yani *güvenlik komplekslerinin* model alınmasıdır. Teorinin kurucuları Soğuk savaş kavramı sonrası Güney Asya'da BGKT'yi kullanmıştır fakat 9 Eylül saldırılarından sonra bu teori üzerine bir güncelleme yapılmadığından konunun tekrardan çalışılması ihtiyacı doğmuştur. Buna ilaveten hipotezin sonuçlarını test etmek için ampirik verileri de ekledim. Deklarasyonlar, gazetelerde yayınlanan röportajlar, çeşitli ikinci el verileri ile Heidelberg Enstitüsü Uluslararası Çatışma Merkezi tarafından geliştirilen Çatışma barometreleri gibi temel kaynaklara dayanarak toplayacağım bilgileri tarihsel bir yol izleyerek ele alacağım. Dolayısıyla bu tez, Güney Asya'daki güvenlik odağının güncel küresel güvenlik meselelerinde kendi merkez pozisyonunun yeteri kadar karşılaştırılmadığı bir zamanda Güney Asya güvenlik çalışmaları üzerine uluslararası ilişkiler literatürünün zenginleşmesine katkıda bulunacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Güney Asya, güvenlik, BGKT, Terörizm

To My Family

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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9/11   Terrorist attack on the U.S. establishments on September 9, 2001

RSCT   Regional Security Complex Theory

RSC   Regional Security Complex

CHT   Chittagong Hill Tracts

SAARC   South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation

ISIS   Islamic State of Iraq and Syria

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

This thesis aims to analyze the research question; "How has the regional security of South Asia been affected in the post 9/11 period?". It does this by testing the following hypothesis: "Has the U.S. led global war on terror improved the regional security of South Asia or has it turned South Asia into a more vulnerable region?"

In order to answer the research question and test the hypothesis, one has to begin by defining security. The renowned security experts Barry Buzan and Gauhar Rizvi define it as follows: "Security is a relational phenomenon. It involves not only the capabilities, desires and fears of individual states, but also the capabilities, desires and fears of the other state with which they interact."[1] Although security holds distinct importance as it has distinguished fields of scholarship, I opt to view and explain this phenomenon in a political context because security concerns often arise and are expected to be solved via political means and by political actors. Modern states are governed and maintained by rules set and developed through and by political forces. In order to identify and recognize the security perceptions and issues of a state, it is necessary to look at the political order, as well as the statements and policies taken by the governments in the area concerned. Keeping in mind that governments are political entities, we also need to look at the political dimension of

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[1] Buzan, B, & Rizvi, G. (1986). *South Asian Insecurity and the Great Powers*, Palgrave Macmillan.

the state in concern. Similarly, it is necessary to understand the political dimensions of the region in which this state is found in order to get a complete understanding of the regional security issues.

The event of multiple terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001 in the United States left its mark on the contemporary global security phenomenon. The current world absorbed very deep effects of the 9/11 event on almost every sector of life From Hollywood to global finance, from politics to communication sectors, everything has the mark of the 9/11 terrorist attacks. Brian analyzes the formation of narratives that posit that 9/11 is an event comparable to the Pearl Harbor attack during the Second World War, which continues to rule our lives from the day of its occurrence.[2] Hilal argued that the event of 9/11 transformed the lifestyle, particularly of Muslims' lives in the west.[3] The book "Game Changer: The Impact of 9/11 on North American Security" discussed in detail the effects of 9/11 on North America and explained how the policies in that region shifted upside down after 9/11.[4] Shiner discusses the impact of 9/11 on the design and agenda of the U.S. and Great Britain and a subsequent regime change in Iraq. Moreover, he notes the displacement of human rights on three themes namely jurisdiction, attributability and applicable law, incorporating for instance Guantanamo Bay and the transformation of international human rights in post 9/11.[5] However, Nausheen Wasi persuasively argues that 9/11

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[2] Connor, B. T. (2012). 9/11 – A new pearl harbor? Analogies, narratives, and meanings of 9/11 in civil society. *Cultural Sociology*, 3-25.

[3] Elver, H. (2012). Racializing Islam before and after 9/11: From melting pot to islamophobia. *Transnational Law & Contemporary Problems*, 21 (1), 119.

[4] James, J. P. (2014). *Game changer: The impact of 9/11 on North American security*. Vancouver: University of Washington Press.

[5] Shiner, P. (2009). International human rights post 9/11. *Judicial Review*, 14 (2),

didn't change the global security system; instead it was an event that defined the emerging global security environment in post cold war period.[6]

Nausheen's argument is justifiable because threats of terrorist attacks from Al Qaeda and other non-state actors were not unprecedented for the United States as they had always been a target of Al Qaeda attacks outside U.S. soil since the early 90's. But such threats never influenced the U.S. foreign policy the way it did after 9/11. The fight against terrorism became a cornerstone of U.S. domestic and foreign policy after the 9/11.[7] The United States' ability to influence the world as a super power therefore brought terrorism to the forefront and this started and still dominates the global security agenda in an unprecedented manner.

So, 9/11 is neither a beginning nor the end of any distinct global security concern. Perhaps, 9/11 is an event that defined the global security concern, which was building slowly since the end of Second World War. The reason of taking Second World War into consideration as the starting point is that, this is the period while the issues like Israel- Palestine, Kashmir and other issues came into the forefront of interest and policy making of the modern Arab states and caused many of the jihadi campaign globally. All these issues come into forefront in the aftermath of Second World War. However, with the fall of Soviet Union, this rivalry between West and Jihadi groups took the central position of global security concerns. 9/11 was the

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[6] Wasi, N. (2003). Global Security Environment after 9/11: Implications for South Asia. *Pakistan Institute of International Affairs*, 35-48.

[7] Gupta, D. K. (2012). The World After 9/11 What Have We Learned. *India Quarterly: A Journal of International Affairs*, 1-16.

event which gave the official authorization to this animosity turned into war with the beginning of Global war on terror campaign.

Moreover such connection of Islamic ideology based terrorism with the hard security issue for modern secular states seems to have much deeper concerns in the South Asian context because; religion is one of the top few dominant social factors of South Asian politics in general. Thus, this thesis will attempt to understand the dominant security concerns of South Asian religious extremism in light of the socio political role of religion in that region.

1.1 The hypothesis

This thesis will test one hypothesis, which will be tested in order to answer the main question of the thesis: How has the regional security of South Asia been affected in the post 9/11 periods? The hypothesis will be focused on the U.S. invasion of Afghanistan that began the global war on terror campaign as the independent variable of the thesis which is relative to the regional security as the dependent variable.

What I mean by this is that: the reason that brought the U.S invasion to Afghanistan is the result of particular activities and concerns over Jihadi movements against the U.S. lead by terrorist organizations claimed to be motivated by fundamental religious ideas. That threated the security of the region as well as the security of the states that have a significant number of Muslim population and those who are coalition members of U.S. led global war on terrorism in the region of South Asia. The reason behind such concern is because, the rhetoric of terrorism is widely pronounced especially by the media to the extent that terrorism is somewhat synonymously

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linked to Islam. Contemporary groups that dominate the world's news bulletins are terrorist organizations such as; Al Qaeda, Boko Haram, and the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) etc. These terrorist groups claim that they follow a particular ideology of Islam to establish a transnational Muslim state (caliphate) and have vowed to fight Jihad (Holy War) against the injustices Muslims are suffering all around the world through the means of spreading terror.

Identification of Muslim population is based on the socio- political definition of social groups in South Asia. Definition of their Social identity is, the groups that primarily formed in order to practice or protect those who follow Islam as a religion. And by Politically, I meant the political parties that adhere the Islamic principals with making claims to represent Muslims as their primary goals.

This ideological identification of terrorism by the mainstream global media is part of today's global security concern and is equally important for South Asia as well because of its strength to polarize Muslim societies.

So the hypothesis is: The U.S. led global war on terror's South Asia campaign and its effect has improved the regional security of South Asia. And the null hypothesis is: The U.S. led global war on terror's South Asia campaign made South Asia into a more vulnerable region.

1.2 Methodology

This thesis will be mainly qualitative, but there will be significant empirical evidences provided where it was possible and necessary. Qualitative studies in recent years have experimented ways of new methodologies to study International

Relations. Some of these emerged well outside of the IR area, but within the social science spectrum. One of the newest inclusions is the 'Process Tracing' method. This is particularly effective to figure out causal relationships within case analysis rather than cross-case analysis. Hence, because figuring out South Asian security challenges is a within case analysis, in this research, I will employ the methodology of historical Process Tracing.

In process tracing, the researcher examines histories, archival documents, interview transcripts, and other sources to see whether the causal process a theory hypothesizes or implies in a case is in fact evident in the sequence and values of the intervening variables in that case.

The process tracing method attempts to identify the intervening causal process - the causal chain and causal mechanism - between an independent variable (or variables) and the outcome of the dependent variables.

In order to carry out the research and finding out causal relationships between the variables, the arguments will be supported by various primary and secondary sources. Along with secondary sources such as books, journal articles, newspaper reports and maps and for the data to support and test the hypothesis, I will use the conflict barometer of The Heidelberg Institute on International Conflict Research (HIIK)[8] and other primary resources on related issues.

To enhance the credibility of the claims that will be made by the further sections of this thesis, I will present quantitative data. Using data gathered by the Conflict

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[8] http://www.hiik.de

barometer[9], I will rearrange them and provide regional data sets explaining the situation in numbers of conflicts over years, issues and intensity level for each single state and also regionally. According to the new Heidelberg methodology, the HIIK understands a political conflict as a:

> Positional difference between at least two assertive and directly involved actors regarding values relevant to a society (the conflict items) which is carried out using observable and interrelated conflict measures that lie outside established regulatory procedures and threaten core state functions, the international order, or hold the prospect of doing so.[10]

Regarding the intensity of a political conflict, the HIIK distinguishes five levels according to the dynamic conflict model: Dispute with the intensity level 1, Non-violent crises with the intensity level 2, Violent crises with the intensity level 3, Limited war with the intensity level 4 and War with the intensity level 5. These levels of conflict are distinguished by the stage of physical violence applied in the course of the conflict and/or the threat thereof.[11] I will present tables, graphs and pie charts to show the conflict issues, numbers of conflicts, intensity levels of conflicts which will help us to test our hypothesis, whether the U.S. invasion of Afghanistan following 9/11 had helped the regional security to improve or made the region more prone to conflicts.

1.3 Significance of study

This research has been undertaken to find out the security challenges in South Asia, especially in the post 9/11 period using four different levels of analysis; the domestic, regional, intra-regional and global, by using the theoretical frame of founded by Barry Buzan and later developed further by Ole Waevar; Regional Security Complex Theory (RSCT). The founders of this theory previously studied

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[9] Ibid
[10] Ibid
[11] Ibid

South Asian regional security in depth in 2003.[12] When forming the RSCT, Barry Buzan in his earlier work argued that the security complex of regions are based around territorial issues,[13] although later in the same book they mentioned that non-territorial issues such as International terrorism are also of vital importance.[14] Their analysis were based on the post-cold war and the pre 9/11 period, but today, the world has gone through radical changes and what Buzan and Waevar mentioned with lesser significance, International Terrorism is of maximum priority today.

I will analyze South Asia by using the same theory, which will cover the years from 2002 till 2014. I will update this particular theory and test its application in different time periods. Also, I will revise the categorization of Afghanistan as an Insulator rather than as a member of the South Asian regional security complex until the post 9/11 periods.

There will be four major contributions to the RSCT by me.

First, While Barry Buzan and Ole Waever exclusively focused on the state level and focused on the security threats emerging from the states' policies, I argued that, in the post 9/11 period, primary security threats are coming from non-state actors such as terrorist organizations or individual terrorists followed by the threats faced at the state level, which nowadays are secondary threats. Besides this, I will explain how the current threat of terrorism has transnational characteristics via its operation at the

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[12] Barry Buzan, O. W. (2003). *Regions and Powers The Structure of International Security*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

[13] Ibid, page, 10

[14] Ibid page, 44

citizens' level. Even though I have arguments that state vs. state is not the primary security concern at the contemporary age, I didn't exclude previous arguments of RSCT. My argument is that there has been a shift of priorities for the states. In the past while South Asian states took other states as primary security threats, nowadays their primary concerns are the acts of non-state actors like terrorist organizations. Moreover, given the political order of South Asia, this threat of terrorism has potential to spread to the bilateral level among the states as well.

Secondly, I revised the insulator status of Afghanistan in the post 9/11 periods. One of the founders of this theory, Barry Buzan, didn't do this until 2013 when he wrote a revision of their previous work done in 2003.[15] I will provide arguments that posit that since 9/11 the regional structure of South Asia and Afghanistan's role and significance has developed in a way that compels us to include Afghanistan into South Asian RSC. Also, besides the issue of Afghanistan's status in the region, the previous works done on South Asia within the RSCT frame, almost the whole literature focused only on India and Pakistan. Although India and Pakistan deserve maximum concern while analyzing regional security complex especially at the regional level because these two states have the financial and military capacity to influence others while others just absorb the effects. But I incorporated analysis on the other smaller states in the region at the domestic level to give a complete picture of how the regional security complex is effecting at the ground, which was lacking in the past.

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[15] Buzan, B. (2011). The south asian security complex in a decentring world order: Reconsidering regions and powers ten years on. *International Studies* (48), 1-19.

Thirdly, I added empirical evidences to support the arguments emerged by the analysis within the frame of RSCT, in the past such empirical evidences were missing in studies of RSCT. These data usage will certainly enrich the study and help us to recognize the priority based on scientific proofs.

Finally, this thesis will be the latest study of RSCT on South Asia so this will advance and update the IR literature and enrich the security studies, as RSCT is an important corner stone in the Security Studies. This research will also have certain benefits for the policy makers to set security policies as it will offer few policy recommendations supported by scientific proofs for improving regional security. The findings and recommendations of this study will certainly be a valuable source for understanding regional security challenges and implementing policies to tackle them successfully in the future.

1.4 Thesis Overview

Within this context, chapter 2 will explain the South Asian political culture at the beginning, which will enable us to get a basic understanding about how the political condition influences, shapes and changes the perception of security issues formed during contemporary times. The latter section of the chapter will move forward by explaining the security issues within the framework of traditional and non-traditional security issues inside the regional security structure as stated by the experts. After these discussions, chapter 2 will continue by looking at the global dimension of South Asian regional security and will end by explaining the impact of the absence of regional security architecture.

Chapter 3 of this thesis will set the theoretical background by explaining RSCT by its

variables, levels of analysis and aims in detail. While the first part of the chapter will explain the theory itself, in the later part I will review the academic reception of this theory and make my point, which disagrees with the treatment of Afghanistan as an Insulator state. It is a significant part of this thesis wherein I revise the regions. Founders of RSCR divided the globe into 8 regional security complexes (RSC) namely; South America, North America, Europe, Post Soviet Union, Southern Africa, Central Africa, Middle East, South Asia and East Asian RSCs.

They kept few states out of the RSCs calling them Insulators because, those states have distinct characteristics which do not affect or neither get affected by the neighboring RSCs. Afghanistan, Turkey, Myanmar, Mongolia were few Insulator states among others. However, in my view there is a necessity to revise Afghanistan's status as an insulator in the post 9/11 period, because the Afghan situation could be no longer defined by isolation within its boundaries. Pakistan, India and other states of the South Asia region started to be affected by the Afghan internal situation. So, a revision was necessary in my opinion and I will place my arguments in the second half of chapter 3.

Chapter 4 will be the beginning of structural analysis of South Asian security issues at four different levels (domestic, regional, interregional and global levels) proposed by the RSCT founders. Chapter 4 will be the domestic level. Surprisingly, there is a significant lack of attention given to states other than India and Pakistan in previous studies analyzing South Asian security. Although India and Pakistan are the main regional actors in South Asia and their importance cannot be ignored or compared to other states, at the same time it is necessary to look at other states as well if we want to get a genuine understanding of South Asian security issues. I will analyze every

single state of the region using empirical evidence from the development of conflict patterns and by also analyzing their domestic and international security concerns. In order to have a clear understanding of the security issues, I will present empirical data in forms of tables, charts and graphs as evidence of conflict development over the years 2002-2014 at various levels of intensity and on different issues.

Chapter 5 will analyze regional security concerns at the regional level. This chapter will begin by giving a historical background of the current relationships among South Asian states. To have a clear understanding, I will divide the South Asian states into two different groups of Colonized and Non Colonized states. The historical backdrop beginning from the decolonization period till the post cold war period will pave our way to understanding the present situation of the region. In order to establish a scientific understanding, I will provide empirical data to support my claim that the regional security complex of South Asia is experiencing a rise of conflicts based on religious identity while there is decrease of conflicts based on non-religious issues. Chapter 5 will conclude by giving a predictive scenario merged with the analysis of the region's past and present developments.

Chapter 6 will also continue to follow RSCT founder's levels of analysis to the interregional level where I will look at the South Asian RSC's relationship with its neighboring RSCs, Middle East and East Asia respectively. This chapter will begin with the explanation of the points where I hold different opinions against the founders of RSCT about South Asia's relationship with Middle Eastern RSC. Later, I will explain the nature of interaction between South Asian RSC with its neighboring RSCs. Unlike the previous chapters 4 and 5, chapter 6 will not provide empirical evidences, and instead it will provide arguments to defend my claims and

disagreement with Barry Buzan's previous prediction at this level. While the founder predicted that South and East Asian RSCs will become more close and the South Asian and Middle Eastern RSCs will follow status quo of stay distant, my arguments will try to prove that in the post 9/11 period, there have been events which have potential for us to accept the establishment of a new kind of relationship among these RSCs. While the South and East Asian RSCs remained at the state level, South Asian and Middle Eastern RSCs are intensely interacting on the citizens' level coupled with the post 9/11-securitization pattern and thus becoming a primary concern for the contemporary security concerns for the South Asian RSC.

Chapter 7 will give the global level analysis of South Asian RSC. Barry Buzan mentioned and expected South Asia to remain as an independent RSC not getting affected by the global securitization till the post cold war period. My claim is that in the post 9/11 periods, the position of South Asian RSC changed drastically. This region now became the flash point of the global war on terror and also holds significant value at the global security analysis level. Not only because of its nuclear armed states of India and Pakistan and Afghanistan's inclusion to South Asian RSC, but also because of the demography of this region in this age of globalization. The first part of Chapter 7 will discuss the distinct nature of the ongoing global war on terror that is marked by actors engaged in this war. In the past we saw wars between states, however, now we are experiencing this global war between states and non-state actors like terrorist organizations or individual terrorists often using unconventional warfare and technologies like internet. Later I will discuss the newly emerging power distribution between India- China and U.S. and the impact of their actions on the region. Finally, there will be a predictive scenario of South Asian

RSC's impact at the global level.

Chapter 8 will be the concluding part of this thesis, where I will sum up the security concerns found throughout the previous chapters. In order to sum up, I will present the answer of the research question asked at the very beginning of this thesis. Also the test result of our hypothesis will be presented after analyzing that throughout chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7 at the domestic, regional, interregional and global level. Finally, there will be three policy recommendations to handle the security threats dwelling over contemporary South Asia.

Chapter 2

SOUTH ASIAN REGIONAL SETTINGS

2.1. Introduction

This chapter will discuss the expert opinions and knowledge of previous studies on the nature of South Asian political culture to understand the root cause of the regional vulnerability and strengths against the post 9/11 security concerns. Regional security challenges arising from both traditional and non-traditional security issues and Global dimension of South Asian security according to the experts will establish the links between the significance of pre and post 9/11 periods for South Asian region. This chapter will conclude by explaining the regional mechanism to enhance regional security in the South Asian region. Overall this chapter is de facto literature review of this thesis.

2.2. South Asian political culture

The postcolonial era is the moment of the establishment of modern South Asian states. Religion emerged as a powerful political force in South Asian political discourse over that period and has remained active till today. In order to answer the question, why religion has become so powerful in South Asia, Professor Ali Riaz establishes three arguments,

> First, the interplay of religion and politics in South Asia is not an aberration; rather it has long historical antecedents. Second, the abject failure of secular liberal states in South Asia to deliver developmental goods and services has delegitimized the state and ruling blocs within which religion has appeared as an ideology of the ruling class and the masses. Finally, the appeal of religious identity is a result of ontological insecurity and existential uncertainty faced by individuals

because of globalization.[16]

Another dominant factor is its Democratic pattern. Although democratic practices are relatively new and merely electoral in most of the South Asian states and have faced obstacles periodically, after the cold war, all the South Asian states adopted democratic governing systems in different years. It has been observed that South Asian democracy is overwhelmingly led by the family legacy of party leaders.[17] Absence of internal democratic practices within the parties and lack of accountability of governments seems to have played major roles behind South Asian countries scoring top at the global corruption index.[18]

Gautam Adhikary sums up South Asian domestic political patterns and democratic practices by describing the domestic political nature of some South Asian states.[19] Afghanistan is a weak state and democracy never had roots in this state's institutions. Pakistan's democracy is going through challenging stages where democracy is undermined by the overwhelming military influences and security paranoia in government. India despite having several political challenges is surviving from serious threats on its statehood by its good practice of democratic politics since its inception and is known as world's largest democracy. Bangladesh's democracy tradition faces periodical and structural troubles; nevertheless democracy is still the

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[16] Rahman, Md. Mizanur (2014) Review of "*Religion and Politics in South Asia*", by Ali Riaz (ed.), *Strategic analysis*, 2014, 119-121.

[17] Dwivedi, M. (2009). *South Asia Security*. Delhi: Kalpaz Publications.

[18] https://www.transparency.org/cpi2014/results

[19] Adhikari, G. (2004). Democratic governance in South Asia: Problems and prospects. In E. b. Wiggen, *South Asia in the World- Problem Solving Perspectives on Security, Sustainable Development, and Good Governance* (Population Studies) (p. 173). Tokyo-New York-Paris: United Nation University Pr

order of the day. Sri Lanka, Maldives, Bhutan and Nepal are practicing electoral democracy, but significantly far from reaching the status of a consolidated democracy. Except India, all other South Asian countries are certainly lagging quite behind in attaining the consolidated form of democratic governance. Having a lack of a stable political culture harmed these states in political, economic and social sectors, and resulted in poor governance thus made the states in this region generally weak. So, this must not be a surprise that in the post 9/11 period two of the world's top 10 least peaceful states and 3 of the top 10 states under terrorist threats are also in South Asia.[20]

The very fundamental nature of South Asian politics is the bitterness and mistrust among the states in the region. Rob Johnson explained that South Asian domestic and foreign issues are inseparable because they are products of past legacies influenced by internal divisions and external influences. Anything from conventional wars or regional insurgencies becomes matter of subjective calculations and perceived threats of the elites in the states.[21]

That regional mistrust and perceived threats of the elites about others affect the domestic politics in the region, which is played through blame game.[22] Political figures of one state are blaming neighboring states for domestic disturbance is very common in South Asia. Pakistan blamed India for the secession of Bangladesh in

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[20] http://www.visionofhumanity.org/#/page/contact

[21] Johnson, R. (2005). *A Region in Turmoil- South Asian Conflicts since 1947*. London, Reaktion.

[22] Mujtaba, S. A. (2005). *Soundings on South Asia*. New Delhi: Sterling Publishers Pvt. Ltd.

