

## REGIONAL SECURITY DYNAMIC OF SOUTH ASIAN REGION: ANALYSIS OF KASHMIR CONFLICT

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**Abstract.** This article demonstrates how Kashmir conflict between India and Pakistan change regional security dynamic in South Asia. The formation of regions, intensification and importance of regional power is interesting for different kind of scientists, including political analysts, due to the changing values of national nations in a global world and due to the power separation between members of international system. Regional nations, which are analyzed, are one of the most rapidly growing markets, what is more, a lot of important changes in politics, which give the world a tumble of particular tendencies, happens in these countries. All things considered, it is important to get information about processes which happens in Southern Asia, especially, in India which is a regional power. The article analyzes how regional security system in South Asia. Analysis of regional security dynamic in India-Pakistan conflict demonstrates how organization serves the purpose of enhancing the efficiency of transactions among states, but the ambiguity in them also functions as a tool to manage distribution of power.

**Keywords:** regionalism, regional security, Kashmir conflict, South Asia region, relations between India and Pakistan

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### 1. Introduction

Security of a country and region is tightly related to a whole array of its sustainable development facets (Stańczyk 2011; Balkytė, Tvaronavičienė 2011; Białoskórski 2012; Vosylius *et al.* 2013; Tvaronavičienė, Grybaitė 2012; Vasiliūnaitė 2014; Tvaronavičienė 2012; Lankauskienė, Tvaronavičienė 2012; Čepėnaitė, Kavaliūnaitė 2013; Giriūnienė 2013; Tvaronavičienė 2014; Prause, Hunke 2014; Kaukas 2013; Mačiulis, Tvaronavičienė 2013; Makštutis, Balkytė, Tumulavičius 2012; Matei, Savulescu 2012; Račkauskas, Liesionis 2013; Peleckis

*et al.* 2012; Piotrowska-Trybull, Sirko 2012).

The proliferation of regional groupings of Asian states is perhaps the most notable and consequential feature of the international landscape to take shape from the second half of 20th century, and especially since the Cold War's end. Regional institutions in Asia have both expanded in number and, because many often overlap in a given territory, have increasingly begun to coordinate their activities. Since the end of the Cold War, regional institutions have deepened their integration and expanded their roles and tasks that they can undertake. If current trends continue, rela-

tions within and between institutionalized regional grouping are likely to be the defining elements of the international system in the twenty-first century.

Theoretically, regionalism should facilitate communications and socialization, information sharing, increase in consensual knowledge, and growth in power and security through the pooling of resources and collective action. Regional actors have a deep interest in politics, economic and security areas in their respective regions. However, regional institutions vary in their capacities and sometimes are unable to fulfill the roles and tasks, that they have been given.

Regional security is a necessary part of organization studies because they supply most of the actors who are engaged in the policy-making process. Moreover, regional security is a key variable in understanding how a regional organization works because the integration process itself is shaped by their patterns of contestation and security cooperation. The object of the research: factors that determine effectiveness of the regional security in South Asia. The aim of the research: ascertain what factors influence the effectiveness of the regional security dynamic in South Asia: Kashmir conflict. Following the objective, these tasks should be accomplished: (1) to survey historical perspective on regional security in South Asia; (2) to explain regional security in South Asia; (3) to follow regional security institutional structures in the South Asia; (4) to describe factors of the effectiveness on regional security dynamic.

The article is a case study; it analyzes a one region (South Asia) case. The main research objective and tasks have influenced the selection of descriptive data analysis and comparative approaches. Descriptive data analysis method allows particle display the factors affecting the effectiveness of regional security, analyzes separate regional organizations and relations between them and other international actors. Comparative method allows to focus on certain common aspects of selected regional organizations and to use observed commonalities or variations among the cases to draw general conclusions about the variables under study. The article used descriptive method will help to reveal the circumstances of the analyzed developments and trends.

Theoretical basis for the review of the regional security analyzed by Bose (2003), Burki (2007), Harshdeep (2009), Schaffer, H. B. and Schaffer, T. C. (2005).

The first part of analysis is on historical paradigm of the regional security in South Asia. Second part describes regional security dynamic in the South Asia. Analysis is performed determining reasons limiting regional security institutions effectiveness. Third part of analysis is Kashmir conflict in the South Asia security structures. The logic of comparison must include both elements of similarity and elements of difference; therefore, in order to derive the greatest values from the analysis process, there have been chosen three different – in their purpose, development, member and issue scope – regional organizations institutions. Article is completed conclusions remarks on South Asia regional security dynamic.

## 2. Historical perspective on regional security in South Asia

Conflicts of Southern Asia's region into three parts: (1) inter-regional conflicts which happen among countries of the region; (2) intraregional conflicts which happen inside the countries of the region; (3) extra-regional conflicts which happen outside the boundaries of the region. Countries involved into inter-regional conflicts are Pakistan and Bangladesh, Bhutan and Nepal, India and Bangladesh, India and Nepal, India and Pakistan (Ahmad 1999). These conflicts influence various political, economic and social problems which influence security factor and development of regionalization in Southern Asia's region (more information about description of Southern Asia's region on Table 1).

**Table 1:** The description of Southern Asia's region

<b>The description of Southern Asia's region</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Region corresponds to the boundaries of ancient India;</li> <li>• It has ethnic, linguistic and religious variety;</li> <li>• Confrontation between India and Pakistan (conflict until 1947);</li> <li>• According to population, it is the biggest region in the world (1, 45 billion people);</li> <li>• It is the second region after sub-Saharan Africa according to number of conflicts;</li> <li>• It has a huge flow of refugees from other countries of the region;</li> <li>• The level of development is very low in this region;</li> <li>• Regional collaboration is minimal.</li> </ul>

*Source:* by the author

Intraregional conflicts reflect regional variety inside the countries. The best way to notice all dangers re-

lated with security in the region, is to see Southern Asia as a separate civilization (looking from historical perspective), regional macro-culture which has artificially divided national values. These previously mentioned factors show such dangers related with ethnic and religious aspects as Sikhs in Punjab, Tamils in Sri Lanka, Indians in Nepal and Nepalians in Bhutan (Warikoo 2006). What is more, extraregional conflicts exist in this region as well. Huge flow of refugees which happens due to the inter-regional and intraregional conflicts also influences heterogeneity of the region (Bose 2003). When Pakistan was created, millions of refugees crossed the border, when Bangladesh separated from Pakistan, 10 millions of Bengali went to India as well as Tamils went to India from Sri Lanka (Rai, Rulers 2004). Flow of refugees increases the tension among countries of the region.

Inter-regional flows of refugees also exist: people from Tibet moves to India, people from Afghanistan moves to Pakistan, etc. This inter-regional flow of refugees increases inter-regional tension.

The beginning of the conflict was separation of India and Pakistan in 1947. The conflict was started when Hari Singh, duke of Kashmir, decided to join India. Pakistan was against this decision due to the fact that most of the citizens in Kashmir were Muslims (Prakash 1985). Then warriors of Pakistan came to Kashmir. More than 50 000 people were killed during this conflict. Resolution of UN in 1949 required to march out the warriors of Pakistan from Kashmir and to leave all the power to plebiscite in that territory (Burki 2007). After that conflict Pakistan gets 1/3 of the territory while India gets 2/3 of it. What is more, regulatory line was also defined (Figure 1).



**Fig.1.** Map of Kashmir Region

Source: Kashmir Region Map. [http://thewatchers.adorraeli.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/08/kashmir\\_1.jpg](http://thewatchers.adorraeli.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/08/kashmir_1.jpg)

The war between India and Pakistan started in 1965 due to the skirmish between these two countries in Kashmir. This war lasted for five weeks and it was finished by UN. The reason of Kargil conflict in 1999

was infiltration of Pakistan's warriors into the trap of Indian warriors. It was the first war among India and Pakistan which had nuclear weapons already (Chandidas 1968).

**Table 2.** Crises in the India-Pakistan conflict 1947-2003 (first period: 1947-1973 - shadowed, second period: 1974-2003- unshadowed)

No.	Crises	Year	Crisis type
1.	Junagadh	1947	Interstate-ethnic
2.	Kashmir I	1947	Interstate-ethnic
3.	Hyderabad	1948	Interstate-ethnic
4.	Punjab War Scare I	1951	Interstate
5.	Rann of Kutch	1965	Interstate
6.	Kashmir II	1965	Interstate-ethnic
7.	Bangladesh	1971	Interstate-ethnic
8.	Punjab War Scare II	1987	Interstate
9.	Kashmir III – Nuclear	1990	Interstate-ethnic
10.	India-Pakistan Nuclear Tests	1998	Interstate
11.	Kashmir IV – Kargil	1999	Interstate-ethnic
12.	Indian Parliament Attack	2001	Interstate-ethnic