1971. India blames Pakistan for its domestic terrorism. Bangladesh and Sri Lanka blamed India for their domestic insurgencies. India blames Bangladesh for illegal migration into northeast India. Having cross-border ethnic groups, religious links and a bitter recent history of communal riot, sectorial violence and inter-state wars these blames easily gain trust and regiment the population under the political propaganda. This practice of the blame game certainly increases mistrust and lack of confidence between the South Asian states, and has eventually resulted in increased insecurity over the region as a whole. Such interstate pattern reflects on the intrastate level as well. Rehman Sobhan stated that governments within the region find it useful for domestic political gains to perpetuate tensions with neighboring states to divert the attention of their domestic public. This practice of political opportunism established a symbiotic link between confrontational politics at home and within the region.[23]

A significant mark about South Asia is that India's economic, military and geography is so large and it is so much influential in the region as compared to the others that, all other states are always concerned about Indian policies and influences on their domestic issues. With the exception of Afghanistan, India shares either land or sea borders with all other South Asian states. It is home to 1.2 billion multi ethnic people that has resulted in spreading Indian ethnic and religious connections to every other country in the region and vice versa. This social connection has made it easy to suspect Indian or other's policies at play behind ethnic insurgencies in neighboring states of India or vice versa. Lok Raj Baral of Nepal explains the significance of India to other South Asian states by stating,

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[23] Sobhan, R. (1998). Regional Cooperation in South Asia: A Quest for Identity. *South Asian Survey*, 22.

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The foreign policy of the South Asian countries is Indo-centric, each dealing with India in a variety of ways…India continues to be a crucial variable in the domestic power equilibrium as well as for establishing linkages with outside powers. Indo-Sri Lankan and Indo-Bangladeshi relations also exemplify such trends and attitudes… It is also worth observing that South Asian political elites tend to express anti-India sentiments during election campaigns; but once they come to power they start to view India with a certain degree of objectivity and realism.[24]

But, political mistrust and tensions between neighboring states are alive not only because of the political culture, but also because there are several practical and serious issues that make it important for the states to protect their domestic security. Water sharing, Inter-state migration; cross border smuggling and terrorism are among the main issues.[25] So, the political culture of South Asia is one of mistrust among the neighbors and dominated by the India factor.

One fact is necessary to note, South Asian security issues are almost completely focused on India- Pakistan relations. Scholars tend to give these two states so much attention that could only be compared to the negligence given to the other states in the region. Ganguly, Mukherji, & Gopalan's "India and South Asian security. Defense and Peace Economics", 1999,[26] Umbreen & Marium's "Security dilemma in South Asia", 2015,[27] Barry Buzan's "The south Asian security complex in a

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[24] Baral, L. R. (2004). National security: Inter-state conflict in South Asia (a Nepali perspective) . In R. T. Wiggen, & R. T. Wiggen (Ed.), *South Asia in the world: Problem solving perspectives on security, sustainable development, and good governance* (p. 67). Tokyo, New York, Paris: Uniter Nation University Press.

[25] Mujtaba, S. A. (2005). *Soundings on South Asia*. New Delhi: Sterling Publishers Pvt. Ltd.

[26] Ganguly, S, Mukherji, R, & Gopalan, R. (1999). India and South Asian security. *Defence and Peace Economics*, 335-345.

[27] Umbreen, J., & Marium, K. (2015). Security dilemma in South Asia. *Journal of Political Studies*, 22 (1), 115-127.

decentering world order: Reconsidering regions and powers ten years on",[28] Barry Buzan & Ole Waever's "Regions and Powers The Structure of International Security",[29] Mazari, Rahman, & Rahman's "South Asian Security: International Context",[30] Dwivedi's "South Asia Security"[31] are very few among other books and articles that discuss India- Pakistan relations in the name of South Asian security. Although, states other than India and Pakistan could have less security issues, they are equally important whilst studying regional security as well and especially in the studies of domestic level analysis at the aftermath of 9/11, considering the different nature of the security threat. It is true that India and Pakistan's relation creates the regional security complex at large because they are most powerful military powers in the region with high potential of conflicts. But, the smaller states do absorb the effects of India- Pakistan relations. In order to understand and justify the claims made in the regional security studies, it is necessary to study every state in the region to have a complete understanding. Moreover, today's main security concern is non-state actors driven terrorism, or in other name private terrorism, which does not allow us to ignore any state because of a lack of military powers or political influence. It has been proven in Yemen and Afghanistan that ignoring any one nation does not help to secure the world. Especially threats of terrorism might even chose a country with less attention to flourish. So, in this thesis, I will discuss the states of South Asia by giving equal importance to their respective security issues.

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[28] Buzan, B. (2011). The south asian security complex in a decentring world order: Reconsidering regions and powers ten years on. *International Studies* (48), 1-19.

[29] Buzan, B., & Waever, O. (2003). *Regions and Powers The Structure of International Security*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

[30] Mazari, S. M, Rahman, F, & Rahman, F. u. (2006). South Asian Security: International Context. *Policy Perspectives*, 13-23.

[31] Dwivedi, M. (2009). *South Asia Security*. Delhi: Kalpaz Publications.

2.3. Regional security challenges

Former Bangladeshi Ambassador Farooq Sobhan in his speech in 2004, figured out that the main reason behind increasing regional security challenges is political, by saying "…Decades of mistrust and confrontation (that) have rendered South Asia to be a deeply divided and compartmentalized region susceptible to volatility and instability".[32]

Former Pakistani Ambassador to the United States Maleeha Lodhi on her paper titled "Security Challenges in South Asia" wrote; "South Asia has been racked by intolerance of virtually every kind- ethnic, communal, religious and sectarian".[33] Then she categorized South Asian security challenges at three different levels, domestic; regional or bilateral; and global. At the domestic level, she viewed economic deprivation, illiteracy, and unemployment as the providers of a fertile ground for intolerance and extremism, which has promoted conflict and violence within the society. At the regional level, the nuclear arms race between India and Pakistan and the Kashmir dispute were mentioned as the main security challenges. At the global level, she expressed concern over the fact that U.S interest to establish India as a counterweight to China will have negative implications on the region. Also, stability in Afghanistan, Middle East and India- China are viewed as important factors for South Asian security.[34] Her views on the reason behind South Asian regional security go very much hand in hand with the outcomes of the RSCT, the theory which will be applied in this thesis.

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[32] Sobhan, F. (2004). A Security Architecture for South Asia. (pp. 10-13). Islamabad: BEI.

[33] Maleeha, L. (2001). Security Challenges in South Asia. *The Nonproliferation Review*, 118-120.

[34] Ibid

2.3.1. Regional Non Traditional Security (NTS) Challenges

Since when the UNDP's remarkable human development report 1994 was published, NTS took the center stage in the security studies in developing regions like South Asia. The Non-traditional risks on the region are, food and water, health, environmental security & climate change, illegal migration & human trafficking, energy security, transnational crime & transnational terrorism.[35]

It is necessary to be reminded once again, that in this thesis, terrorism holds significant value, as they are seemingly the most potential and relevant security threats in the post 9/11 period. Thus Non-Traditional security challenge is at the driving seat in this thesis. Insurgency is another important issue that causes most of the conflicts at the domestic level for states. Both of these security concerns, although each from different types of security threats in conventional understanding of Hard and Soft security. Insurgency and terrorism need to be mentioned and analyzed together in the South Asian context, because these two notions have often been dissolved into one. While all the insurgents are often named as terrorists by the governments, similarly all the terrorists claim themselves revolutionary forces like insurgents. Historically most of the South Asian governments have treated insurgents as terrorists. Although South Asia generated two peaceful solutions for militant insurgencies in Bangladesh and Nepal, but forceful resolution were the means to end militant insurgency in Sri Lanka and India. Pakistani Pashtun tribal insurgency stands in a blurred line of terrorism and political insurgency. This might be surprising, but the South Asian region is predominantly occupied with this threat of militant insurgency. Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, Nepal, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka,

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[35] Sobhan, F. (2004). A Security Architecture for South Asia. (pp. 10-13). Islamabad: BEI.

all of these states have faced or are still dealing with militant insurgencies.[36] Kashmir is one of the most known unresolved disputes in the world, which has caused interstate tensions, war and even infiltrated domestic terrorism in India. Only, the two microstates Bhutan and Maldives are free from the history and future threats of insurgency. In South Asia, militant insurgents and terrorists operate in small cell-structured groups of highly secretive members. They aim to coerce authorities into a change of policy and to target civilians in order to generate fear and thus put pressure on otherwise robust governments.[37]

2.3.2. Traditional Regional Security Challenges

As mentioned above, this thesis brought a non-traditional challenge, namely transnational terrorism at the forefront of security concern. In the previous researches made by using RSCT tended to put this Traditional security challenges at the driving seat. The biggest traditional security threat on the region is the nuclear power of two rival states India and Pakistan. Nuclear weapons added the extra tension to the half century long animosity of these two neighboring states and spread fear in the other regional states of a nuclear apocalypse. Any kind of nuclear accident in South Asia will cost millions of lives because of the region's population density and adjunct locations of other states. Any nuclear attack on India will have devastating effects on its neighbors; Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan and Sri Lanka due to their geographic proximity. Furthermore, the growing threat of Islamist terrorist groups who want to topple and take over the Pakistani government imposes the risk of its nuclear weapons to fall into the hands of terrorists. Supporters of Nuclear Deterrence

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[36] Mujtaba, S. A. (2005). *Soundings on South Asia*. New Delhi: Sterling Publishers Pvt. Ltd.

[37] Johnson, R. (2005). *A Region in Turmoil- South Asian Conflicts since 1947*. London : Reaktion .

theories have little hope when it comes to the South Asian context as Cristophe Carle argues that even nuclear weapons couldn't prevent India and Pakistan fighting the Kargil war in 1999 and mobilizations and standoff in the summer of 2002.[38] Thakur Ramesh explained South Asian security problems thus; "It has two nuclear powers engaged in a major territorial dispute; there are several dominant insurgency conflicts here; terrorism is pronounced; and the refugee situation has the potential to be deeply destabilizing".[39]

2.4.   Global Dimension of South Asian Security Challenges

In the post 9/11 periods, South Asian security issues converged into the global security issue especially because of the War on Terror. Direct war in Afghanistan and proxy drone warfare in Pakistan placed South Asia at the center of the global war on terror campaign. Al Qaeda announced formation of a branch in South Asia for the first time in 2014 as well.[40] The issue of terrorism is not a new phenomenon in the region, particularly for India, who has been victims of terrorism long before 9/11, by Kashmiri and North-East Indian insurgencies. The significant change in South Asian security complex had happened through the direct presence of a super power, the U.S in one of the member states of the region, Afghanistan. Militant insurgency in Afghanistan and drone attacks in Pakistan violated the traditional security of these countries.

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[38] Carle, C. (2004). International security in a nuclear South Asia. *South Asia in the World- Problem Solving Perspectives on Security, Sustainable Development, and Good Governance* (Population Studies) (p. 60). Tokyo-New York-Paris: United Nation University Press.

[39] Thakur Ramesh and Wiggen Oddny (2004), South Asia's mainfold challenge to the international community, *South Asia in the World- Problem Solving Perspectives on Security, Sustainable Development, and Good Governance* (Population Studies)

[40] BBC (2014), Al-Qaeda chief Zawahiri launches al-Qaeda in South Asia, http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-29056668

But, there is different effect as well; Samina Ahmed described the role of Afghanistan in the regional security challenges in line with the global security concern over terrorism and India- Pakistan's domestic traditional security concerns. The inclusion of Afghanistan in the SAARC brought the war and anarchy in Afghanistan at the core of South Asian security challenges. At the regional level, Afghanistan became a battling ground for India and Pakistan's ambition to increase their regional influences and secure the energy resources of Central Asia. Afghanistan also plays a role in the domestic security matters of other regional states, as an unstable Afghanistan is fertile ground for cross border terrorists training fields, where terrorist groups enlisted in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh get training.[41] At the Global level, Afghanistan has a significant place in the security field as well because it was the first subject of the U.S led ongoing global war on terror. In this context, the author mentioned that despite the interests of India, Pakistan and also Russia and Iran in Afghanistan's security environment, "since 11 September 2001, however, it is US policy toward Afghanistan that is shaping both Afghanistan's and South Asia's security environment"[42]. Talking about the U.S presence and the growing ties of India and Pakistan with the U.S and at the same time the nature of relationship between the states of the region, one might have another important aspect of the region's security, which was mentioned by Amitav Acharya saying, "When great powers do intervene in regions, much evidence suggests that local

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[41] Ahmed, S. (2004). Post Taliban Afghanistan and South Asian Security. In R. T. Wiggen, *South Asia in the World- Problem Solving Perspectives on Security, Sustainable Development, and Good Governanc*e (Population Studies) (p. 224). Tokyo-New York-Paris: United Nation University Press.

[42] Ibid

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partners exploit external patrons to pursue local opponents".[43]

2.5.   Mechanism of regional security

South Asia as a region was famously mentioned by India's first Prime Minister Nehru as a, "region without regionalism".[44] This region is the home of quarter of the global population who has almost identical historical, cultural, ethnical and religious background. But still this region seriously lacks regional cohesiveness.

Nevertheless, while talking about the security architecture in the region, one must use the example set by South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) because it is the only regional organization that could be used for this purpose. SAARC was established in 1985, but the success of this organization is under serious suspicion as people across the region call it a 'brain dead' organization. Established with the aim of being a security organization, the organization adopted a charter, which strictly limited its activities on the non-contentious areas, and all bilateral disputes were kept literally out of its jurisdiction[45] due to Indian and Pakistani opposition. Yet SAARC is the only regional organization that exists and all the South Asian states are its member, but it does not offer any useful security architecture for the region. SAARC has 8 members, Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. It has 9 more observer states, these are, Australia, China, European Union, Iran, Japan, Republic of Korea, Mauritius,

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[43] Acharya, Amitav. (1992) Regionalism and Regime Security in the Third World: Comparing the Origins of the ASEAN and the GCC. In *the Insecurity Dilemma: National Security of Third World States*, edited by Brian Job. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

[44] Quoted from *Jawaharlal Nehru, India's Foreign Policy*. Selected Speeches, September 1946-April 1961, New Delhi 1961, p,2(speech given on 7/9/1946

[45] SAARC charter. http://saarc-sec.org/saarc-charter/5/

Myanmar and the USA. The President of the Dhaka based Think Tank and former Ambassador Mr. Farooq Sobhan has proposed security architecture similar to the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), which will enable SAARC members to discuss their concerned security issues annually.[46] The proposed architecture should consist of three bodies of Inter-Governmental, Governmental and Non-Governmental organizations, whose basic activities will be dialogue, research and training, with appropriate bodies in the member states. He sees cooperation in developmental sectors as a leeway to cooperation in the security sectors.

2.6.   Conclusion

This chapter basically served as the literature review on the issue of South Asian security besides tracing the origin of the region's contemporary political hatred and mutual suspicion according to experts and academics in this chapter. We will keep tracing this history and their link to the contemporary time in the further chapters as well.

Following chapter 3 will give us in depth knowledge about the Regional Security Complex Theory (RSCT), which is the founding stone of this thesis. Rest of the thesis will be analysis of events and prediction based on this particular theory itself.

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[46] Sobhan, F. (2004). A Security Architecture for South Asia. (pp. 10-13). Islamabad: BEI.

Chapter 3

CONCEPTUALISING REGIONAL SECURITY COMPLEX

3.1. Introduction

This chapter will give an in-depth analysis of the RSCT by beginning with the explanation of why Realism and Liberalism failed to give proper explanation of the South Asian region and relative success of Constructivism. Later I will discuss the aim, structures, levels of analysis, academic reception of RSCT and my own points of disagreements with the founders. This chapter will conclude by making the case of revising the original map of South Asian Regional Security Complex.

3.2 Application of mainstream theories on South Asia

The first wave of regional studies within the IR emerged in 1970s, generated pace in 1980s, but got the momentum after the end of cold war. Soon the global rivalry ended with the end of cold war, security focus turned to the regional levels. Robert Kelly pointed out that scholars such as Barry Buzan, David Lake, Douglas Lemke and Bjorn Hettne downscaled IR theories to the regional level by treating them as parallel or mini-systems to try out traditional theories.[47]

3.2.1 Realism

South Asia has been a complicated region for mainstream theories to explain with accuracy. For Realism, the India- Pakistan rivalry on security, regional domination,

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[47] Kelly, R. E. (2007). Security Theory in the ''New Regionalism''. *International Studies Review*, 197-229.

border clashes and ethno religious hatred among the public in South Asian countries are elements that attract realists to uphold their claims. But, on the other hand the region has not experienced wide spread war at grand scale, but instead experienced peaceful coexistence with relatively little cooperation. Also, the apparent failure of realists to explain the end of the cold war has left them astonished and made their post cold war assessments unpersuasive. Although, nowadays (after the 9/11 terrorist attack on U.S), realist ideas are gaining ground once again, they still lack the ability to explain states' behavioral patterns. That is why, while realism can offer quite a good explanation of the India- Pakistan relation, they fail to offer explanation of the peaceful relationships that other states have with each other in the region.

3.2.2 Liberalism

On the other hand, another mainstream theory, liberalism seems to have little or no capacity in explaining the South Asian regional security dimension. The core principle of this theory is that people are cooperative and peace seekers, thus economic dependency and cooperation among the likeminded (democratic) states will flourish. And this basic idea of liberalism is arguably the biggest reason for its failure in the South Asian context because states of this region have kept their long run historical animosity and hatred at the peek for more than half century and surprisingly, even in the democratic states, it's not only at the state level, but the people of these states have not showed much enthusiasm to give liberalism some room to explain the region with more credibility.

3.2.3 Constructivism

In such a situation, Constructivism seems to have some valid explanation to offer as regards to the South Asian regional scenario. Specifically the Regional Security Complex Theory (RSCT) founded by Barry Buzan and Ole Waevar fits well into the

South Asian context. This theory holds that 'states' are the main actors similar to the mainstream positivists' theories and adds the behavioral elements of amity-enmity to explain and analyze the system at regional level. It takes a bottom-up approach and claims that in order to understand the security concerns of states at the international and local level we need to focus on the regional level. The international level penetrates the states at the local level, but the outcome of states' concern and policies reflected at the regional level are all the concerns given by the International level and policies adopted by Local level merges. The basic idea of RSCT is; as most of the security threats travel over short geographical distance, concerns and interactions with neighboring countries on the security issues will have first priority for states.[48]

3.3 Regional Security Complex Theory (RSCT)

RSCT is a theory of regional security advanced by Barry Buzan and Ole Waever in their book Regions and Powers: The Structure of International Security.[49] The book discusses the Copenhagen School's approach to sectorial security.

RSCT uses a blend of materialist and constructivist approaches. On the materialist side it uses ideas of bounded territoriality and distribution of power that are close to those in neorealism. Its emphasis on the regional level is compatible with neorealism's structural scheme, but it contradicts the tendency of most neorealist analysis to concentrate heavily on the global-level structure. On the constructivist side, RSCT builds on the securitization theory set out in previous works. It thus breaks from neorealism by treating the distribution of power, and the patterns of amity and enmity. Polarity may dispose, but it does not determine the character of

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[48] Buzan, B., & Waever, O. (2003). *Regions and Powers The Structure of International Security*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

[49] Ibid, page 4

security relations. The processes of securitization are essentially open, and subject to influence by a host of factors.[50]

RSCT advocates that national interests and global interests, both have strong claims and are both influential in shaping states' security policy, but as traditionally security threats from neighboring states were always higher than global actors, it is the regional dimension, where both of the domestic and global security policies blend and establishes a ground of concern raised by states in national and global levels. RSCT has constructivist roots as it explains the structure and also behaviors of its units through the pattern of amity and enmity[51]. It counts regions to be the most important units in today's international security.

3.3.1   Aim of RSCT

On the aim of RSCT, the founders explained it as,

> RSCT is aimed at people working empirically on specific regions. It is mostly a descriptive language, a method for producing order out of complicated data, and for writing structural history. The theory offers the possibility of systematically linking the study of internal conditions, relations among units in the region, relations between regions, and the interplay of regional dynamics with globally acting powers. It also provides some structural logic most notably the hypothesis that regional patterns of conflict shape the lines of intervention by global level powers.[52]

Although categorization of this theory might sound familiar with the Samuel P. Huntington's civilizational categorization in a sense that RSCT and Civilizations both divide the globe into regions, but there are differences as Huntington's regions were identified as civilizations based on cultural premises, but in RSCT, regions

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[50] Ibid, page 4
[51] Ibid, page 4
[52] Ibid, page 52

form up on its member states' actual security practices and geographic locations. Huntington's theory predicts the clash and confrontation at the global systemic level, but RSCT suggests conflicts to form within the regional level. However, the similarity is that, what Barry Buzan counts as security policies could be influenced by the ideology of the civilizational background of certain states. Specifically, the concept of amity and enmity might be argued to have similarities with the civilizational divisions.

3.3.2 Purpose of the theory

The purpose of the theory is to offer a systematic way to study the security issues in this anarchic international system through an explanation of the global power dynamics in regional units. RSCT explains the international security structure that emerged in the aftermath of end of the cold war. Rather than describing the world divided into core and periphery, it views that the means and ends of security issues are primarily within the regional dimension, despite being affected by global security challenges. Especially after the desolation of the USSR, which has resulted in a change of the global power structure and the bi-polar nature of international security. So, the founders of RSCT came up with the claim that in the absence of bipolarity after the end of Cold War, the world fragmented into regional and local power structures. This process has been added with extra pace as the leading super power (USA) is declining as it is losing its military and economic might to newcomers like China. In the absence of global power struggles, the primary focus has shifted to different units of analysis. Thus the basic idea of RSCT is, "adjacency is potent for security because many threats travel more easily over short distances than over long ones. The impact of geographical proximity on security interaction is strongest and

most obvious in the military, political, societal, and environmental sectors".[53] The constructivist root of this theory not only describes the system and structure but also its behavior with a claim that the behavioral pattern of the states based on amity and enmity sources from regional history is behind the formation and operation of regional security complex.[54]

3.3.3 Essential Structure of RSCT

RSCT's primary premise is the Regional Security Complex (RSC), which is the set of states within a particular geographical location wherein any change in their policy of securitization or de-securitization affects that of other states within the region. According to the founders of this theory, "RSCs are defined by durable patterns of amity and enmity taking the form of sub-global, geographically and coherent patterns of security inter-dependence".[55] The notions of enmity and amity have the options to develop into three categories of; conflict formation, security regime, and security community.[56] When the internal dimension of an RSC is on a negative end means driven by enmity then there will be conflict formation, while when the dimension is neutral it will be a security regime where all the member states are aware of potential threats and try to minimize these threats. A positive dimension means no member state is threatened by another member state, leading to a security community.