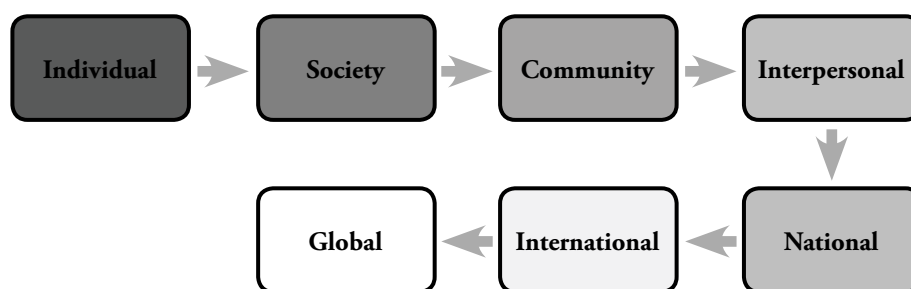
*Source:* by the author

Period from 2001 until October 2002 was the period of terrorist attacks against India's Parliament. This period is considered as low intensity conflict and terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir where rebellion against India is actively supported by Pakistan (more information about Crises in the India-Pakistan conflict 1947-2003 in Table 2).

### 3. Regional security dimension: relations between India and Pakistan

The biggest threat for national integrity in after-colonial Asia was ethnicity (dependence to one or another ethnical group). Conflicts which arise due to

the differences in religion, ethnicity, linguistics and different national movements are the basic problem which retards regional development. Huge amount of conflicts is typical for this region. These conflicts are determined by politicizing the religion. Political movements which happen between the nations of Asia and which are related with religion and linguistics are the basis of conflicts which make Central and Southern Asia the region of politicized culture (more about levels of international conflicts in Figure 2).



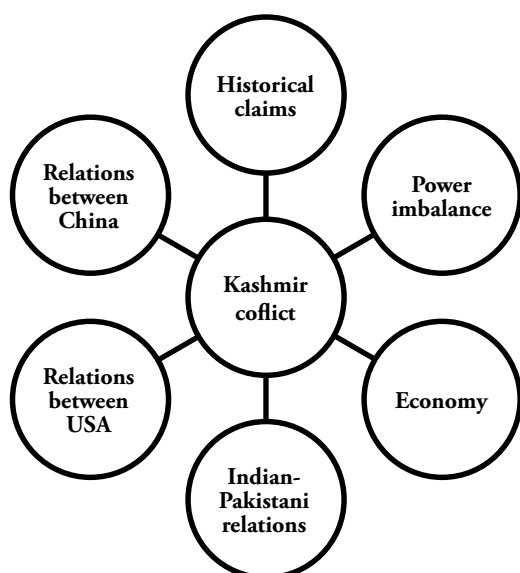
**Fig.2.** Levels of international conflicts

*Source:* by the author

India, due to the ambition of becoming a biggest power, tries to have all the influence on neighboring regions such as Central Asia, the Gulf, China and Southeastern Asia. For example, India had a bargain with ASEAN organization due to the treaty of free market space. This treaty was injured in 2007. What is more, India tries to participate in peace-supporting

and humanitarian operations and constantly emphasizes its democratic values. However, while dealing with perspectives of India in regional frames, the present discussions about reforms of United Nations Safety Council. These discussions make a possibility for India to become a permanent member of United Nations Safety Council.

The main purpose of the article is to identify and to analyze the fact that the dominance of India in this region is determined by geographical centrality, martial possibilities, size of its territory and population, market, big industrial base and the control of sophisticated civilian technologies. All these aspects differentiate India from other nations of the region and give the possibilities for this country to act as an accredited leader of the region safety. There are two reasons which determine legitimating of India in regional dominance. First one is hegemony of India in the region and second one is the use of military power in Sri Lanka (1987) and in the Maldives (1989) due to the protection of national interests. On the other hand, Pakistan, which is a strong country itself, is blocking the ambition of India to become the leader of the region or maybe even the biggest power. The existence of the Pakistan reduces entrenchment and legitimation of India as the power of regional safety. Pakistan's ability to throw down a challenge to the dominance of India was supported by "borrowed" power and maintenance of USA and China during the Cold War period. After the Cold War and especially after the 11 September 2001, India became closer to the USA (Evans 2001). These closer relations between India and USA help India to strengthen its position inside and outside the region. The main national interests of the Pakistan, which involves ambitions to counterbalance the dominance of India and to solve the conflict of Kashmirian (more about factors of Kashmir conflict in Figure 3).



**Fig.3.** Factors of Kashmir conflict

Source: by the author

India undertakes the role of safety guarantor in order to strengthen its power in the region. Due to this fact, India tries to control the conflicts of smaller nations (for example, the intervention of peace-maintenance in Sri Lanka (1987-1990) and operation called "Cactus" in the Maldives (1988)) (Noorani 1996). Such role of India restores the trust of this country as the power of the region strengthens its position in Asia and what is more, it became a very important thing in forming the safe society in the region. Safety complex in South Asia was completely formed in 1947. After the period of imperialistic controlling of the region and after the recession of Britain, not only independence was restored but also division was done: the power of the region was given to two independent nations – India and Pakistan (Sri Lanka and the Maldives achieve their independence later) (Tenembaum 2009). India and Pakistan is the basement of safety complex in this region nowadays. The dominance of distinctive status quo in the region. This means that it is typical for safety complex of South Asia region to keep the succession of regional structure even after the Cold War (Prabhu 2002). The chapter ends with the idea that the structure of the region remains the same after the Cold War despite the changes inside and outside the region.

National priorities of India which are comprehensible mostly as counterbalance to China, the strengthening of the internal welfare and development of economics, the control of political situation in South Asia, the desire of international appreciation and desire to become the biggest power and the permanent member of UNO Safety Council (Navlakha 2009). The differences between national interests of India and Pakistan show the existence of tension between these two countries. This tension exists because of different ambitions: India formulates global ambitions while Pakistan formulates local and regional ambitions.

The fact that Indian ambition to get the status of the biggest power was not accredited due to the Pakistan, which still see itself as the pole of regional power. India and Pakistan have tried nuclear weapons on each other. These actions expand the concern and strengthen the tension both inside and outside the region. The absent of nuclear weapon distribution treaty between India and Pakistan. The lack of such treaty has influence on the dynamics of regional safety: it does not give the region the sense of safety and

stability and determines permanent tension. What is more, it opens the region for the pressure of the outside countries.

Other important area is economic relations in the region. It is emphasized that SAFTA (agreement of free market space in South Asia) was established in 2006 (Guha 2004). It is emphasized that free market space was fully developed until 2008; what is more, it is supposed that union of customs may emerge until 2015 while economical union may emerge until 2020. However, the fact that the tension between India and Pakistan is troubling all progress of SAARC (Masood 2008). India gets the most benefits from free market space. On the other hand, smaller and less wealthy countries have more loss in the spheres of market, affectivity and the welfare of the country. It is noted that bilateral liberalism may be more effective in searching the welfare and economic growth.

Smaller countries of the region are afraid of Indian dominance, what is more, disagreements on politics and territory slows down the endeavor of economic unification. This pipeline should be built from Iran to India through the Gulf, Turkmenistan and Pakistan (Ganguly 2000). It would be useful for both countries due to the possibility to use gas instead of coal or petroleum; also it would have economic benefits for both countries. The position while dealing with economical collaboration forms the attitude that this organization may lay the basement for collaboration with China, ASEAN, EU, Russian in order to strengthen the position of South and Central Asia and also may be helpful for the interests of India.

It is possible to highlight quick growth of regional economy which would encourage collaborating intensively in the sphere of market between countries. However, development of political dialogue is still not a priority sphere in the perspective of the region. Collaboration and integration in to the economic sphere is encouraged by quick economic growth in the region (Schaffer; Schaffer, 2005). It is possible that economic integration may help to expand this collaboration to the political sphere, too. The regional conflicts in which India is involved. First of all, there are conflicts between India and Bangladesh, India and Nepal, India and Pakistan. These conflicts influenced a lot of political, economic and social problems which have influence on safety dynamics and development of the regionalization in this region. Other important thing is that these conflicts, which

happen inside the region, fully show regional variety. If we look at South Asia as separate civilization in a historical point of view or as a regional macro-culture with artificially divided national values, it will be easier to understand various dangers which are related with ethical and religious aspects such as sikhai in Punjab or tamils in Sri Lanka (Habibullah 2004).