RSC is rather durable than permanent, it may undergo changes or adjustment over time and space due to the policy and capacity evolution of states, and there are few variables and possibilities of evolution within RSC given by its founders. To recognize the evolution of its physical and functional characters, we can look within

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[53] Ibid, page 45
[54] Ibid, page 54
[55] Ibid, page 45
[56] Ibid, page 54

the Essential structure of RSC through which we can identify it as follows. There are four variables of an RSC's essential structure; First, Boundary, which marks the location differences of RSC from its neighboring RSCs. Second, Anarchic structure; RSC must have two or more autonomous units and thus no official obligatory hierarchy. Third, Polarity will cover the distribution of power among the units of RSC. Fourth is the Social construction, which sets the patterns of amity and enmity within the states of RSC. Based on these variables, there could be three possible evolutions open to RSC, First, maintaining the status quo. Second, an internal transformation in which the existing border remains same, but the internal structure changes from an anarchic to a bipolar or unipolar system. Third is the external transformation where the outer boundary of the RSC will change and might merge into other RSCs.[57]

Another very important structural concept of RSCT that is even more important for contemporary South Asia is the role of Insulators. Insulators are the states that fall in between two separate RSCs but are too weak to converge them together into one RSC. It is not the same as the traditional idea of a buffer state but it is more of a state where more than one RSC became active. Turkey, Myanmar and Afghanistan are the examples of insulators given by the founders of RSCT. In the context of South Asia, Afghanistan has a distinct significance to be studied properly.

The basic assumption of RSCT on the global power structure is that, the emerging international security structure should be seen as a '1 + 4 + regions' system - that is one superpower, four great powers and a number of regional powers.[58] Superpowers

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[57] Ibid, page 53
[58] Ibid, page 38

are those powers that have the capacity to influence global security policies. They hold sufficient political, economical and military capacity to influence any region's policies of securitization or de-securitization and their security concerns are not bound by their geographic locations. At present the U.S is the only super power in the world. Great powers are the once who do not have the capacity and influence of a superpower, but are viewed as states who have all the military, economic and political capacity to become potential superpowers.[59] According to the authors, Britain- France- Germany- EU- China- Russia and Japan are the great powers at present. Regional powers are those powers that have no influence outside of the region in which they are located, but hold significant power within the region. Thus regional powers are in the third tier in the power structure.

3.3.4 Levels of Analysis

To analyze the security of a region, RSCT requires analysis at four levels. The first level is Interstate or domestic, where we need to look at the domestic security challenges and the state's nature and vulnerabilities in order to understand its security policy and challenges. At the second level, it analyses the intrastate level or regional level, where we need to look at how states communicate with each other in the region. This nature of relation forms the regional security complex and is our main point of analysis. The third level of analysis in RSCT is intra-regional. How the region interacts with its neighboring region because that relation can also affect significantly an RSC, and finally the global level, where it examines the role of global powers in the region, and also whether the superpower is influencing a region to adopt its security concerns and thus how it affects RSC in concern.

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[59] Ibid page, 45

3.3.5 Previous application of RSCT on South Asia

The founding case study of RSCT was the South Asia region. Barry Buzan and Ole Waever analyzed South Asia in the post cold war period, mentioning South Asian RSC is established around the historical enmity between India and Pakistan. They also mentioned that all the member states of South Asia are more or less weak states because of their economic weakness and domestic political instability. This region's RSC kept its autonomous and local features despite formidable links with the competing states of the cold war. Pakistan was an ally of the U.S, during the Afghan battle against USSR and India was a Soviet ally and customer of Soviet arms. Both of the super powers kept loose ties with their South Asian allies, and the South Asian RSC during the cold war period showed a significant stability structure.

The authors analyzed the South Asian RSC on two separate predictive analyses at four levels. One of the analyses was a case of continuity and the other was a case of transformation.

The case of continuity was more dominant over transformations in South Asia. At the domestic level of South Asian RSC, much of the domestic conflicts and political violence and turbulence or insurgencies remained same after the cold war. Pakistan was a bit more of an alarming condition given that Talibanization of Afghanistan spilled over into its own territory. At the regional level, between India's neighboring states and India, conflicts also remained the same, and the India-Pakistan rivalry went to a different height as nuclear threat was added to their old enmity. Both kept increasing their military capabilities and occasionally fought at the borders, but there were no significant changes because of the end of Cold War.

Intraregional scenarios remained same as well as interstates and regional level. India-China rivalry continued to merge into India-Pakistan enmity as China backed Pakistan. An important point was noticed on the Insulators state's position on keeping South Asia on the track of continuity as Afghanistan kept South Asian and Middle Eastern RSCs apart. At the Global level, South Asian RSC seemed to go for possible transformation at the immediate end of Cold War as India's ally the USSR was dissolved and the U.S became more distant from Pakistan over the nuclear issue. But, in a few years, the old pattern returned especially after the 2001 terror attack on the U.S, Pakistan- U.S relation was reignited.

And, in the case of Transformation, the only significant internal transformation in the South Asian RSC in the post cold war period is Pakistan's weakening vis-à-vis India. By the end of the last millennium, Pakistan almost lost its equal standing with India. The external significant transformation is India's economic and military rise, which made it possible for India to reach beyond the region as it joined ASEAN's regional forum.

So, in general, the case of continuity in South Asian RSC was dominant in the authors' eyes. This RSC is traditional state-centric, and formed around military-political sector. At the domestic level and interregional level, it was mainly a story of continuity and at the regional level India's rise in power seemed possible while Pakistan's falling into a failed state status also seemed to be a possibility and at the global level it was also partly a story of continuity but Russian alliance with India broke but U.S seemed to be in more better relation with India since Clinton's visit in 2000.

3.4 Reception of RSCT in the academia

Since the formation of this theory, RSCT has also received mixed reception in the academia.

Tuva Kahrs[60] welcomed the theory and praised it as RSCT incorporates social constructions of amity and enmity, which helps to understand the behavior of states and the bottom up approach of the theory to form a global picture by analyzing regions gives a real picture. He also praised RSCT's multilayered levels of analysis.

Andre Barrinha[61] raised questions over the strength of RSCT to explain the identity and evolution of Great Powers and Insulators. He claimed that the authors left it on to the perception of other great powers to decide whether a regional power becomes a great power or not. But, he argues that if power base depends upon self-resource and aspiration then why does it depend on the receptions of others? Another point was raised on the role of insulator, as the authors mentioned that in order to become a great power a state must be a regional power first, this created confusion over the Turkish ambitious policy to become a great power in the near future. Turkey is considered as an insulator state, so it doesn't fall into the 'normal' evolutionary way for a state to become a great power.

Hoogensen[62] pointed out few contradictions in the work done by the founders of this

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[60] Kahrs, T. (2004). Regional security complex theory and Chinese policy towards North Korea. *East Asia, an international quarterly*, 64-82.

[61] Barrinha, A. (2013). The Ambitious Insulator: Revisiting Turkey's Position in Regional Security Complex Theory. *Mediterranean Politics*, 165-182.

[62] Hoogensen, G. (2005). Bottoms Up! A Toast to Regional Security? *International Studies Review*, 269-274.

theory. The main contradiction he pointed was, the importance given to the state as the key unit of analysis. This importance restricts the ability of this theory to investigate its own insights into regional security beyond the state. Second point raised was that the authors focused much more on the traditional security aspects of security and didn't give enough focus to the non-traditional security issues. Third point raised was giving little importance to the issue of conflict over water resources in Asia and Middle East, whereas water has been historically a major source of conflict. Fourth criticism was not including arctic as a region while it is an important security issue concern to European, North American and Russian security.

3.5 Points of disagreements

In my opinion, I think Barry Buzan and Ole Waevar's study of security is very impressive, especially analyzing through the RSC and defining what the regional security dimension is by amity and enmity concepts. But, it lacks strength in few points on the contemporary South Asian case. First, the regional analysis was primarily focused on India-Pakistan and partly focused on the northern insulator Afghanistan. Although it is understandable that India and Pakistan will be the main elements of any study on South Asian security, but the other member states would have required a more thorough study as well. While we are studying the regional dimension then it is necessary to look at every state of the region to have authentic picture of regional security. The smaller states have no significant role at the formation of regional security complex, but they do absorb the affect obviously and their reception of important actors like China and U.S. from outside to into the region have the potentiality to transform entire security complex of the region. But, mostly because RSCT does domestic level analysis, so there is no reason to ignore smaller

states of a region. Secondly, Afghanistan's place as an insulator is not possible to take as granted anymore, in the following paragraph, I am going to explain this point in detail. Finally, the analysis is more or less outdated in 2015. Although it has nothing to do with the author, but in the changing security environment after 9/11, South Asian security issues went under the significant global influence of the U.S led war on terror and there are changes of actors and conflict patterns visible at domestic, intra-regional and global level.

A significant point of disagreement with the founders of RSCT and me is the role of Afghanistan as an insulator in the South Asian RSC. Founders saw Afghanistan as an insulator, which shared borders with the Middle East, South Asian and Central Asian RSC but never allowed any of these different RSCs to connect with each other. But, after their book in 2003, much water has flowed in the river. Afghanistan has joined SAARC, the only South Asian regional organization in 2007 as a full member state.[63] Afghanistan is an official member of the South Asian region, but also because it brought its security concerns directly to the South Asian regional organization. Afghanistan's vulnerable domestic ethno religious political dimension created Taliban with Pakistan's support. After the U.S invasion and Pakistan's alliance with the U.S, the Taliban were ousted from power in Afghanistan and they moved into the Pashtun areas of Afghanistan and Pakistan. Later they spilled over into Pakistan and that resulted in insurgencies inside Pakistan with continuous terrorist attacks. Islamic fundamentalists in all of the South Asian region are trained in Afghanistan and later move into Pakistan, Indian Kashmir, Bangladesh and even as far as the Maldives. So, what happens in Afghanistan does not stay in Afghanistan

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[63] Mazhar, M. S., Goraya, N. S., & Kataria, J. R. (2011). REVISIONING SAARC. Interdisciplinary, *Journal of Contemporary Research in Business*, 3(1), 734.

anymore. South Asian states are facing direct threats on their security because of Afghanistan's domestic political scenario. In this situation, it is not appropriate to leave Afghanistan out of the South Asian RSC. So, I will incorporate and analyze Afghanistan as a member state of the South Asian RSC in this thesis.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter explained how and why the RSCT is most appropriate theory to study regional security. Its ability to offer thorough bottom-up analysis and multi dimensional reasoning for the explanation of amity and enmity provides ideal knowledge to understand South Asian regional security complex. Although I see the necessity of updating Afghanistan's status as Insulator by incorporating it into South Asia, this development has occurred only in the post 9/11 period, so this revision doesn't underestimate the original theory itself.

Below I present the original and updated maps of South Asian RSC.

Legend:

— RSC boundaries

—·— supercomplex boundary

—— subcomplex boundary

(solid fill) great powers

(horizontal stripes) insulator

(grid) buffer

Note:
This map depicts the region circa mid-1990s. The
Northeast and Southeast Asia RSCs have merged,
and Australia has been drawn into the East Asian RSC.
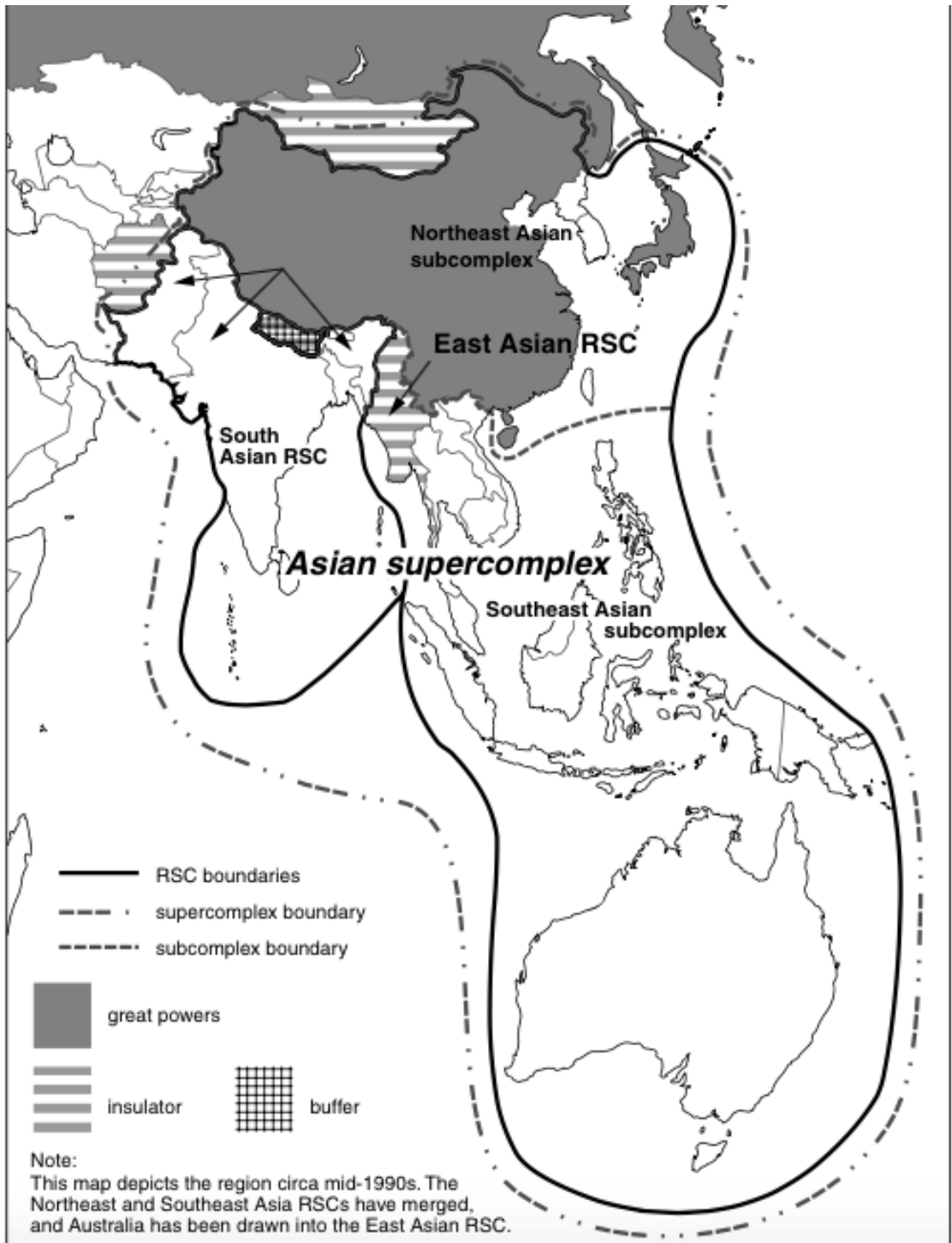
Map 1: Original Map of South Asian RSC
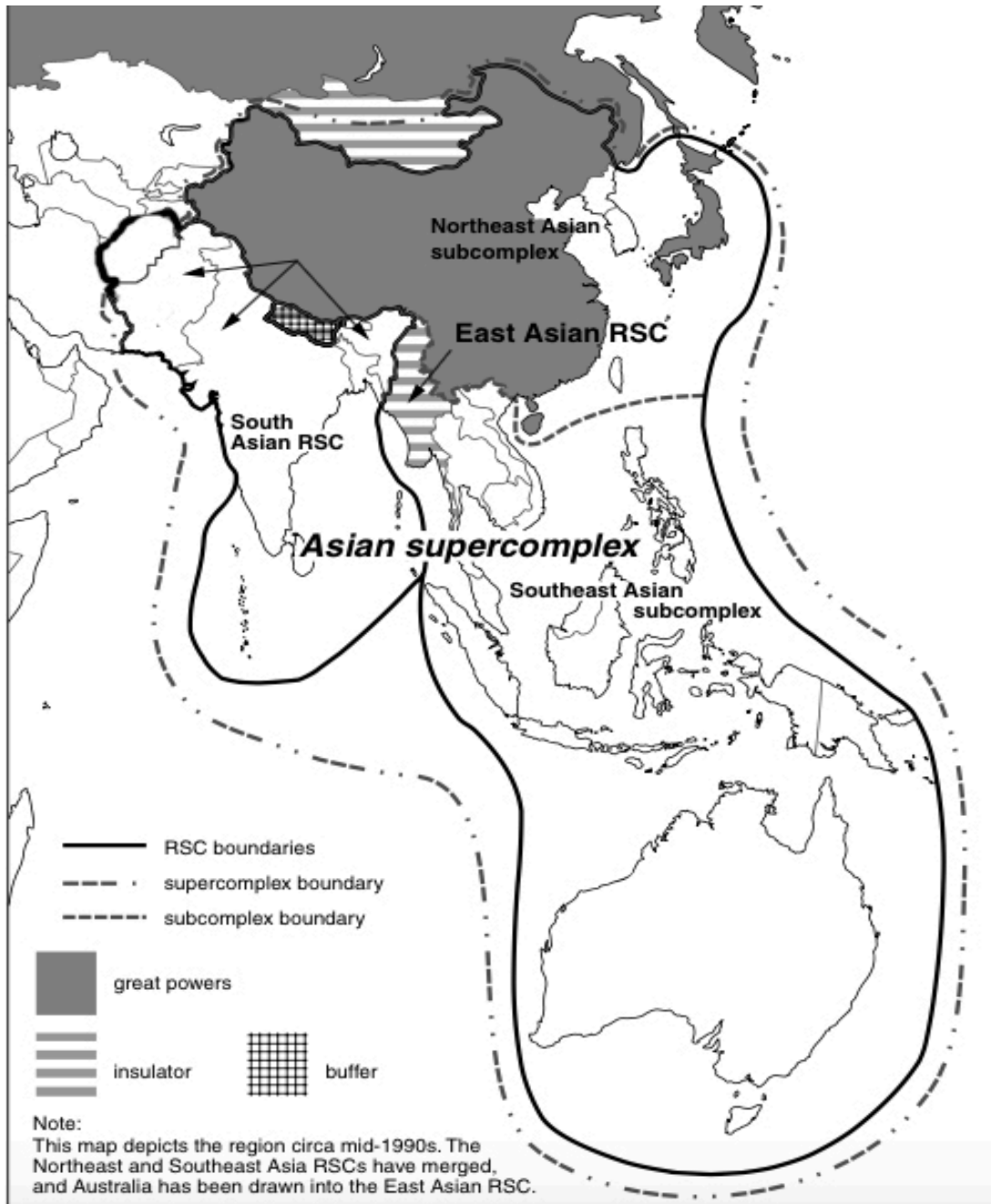
Map 2: Revised map of South Asian RSC with Afghanistan's inclusion

Chapter 4

DOMESTIC LEVEL

4.1. Introduction

With this chapter we will begin our structural analysis of regional security. This chapter will discuss the first level of RSCT, which is domestic level. Every single state within the region will be analyzed to figure out their primary internal and external security threats. Traditionally RSCT gave us pure normative analysis of security threats coming from external sources like neighboring states or states with close proximity. In order to get a proper and complete understanding of regional security issues, I will also look at the internal security concerns because; it is inside the country where we see the final affect and implementations of threats and policies to counter the threats. This bottom-up approach will help us to understand the true origin and outcome of security issues, which are affecting member states of the region.

Also, I incorporated empirical evidences by the data collected from Conflict Barometer and rearranged by me to justify the claims and predictions and validate the hypothesis based on scientific proof. Except Bhutan and Maldives, two states that had only 1 and 9 conflicts respectively in the period between 2002 till 2014, a separate table and a graph will support analyses of the other states.

4.2. Bangladesh

It is a developing, densely populated, homogeneous South Asian nation state, which shares history with colonial India. First it was under British rule, later joined federation with Pakistan, and has been independent since 1971. The country is surrounded by India and shares a small border with Myanmar. Poverty and domestic corrupted politics are considered to be its internal security challenges, externally, the Rohingya refugee issue, spread of radical Islam and Indian dominance are accountable as security challenges.

4.2.1. Internal security threats

In the past, the primary security threat on the state was the armed insurgency of ethnic minorities at the South Eastern border areas located in Chittagong Hill Tract (CHT) region. In 1997, the state successfully concluded a peace treaty with the insurgents promising autonomy and land reforms, however former rebel leaders still claim that some provisions of the peace treaty have not been implemented fully and have threatened to take up arms once again unless the state fulfills its duty bound by the treaty.[64] This region has generated long lasting continuous conflict for secession / autonomy between the rebels and state and also among the rebels for subnational predominance as well.

Secondly, Bangladesh practices electoral democracy since 1991 with the exception of two years of 2007 and 2008. But, domestic politics is far from a consolidated form of democracy and suffers from widespread corruption and political instability. The major political parties opt to settle disputes on the streets rather than settling them in

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[64] Online, N. A. (2014). Shantu Larma threatens gov't to launch noncooperation. New Age.

the parliament. Bangladesh experiences perpetual conflict between its political parties for national power. Due to this situation, there is serious lack of rule of law in the country. After the event of 9/11, Bangladesh experienced a sharp rise of radical and undemocratic forces demonstrated through a series of bomb blasts across the country in 2006 and grenade attacks on the British High commissioner a year earlier.[65] While two major political parties brought the country on the verge of anarchy in 2006 over the issue of electoral system, a military backed interim government ruled the country for next two years. However the state responded quickly against the rise of Islamic fundamentalism in 2006 and especially since 2009, the current ruling party Awami League is handling the Islamists with a strict manner.[66] But, Awami League is now allegedly holding the state power by arranging a farcical election in 2014, it is assumed that the government is getting harsh on their political opposition using the security fears of the public and this practice might create a further democratic deficit in the country which will eventually strengthen an appeal of nondemocratic groups and particularly Islamists among its Muslim population in the future.[67]

4.2.2 External Security Threats

Externally, Bangladesh has tensed relation with its Eastern neighbor Myanmar and have been engaged in border conflicts over a long time. This tensed relation worsened as Bangladesh has received approximately a million of Rohingya refugees from Myanmar over the last 30 years and recent ruthless smugglings of drugs called

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[65] BBC. (2005). Bombs explode across Bangladesh. BBC.

[66] Dhume, S. (2015). Bangladesh's Good Fight Against Islamism. The Wall Street Journal.

[67] Hossain, S. (2014). Terrorists are on the way of reincarnation . Prothom Alo.

Yaba. The border police of Myanmar even took one Bangladeshi border guard hostage.[68]

The bigger external security concern for Bangladesh is maintaining relationship with its giant neighbor India. Bangladesh once was part of the Pakistan federation, thus the historical relationship with India in the pre independence was mostly tensed. But, since the independence of the country by a brutal war against Pakistan coincided with India- Pakistan war in 1971, Bangladesh- India relationship is on a positive slide. Bangladesh's challenge is to maintain its external sovereignty without hurting its relationship with India. Anti Indian sentiments among Bangladeshis are high, because of frequent border killings and sectarian hatred that flow from the Indian Media against Bangladesh and its Muslim population. In recent days, India and Bangladesh are getting much closer and have signed few treaties on road connectivity, and Indian corporate houses are investing in Bangladesh's power sector.[69] Further Indian presence as such needs to be carefully crafted and maintained in order to maintain the internal security order of Bangladesh.

4.2.3 Post 9/11 affect

Other concerns and one much more related to the post 9/11 period for Bangladesh is the dimension of the global war on terror in accordance with its vast Muslim population. Millions of Bangladeshis work in the Middle East and Saudi Arabia, the contemporary Salafist movements in the Middle East has indirect, but has deep effects among Bangladeshis. Especially, the urban youth seem to be increasingly

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[68] Correspondent, S. (2015). BGB soldier shot, another abducted by BGP of Myanmar. The Daily Observer .

[69] Times, T. E. (2015). Reliance Power, Adani to invest $5 billion in Bangladesh power plants during PM Modi's trip . The Economic Times.

connecting with the Middle Eastern groups of extremists. It is not hard to find volunteers in the Bangladeshi social media who are volunteering the propaganda of ISIS.[70] Al Qaeda's South Asian branch has mentioned its willingness to get engaged in Bangladesh to help their compatriots who are falling "victims" of government's oppression.[71] These Islamist groups have already killed few bloggers who were known to hold and express western values and propaganda in Social media.[72] While Al Qaeda and Islamists claimed responsibility for the murder of the bloggers, Western NGOs and medias gave protection and coverage to the bloggers.[73] This is a sheer example of the division within Bangladeshi society on the basis of global political culture. Bangladesh, having a population of 160 million of which 89% are Muslims, shows that polarization of its population among the ideological grounds between Islamism and Western values will clearly bend on the side of Muslim majority. Such developments will not be welcomed by its neighbor India and western powers and will bring unexpected consequence for this developing country.

4.2.4 Conflict Data set

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[70] Reuters. (2015). IT Chief at Bangladesh Coca-Cola Unit Arrested as ISIS Suspect. Dhaka: NBCNEWS.

[71] Tharoor, I. (2014). Why al-Qaeda is opening a new wing in South Asia. The Washington Post.

[72] Barry, E. (2015). Al Qaeda Branch Claims Responsibility for Bangladeshi Blogger's Killing. New York Times.

[73] Chaudhury, A., & Shams, S. (2015). Bangladeshi bloggers pay the price of upholding secularism. Deutche Welle.

Table 1: Number of Conflicts between 2002 and 2014 in Bangladesh

Bangladesh	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	Total
Territory	7	5	4			16
Autonomy	3	7	2			12
System/ Ideology		3	11			14
National Power		3	9			12
Subnational Predominance	1	2	7			10
Secession		1				1
Resources	1	3				4
Others		1	2			3
Total	**12**	**25**	**35**			**72**

What is apparent from this table is that, Bangladesh experiencing from conflicts in diverse issues almost equally in frequency. The main conflict issues could be divided into two categories, one with the political culture and another with the autonomous movement at CHT region. Conflicts over National power paved the way for rise of Ideological conflicts, and the Subnational dominance shows that the slowdown of the autonomous movement is not equally agreed or accepted by the rebellious groups.

Externally Bangladesh had long-standing disputes with its neighboring states, however, in 2013 and 2014, the international tribunals delivered two judgments, based on those it seems that Bangladesh solved its territorial problems with India and Myanmar both.

Conflicts per year 2002- 2014
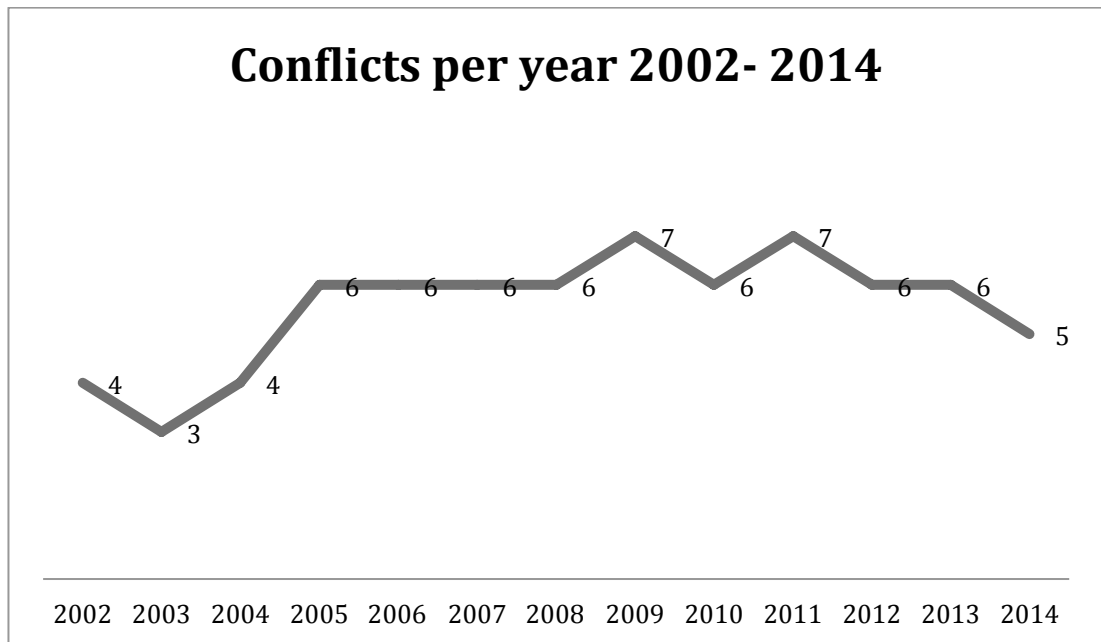
Figure 1: Frequency of Conflicts between 2002 and 2014 in Bangladesh

What significant about this graph is that the rise of numbers in conflicts since 2005. Conflicts over the issues of autonomy and territorial issues decreased, but the newly formed ideological conflicts are the reason behind high numbers of conflicts since 2005. This happened particularly after the U.S. invasion in Afghanistan.

4.3. Bhutan

Is a tiny land locked state located in between India and China with 47.000 square kilometers land and a population of 756.245. Bhutan has a distinct political and cultural history in comparison to the big three South Asian states; India, Bangladesh and Pakistan, as this Buddhist nation was never a part of colonized British India. Although Bhutan had experienced only 1 conflict between 2002 till 2014, even that

conflict was result of Bhutanese effort to push out the Indian separatists camped in Bhutan. Except that, Bhutanese security regime is mainly built around its external sovereignty and domestic ethno religious political order in a non-violent level.

4.3.1 Internal security threats

Domestic political order in Bhutan is significantly stable. It transformed itself from a Monarchy to a Constitutional monarchy and held two consequent free and fair elections in 2008 and 2013, where the power shifted between the two major parties. It seems that the democratic values and practices are taking its root in this mountainous tiny nation.[74] But, the biggest domestic security tension is ethno religious, among the Buddhist Bhutanese and ethnic Nepali Hindu population. "The disproportionate presence of an ethnic Nepali people in Bhutan resulted in a sense of apprehension among the ruling *Drukpas* of their being outnumbered, as had happened in Sikkim"[75]. As a result, the state enforced immigration laws vigorously to force those who were unable to produce sufficient proof of their domicile prior to 1958 to leave the country. Later Bhutan imposed a policy of *Driglaham Namzha* (a revival of traditional Bhutanese culture), which made all the Bhutanese to speak the same language, having same religion and wearing same national dress. In addition to *Driglaham Namzha* policy, another decree in 1991 also resulted in many Nepalese Bhutanese of origin to become refugees in Nepal. Later, in 2000 and 2001, Nepal and Bhutan came into agreement on the return of the refugees to Bhutan.

4.3.2 External security threats

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[74] Mathew, J. C. (2008). Bhutan: 'democracy' from above. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 43(19), 29-31.

[75] Kharat, Rajesh. (2009). Indo- Bhutan relations: strategic perspectives. *Himalayan Frontiers of India: Historical, Geo-Political and Strategic perspectives*, edited by K. Warikoo, Routledge, Oxon, p 137.

Bhutan is concerned about its sovereignty, and that is understandable by the fact that this tiny state is sandwiched between Asia's two largest countries by land and population mass India and China. It's not only their sizes that frighten Bhutan, but also the fact that India and China have annexed Bhutan's once independent neighbors Sikkim and Tibet to their giant maps respectively. Anxious about keeping their sovereignty after the communist takeover in China, Bhutan completed a treaty of friendship with newly independent India in 1949 which guaranteed its sovereignty, Article 2 of the Treaty states, 'The Government of India undertakes to exercise no interference in the internal administration of Bhutan. On its part, the Government of Bhutan agrees to be guided by the advice of the Government of India in its external relations'.[76] Later in 1959, Following Tibet's annexation by China, Bhutan officially closed its border connections and banned trade with China and refused to establish any diplomatic ties with its northern neighbor up until now. On the wake of Chinese occupation of Tibet, China also captured 200 square kilometers of Bhutan and the border demarcation dispute exist still today, as there is no formal relation between the two states. However, Bhutan and China started talks in 1988 and agreed to show acts of trust and maintain the status quo on the border issue without any escalation.

4.3.3 Post 9/11 affect

Bhutan is one of the two states along with Nepal who are member of South Asian regional security complex, but had no significant affect of the post 9/11 periods. This might have happened mainly because they don't have Muslim population.

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[76] Poulose, T. T. (1971) "Bhutan's External Relations and India", *The International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, Vol. 20, No. 2 pp. 199

4.4. India

India is the largest state in South Asia, both by its size and population. Its economy and military is also larger than the one of any other country in the region. 70% of land and population of South Asia are Indian. It is a multi ethnic, multi lingual, democratic state which shares history, culture and has great linkages with all other South Asian countries.

4.4.1 Internal Security Threats

India's security challenges are immense but the biggest internal threats are insurgent movements in North East India, militancy in Jammu and Kashmir and rebellion in Punjab.[77] These threats on its territorial integrity coupled with the wide spread religious fundamentalism and terrorism make India to be placed at the center of South Asian regional security studies.

India has been successful in oppressing its separatist movements in general since the 1960's Naxalites rebellion, but the state has failed to solve the problems completely. Most of the insurgent movements are not at their peak today, but attacks and uprisings are quite regular acts in the North Eastern states known as the Seven Sisters and Jammu and Kashmir. In both of these areas, India claims there is support coming across the borders from neighboring Bangladesh and Pakistan respectively. However, Bangladesh since 2009 has cooperated with India to arrest rebel leaders hiding in Bangladesh, and Pakistan is into deep trouble of its own fighting against

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[77] Manoharan, N. (2013). India's Internal Security Situation: Threats and Responses. *India Quarterly*, 69 (4), 367-381.

terrorism inside its territory. In India, Hindus comprise 78.35% of its population,[78] and after the long ruling of the Congress party, in the last few decades there has been a sharp rise of Hindu nationalism in India, the current ruling party Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) and its political ally Rastriya Shebak Shangha (RSS) are alleged Hindu radical parties.[79] Several top BJP leaders were behind the destruction of the Babri Mosque in 1992,[80] which later resulted in a serious communal riot between Hindus and Muslims. And the BJP leader and current Indian Prime Minister, Narendra Modi was alleged to have influenced the massacres of Muslim people in Gujrat in 2004 in another communal riot.[81]

On the other hand, there are about 180 million Muslims in India, which is around 15% of the population of India.[82] The presence of this large number of Muslims in the age of Hindu radicalization poses the threat of a further degradation of relations between the two religious communities if the government fails to show good skills in managing the secular principal of the state. Any further worsening of the relation between the two communities poses the threat of possible further communal riots that can break the social fabric and might even challenge the current state structure. Terrorist attacks on India primarily began through the Kashmiri Mujahedeen and Tamil Tigers who assassinated former PM Rajiv Gandhi, but later carried out by

[78] Ghosh, A, & Sing, V. (2015). Census: Hindu share dips below 80%, Muslim share grows but slower . The Indian Express.

[79] Times, T. E. (2014). 'BJP-RSS's politics of individualism dangerous for democracy'. Jaipur: The Economic Times.

[80] Jazeera, A. (2009). Uproar over India mosque report. Al Jazeera.

[81] Jackson, R, Murphy, E, & Poynting, S. (2011). *Contemporary State Terrorism: Theory and Practice*. Oxon: Routledge.

[82] V. Singh (2015). "Over 180 million Muslims in India but they are not part of global terror groups: Govt". Indian Express.

Muslim extremists and North Western insurgents groups.

4.4.2 External Security Threats

India's primary external threat comes from Pakistan, the state that is India's neighbor and biggest rival and they have fought 4 wars in the past six decades. Both countries are nuclear powered now. Besides this, cross border smuggling and illegal immigration from Bangladesh are the most pressing issues for India since the Bangladeshi government stopped the facilitation of ULFA of North East India and agreed to take India's security concern with maximum priority.[83] The Kashmir region is another contested area between India and Pakistan. The Kashmir dispute is known to be one of the worlds' oldest disputes. The predominantly Muslim region of Kashmir poses not only a threat on India's territorial integrity but Kashmiri Mujahedeen are also known to carry ruthless terrorist attacks inside India as well. Attacks on the Indian parliament and siege of hotels in Mumbai by Islamist terrorists after 9/11, is evidence of India's vulnerability to terrorism. India blames Pakistan of facilitating terrorists in its homeland in general, and they have on few occasions blamed Bangladeshi Islamists.[84]

4.4.3 Post 9/11 affects

As the Indian military and economy is on the rise and un-comparable to any other South Asian state and on the other hand Pakistan is drowning in its own domestic political chaos, the India – Pakistan rivalry and enmity is declining while India's rivalry with other regional and great powers like China is increasing because of the Indian desire to spread its influence is much more visible, especially in the Indian

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[83] Hindustan Times. (2009). Top ULFA leaders arrested in Bangladesh. Hindustan Times.

[84] Dawn. (2015). Modi blames Pakistan for spreading terrorism in India. Dhaka: DAWN.

Ocean region, where China and India are in a visible race to spread their sphere of influence and secure footings. The border areas of both countries near Tibet are the most burning issues between the two states and this issue fuels the dispute over unsettled borders between India and China. India is also concerned with U.S intention in the South Asian and Indian Ocean region, but since U.S- Pakistan relation has been degrading since 9/11, and India- U.S successfully sorted out its nuclear deal, India seems to be more pragmatic about the U.S policies at present. It is highly predictable that India- U.S relation will upgrade in the future giving that India and the U.S both have a common enemy and rival, namely Islamist terrorism and China.

4.4.4 Conflict Data set

Table 2: Numbers of Conflicts over issues and intensity between 2002 and 2014 in India

India	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	Total
Secession	2	6	44	15		67
Autonomy	4	11	23			38
System / Ideology		3	19	9		31
Regional Predominance	10	33	37	1	1	82
Territory				1		1
Other	7					7
Total	**23**	**53**	**123**	**26**	**1**	**226**

As discussed above, India's security threat comes mainly from the issues related to its secessionist fractions, which arises all over in the country from Kashmir to Assam. What is significant about India is its zero conflict on National power issues. This table proves that India has good democratic tradition and unlike other South Asian states they are free from conflicts in domestic political order.

Conflicts per year 2002- 2014
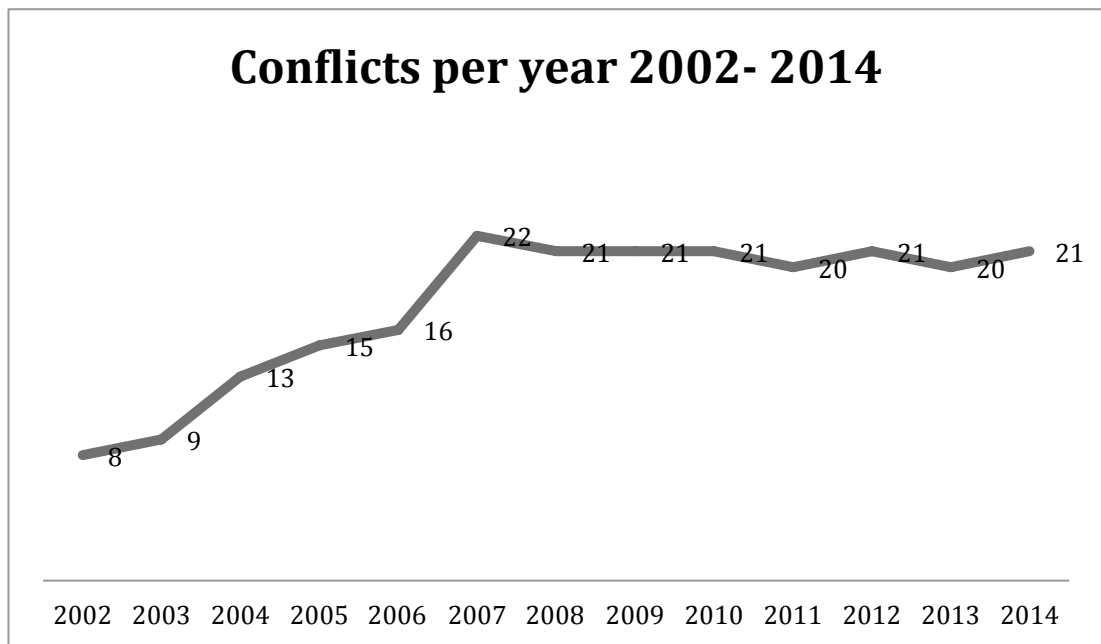
Figure 2: Frequency of Conflicts between 2002 and 2014 in India

Conflicts in India also increased in post 9/11 periods. Although Muslim population of the country is increasingly becoming part of the conflict barometer in India, but the largest share of these conflicts are comprised of issues related with regional movements. It is evident that in the post 9/11 period, the conflicts between State vs. secessionist groups became less violent and the conflicts over subnational regional dominance increased.

4.5.   Maldives

An Island nation of Muslims located in dispersed atolls at the Indian Ocean with a population of 325.600 and the tiniest member of South Asia. Although very tiny, the

strategic importance of the Maldives is rather high. Their internal security challenges are mainly sea level rise because of global warming, domestic political violence, growing Islamic extreme ideology and the only external challenge is the maintenance of the balance of strategic relationship with India and China.

4.5.1 Internal Security threats

Most of the atolls of Maldives are just 1 to 2 meters above sea level. The rise of sea levels may result in a complete abolishment of this state and that is why this country is very vocal during global environmental summits. But, a more pressing issue for this state is domestic political violence. After 30 years of authoritarian rule under former President Mamoon Abdul Gayoom since independence in 1965 from the United Kingdom, the Maldives began democratic rule in 2008 and Mohammed Nashid came into power. Before the ending of the first term of the elected leader, a coup was staged against President Mohammed Nashid, which later pulled the country back into the hands of past authoritarian elites.[85] Maldives experienced 9 conflicts between the periods of 2002 till 2014. The conflicts were mainly over the national power issues, but also entangled with the ideological issue as well. The unstable political culture of this tiny Muslim nation where Middle Eastern sunny ideas are growing popular might have helped a certain extreme group of its Muslim population to grow politically intolerant. Eventually, in 2007, there was a terrorist attack, a bomb explosion at the Male Sultan Park and another military operation took place to evacuate Muslim extremists from a mosque in an atoll,[86] these incidents show that the Maldives have a potential threat of sustained Islamist extremism in its

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[85] Musthaq, F. (2014). TUMULT IN THE MALDIVES. *Journal of Democracy* , 164-170.

[86] Niyaz, A. (2010). TERRORISM AND EXTREMISM: A THREAT TO MALDIVES TOURISM INDUSTRY. *UNISCI Discussion Papers*, (24), 221.

future which could mount a serious threat and the collapse of its tourism based economy.

Table 3: Numbers of Conflicts over issues and intensity between 2002 and 2014 in Maldives

Issues	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	Total
System / Ideological	2	3	1			6
National Power	1		2			3
Total	**3**	**3**	**3**			**9**

4.5.2 External Security Threats

The Maldives main external security ally is India. India once intervened upon the calls from its former President to help him to fight militias in 1989.[87] Also, India helps the Maldives security forces with equipment and patrol in its water areas. The Maldives strategic location attracted China as well. Before China could build a naval base in Hambantota, Sri Lanka,[88] they tried to pursue the Maldives to allow them lease an island to build the base. However, the Maldives showed awareness to the Indian security concerns and interest over the Indian Ocean by refusing to cooperate with China. As soon as President Mamoon Abdul Gayum left office, the Maldives

[87] Stuart Auerbach Washington Post Staff Writer. (1988). Coup d'etat attempted in maldives: Indian paratroops arrive to thwart invasion force. The Washington Post.

[88] Kostecka, D. J. (2011). PLACES AND BASES: The chinese navy's emerging support network in the indian ocean. *Naval War College Review*, 64(1), 59.

cooled down their relationship with China. For the Maldives, it is crucial of not doing anything which will annoy India as it sees its security interest lays with the South Asian security as a whole. So, the task of keeping a warm relation with the Chinese without annoying India is the Maldives current external foreign policy challenge, which directly links with its security.

4.5.3 Post 9/11 affect

Maldives is small country, but even this state had absorbed the post 9/11 period. Several terrorist attacks took place at its capital Malé's city center targeting tourists and several politicians were accused of facilitating Islamic fundamentalism.

4.6. Nepal

This South Asian state is in between India and China and it shares features with Bhutan and Sri Lanka in two aspects, geographical location with Bhutan and domestic socio political aspect with Sri Lanka as it is in post conflict rebuilding process. Nepal is a small mountainous country with a population of about 25 million, of multiple ethnicities.

4.6.1 Internal security threats

Nepal experienced violent armed insurgency between the state and Maoist guerrillas from 1996 to 2006 on the demands for the abolishment of monarchy, changing the state structure from unitary to federalism and to write down a new constitution. The domestic security challenge is to maintain the peace process and fulfill the terms of the peace treaty. In case of failure of the peace process Nepal might slide back into armed conflict again and given its multi ethnic population, if the social fabric falls apart, it could pose an immense threat on the very existence of this hilly state.

4.6.2 External Security Threats

As of the external security challenges looming, there is mutual suspicion between

Nepal and its two giant neighbors; India and China. India has kept Nepal virtually under its influence through a peace treaty signed in 1950. The treaty is much of a discomfort for the Nepalese people because it bounds Nepal to consider India's opinion in its own foreign relation issues. This treaty restricts Nepal to establish cordial relations with China.[89] India fears Chinese influence on Nepal will increase Indian vulnerability in its northern border against China and the Chinese fear Nepal's role in helping the Tibetan rebels from India is crucial to its One China policy.[90]

Nepal's economy and security highly depends on India. India and Nepal have a treaty since 1950 called "the Treaty of Peace and Friendship". This treaty is a military pact to some, while others claim it is not up to that extent. While Nepal wants to revise the treaty, India is unwilling to do so. Once there was a slight misunderstanding between the two states on the renewing of this treaty and India retaliated with stopping economic and trade routes with Nepal, which shook the small state enormously.[91] On the other hand, China is taking huge steps of developing Nepal's adjunct Tibet region, and in order to secure the South border of China, they are trying to convince Nepal to join efforts in this project. By so doing, China has established direct trade routes by road and has increased its trade volume with Nepal. It also provides Nepal with military equipment, which has raised India's eyebrow in public.

4.6.2 Post 9/11 affect

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[89] Thapliyal, S. (2012). India and nepal treaty of 1950: The continuing discourse. *India Quarterly,* 68(2), 119-133.

[90] Karki, R., & Paudel, L. (2015). Challenges to the revision of the nepal-india 1950 peace and friendship treaty. *Strategic Analysis,* 39(4), 402.

[91] Nayak, N. (2010). India-nepal peace and friendship treaty (1950): Does it require revision? *Strategic Analysis*, 34(4), 579-593.

To sum up, Nepal's internal security challenges are; post conflict nation building and keeping the multi ethnic social fabric intact through fulfilling the clauses of the peace treaty and developing the state in an even manner. Its external security challenges are to balance between its two giant neighbors India and China and to maintain its sovereign and independent foreign policy without being part of one of the sides in the their rivalry.

4.6.3 Conflict data set

Table 4: Numbers of Conflicts over issues and intensity between 2002 and 2014 in Nepal

Nepal	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	Total
Autonomy		4	8			12
System / Ideology	2	7	8			17
Other	7	8	1			16
National Power		1	3	4		8
Subnational Predominance			2			2
Total	**9**	**20**	**22**	**4**		**55**

Conflicts in Nepal are mainly related to their domestic political sector. Conflicts over Autonomy and Ideological issues are mainly the continuation of the past civil war between Maoist guerrillas and State over the course of transformation of the state

from Kingdom to a Democracy. This certain nature shows identical similarities with other South Asian states where conflict over national power is a major issue. Nepal has a long lasting conflict with Bhutan on refugee issue, but that is perpetually non-violent.

Conflicts per Year 2002- 2014
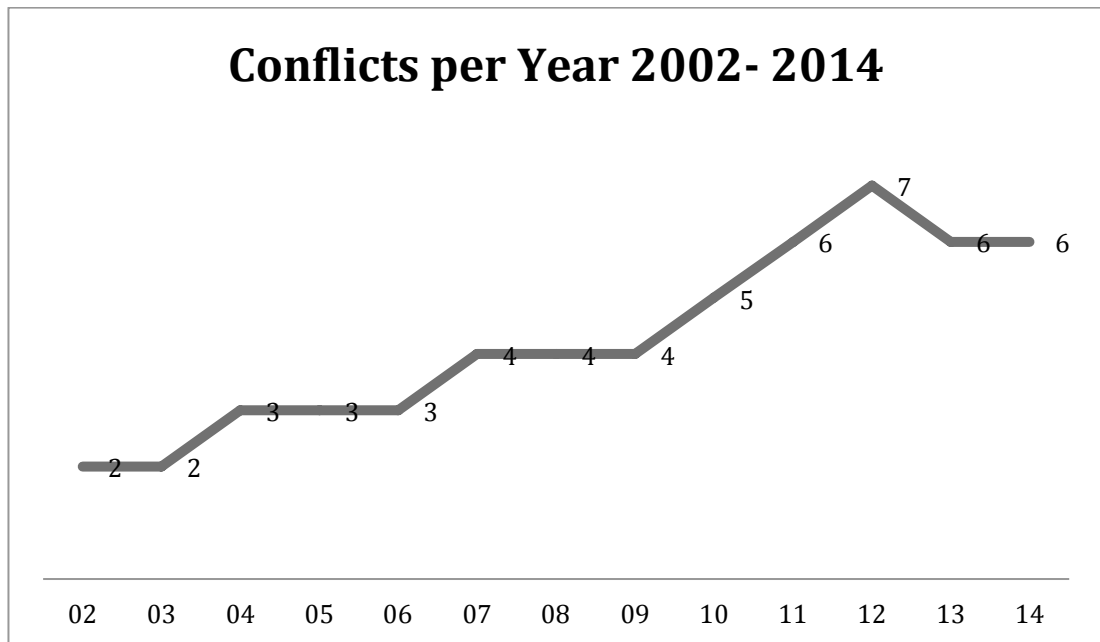
Figure 3: Frequency of Conflicts between 2002 and 2014 in Nepal

Although Nepal didn't received any direct effect of the 9/11 events, but still their conflicts have increased. This could be because of the regional security complex, which is tending to increase the vulnerability of South Asia in post 9/11 periods.

4.7. Pakistan

This is the second largest state in South Asia which has a 200 million population. Once impressive, but now with declining economy and increasing terrorism, Pakistan is one of the two South Asian states which is experiencing war like situation. Yet, Pakistan is arguably regarded as a regional power and definitely a politically active regional actor because of its nuclear power and role in the international security arena. Although Pakistan was once a rapid developing industrial country, its politics

are dominated by military and religious elites. Recently the state was warned of becoming a failed state.

Pakistan has multiple internal and external security threats merged into a complex situation and placing challenges on its sovereignty and territorial integrity.

4.7.1 Internal security threats

The U.S has carried out drone attacks on its biggest War on Terror ally's North-Western border regions on a regular basis. These drone attacks are undermining Pakistan's sovereignty and the terrorists who are being targeted by these drones are attacking Pakistan as an act of retaliation. Also, the Pakistani military by itself is fighting with Taliban backed terrorist groups in its north- west border region. In the Afghan- USSR war, Pakistani military with the U.S support created these Islamists to fight against the Soviets, now in the aftermath of the U.S invasion of Afghanistan, their former allies turned against them. After the brutal attack on a Pakistani school by the terrorists in 2015, Pakistan increased its anti-terrorism activities.[92]

Besides the post 9/11 security factors, there is a long running rebellion in its Baluchistan province, Pakistani military is suppressing it at the moment with heavy hand, but if they fail to manage a political solution, Baluchistan will be their future big crisis which can harm the territorial integrity of the state. On the positive note, Pakistan is experiencing consecutive rule of elected governments. Although merely electoral, this democratic practice can result in positive outcomes for the country's overall security scenario, especially on the Baluchistan and on the issue of rehabilitation of terrorists.

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[92] Asia News Monitor, (2015). Pakistan reportedly bans haqqani terrorist network. Asia News Monitor.

4.7.2 External security threats

Externally Pakistan's biggest threat comes from its traditional rival India. They fought four wars with India and both states are now equipped with nuclear bombs at present. So, Pakistan lies under nuclear threat. Also, they have an unsettled Kashmir dispute with India, which has engaged its military there for seven decades. The U.S was traditionally an ally of Pakistan since the early cold war days, but since 9/11 and the U.S invasion of Afghanistan, the U.S- Pakistan relationship has been damaged. And The U.S is posing significant external threat to Pakistan as it is suspicious about Pakistan's affiliation in the global war on terror and now carries regular drone attacks inside Pakistan. It is also important to see what role Pakistan will take after the U.S troops leave Afghanistan. If Pakistan helps Taliban to return to power in Afghanistan then Pakistan may create new enemies in Afghanistan who are against Taliban, on the other hand if Pakistan doesn't help Taliban then Taliban and their Pakistani compatriots can increase attacks in Pakistan.[93]

4.7.3 Post 9/11 affect

After the 9/11 attack, the Pakistani and U.S relationship suffered from a heavy blow as the U.S leaned more towards India. This shift in the friendship pattern means Pakistan might be undermined further in the South Asian context and they will be weaker to hold grounds in the Kashmir dispute. China is also a traditional ally of Pakistan since the 1970's. China is known to have helped Pakistan in acquiring nuclear capacity and giving huge amounts of economic aid. Pakistan receives Chinese support also because the Chinese wants to keep Pakistan as a regional counter weight to India. But, giving the fact that China has its own Muslim problem with Uyghur people, it is not difficult to predict that the Chinese government is not

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[93] Kugiel, P. (2010). Double game: Pakistan in the global war on terror. *The Polish Quarterly of International Affairs*, 19(3), 26-44,1.

fully satisfied with Pakistan's patronization of Islamists in different time and places.

To sum up, Pakistan's primary security challenge is to control Islamist terrorists and their current retaliation on Pakistan. Secondly, there is a serious threat on its territorial integrity on Baluchistan, and in an event where Pakistan fails to solve its problem with Islamist extremists of the North West border region, then they may lose control over that region as well. Pakistan is clearly losing the rivalry with India, now it is much more important for them to secure relations with the U.S and their task is to balance between the rivalry between China- U.S and China- India.

4.7.4 Conflict data set

Table 5: Numbers of Conflicts over issues and intensity between 2002 and 2014 in Pakistan

Pakistan	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	Total
Territorial		4	7	2		13
System / Ideology			9	11		28
Regional Predominance	1		5	3	2	11
Autonomy		1	1	1		3
Secession		1	6	1		8
National Power	4	1	3			8
Other			1			1

Total	5	7	32	18	10	72

Pakistan absorbed direct effect of the 9/11 events. U.S. invasion of Afghanistan hit this state hard. Having conflicts over national power was multiplied by the rise of Islamic fundamentalism and subnational predominance and both was direct side effect of the U.S. invasion of Afghanistan in post 9/11 period. Also, it is necessary to note that the nature of conflicts in Pakistan is highly violent. It has territorial disputes with India but that remained non violent for most of the time.

Conflicts per year 2002- 2014
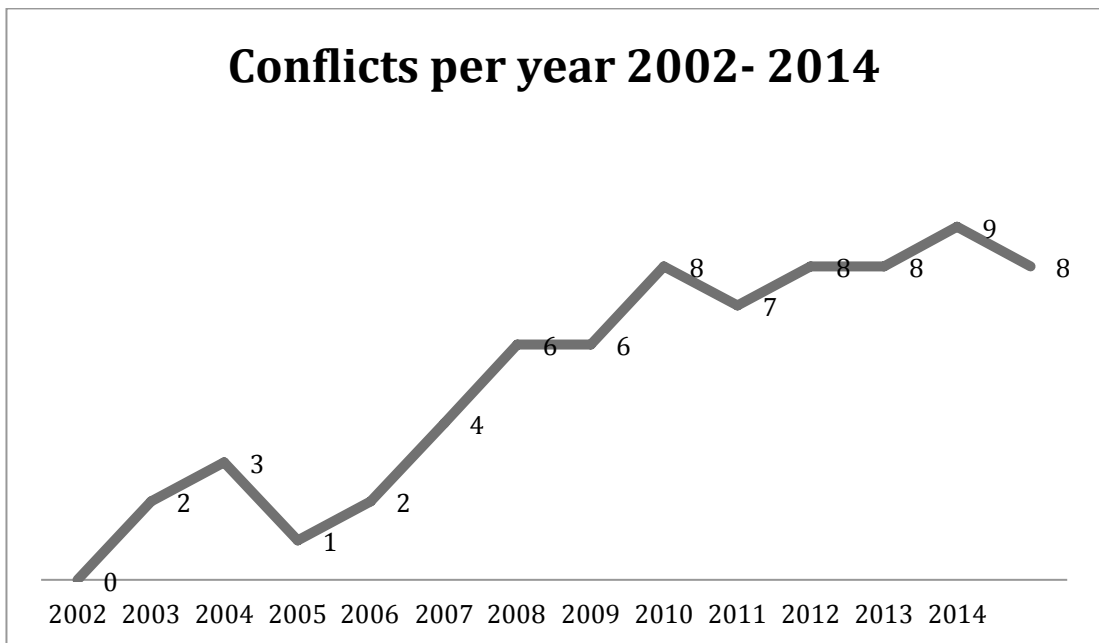
Figure 4: Frequency of Conflicts between 2002 and 2014 in Pakistan

The sharp rise of the conflict in Pakistan shows how this state has become a primary victim of the post 9/11 security complex in South Asia. Most of the conflicts which added in the post 9/11 period are related to the Ideological issues.

4.8. Sri Lanka

It is an Island nation state with a population of 20 million. It has established democratic practice and achieved highest rate of education among its population within South Asia. It is located on the South of India.

4.8.1 Internal security threats

Their biggest domestic security challenge has been several decades of long ethnic conflict with its Tamil population living in the north eastern part of the island very close to the Indian state of Tamil Nadu, the biggest area of Tamil population in the world. Sri Lanka ended its long time ethnic insurgent struggle against the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elam (LTTE) in 2009 through heavy handedly military measures. Relatively peaceful and democratic Sri Lanka's future internal security challenge lies in its ethnic divisions, and the external security challenge is mainly the struggle to balance the influence of India and China over Sri Lanka's sovereignty because of its strategic location in the Indian Ocean.

Since the independence of Sri Lanka, it struggled to tackle the ethnic insurgency in its North East border areas, where the Tamil population started a long standing separatist movement often using terrorism as a method in demanding for a Tamil state since the 1970s. This caused severe blows to the national security of the Island state. Its tourism sector suffered heavily as the state was literally plagued and insecurity mounted by the weekly terrorist attacks of LTTE. India had profound links to the LTTE movement as many of its cadres were trained in the Tamil Nadu state of India and waged public support to the Tamil cause. India once militarily intervened in the war and maintained peace troops for 3 years without any positive achievements from 1987 till 1990. Later in 2009, Sri Lanka with support from China

and Pakistan successfully destroyed the LTTE terrorism. However, Sri Lanka still couldn't achieve a national Sri Lankan identity. Its population is divided among Sinhalese Buddhists, Tamil Hindus and a Muslim population. This has created a fault line for future troubles.[94]

4.8.2 External security threats

Being an island, Sri Lanka's external security is linked to the presence of super powers in the Indian Ocean. India is the dominating force in the region and in 2011 Sri Lanka established a trilateral security arrangement with the Maldives and India focusing on the maritime security in the Indian Ocean.[95] Another Asian giant China is also interested in the Indian Ocean and has maintained traditional friendly relations with Sri Lanka since 1950s. In recent years when India has failed to support the Sri Lankan government to fight the LTTE effectively because of Indian domestic political issues, China and its South Asian ally Pakistan forwarded assistance to Sri Lanka and helped them with equipment and foreign support which helped Sri Lanka to successfully defeat LTTE. And recently China became successful in building a strategically important naval base in Sri Lanka's Hambantota. This was clearly not a comforting development for its biggest neighbor India. Sri Lanka is at a position where they can't ignore India's influences, as it requires India's support to gain greater support from the Non Aligned Movement, SAARC and Asia at large.[96] It is also aware of the hostile public opinion of the India's Southern State Tamil Nadu, which offered support to the LTTE.

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[94] Jayatilleka, D, & DeSilva-Ranasinghe, S 2013, 'IN THE SECURITY OF SRI LANKA', *Policy*, vol. 29, no. 1, pp. 53-56.

[95] P.K. Ghosh (2014) Maritime Security Trilateralism: India, Sri Lanka and the Maldives, *Strategic Analysis*, 38:3, 283-288

[96] Rajapaksa, G. (2013). Sri lanka's national security. Prism : *A Journal of the Center for Complex Operations*, 4(4), 139-155.

4.8.3 Post 9/11 affect

Sri Lanka is experiencing peace since the successful suppression of LTTE since 2009. Although the Muslims are increasingly getting involved into conflicts, but overall this island is experiencing peace without having significant post 9/11 affect.

4.8.4 Conflict Data

Table 6: Numbers of Conflicts over issues and intensity between 2002 and 2014 in Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	Total
Secession	1	2	1	1	3	8
System / Ideology	5	4	5			14
Regional Predominance	18	8	16	2		44
Other	10	5	4			19
Territory			1			1
Autonomy			2	1		3
Total	**37**	**20**	**26**	**3**	**4**	**90**

National identity is a top conflicting issue in Sri Lanka. Tamil tigers' secessionist movement was the primary reason which held the country as a field of violent conflict. But since that movement was successfully suppressed, now the other issues like disputes between Sinhalese and Muslims or Tamils are coming at the surface.
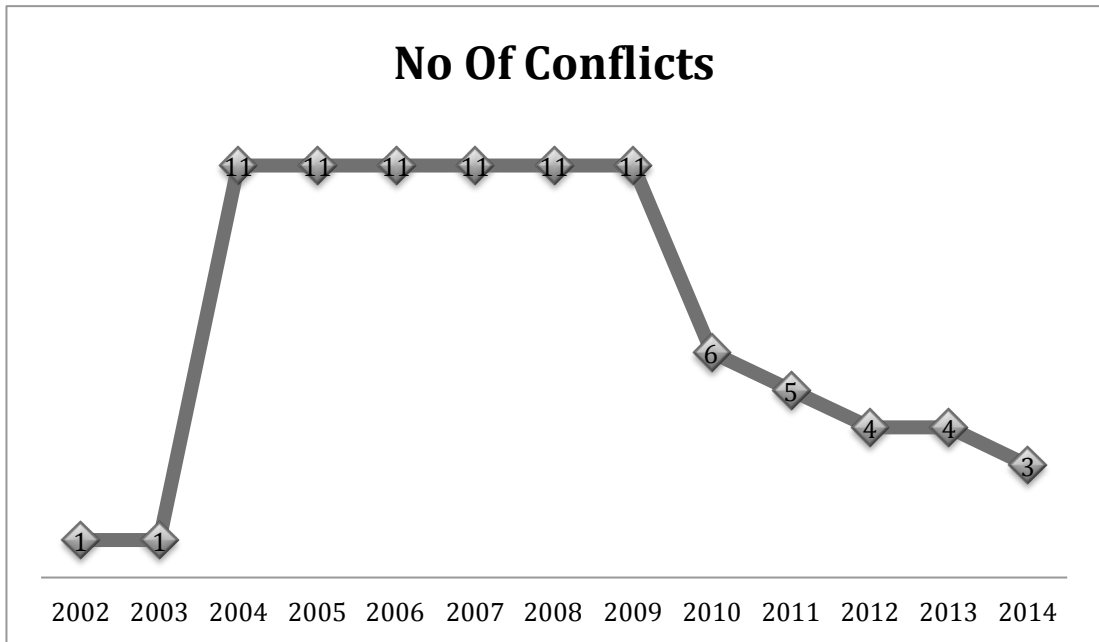
Figure 5: Frequency of Conflicts between 2002 and 2014 in Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka is the only South Asian country which experiencing a decrease in its numbers of conflicts in the post 9/11 period. As mentioned earlier, this happened because of their success in suppressing the secessionist movement, which has also drawn conclusion to many other conflicts where LTTE was engaged to gain subnational predominance. What is significant in Sri Lanka is, except LTTE Vs. State, conflicts between state and non-state groups are rare. Mostly the conflicts are taking place between various groups competing for regional dominance.

4.9. Afghanistan and Insulators

Barry Buzan, founder of the RSCT mentioned Afghanistan and Myanmar as insulator states, which are located in between different RSCs of South Asia and Middle East and South and East Asian RSCs respectively. Security issues of these insulators are shared in the regional RSCs to a certain extent, but don't influence independent RSCs as it absorbs the conflicts. Although they are not to be mixed with the concept of buffer states, but their security complexes are distinct and do not

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affect regional security at large.

Myanmar, an ideal state as Insulator for South Asian RSC, is located on the South Eastern border of South Asia and shares land borders with India and Bangladesh. Isolationists, Myanmar has no direct linkage with the South Asian RSC, but their internal policy to refuse citizenship to the Rohingya Muslim population certainly carries consequences for Bangladesh. There are over millions of Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh who pose certain threats for the future of Bangladesh. Still Myanmar remains a classical Insulator state, but their internal political and social consequences might have growing influence on Bangladesh in the post 9/11 period. Bangladesh has the majority of the Muslim population, and Rohingya Muslim's troublesome situation can have a spillover effect on the Muslim population of South Asia at large.

4.9.1 Afghanistan

In the aftermath of 9/11, I believe there is a necessity to adjust the status of Insulators, especially the status of Afghanistan for 2 major reasons. First, Afghanistan joined SAARC in 2007, now it is an official member of South Asia's only regional association.[97] Secondly, the security challenges of Afghanistan at present are much more connected with Pakistan directly and with India indirectly than ever before.[98] Afghanistan's former ruling party Taliban has its wing in Pakistan and they are carrying terrorist attacks inside Pakistan with the demand to stand by their compatriots across the border in the fight against the U.S. In the future, when U.S. troops will leave the ground in Afghanistan, Pakistan will not be able to keep

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[97] Mazhar, M. S., Goraya, N. S., & Kataria, J. R. (2011). REVISIONING SAARC. *Interdisciplinary Journal of Contemporary Research in Business*, 3(1), 734-745.

[98] Kugiel, P. (2010). Double game: Pakistan in the global war on terror. *The Polish Quarterly of International Affairs*, 19(3), 26-44,1.

itself out of the matters of Afghanistan. India is also getting involved in Afghanistan in economic and political areas by facilitating the anti-Taliban groups. Also, Afghanistan is known to be the training ground of Islamist fighters across the whole of South Asia and other states of the region are currently engaged against them. Pakistan has been a common target for the Afghan trained terrorists after Pakistan joined coalition with the U.S. in the global war on terror. The Kashmiri Mujahedeen are also acquiring training in Afghanistan, which engages India to Afghanistan. Also, Bangladesh and the Maldives traced few Islamists who were trained in Afghanistan and later engaged against their states.[99]

So, given the fact that at least Four South Asian states are getting more and more engaged and affected, by and with Afghanistan's domestic political condition related to the extremist groups training inside Afghanistan, it is of necessity to study the state. Also, last but not least, I think it is time to incorporate Afghanistan into the South Asian RSC.

Table 7: Frequency of Conflicts between 2002 and 2014 in Afghanistan

Afghanistan	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	Total
Territory		1	2			3
System / Ideology			1	1	8	10
National				1	1	2

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[99] Musthaq, F. (2014). TUMULT IN THE MALDIVES. *Journal of Democracy*, 25(2), 164-170.

Power						
Regional Predominance		3	2	3		8
Total		**4**	**4**	**5**	**9**	**23**

Myanmar, another Insulator for South Asian RSC, is located on the South Eastern border of South Asia and shares land borders with India and Bangladesh. Isolationists, Myanmar has no direct linkage with the South Asian RSC, but their internal policy to refuse citizenship to the Rohingya Muslim population certainly carries consequences for Bangladesh. There are over millions of Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh who pose certain threats for the future of Bangladesh. Still Myanmar remains a classical Insulator state, but their internal political and social consequences might have growing influence on Bangladesh in the post 9/11 period. Bangladesh has the majority of the Muslim population, and Rohingya Muslim's troublesome situation can have a spillover effect on the Muslim population of South Asia at large.

So, I include Afghanistan into South Asian RSC while maintaining Myanmar by its current status. In the next chapters, I will bring more analysis and proof to justify my inclusion of Afghanistan as an insulator state.

Chapter 5

REGIONAL LEVEL

5.1 Introduction

At the regional level, South Asia is home to one fifth of the world's population, but the region is extremely fragmented on the basis of enmity and amity. While enmity is deeply rooted and very much visible, amity is a rare sight in South Asian history. In order to keep the orderly progress of our understanding of South Asian security issues, we can distinguish South Asian states into two groups; one are the states who were together in the past under Post conolial British India and the others.

In the post colonial British India group, there are three states, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and in the others, Afghanistan, Bhutan and Nepal who were never colonized and the Islands of Sri Lanka and the Maldives were protectorates of the British Empire. In the colonized group of states, religious sentiment is very dominant as their population is huge and divided into the historically confronting religious ideological division of Hindu-Muslims. This sentiment is easy to trace, as it is often heard at the political elite level through their policies, arguments and blames among each other in the states in this category. Arguments and blames against the opponents are often supported by the history of confronted past. In the post 9/11 period, while the non-colonized states are seemingly moving towards peace by solving their

previous ethnic and political insurgent conflicts in Nepal and Sri Lanka,[100] British colonized India, Pakistan, Bangladesh along with the Maldives are facing fresh disputes related to the religious ideological grounds. Religious hatred and disputes influenced by religion are old phenomena in South Asia, but in the post 9/11 periods, it seems to be re-emerging once again at the center of regional security complex. Mainly in the states where there is the presence of a sizeable Muslim population.[101]

This chapter will first look at the historical development of the pattern of regional enmity by looking at the origins of states. Analysis in this section will help us to understand and identify the historic issues that posed security challenges in the region. Later I will proceed with my analysis of pre and post 9/11 periods in light of founders' previous application of RSCT in the region. Finally, this chapter will conclude by drawing a scene using the predictive RSCT of the South Asian RSC.

5.2 Historical Background of post colonial British India

The decolonization of South Asia was aimed to be a smooth and agreed process, but the internal political chaos among natives fueled with religious and social enmity resulted in horrible communal riots where millions were affected and have continued to carry the ugly birthmark till today. At the peak of the decolonization process, Muslims of the subcontinent demanded a separate homeland for Muslims as they feared they would become minority and won't have equal rights in a united India where Hindus will be the majority.[102] After long negotiation, leaders of the

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[100] See the table of domestic conflicts

[101] See domestic conflict datas which shows increasing and newly introduces conflicts in Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, Bangladesh and Maldives after 2001.

[102] Anita Inder Singh, Decolonization in India: The Statement of 20 February 1947, *The International History Review*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (May, 1984), pp. 191-209

communities agreed on a population exchange, but the process turned ugly as thugs and goons of the communities attacked people of other faith with the target of driving the minorities out and taking their properties. However, once this started in one area, the news with added rumors of such attacks traveled into opponent communities, and acts of revenge and lootings started there as well. Although it began in Bengal, later Punjab experienced the worse communal riots of the partition. While these events were taking place, the British Empire was still in charge of the law and security of the Sub Continent, but their behavior was surprisingly suspicious and intentions were questioned as British royal forces' security staff simply abstained from their duty to keep law and order in the society and because of this so-called negligence, the communal madness continued for days. However, the communal riots ended after causing damages to millions of lives and properties. Hindus were driven out from newly formed Pakistan and ran into India for shelter, leaving everything behind in a country, which was once their home. Muslims also ran to Pakistan, leaving everything behind. According to Mushirul Hassan, the whole process of consistent riots continued until partition, with a million Sikhs, Hindus and Muslims perished and 14 million people losing their homes.[103]

These events of partition left the darkest spot and later developed into enmity between India and Pakistan. Especially in Pakistan where a large number of their military and political elites were the migrants known as Muhajirs, who came from India carried bitter experience. They were never able to forget the treatment they received in India and acted on the spirit of hatred, suspicion and revenge, and

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[103] Zeenath Kausar (2006) Communal Riots in India: Hindu–Muslim Conflict and Resolution, *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, 26:3, 353-370

similarly it happened in West Bengal where millions of the Hindu migrants who left everything in Bangladesh (Former East Pakistan) held a venomous view about their former homeland.[104] This communal hatred became more intense while the Kashmiri Muslims were driven out of their homes and they moved to the Pakistani capital areas. The newly independent India and Pakistan began their state affairs with enmity, which was backed by public support because public perception of each other was that of the archenemy. The enmity was at its maximum height because of the fresh memories of significant sufferings during the communal riots. This allowed public to view their counter parts in the other state as religious enemies who killed their family members, looted their land and properties. This enmity was later apparent by fighting two Indo-Pak wars in 1952 and 1965.

In the Federation of Pakistan the situation was worse as it wasn't enough for the people to hold hatred towards India; it would also seem to be suspicious if fellow nationals failed to hate India equally. This was evident between East and West Pakistan. East Pakistan (later Bangladesh) was home for the Muslim Bengali people with significant numbers of 28% Hindus inside, and was surrounded by India. They also had an identical historical, social, cultural, economical and lingual identity with West Bengal in India. East Pakistan was suffering economically as part of the Federation of Pakistan and decided to open the trade routes through the borders with India. East Pakistan's less hateful and willingness to maintain relationship with India was met with suspicion in West Pakistan. Later events describe, West and East Pakistan had no other common feature except religion and it became apparent in public opinion that East Pakistan wasn't ever liberated from British colonialism, but

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[104] Ishtiaq Ahmed (2002) The 1947 Partition of India: A Paradigm for Pathological Politics in India and Pakistan, *Asian Ethnicity*, 3:1, 9-28,

indeed was colonized by West Pakistan after the British left. Eventually, East Pakistan refused to be in the unfair federation anymore, and eventually revolted. The liberation war started in 1971. After 9 months of war between Bengali freedom fighter's group Mukti Bahini and the West Pakistani military and also India intervened into the war at the end of 1971, East Pakistan broke away and established the first Independent state of South Asia, Bangladesh, which was liberated by a direct war.

So, India and Pakistan are still maintaining their enmity, which began shortly before their independence till today. While Bangladesh, being part of Pakistan for little more than two decades and geographically surrounded by India, is following a middle path between amity and enmity in relationship with both India and Pakistan. Anti-Indian public sentiment prevailing in Bangladesh is partly a fruit of the seed that was planted in the Pakistani period, and partly because of India's state policy that is to dominate and give unfair treatment to its smaller neighbors. And, in the past decade, several events suggest that fresh waves of anti-Pakistani sentiments are also on rise, especially among the youth because of the reason that Pakistan did not apologized yet for the atrocities which took place in 1971.

5.3 Contemporary South Asia

South Asian regional security complex is driven by the enmity among the largest states of the region namely, between India and Pakistan[105] and also between Bangladesh against both India and Pakistan. Any regional development whether it is a regional organization or regional sports tournament, is affected by the India-

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[105] Javaid, U., & Kamal, M. (2015). Security dilemma in south asia. *Journal of Political Studies*, 22(1), 115-127.

Pakistan enmity.[106] Barry Buzan in his work expressed the dominance of India-Pakistan relation on the South Asian RSC. This RSC in the Cold War period was divided into the global bipolar camps. India with the USSR and Pakistan was known to be US's South Asian traditional ally. In the post Cold War period, South Asian RSC didn't experience much of change.

5.3.1 Regional enmity

The principal enmity between India and Pakistan was still very much dominant in the region. However, the difference that is visible is India's steady economical and military growth and expansion. Pakistan has been losing weight against India. In the late 90's, their rivalry achieved a new level as both of the states acquired nuclear weapons. Now, the South Asian RSC, which was already dominated by the India-Pakistan rivalry added nuclear threat to its character. This particular scenario of Indo-Pakistan dominance in the regional order is viewed with deep dissatisfaction by the other states of the region. Their dissatisfaction was visible as the only regional organization South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation SAARC was proposed by the president of Bangladesh and was accepted quickly by other smaller states like Nepal, Bhutan and Sri Lanka. However, SAARC itself has become a brain dead organization because of the negative atmosphere and lack of trust and willingness to adopt significant regional development plans deriving from its biggest members India and Pakistan's rivalry.[107]

5.3.2 Regional amity

Besides the India-Pakistan enmity, there is a significant level of amity visible among rest of the member states of South Asian RSC.

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[106] SAARCs failure is due to the India Pakistan conflict.

[107] Mazhar, M. S., Goraya, N. S., & Kataria, J. R. (2011). REVISIONING SAARC. *Interdisciplinary Journal of Contemporary Research in Business*, 3(1), 734-745.

When we are talking about the rest, it is still mainly driven by the India factor for others at the regional level. India is huge geographically and has land or sea borders with all the other South Asian states except Afghanistan. As India is a regional power racing with China to become a great power, it carries an active security policy in the South Asian region. Bhutan, Nepal, Sri Lanka and the Maldives are India's strategic partners, established by several treaties. Treaties which are guaranteeing the smaller states' sovereignty or security and in return, they offer cooperation and priority to consider India's territorial or maritime security policies. In the scenario without India and Pakistan, it seems the rest of South Asian states are in cordial relationships, but yet maintain loose relationships. Although there is no concrete or dependent relationship among others but there are also no big disputes. Actually, it is only Nepal and Bhutan's refugee dispute that exists in South Asia in which India is not related in any direct way. And, all the states except India and Pakistan have expressed their will and interests to strength the SAARC. So, now we traced the roots of amity and enmity in the South Asian RSC. The enmity is formed between India and Pakistan largely while amity is present with the others.

5.4 Case of Continuity

In the post 9/11 period South Asian RSC didn't experience significant changes in its regional structure, but there is a deep effect of the global war on terror, which is polarizing the societies across the whole region. Despite the fact that South Asian security order remained almost same at the state vs. state level, but there has been drastic change within the societies and individual state's policies.

Before, the South Asian RSC was bi-polar, the Pakistani and Indian rivalry at the official level was dominating the security complex of the region. Since the terrorist

event of 9/11, there has been direct U.S. military involvement in Afghanistan and Pakistan. India maintained its steady growth and has outnumbered Pakistan in economy as well as in military capabilities.

Pakistan became a major U.S. partner in the war on terror and as a consequence, it became a primary target of Islamist terrorists operating within Afghanistan and Pakistan. The nation is struggling in every sector from economy to social security. This confrontation of Pakistan with their former ally Islamist terrorists who now turned against them has shifted their primary focus from India toward domestic terrorism. These developments turned South Asia from a bipolar to almost a unipolar region. The reason I am using the word almost is because even in the absence of Pakistani strength in the rivalry against India as before, India cannot be labeled as the sole power of the region yet. Mainly because it has failed to resolve its own disputes with its smaller neighboring states and failed to gain acceptance as a sole regional power within the region. Another reason is Pakistan has nuclear capability and has continuous Chinese economic and military support, which gives Pakistan the self-esteem to keep its rival position against India.

Moreover, Chinese patronization of the small neighbor states of India is undermining India's sole regional power status. The Chinese presence and influence over the South Asian states in supporting the smaller states like Nepal and Sri Lanka along with Bangladesh, Maldives and Bhutan in lesser extent to ignore and even refuse India's leadership in the region. India itself showed its lack of ability to establish itself as the sole regional leader by using soft power. India has unsettled territorial disputes with Nepal and Bhutan, maritime disputes with Sri Lanka over the fishing issue; border killings of Bangladeshi citizens are among the top disputes that harms

the establishment of India's leadership skill within the region. India is the most powerful and largest state in South Asia, but not the leader. One of the big reasons is India's lack of economical power. It is unable to facilitate its policy implementations through economical means, thus the Indian approach in its treatment of the smaller states as their competitor in various economic sectors sends complicated messages to its domestic public. It would be much easy for others to give political support to India's power seeking character if India had the ability to reward them economically in return.

Thus, in all of its neighboring states, there is a significant presence of anti-Indian public sentiment. This anti-Indian sentiment might not be harmful to India directly, but certainly harms its image as a regional leader and instead paves the way for China to enter the region deeply. What is important to note about South Asia's mutual suspicion and lack of trust is that because of the long-standing enmity present in the region, cooperation and regional development is facing extreme obstacles. South Asia has the least regional trading in comparison to other regions of the world. Although the regional organization SAARC has agreed to adopt policies to promote regional cooperation in the economic and developmental sectors, there has been no noteworthy development achieved so far.

5.5 Case of Transformation

The changes that occurred in South Asia between the pre and post 9/11 are two folds. First, states where there is no significant numbers of Muslims experienced less conflicts or stayed at their previous course. Secondly, states where there is significant number of Muslim population, experienced significant increase in the disputes with relation to religion, particularly brought Islamic fundamentalism at surface. The sub-

continent is divided along religious line between Hindu-Muslim as is demonstrated through the Indian and Pakistan rivalry. The Kashmir dispute was always a holy war for Pakistan against India, Bangladesh's CHT rebels were from non-Muslim religious minorities, Sri Lanka's Tamil dispute has religious significance too, and Bhutan's concern about Nepali minorities on their land is related to protecting their socio religious identity as well.

9/11 has also seen India, Pakistan and Afghanistan engage in a war against terrorism. Bangladesh is experiencing its own threats posed by Islamists since 2005's series of bombings throughout the country. After the Tamil disputes ended, Sri Lanka's government has had several conflicts with its Muslim population; even the Maldives fear a rise of Islamism in its islands. Except Nepal and Bhutan, where there is no significant number of Muslim populations, every other South Asian country is fighting Islamists at the domestic level. This is not a coincidence; the war that was waged in Afghanistan against the USSR in the 1980's was labeled as a Muslim holy war or Jihad. Since then Afghanistan attracted Islamists by offering a safe haven for extremists to get training for later deployments to places where Muslims are suffering. Later after 9/11, the U.S. invasion of Afghanistan dismantled that safe haven and forced Islamists to return home or to seek new shelter in other states of the region. The U.S. invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq was met with an attempt to portray it as an attack on Muslims at large among the South Asian Muslims. U.S. invasions and the toll of deaths of Muslims fueled anger and anxiety in the Muslims across South Asia through the Islamic web of media, madrasahs and mosques.

5.6 Predictive RSCT at regional level

So, in post 9/11 periods, religion which was an ever present burning issue under the

surface has resurfaced once again in South Asia, and this time it is particularly Islamic fundamentalism which often turns into terrorism. This development was partly due to the global conflict pattern in the Middle East and South Asia's position in the global war on terror, and partly due to the mismanagement of South Asian governments who failed to address and explain the global terrorism issue considering local sentiment with local approach rather than being heavy handed on their own citizens by importing strategies from outside. Now, it seems on surface that the South Asian RSC will still be dominated by the India-Pakistan rivalry, but with added enmity and threats coming out of religious sentiment across the region. India's strict commitment to fight against Islamist terrorism might give a false impression to the Muslims of the region, as India's involvement might be interpreted as though they have intentions of oppressing Muslims because of their Hindu background.

The risk of the rise of religious sentiment in South Asia risks further ignorance of regional developments and further fueling of enmity. The South Asian RSC is moving from traditional security threats coming from rival states towards threats of terrorism coming from regional non-state actors. Al Qaeda and other formerly known terrorists groups are the potential biggest threat of the immediate future. In Bangladesh, Al Qaeda already claimed their involvement behind murders of atheist bloggers.[108] As the threats of these non-state actors keep growing, then we will see a new pattern in the South Asian RSC, where the governments will cooperate more among themselves against the transnational non state actors, particularly against the Islamists.

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[108] Barry, E. (2015). Al Qaeda Branch Claims Responsibility for Bangladeshi Blogger's Killing. New York Times.

However, the situation will not be a nice one as it is not obvious that the states will forget or at least put aside their traditional rivalries to fight new enemies, rather they might simply incorporate the new threats of Islamic terrorism to their blame game of blaming the enemy for everything. It is already observed that India blames Pakistan for the terrorists' attacks taking place in its land; Pakistanis believe in the conspiracy that Indian intelligence is behind terrorist activities in Pakistan. Bangladeshis believes that their domestic terrorist groups are getting support from Pakistani groups and the Maldives claim that their citizens educated in Pakistan are importing extreme religious fundamentalism in its islands.

Any further regional development depends on the role of India largely. India's growing ties with the U.S. is now making India the South Asian local policeman in this era of the global war on terror. India is actively taking a stance inside and outside of its border to oppress Islamist groups, whether they are political or terrorist organizations. One incident in Bangladesh was notable in 2014. India supported an unfair election in Bangladesh by expressing their worries that Islamist groups might have come to power otherwise.[109] But, India needed to take a pragmatic and tailored stance on the issue of Islamism in South Asia. India being a state where the current ruling party is known for their radical Hindu ideologies could be easily misunderstood by the Muslims about their motivation. If South Asian Muslims find that there is a religious rivalry between Hindus and Muslims in the name of dealing with the issue of terrorism, then the whole region, particularly, Bangladesh, Pakistan and India itself can explode with fresh communal riots.

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[109] Serajul M Islam (2013) A Diplomat's disappointing visit, The Financial Express. http://www.thefinancialexpress-bd.com/2013/12/09/7905/print

5.7 Conflict data set

So, in the aftermath of 9/11, while we saw at the domestic level that political and ethnic disputes in Nepal and Sri Lanka were solved through both peaceful and military solution, in India, Bangladesh, Pakistan and the Maldives we have seen religious extremism and non-state terrorist actors gaining fresh importance. And, it is quite clear that this development of religious fundamentalism in the latter countries are dominating and will keep dominating the regional security complex for upcoming periods as well with newly added enmity of Islamists terrorism in the post 9/11 period.

Total Number of Conflicts between 2002-2014
548
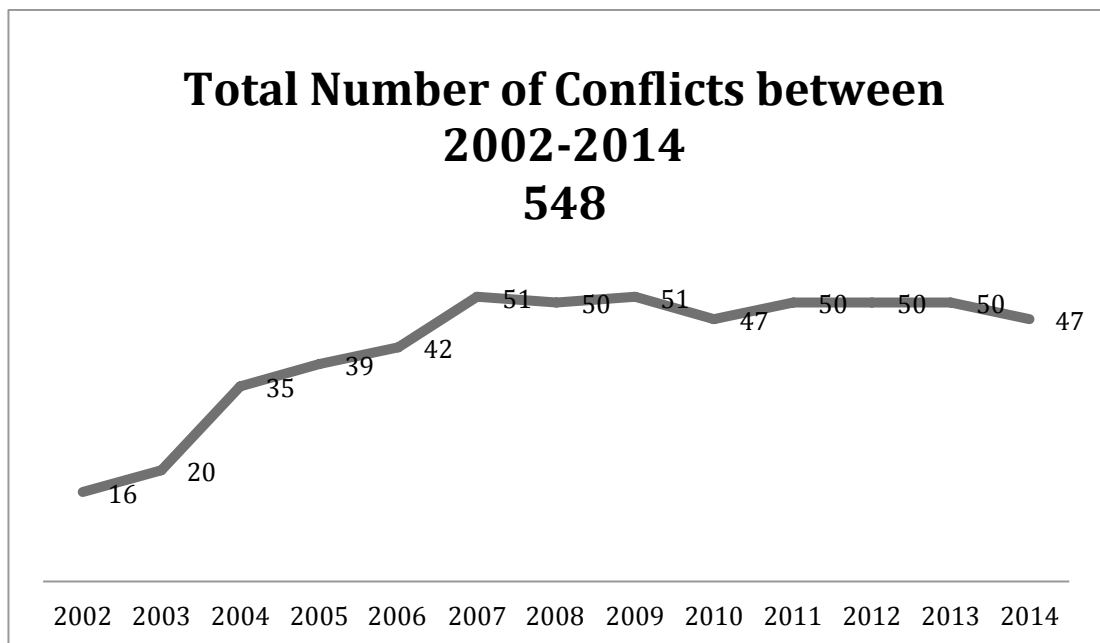
Figure 6: Frequency of Conflicts between 2002 and 2014 in South Asia

Overall conflicts have increased in the aftermath of the invasion of Afghanistan under the global war on terror campaign.
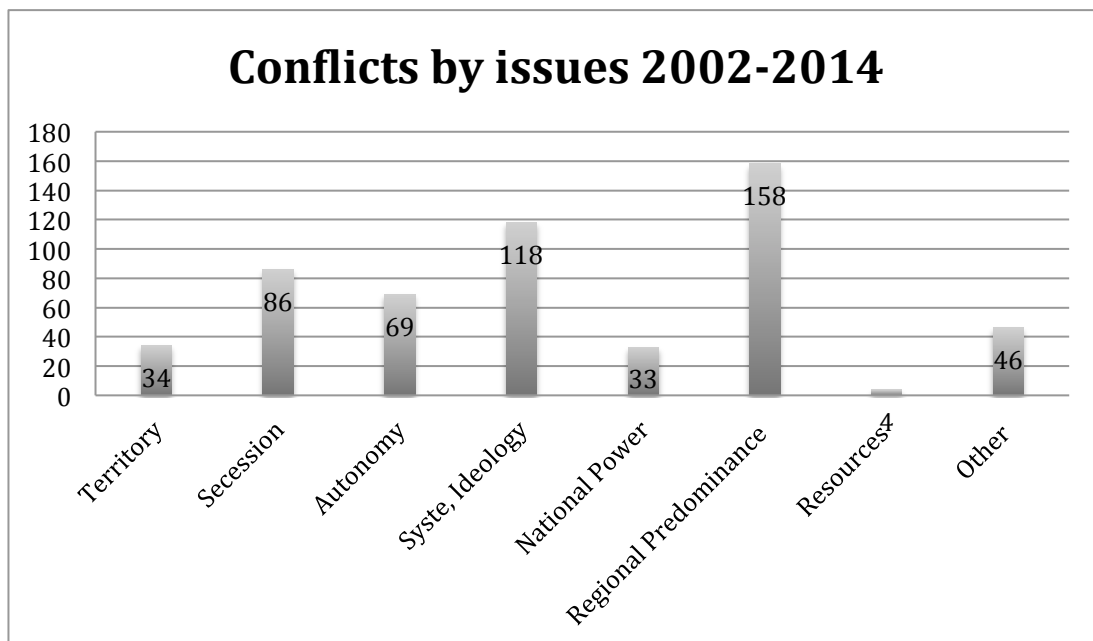
Figure 7: Number of conflicts per issue between 2002- 2014

Ideological conflicts were mainly conflicts where Islamists were part of them. These increased in the period of post 9/11, rise of the conflict numbers shown in the previous graph that it is mainly due to the rise of system, ideological conflicts.

Table 8: Average intensity level of Conflicts between 2002 and 2014 in South Asia

Countries	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	Total
Bangladesh	12	25	35			72
Bhutan				1		1
India	23	53	123	26	1	226
Nepal	9	20	22	4		55
Maldives	3	3	3			9
Pakistan	5	7	32	18	10	72

88

Sri Lanka	37	20	26	3	4	90
Afghanistan	1	3	5	5	9	23
Total	**90**	**131**	**246**	**57**	**24**	**548**

It is noteworthy that the Ideological conflicts were much higher in intensity than the other types of conflicts.

5.8 Affect of post 9/11

While all the South Asian states joined or signed partnerships with the U.S in the global war on terror, the population had very little support for the war. The domestic Islamists groups were brought under scrutiny and they grew anti-government sentiments over time. South Asian states in general have poor governance records, and in states where Muslims are majority like; Bangladesh, Pakistan and the Maldives the situation has worsened and anger against their local government was added with the religious agenda. Also from the government's side, in order to gain western political and economic support, political parties in governments of South Asia dealt with Islamists using a hard hand. There have even been wide allegations that parties are capitalizing on the global security concern to achieve their personal political gain and securing power in government. Such situations helped to grow anger and distrust of the Muslims against their own governments.

Thus, millions of domestic citizens have become suspicious in the eyes of their own states as potential terrorists and the public views their government as agents of the West acting against their religious beliefs. As a result, political polarizations on

religious grounds have taken place in Bangladesh and the Maldives. The Pakistani government has become the target of Islamist terrorists. To add on this internal struggle external non-state actors like Al Qaeda has even opened a new branch in South Asia.[110]

5.9 Conclusion

Moreover, as discussed in the context of domestic level analysis earlier, India has a large number of Muslim people feeling alienated or victims of state policy, then there could be polarization within India and that could lead to communal riots to the extent of a civil war. Bangladesh and Pakistan, India's two predominantly Muslim neighbors who had previous records of engaging in communal riots, might not be able to refrain from new polarization of the society in the region. There is a significant number of Hindu minorities living in Bangladesh, any riots fueled with religious hatred could harm them to the maximum extent. But, if India takes the responsibility of tackling Islamist terrorism in the region with pragmatism and secularism, if India can show the separation of terrorism and religious identity in their policies of dealing with terrorism, then South Asia could experience a new level of regional cooperation and success in dealing with terrorism.

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[110] BBC (2014), Al-Qaeda chief Zawahiri launches al-Qaeda in South Asia, http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-29056668

Chapter 6

INTER-REGIONAL LEVEL

Inter regional security complex is a significant level of security analysis. This level does the analysis of the security scenario that emerges as a result of interconnectedness between two separate RSCs.

6.1. Introduction

According to the founders of RSCT, South Asian RSCs have two neighboring Middle Eastern and East Asian RSCs and two insulators; Afghanistan and Myanmar respectively in between each of the RSCs (See the map, page 29). In 2013, Barry Buzan wrote an article[111] to review the previous work on South Asia, which was done in 2003. In his latest article he argued that the inter regional complex between South Asia and Middle East remained same, but interaction between South Asian and East Asian RSCs increased. His prediction was India and China with their increasing economic and military power and ability to implement policy, will want to enlarge their sphere of influence in each other's local region, and will lead to a much more tensed relation between India and China and this circumstances will affect the interregional dimension. He kept Afghanistan and Myanmar's position as insulators unaltered. Although he acknowledged growing Islamism in South Asia through Afghanistan influenced by the Middle Eastern RSC situation and backed by Saudi Arabia, he concluded by saying that while South and East Asian RSCs will become

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[111] Buzan, Barry. 2011. The south asian security complex in a decentring world order: Reconsidering regions and powers ten years on. *International Studies* 48, (1): 1-19

closer due to the Indo-China relationship complex, everything will remain the same in the Western side of South Asian RSC.[112]

6.2. Revision of the previous application of RSCT

I have previously expressed my different opinion about the position of Afghanistan as an insulator, while agreeing about Myanmar's insulator status. It leads to another point of disagreement with the founders of RSCT. In my opinion, with the inclusion of Afghanistan in South Asian RSC, the Middle Eastern and South Asian RSCs get interconnected significantly. Not only because of the inclusion of Afghanistan into South Asian RSC, but also because of the developments of events in post 9/11 periods.

My argument is that, while RSCT predicts that the security concerns for the states would be primarily territorial, the founders acknowledged the significance and relativity of non-territorial issues as International Terrorism.[113] And we must agree on the point that since 9/11, international terrorism climbed onto the top of security concerns due to the effect and domination of policies in light of the global war on terror. And, this is much more significant and relevant for the Middle Eastern region. The reason I am arguing on the interconnectedness of South Asian and Middle Eastern RSCs is primarily based on the surface of security concern over international terrorism.

The Middle Eastern and South Asian RSCs have interacted very often in the post 9/11 period and these interactions are not limited between one on one discussions

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[112] Ibid

[113] Buzan, B., & Waever, O. (2003). *Regions and Powers The Structure of International Security*. New York: Cambridge University Press.p, 44.

between states from each RSCs, but the South Asian and Middle Eastern RSCs entangled through mass population of several states. South Asian and Middle Eastern RSCs are much more publicly driven and contemporary as millions of South Asians live in the Middle East as migrant workers and share ideological grounds with the Middle East through Islam. We are experiencing and might see a steady increase of such interaction in upcoming years and this development holds equal significance for the South Asian RSC and its relationship with the East Asian RSC.

Another point of disagreement between the founders of RSCT and me is that their interregional analysis was almost completely India centric. While I agree that India is probably the most important actor in South Asia, and thus when discussing interregional levels then it is India which takes most of the spotlight because of its giant size and significant power. But other smaller states and specifically Pakistan also have their unique position in the area and thus play their roles in the formulation of RSCs. Especially in relation between the South Asian and the Middle Eastern RSCs, which the founders largely avoided, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Afghanistan play significant roles in shaping the relationships through the common grounds shared by the population of the two RSCs. And, also in relation to the fact that the East Asian RSC Pakistan, plays an important role as it is the most trusted partner of China in South Asia.

Before going to the analysis of each relationship, I want to mention that there is a significant nature of relationship between the South Asian- Middle Eastern and the South Asian- East Asian RSCs. South Asian- Middle Eastern RSCs are related and interact mainly at the private level, while South Asian- East Asian relationship is mainly statist. Relationship between South Asian and Middle Eastern RSCs are much

more complex and volatile as it has public engagements with sentiments included and a direct engagement with the aftermath of the post 9/11 global war on terror. The South and East Asian RSCs are more limited in their diplomatic and policy maker levels with very less connection with the public.

6.3.   Middle East and South Asian RSCs

There is a historical relationship between Middle East and South Asia. First, there was ancient sea trade between the gulf countries and the subcontinent and later the Muslim invasion and ruling of India which lasted for more than 500 hundred years. Presently there are more than 500 million Muslims in South Asia who maintain a deep spiritual relationship with the Middle East and South Asia. South Asia's primary tie with the Middle East is particularly focused within the Gulf Countries, although there are various degrees of relations with all other Middle Eastern countries. Also, there are enormous amounts of South Asian people working in the Middle Eastern countries, particularly in the Gulf States. This connection establishes the fact that even if the governmental levels of communication between these two regions are not in tandem, at least, these two regions certainly have extra ordinary links at the private level.

In the post 9/11 periods the global security complex has been marked by the 'Global War on terror' agenda. As I mentioned earlier the significance of this war is that, it is between states against citizens across states. This peculiar nature of the global war on terror is unprecedented and has brought private citizens into an exceptional position. So any study on security issues limited at the state level will be short sighted. Moreover, as the present situation suggests that all the extremist groups based in Middle East are Muslims, this has created a significant point on which to look at

South Asian and Middle Eastern relationship. This specific nature of the security threat on the states has resulted in a peculiar link between public sentiment and governments in the states where there is a significant Muslim population. South Asian Muslims are highly moved by the political situation in the Middle East and Middle Eastern states and civilian groups are highly connected to the South Asian public through their financing capacities directed towards traditional Islamic schools; the Madrasahs and religious groups. The Islamic concept of Ummah (community of Muslims) bounds Muslims to stand along with each other.[114] There was a fundamentalist movement that took place across the Muslim world in the 1970s after the third war the Muslim states lost against Israel. At that time, while Iran experienced an Islamic revolution, Pakistan was going through an Islamization process under President Zia Ul Haq, radical ideas of Salafism found its rout to South Asian states via the Middle Eastern Jihadists who came to Afghanistan to fight a Holy War against the Soviet Union facilitated by the United States through Pakistan.

Salafism (locally known as Ahle Hadith) is not an entirely new phenomenon to the South Asian Muslims, but the South Asian Muslims were traditionally under influence of the Islamic Sufism, which is more spiritual and less fundamental, by nature.[115] This connection between South Asia and the Middle East is not limited only on ideological grounds, Arab billionaire and terrorist leaders like Osama Bin Laden were engaged in the Afghan- Soviet war and later given shelter in Afghanistan and Pakistan in the post 9/11 periods.

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[114] Bar, S. (2004). The religious sources of islamic terrorism. *Policy Review*, (125), 27-37.

[115] Heath, D., & Mathur, C. (2011). *Communalism and Globalization in South Asia and Its Diaspora* . Oxon: Routledge.

As a consequence of sheltering Arab Jihadists came the U.S. invasion of Afghanistan and this resulted in the demolition of the Taliban bastion, which ended up with Taliban's spill over inside Pakistan, and now, the U.S. is carrying drone attacks in Pakistan while the Pakistani military is fighting Taliban and various other Islamist extremist groups inside Pakistan. This mess is a direct fruit of Middle Eastern- South Asian regional relations. However, this cooperation among Middle Eastern private citizens and South Asia is not one sided. On the other hand, South Asian Jihadists were found fighting in various Middle Eastern states like in Syria and Iraq fighting for Islamist extremists against their governments. South Asian states showed interest in maintaining peace in the Middle East by taking the side of the Gulf States. Pakistan especially often fought wars for Middle Eastern governments such as Saudi Arabia or the UAE.

However, the relationship between South Asia and the Middle Eastern RSC is not limited to the religious ideological or global war on terror ground. It is not only about Middle Eastern Influences on South Asia, but also, South Asian states have other security concerns in the Middle East as well. Their primary concern is the millions of South Asians from Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka who are working in the Gulf States. It is not only about the safety and security of these workers in the region which is getting affected by civil unrest and wars increasingly, but also their contribution to the South Asian states by means of remittance also matters.

Also, whatever ideologies they are bringing back home from the Middle East does also matter. For example, the radical Salafi Islamic ideologies are particularly claimed to be a Middle Eastern value imported to South Asia by immigrants and

other public communication channels.

Middle East faces security concerns over the huge South Asian population within its borders as well. These South Asian expatriates surpasses the local population and almost all of the service sector is dependent on the South Asian workers at all levels.

Moreover, the South Asian energy sectors specifically that of oil is dependent on the Middle Eastern energy supplies. India and Pakistan's dependency extends to natural Gas as well.[116] But, state level relations between South Asia and the Middle East is basically the relation between India- Pakistan and the gulf countries. India has a bilateral relation with Oman, Saudi Arabia, and Pakistan is long known to have been a strong ally of the Gulf Countries for whom Pakistan has even fought few times.

6.4. South and East Asian RSCs

The analysis of South and East Asian RSCs received significant importance from the founders of RSCT. The basic argument is that India's growing ambition of shifting its position from a regional power to a global power has met with rivalry from China. China and India are engaging in a race of spreading influence in each other's region. India has established ties with ASEAN countries and adopted a look east policy, which has resulted in relations between Japan, Vietnam, Singapore, Thailand and India. Also, India joins the Japan- U.S.- Australia pacific democratic circle. China on the other hand is increasing its sphere of influence to India's neighboring South Asian states like Nepal, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh. Pakistan traditionally receives Chinese support to it against India. China backs Pakistan to undermine India's power in South Asia and successfully creates obstacles in front of India to make South Asia

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[116] Rahul Roy-Chaudhury (2014) *India: Gulf Security Partner in Waiting?* Adelphi Series, 54:447-448, 225-246

as a unipolar RSC.

While it is true that South and East Asian RSCs are experiencing ever increased communication. The argument that this interaction is a security concern for both regions is unquestionable. India- China rivalry is based on pure economic and traditional security terms and carries different legacies. There are five points, which is in clash of interests for both India and China. First, is the cold war period's tension between India and China, which was as a result of an unmarked border between these two states. Secondly, the India- China relationship deteriorated because the two states both suffered from lack of trust. Third, successful and potential Chinese support to Pakistan with the aim of keeping Pakistan as a regional counter weight to India. Fourth, Indian developing economic and military powers which allowed them to pursue security policies in the Indian Ocean with the capacity to spread some influence in the Chinese neighborhood of East Asia. Finally, ever increased U.S-India friendship in the post 9/11 period coupled with the fact that China views the U.S. as their primary security threat.

So, these continuous security threats have deteriorated the India- China relationship. But their relation has not worsened to a level that one can argue is alarming. Contrarily, in the post 9/11 period, it is much more feasible to predict that because of the nature of the global security concern (as I mentioned which is mainly U.S. led Global war on terror where primary enemies are Islamist extremist groups), India and China have found a common ground where they have a common enemy. Despite the traditional friendship or sponsoring of Pakistan, China has kept a firm distance with Pakistan in the Kashmir issue, which is largely connected to religious sentiment. The reason China downplays on issues related to Islamist involvement is, its own

problems in the resourceful Xinxiang province with Uighur Muslims. Even in East Asia, which is a common rivalry ground between India and China, the looming threat of Islamist extremist from the Philippines and Thailand calls for an alliance between the two Asian giants. So, it is easy to assume that India and China have no confrontation on the most pressing global security issue at present. Because of the importance and potential of their common enemies, it is assumed that China- India relationship will not degrade in the near future, but might promote cooperation between both states.

It is also necessary to mention that the power balance between India and China is marked by huge margins. Indian economy, military might and ability to sustain and impose its sphere of influence in the East Asia region is limited. The reason behind this inability is mainly economical. China's ability to sustain the supply of financial aid, infrastructural development and military supplies to Pakistan, Nepal, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh is very crucial and perhaps the only source for the receiver states. But, this is not the case in the relatively united and financially much sounder East Asian region. India has very little control over those states where it has already influenced as East Asian states are not needy or dependent on India as much as is the case for South Asian states on China. So, if we compare the longevity of Indian and Chinese influence in each other's local region, then we can see China has the upper hand.

It might suffice to say that India- China rivalry could be compared to the India-Pakistan rivalry. I will present my argument in two points. First, Pakistan is backed by China in order to keep the balance of power in South Asian RSC and check India's raise as sole regional power. In a broader landscape, the U.S. began to

appreciate and support India to act as a counter balance against China in the Asian Super complex. Secondly, Pakistan is not able to compete with India by its self-power as it lacks sufficient economic and military power to survive the competition without risking its very self-prosperity. Similarly, India lacks sufficient economic and military might to survive a competition against China. India lags behind China in economic and military measures significantly as Pakistan lags behind India.

6.4.1 post 9/11 affect

So, in my opinion, India- China rivalry is a potential future security threat for the two RSCs, but it is not immediate threat. India- and China are both aware and cautious about each other on the basis of traditional power rivalry focusing on the further future. Their immediate security concern is not the power struggle between states, but the new wave of citizen rivalry with the potential to turn into radicalism and terrorism within their states. The current global war on terror, which is the bedrock of the post 9/11 security agenda is much more active in South Asia and engages the regional and global powers in a manner, which is receiving much more public, media and international attention than the traditional competition between the states. The traditional competition over security was further undermined by the Chinese approach of keeping silence on the Kashmir issue and Afghanistan's Taliban issues respectively. China is very much concerned about the uprising of Islamic fundamentalism in its resourceful Xinxiang province among the Uyghur Muslims. It is similarly aware of the political uprising of fundamentalists in Indonesia, Malaysia and the Philippines. India has similar concerns as China for not getting engaged in a situation where its own Muslim minority would react in an unwanted manner. China and India are much more concerned presently about Muslim related issues. This gives the option to predict a spillover effect on other traditional sectors of rivalry.

Also, as the basis of RSCT is that states relations develop in the forms of amity or enmity and thus decided the nature of their relations or security prospect. So we need to look at India- China rivalry in amity- enmity lens. It is clear that in the most pressing issues like unmarked border, Tibet and control over Indian Ocean, both India and China have been practicing amity rather than enmity for quite a long period of time, coupled with fact that the level of competition to spread their spheres of influence has not reached the level, which one can call enmity. China in several occasions acknowledged and welcomed India's rise as a powerful state and emphasized the importance of working together. India also in several occasions appreciated Chinese might and is not in a position to ignore the commercial relationship with China at large.

6.5.   Predictive Interregional relations of South Asian RSC

So, South Asian and Middle Eastern RSCs are quite remote at the governmental level and do not pose certain security concerns, but at the citizen level it is much more interconnected and has potentiality to pose immediate security threats. In order to explain it in a clearer definition, we can call security threats coming directly from the policies of other states primary security threats and security threats which are coming as a result of situations in other states and traveling through the private citizen's channels as secondary threats. In that prospect, Middle Eastern RSC poses secondary security threats to South Asian RSC. The South Asian concern is the safety and security of its migrant workers and free flow of energy and remittance supplies from the Middle East while undermining the influence of radical Islamic ideologies and terrorism. (Financing of the radical Islamic groups, opening of Al Qaeda's new South Asian branch and Osama Bin Laden's hideout are the kinds of security threats that I am pointing here.)

South and East Asian RSCs are less volatile in comparison to the connections between South Asian and Middle Eastern RSCs. South and East Asian RSCs are dominated by two locally unchecked powers in Asian context, namely India and China. Both are fast developing states with significant land and population. Both carry out policies intended to spread their sphere of influence in each other's region in order to downsize the other's power. These moves are very much identical to the moves that take place in chess games. But, there is no profound enmity between these two states and both regularly make very friendly public remarks. Moreover, it was obvious through earlier discussions that China and India's rivalry is not properly balanced because of the significant gaps in the two's economic and military capabilities. China is a great power and perceived to be a future super power, while India is a regional power thriving to get the status of a great power. India's ambition and progressions are blocked by China through backing Pakistan to stand against India, similarly it seems that the U.S. is aiming to back India to stand against China at the Asian level. So, while it is true that there is a competition between India and China, at the same time it is true that the competition is uneven and do not pose an immediate threat. Not only because of their power balance, but also because of the influence of the U.S. led global war on terror in the post 9/11 period. In the future, if this global war on terror ends or loses its top priority statues, then it will be proper to assert that the Indo- Chinese rivalry will become an immediate threat in the region and will need to be analyzed with much more deep concern.

6.6 Conclusion

As it is clear that the most persuade security threat today is that of terrorism as we are living in a period of ongoing global war on terror. It is noteworthy that the current form of terrorism is different than the terrorism carried out by Sri Lankan

Tamil separatists. Global war on terror profoundly engaged with Muslim extremists groups alleged for terrorist activities. And, the terrorist groups claim that they are backed by the Islamic ideology. As of today there is no sign of curtailing this form of terrorism, but the growing presence of Islamist groups in the Middle East with steady spreading of similar groups in Afghanistan, Pakistan, India and Bangladesh by at large. So, I assume this form of connection between the South Asian and Middle Eastern RSCs will be enhanced in the upcoming periods.

To sum up, South Asian and Middle Eastern RSCs are becoming closer than ever. This development is largely taking place at the private level instead of the governmental level. The governmental level does also have dependency on each other in sectors which are crucial for their national security, but the main spirit of the increasing connection is religion, to be precise the common religion of Islam between South Asian Muslims and Arabs. So, despite the distance and separation at state levels, both of these RSCs are increasingly facing a common or at least similar group of enemies and thus there is space for further merger of the two RSCs.

Chapter 7

GLOBAL LEVEL

7.1. Introduction

Traditionally South Asia has kept its distance from the global security dynamics and stayed relatively engaged with its unique regional issues like the India- Pakistan rivalry and ethno national insurgency movements with seldom-religious communal tensions.[117] However, this situation changed in the post 9/11 period. Afghanistan's inclusion in the region and the rise of Islamic fundamentalism in several states turned South Asia into a flash point in the global war on terror. Although there have been much more incidents taking place in the Middle East region which pose primary security threats for the global powers, its effect on this region cannot be neglected. Thus, the global security and regional security is an ever-close concern o South Asia. Besides the global war on terror effect, the complicated China- U.S. rivalry and India's uprising has made the region even more relevant at the global level of analysis. Barry Buzan in his reviewed work on South Asia in 2013 primarily focused on the China- U.S. equation mainly and he assumed that South Asian relevance to the global level depends on the rise and fall of the super power.[118]

7.2. Global Citizens vs. States war on terror

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[117] Buzan, Barry. 2011. The south asian security complex in a decentring world order: Reconsidering regions and powers ten years on. *International Studies* 48, (1): 1-19

[118] Ibid

My argument is that, there is no disagreement on the fact that China- U.S. economic rivalry and India's uprising in the regional and global power structure matters for the smaller states as the pressure to choose sides in the future competitions as the big powers looms on them. The region as a whole is receiving more and more importance at the global level. The U.S. President Barack Obama declared openly that their plan is to focus more on Asia than the Middle East, which is a breakthrough in U.S. foreign policy that has been followed for very long period.[119] So, while the Indo-Chinese-U.S rivalry has intrinsic value in analyzing the regional security issues, it is shortsighted to ignore the current situation which is very much engaged in the war on terror and any analysis of the South Asian security issues is doomed to be a failure if it doesn't focus on the ongoing global war on terror. Not only because there is a direct engagement of the U.S. and NATO forces in Afghanistan and U.S. regular drone attacks in Pakistan, but also because South Asia is the region where many terrorist organizations are active and this region is home to one of the largest numbers of Muslims.

As we discussed earlier, the global war on terror has a new dimension. This is a war where states are fighting private citizens of multinational bodies in a transnational theatre. So, population demography and public opinion matters in security issues more than ever. Recently the new wave of public criticism on the religion Islam in the media, and the terrorism campaign of the Islamist groups have made the whole struggle much more global.[120] South Asian Al Qaeda networks and their local

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[119] Feffer, John. 2014. Obama's half-pivot to asia. Foreign Policy in Focus: N_A

[120] Drawing cartoons of the Muslim Prophet in the west and westerners joining ISIS as a means of protests are to be noted.

partners killed Bangladeshi bloggers.[121] A Bangladeshi student Nafis Ahmed was also arrested in the U.S. for involvement in a FBI's sting operation.[122] A Pakistani national was also arrested for an alleged terror plot in Canada.[123] An Indian IT expert was arrested because of his involvement in social media campaigns for ISIS.[124] British teenage girls of South Asian origin and have flown to Syria to join ISIS.[125] Such situation tells us how deeply the South Asian public is becoming part of the global war on terror by various degrees and means. Also, Afghanistan is a direct war zone and Pakistan became the closest ally in the U.S. led war on terror. The Bangladeshi and Indian governments are fighting against domestic potential threats coming from Islamists. And, as our data showed (see page 45) since the middle of the first decade of 21st century, the conflict between Muslims or particularly Islamists and South Asian governments intensified dramatically. And, there is no sign of the situation calming down yet. Local governments are keeping their Muslim populations under strict scrutiny to keep them away from global terrorist networks.

7.3.   Power distribution in U.S.- China- India triangle

Barry Buzan made the point that in the future, there will be no single super power, but several regional powers. Thus, regionalism will become much stronger in

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[121] Barry, E. (2015). Al Qaeda Branch Claims Responsibility for Bangladeshi Blogger's Killing. New York Times.

[122] Barry, E. (2015). Al Qaeda Branch Claims Responsibility for Bangladeshi Blogger's Killing. New York Times.

[123] Press, T. A. (2015). Pakistani man arrested in Toronto terror plot. Toronto: CBSNEWS.

[124] Madhusoodan, M., & Kumar, C. (2014). Mehdi Masroor arrested, confesses to operating ISIS Twitter handle: Cops. The Times of India.

[125] Dodd, V., & Khomami, N. (2015). Two Bethnal Green schoolgirls 'now married to Isis men' in Syria. The Gurdian.

upcoming days.[126] However, the U.S. is still generally accepted as a big brother in all of Asia, and it is still counted as the ringmaster in South Asian power politics, but also U.S. power is declining and China is rising. China is already the second biggest power according to the size of its economy and not very far behind U.S. military power. Now China is taking active and aggressive courses to spread its sphere of influence across the continents. It is noteworthy that, while the U.S. is busy in the Middle East, China is spreading its influence across the world and especially Africa with huge investments. China also has good relations with Middle Eastern states like Iran and Syria as well and has taken a very proactive policy to secure its position in the Pacific and Indian Ocean.

While China and U.S. stand head to head in the pacific, there is a low tensed race in the Indian Ocean between China and India. India has benefit from its geographic position over China to secure its own interest in the Indian Ocean, but China has managed to establish naval base in Sri Lanka and tried hard to pursue the Maldives to allow them to build naval bases in their area.[127] India, being a democracy and having sizeable Indian community in the U.S. has grown closer ties with the U.S. in post 9/11 periods. India- Israeli friendship has also helped India to remove the fog of suspicion over the U.S.-India relationship.[128] The result became apparent as the U.S. President signed a nuclear deal with India during his visit. This was understood as a

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[126] Buzan, Barry. 2011. The south asian security complex in a decentring world order: Reconsidering regions and powers ten years on. *International Studies* 48, (1): 1-19

[127] Brewster, David. 2015. An indian ocean dilemma: Sino-indian rivalry and china's strategic vulnerability in the indian ocean. *Journal of the Indian Ocean Region* 11, (1): 48-59

[128] Haaretz (2015), Israel-India strategic ties are no longer a secret. http://www.haaretz.com/news/diplomacy-defense/1.643024

U.S. green signal for India to keep its rise and future integration at the global power circle. If India becomes a trusted partner of the U.S. then U.S.'s job to check Chinese up rise will be easier. India being a democracy with promising economy and strong military power is a much more valid friend to the U.S. than any other country in the region. The U.S. is fighting a war against terrorists, in which particular war India has been engaged for more than half a century.[129] India is concerned and somehow anxious about China's rise, so the U.S. is.

7.4. Post 9/11 affect

Western powers and the U.S. are not following any policy, which would give a feeling of comfort about the perceived western Islamophobia to South Asian Muslims. As a result, the relationship between the Muslim communities and Western communities is polarizing. Muslim groups are increasingly becoming subject to criticism in the Western societies and global medias, while in their own states the governments are getting much closer to the powerful western states. This is alarming for the region because, hundreds of millions of Muslims will not let this scenario to pass unquestioned for a long period of time. If any serious opposition coming from these populations meets with a hardline pro western government in the future, it might turn into violent clashes with spillover effect in South Asia. As our data showed, the ideological conflicts are prone to be more violent than other forms of violence, and in this era of transnational communication, terrorism has become much more flexibility than before.

The global war on terror is a state vs. civilian war, in which every single state in the world, have official agreements for cooperation against terrorism. On the other side,

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[129] Gordon, S. (2008). Policing terrorism in india. *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 50(1-2), 111-124.

few transnational terrorist organizations are fighting against all the states in different locations and capacities. The terrorists are not specific, the groups that were leading the terrorism campaign few years ago are not at the central position today, and instead new groups have emerged.[130] Similarly, there are new recruits in the terrorist camps. One thing is common on the terrorist side, is that the majority of them are taking inspiration or asking support from Islam and Muslims.

So, the global war on terror has taken a blurred image as the states are fighting against phantom enemies. That is why invading Afghanistan or winning against a particular group has failed to end the war on terror. The only tangible point that has been made so far is, that while addressing terrorists or terrorism, western media refers to them as Islamists. Commentators like Bill Maher and Sam Harris are calling for reform within Islam as a solution to the terrorist problem. It seems that in the global war on terror campaign the only enemies that can be identified are Muslims in general. Talking about Muslims, the first region comes to our mind is the Middle East, but the world's biggest Muslim population lives in the South Asia. Afghanistan's and Pakistan's border regions have become a hub for Islamist even before they penetrated Middle East region.

We have seen much more engagement of the war on Terror in South Asia than in the Middle East. In the Middle East, it is only Yemen where the U.S. has carried drone attacks, but the same thing is happening in Pakistan as well besides U.S. and NATO troops stationed at Afghanistan. So, we have enough evidence to make the point that the global war on terror is taking place in South Asia and thus it is the most pressing

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[130] ISIS is much more in the centre of attention than Al Qaeda which was biggest threat few years back.

security issue for South Asian states at this current time. And, there has been no sign in sight to assume that this security concern will fade away very soon. China and India are not also alien to this security threat as both of these states have active policies to stop the threats coming from Islamists. China is following a heavy-handed policy and has even banned fasting for Muslims in its Xinxiang province, which is predominantly Muslim.[131] India views Islamists as its primary threat because of the Kashmir situation and communal tension. Also India has suffered from regular terrorist attacks in its big cities for so long, even before the U.S. led global war on terror began.

So it is not an exaggeration to say that the and current and immediate security threat that looms over South Asia is the global war on terror rather than the China- U.S.- India power struggle.

7.5. Predictive RSCT at global level

It seems that India- U.S. friendship is set for a turn into India- U.S. partnership in the near future. The only significant obstacle between India- U.S. partnerships is Pakistan, which is a traditional U.S. partner since the 1950's. As Pakistan is unwilling to give up its attitude of being counter balance for India despite Indian rise and their own fall, the U.S. getting more close to India which will have an impact in the Pakistan- U.S. relationship. Pakistan is a forced partner in the war on terror, and the U.S. needs Pakistani support to keep control over the Islamist extremists across South Asia.

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[131] Ali, A. (2015). China bans Muslims from fasting during Ramadan, say Uighur community. THE INDEPENDENT.

So, there is a deep uncertainty about the course of how the U.S. will maintain its relationship with India and Pakistan. India poses no immediate threat to the U.S. in any close form, neither economically nor militarily, but China is. And, as the U.S. is getting more close to India, China is getting much even closer to Pakistan. After the U.S.- India nuclear deal, China decided to invest enormous amounts of money in Pakistan.[132] It seems that, while the U.S. is considering and thus paving the way to make India into an Asian counter to rising China, China is backing Pakistan to stay as a South Asian counter to rising India.

This seemingly uneven competition grows tensed, as China has already successfully spread its influence over the smaller South Asian states that are also neighbors to India. India's failure to gain the trust and support of its neighbor was a perfect opportunity for China to take advantage. China made small South Asian countries depending on its export; also it invested huge amounts in those states. Taking advantages of bitter issues of bilateral issues between India and other South Asian states, China entered the region off guarded by India and welcomed by the South Asian states anxious about India's unchecked might in the region.[133] Another significant point is that, India itself became dependent on Chinese products and investments in many sectors and asked for further Chinese investment.[134] India's economic weakness is what makes it the weaker party in the race against China.

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[132] Shah, S., & Page, J. (2015). China Readies $46 Billion for Pakistan Trade Route. Wall Street Journal.

[133] Buzan, Barry. 2011. The south asian security complex in a decentring world order: Reconsidering regions and powers ten years on. *International Studies* 48, (1): 1-19

[134] Shira, D., Wright, K., & Pitman, A. (2015). Modi Visit to Fuel Chinese Investment into India. China Briefing.

However, in my opinion, this geopolitical scenario is a concern for the region in the future, not the present. At present, the U.S. still has a significant upper hand against China everywhere in the world. India is economically not yet a match to China today. India has nuclear power and growth in the economy, but is not even accepted as the sole regional power in South Asia yet. In the past couple of years, there was hype going around about India's status upgrade to global power, especially after President Obama's positive comment about India's bid to join the United Nation Security Council as a permanent member.[135] However, the latest news is U.S. China and Russia, all three has declined India's bid to join UNSC.[136] At the same time, although sharply declining, Pakistan is still a relative and counter weight to India and didn't showed willingness to give India a free pass to become regional hegemon yet.[137] Although sharply declining, Pakistan is still a relative and counter weight to India.[138] In such situations, the China- India rivalry is a future security concern as, same as the U.S.- China rivalry is also another issue for the future. Significance of post 9/11 is, it removed state vs. state enmity and replaced it by state vs. citizens conflicts. So, our study of security issues needs to stay more focused on the ongoing global security threats and relevance of South Asia.

So, given the facts and evidence of the security concerns of the biggest players in

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[135] Stolberg, S. G and Yardley. J. (2010). Countering China, Obama Backs India for U.N. Council. The New York Times.

[136] Staff Report, (2015). India bid for permanent seat suffers blow as US, Russia, China oppose UNSC reform talks, The Economic Times.

[137] Buzan, Barry. 2011. The south asian security complex in a decentring world order: Reconsidering regions and powers ten years on. *International Studies* 48, (1): 1-19

[138] Ibid

South Asian region; the U.S.- China and India, all of them reflect through their policies that terrorism is an important issue and causes most of the ongoing troubles for their governments, So, I view the primary South Asian security concern at a global level is that of terrorism activities driven by the Islamists.

7.6. Conclusion

As this current security threat is coming from the public rather than states, it must have a root cause into the public sphere as well. At the global level, it is the Middle Eastern terrorist organizations, which camped in South Asia, which brought the region to become a target spot for the U.S., led global war on terror. Then it was the spillover of religious sentiments among the Muslims across the region. The global war on terror was soon viewed as a Christian Western attack on Muslims. The reason for such perception is partly due to the famous announcement of George Bush's Crusade, and partly because of the experience of the Jihad against the USSR in the 1980s. Kashmir was also another significant issue for the South Asian Muslims, which has intrinsic religious sentiment along with the Israel- Palestine conflicts, which also affected the viewpoint of Muslims. The Kashmir, Israel- Palestine issues were major points of Muslims to complain about receiving bad treatment by the non-Muslim powers.

These long running issues have made Muslims frustrated for so long. In the Afghan-USSR war, Muslims from all over the world joined the fight on the Afghan side as their chance to wage a holy war to save their faith from external oppression. Although the Jihadists won the fight against USSR, their primary concern over Kashmir or Palestine was not met in reality, and the direction of the Jihads changed soon. Within two decades, when the U.S. announced the global war on terror and

invaded Afghanistan after the 9/11 attacks, Muslims who were not convinced that the terror attack on World Trade Centre was carried by an Islamist terrorist organization, viewed the U.S. invasion of Afghanistan as an assault on Muslims in general. That's why; Pakistani tribal groups joined the fight on the side of the Al Qaeda against the U.S. and built their own bastion to fight against their own Pakistani government who joined alliance with the U.S.

This security threat that South Asia faces is covered by suspicion between citizens and governments. Both governments and terrorists are aligning with non-South Asian powers to fight their own war. Although Terrorism attackers in South Asia are citizens of South Asian states; as well the victims are the same people.

Thus the matter is much more complicated when it comes to the point that the government has the right to protect its citizen as the government also has the duty to protect its citizens. There is the need to identify the enemy, but as said previously, there is no certain enemy. Anyone can turn into a potential enemy. At present it seems as though the enemies of the state are within the Muslim communities. This creates further trouble as the preventive measures taken by governments itself can increase the polarization among people. Innocent Muslims certainly don't like to be viewed as potential threats to their own people, but governments cannot wait till a person joins a terrorist organization too.

Thus Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and the Maldives are facing serious threats of polarization within their society. Muslim communities in these countries are disgruntled and perceive their governments as acting against them, and some of them might join groups working against their own state. The political parties in

power are also making the situation much more complicated by trying to get political benefit under the fog of security issues. In Bangladesh and India, there are wide spread criticism that Governments are oppressing political opponents by cultivating fear of terrorism, and by so doing, these governments are receiving western support. In Pakistan, the tribal groups who live in areas with poor infrastructures and lack of government services are much more prone to Islamist extremism.[139] When the government is engaging in the fight against terrorism, local populations view it as political oppression.

In post 9/11 periods, the world experienced ever-increased security measures and in face of those measures, private freedom has been restricted in many countries across the world and South Asia is no exception.

In general it has been discussed in the academia as well, that in the aftermath of 9/11 and global war on terrors, fundamental human rights are under violation.[140] For the Muslims, these violations carry other meanings; they perceive the measures taken by the governments as attacks on them because of their faith.

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[139] Ismail, Aisha, and Shehla Amjad. 2014. Determinants of terrorism in pakistan: An empirical investigation. *Economic Modelling* 37, page: 320-331

[140] Goderis, B, & Versteeg, M. (2012). Human rights violations after 9/11 and the role of constitutional constraints. *Journal of Legal Studies*, 41(1), 131-164.

Chapter 8

CONCLUSION

This thesis aimed to find out security issues of South Asia in the post 9/11 periods. I analyzed the data and conflict patterns under the light of social, economical and political structures at the domestic, regional, interregional and global level.

To sum up the facts discovered in this thesis, I will present as follows: Domestic, Regional, Inter regional and Global.

Firstly, at the domestic level, in the South Asian states, where there are a significant number of Muslim populations experiencing polarization within the society and increasingly getting into conflicts. In these countries the post 9/11 security complex became much more important than the pre 9/11 issues like insurgencies or threats coming from neighboring states. This polarization is happening partly because extremism is on the rise among Muslims and partly because of the increasing disagreement between states, governments and Muslim populations.

Post 9/11 global war on terror is an anti terrorism campaign initiated by the Western powers led by the United States and South Asian states have joined that campaign. Thus South Asian states are not only supporting the U.S. invasion of Afghanistan, but also actively trying to prevent extremism among their Muslim population. The acts of prevention is often misunderstood or misinterpreted as government's acts

against the Muslims. Such suspicion increases while the political oppositions of the local government's came under suppressive policies, which were directed to suppress extremism. In India, Pakistan and even in Sri Lanka there are new conflicts where Muslims are getting involved in post 9/11 periods. In Bangladesh, this is a very bold issue where the ruling party has undermined democratic governance and kept oppressing its political opponents by justifying their actions required to counter terrorism in the country. The situation became worse while the Indian foreign secretary visited Bangladesh and gave full support to the election from which main opposition party abstained by saying, this election is required to keep the fundamentalist Jamat E Islami (party known as Islamist group) of Bangladesh out of state power.[141] Such policies taken and supported by states which are clearly undemocratic is giving reasons to the Muslims to mistrust their government.

Secondly, regionally, the post 9/11 security complex is not dominating at this level. Although states are facing the rise of fundamentalism, but still there is no orchestrated action at the regional level. Majority of the states in the region are suffering from ideological conflicts. The current war on terror is an unprecedented war between private citizens vs. state's security forces, this fog of war has turned the highly populated region of South Asia into a highly sensitive region vulnerable. This vulnerability comes because the proportion of Muslim population is very high in this region. Unless the sensitivity of the issue is handled properly, further polarization might renew religious enmity among public.

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[141] Hasan, M. (2013). What was Sujatha Singh's message? Dhaka: The Daily Star.

India and Bangladesh where there are significant numbers of Muslim and Hindu minorities respectively fall into the danger of communal violence similar to 1947's. Also mistreatment of the religious community by the governments of South Asia can easily degrade the already volatile situation. As I have discussed that Al Qaeda started its operation in South Asia and there is increasing ties between Middle Eastern extremist groups with South Asian citizens, if the governments fails to handle the religious sentiment of Muslims of South Asia then with the financial and military support from outside, local extremist groups can start civil war against the governments. As the socio economic structure of South Asia is not satisfactory and there is wide spread corruption coupled with high rate of poverty and illiteracy, it won't be difficult for the extremists to recruit fighters by propagating against lack of democracy, human rights and good governance under the current political system.

Thus the mishandling of religious sentiments and confrontation at the time of suppressing extremists has the possibility to turn into long-term civil wars. The upward graph of the regional conflicts tells us that currently the situation is getting worse and there has been no positive sign so far except that other forms of conflicts except the ideological is decreasing. But, regionally this doesn't seem to be a good sign as the numbers of conflict keep increasing. Also the absence of regional security architecture makes it much harder for the South Asian governments to handle this sensitive situation in this global era where transnational organizations are operating throughout South Asia.

Thirdly, inter regionally, security threats from the state level are coming from East Asia while security threats transmitting from Middle East are private in nature. The focal point of the confrontation between East and South Asia is limited between

India- China relations. Although these two states have a history of war and continuous tension, but the issue between them is purely related to political economy. There is a potential of future escalation, but at present I do not see any reason to take the India- China rivalry as a primary threat. The reason I favor giving secondary priority to India- China rivalry is mainly because both have the same primary threat coming from ideological groups, namely Islamists. Until and unless they both deal with their primary enemies, none of them will engage into a conflict at the state level with neighboring states holding significant military power. Instead, the India- China rivalry might facilitate already existing threat to grow further. For example Chinese support towards anti Indian elements of South Asia, and India will keep focusing on strengthening of its economic power.

The situation is different for South Asia and Middle Eastern RSCs. There is very minimal state level cooperation and confrontation, but at the private level these two RSCs have become very close. The basic idea of current political Islamism which is aiming to change the political system was imported to South Asia from the Middle East, and South Asian citizens are increasingly becoming partners of Middle Eastern groups fighting on the ground to change the system. Thus, there is ever more necessity for the South Asian states to focus and enhance their relation with the Middle Eastern governments in order to understand the Islamist groups and their strategies to face them.

Fourthly, globally, the South Asian population living abroad has the potential to become a concern for global security. Not only because many South Asian decedents' find the global jihad attractive, but also because the ever-growing volatility of Nuclear armed South Asia can affect global order as well. Western states

like U.S. and NATO members have the responsibility of Afghanistan's future, and Afghanistan's future will highly affect the South Asian regional security order. Thus, it is necessary for the world to take the South Asian security concerns with deep concern. So, in order to secure and maintain their own security global powers need to take South Asian socio- political development and law and order with high priorities. Neglecting South Asia might end up resulting in the creation of a new base for Islamists in South Asia after Iraq- Syria. The Afghanistan- Pakistan border has high potential to turn into another Islamic State like ISIS in the Middle East. If such development occurs then it will not only inspire transnational terrorist organizations but at the same time it will affect hundreds of thousands of South Asians in South Asia and worldwide.

8.1. Result of Hypothesis

So, now we can say that our hypothesis has a mixed result. South Asia as a whole is more prone to conflicts in the post 9/11 period than the pre U.S. invasion of Afghanistan. This new period has certainly made the Socio- Political groups of Muslims more vulnerable to conflicts, while the situation remained same or slightly better in the rest. Bhutan, Nepal and Sri Lanka where there is no significant numbers of Muslims reflected improvement in general even though there are potential future threats of Muslim and Sinhalese conflicts in Sri Lanka. Afghanistan and Pakistan, two states that have direct involvement in the global war on terror are clearly suffering most from the results of the global war on terror. Bangladesh, India and the Maldives have potential threats of Islamist fundamentalism, which can seriously harm their security, but good governance and improvement in democracy seem sufficed to protect them. So, we can say that the overall security environment of the South Asian region has been damaged in the post 9/11 period with exception of Non-

Muslim states where the situation improved slightly.

An important significance of this thesis was, its findings about the nature of the security threat at present. It became apparent that the natures of the security issues have undergone massive changes. Threat producing elements have been changed from states to citizen. In the past, states were concerned and affected by their traditional enemy state or a hostile neighboring state, but today the primary threat over state's security is coming from transnational terrorist organizations operating through private citizens. Now a 'lone wolf' terrorist ask for much more concern from the security policies taken by states to provide everyday security to its citizens. Now the threats coming from other states have second priority after the terrorist threat. This development is a direct result of the 9/11 terrorist attacks, which was followed by several other attacks in European cities, and South Asian states as well.

In comparison to the post cold war period, Terrorism also absorbed many other issues in the post 9/11 periods as well. Actions taken by groups that are involved in political movements, insurgencies and territorial disputes are increasingly perceived as terrorism by states in disputes. Kashmir is a good example in South Asia. This dispute was known as a political insurgency for so long, but in the aftermath of 9/11,the actions of Kashmiri fighters are widely regarded as terrorism.

This very nature has developed because of the identity of the disputants. As the 9/11 attack was carried by Islamist terrorist and followed by the U.S. operation against Islamist groups. The basic identity of the terrorists was constructed as Muslims. At current there is no news about terrorist groups operating that has different identities rather than Muslims. In the past there was a well-known group LTTE of Sri Lanka

that carried suicide attacks, but even they do not exist on the surface anymore. So, it is all about the terrorist groups identified as part of Muslim populations. We have seen in the data analysis that in the aftermath of 9/11, the conflicts between states and non-Muslim groups declined sharply in Sri Lanka, Nepal and Bangladesh. While on the other hand, the conflicts where ideological groups are involved has high level of intensity and Muslim groups are very common to be found in those high intense conflicts. This nature of conflict has developed in the post 9/11 period, especially after the U.S. invasion and dismantling of Islamists extremist bases in Afghanistan.

Another significant point that I have pointed in this thesis is that the current security agenda, which evolved in post 9/11 periods, affected South Asia mostly. This region did not suffer from direct invasion and follow up war, but also this region has suffered from polarization in its society. This polarization has a potentiality to become very costly for South Asia given its historical background.

The reason I chose RSCT to explain the regional security is that, RSCT gives a proper analysis of the contemporary world. Since the cold war ended, the regional powers are advancing in tandem with U.S. decline, and the gist of RSCT that threats travel over space sounds much more appropriate than the security threat channeled from the invisible center of the world. And, through out this thesis, we have seen that RSCT expressed its well-orchestrated ability to explain security issues of the current time very specifically at various levels. The predictive capacity of RSCT comes with its wide ranged variables and levels of analysis, which comprise every security unit from domestic to global.

Although I have used the RSCT as the main lens to look at the South Asian regional

security concerns, I have made several major adjustments to the theory on the changing scenario post 9/11.There have been three major points that require distinct mentions. First, I focused on non-territorial International terrorism by the non state actors as the primary security concern for South Asia, which the founders of RSCT during the pre-9/11 periods didn't foresee. Secondly, I revised the insulator status of Afghanistan in the post 9/11 period, which the founder Barry Buzan didn't accept until 2013. Finally, I incorporated empirical evidence to provide proof for my arguments and to give a clear base to prioritize security concerns.

8.2. Policy recommendations

Finally, as one can see that South Asia is in turmoil and has the extensive potential to turn into a long lasting battleground in the future, I would like to make three recommendations at this level to conclude the thesis.

First of all, we need to accept and understand the vulnerability of South Asia. Thus, even if we cannot find a solution to the increasing ideological conflicts in the region, we need to figure out a way about how to contain the threats at the current level. In order to contain the risk, I believe developmental democracy could be the most useful tool. Taking into account the fact that the South Asian socio- political nature and the economic condition is very poor and under developed, coupled with wide spread corruption and bad governance, improved education and economic development can prevent frustrated people to get attracted to extremism and terrorism.

Governments need to realize that their failure in providing facilities to the citizens is the vital arguments the extremists use to propagate their agenda within the public.

Incidents of corruption, violation of fundamental human rights like; freedom of speech and voting rights are the incidents that help Islamists to argue for a change in the political system. Unless the situation is improved, it seems highly unlikely that the impoverished and illiterate public will listen to the government officials' call to help the state to keep the society secured. In the postcolonial South Asia, there is a wide spread belief that politicians in charge of governing are doing it to gain personal benefits. Such a mindset of a huge number of people is ripe for mass public and disobedience.

Still, today we do not see any sign that the governments of South Asia are trying to understand and solve the current issue of religious extremism. We have seen such initiatives have been taken by the British government by setting up terrorism prevention cells, but none of the South Asian states even acknowledge that they are having some trouble with certain groups. So, it is primarily important to acknowledge and contain the Islamist extremism to secure South Asia.

Secondly, it is also necessary for the global powers to exert pressure on South Asian states to resolve the long lasting regional conflicts like the Kashmir issue. Also, issues like the separatist movements of Baluchistan in Pakistan, insurgency in India's Seven Sisters states, the Rohingya issue in Myanmar, implantation of CHT peace treaty in Bangladesh are long lasting issues that are influencing the security environment and might further polarize South Asian societies. So, the global powers should exert pressure on South Asian states at the various International Governmental Organizations to solve those issues along with improving good governance and human rights. South Asia is internationally not well integrated; this isolation allows the local governments to act ruthless. Such actions has negative

impacts on the society and in this age of technology, it will be very disappointing if anyone thinks that what happens in South Asia will stay within South Asia.

Finally, as this current problem has religion related ideological links, it is thus a very sensitive issue. Such issues require extra care in handling in this age of information. So, the media is very important in maintain security today. International, regional and national Medias need to play a very crucial role at this time. The media can increase ongoing polarization or can help the governments to contain the polarization through taking active policy about news publication. There is a trend of a blame game among the politicians, and it is necessary for the world that the news media should refrain themselves to facilitate the politicians. Governments should and I hope will take required action to contain and fight negative social elements, but this struggle can become much easier through sensible reporting by the media.

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