Finally, extra-regional conflicts are presented. These conflicts arise due to the cultural differences, different perspectives of different countries, higher heterogeneity and huge amount of refugees. Firstly, after the establishment of the Pakistan, millions of refugees crossed the new border in both sides, then when Bangladesh segregates from Pakistan, about 10 million bengals moved to India, tamils from Sri Lanka was also moving to India (Jha 2003). The flow of refugees expands tension between nations of the region. What is more, interregional flow of refugees which expands tension between regions also exists in this region: refugees from Tibet move to the India, refugees from Afghanistan moves to Pakistan, refugees from Burma moves to Bangladesh.

#### **4. Factors of the future on regional security dynamic in Kashmir region**

Other factor affecting the dynamics of the security is relations between India and China. These relations are analysed due to the fact that they have influence on the formation process of the region of Central and South Asia. It is emphasized that attrition between China and India was influenced by such factor as problems due to the demarcation of the border. These problems expanded tension between these two countries. However, relations between China and India, despite the still existing distrust, are visibly improving in the few latter decades.

This is obvious from series of treaties which were signed between these two countries and also from decreased support of India to Pakistan. China stays neutral during the Kargil war (1999) between India and Pakistan. The position of China says that such triangle as China-India-Pakistan is not a play with zero amount and that China's better relations with India do not indicate that China is turned away from the Pakistan (The Economist 2008). However, such tension between these two countries does not have a negative influence on strengthening the regional integration. So, China as the biggest power holds quite a flexible position while dealing with the region of

South Asia. In 2004 when the China and Pakistan ministers of the science meet each other, these two countries understood that the problem of Kashmir cannot be solved by military or violent actions: in order to solve the problem they should use diplomacy (Zutshi 2003). It is emphasized that due to the fact that the peace process would be effective it is necessary to reconcile the soldiers of Kashmir and to make confidence between two sides of the conflict. The purpose of the peace is to solve territorial problems, overcome the hostility, expand the market and develop transit through united border of these countries.

The conflict between India and Pakistan involves unsolved questions due to the territory, political misunderstandings, and the problem of identity and the lack of strong economic relations (Yadav 1996). There are two factors which to explain this long-lasting conflict between India and Pakistan: the aspect of territory and problems with national identity. It is emphasized that peace process in this region is retarded by longstanding positions of these countries:

**Table 3.** Indian and Pakistani positions on Kashmir

Indian position	Pakistani position
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Legal base - Instrument of Accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to the Union of India in 1947;</li> <li>• Kashmir is integral part of India;</li> <li>• Elections legalize the choice of people;</li> <li>• Pakistan is the main problem of insurgency in Kashmir;</li> <li>• Human rights abuses – insignificant;</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Rejection of the Instrument of Accession;</li> <li>• India broke Stand Still Agreement;</li> <li>• Kashmir’s people reluctance of belonging to India;</li> <li>• Kashmir is a disputed territory with unfinished partition;</li> <li>• Pakistan is a provider of moral and diplomatic help for Kashmir;</li> <li>• India’s unrighteousness non implementing UN resolutions – no plebiscite held;</li> <li>• Human rights abuses made by Indian Armed Forces;</li> <li>• Two-nation theory;</li> </ul>

Source: by the author

There are three main possible scenarios of the future in the region of Kashmir. First one is that it is possible that status quo will be left for Kashmir. In a second case, India attaches Kashmir to itself and, according to the third scenario, Pakistan attaches Kashmir to itself (Ganguly 1990). However, there are more possibilities while dealing with the future of Kashmirian region. It is possible that Kashmir may be divided along the river of Chenab or that independence may be given to this region. It is possible to make such a conclusion: peace process and possible scenarios will be just the perspectives of the future until countries stop competing for this region.

Pakistan is accused of terrorism while India is accused of xenophobia (Harshdeep 2009). Situation when broader civil and academic community, media and ordinary people are not involved in the process of problem solving is due to the very conservative bureaucratic mechanisms. Dipolarity which determines safety movements in all region and subordinates region for the confrontation between India and Pakistan is typical for the distribution of the power in this region.

Development of the region is retarded by Kashmirian problem. This problem has reached an impasse and due to this fact, it presumably will not be solved in the near future. Territorial borders between India, Pakistan, China, Nepal and Bangladesh are not clearly defined and due to this fact it is the source of the tension between these countries (Ganguly 2006). What is more, internal conflicts which cannot be solved even by nuclear weapon (more information about Indian and Pakistani positions on Kashmir in Table 3).

### Conclusions

Institutional capacity refers to the ability of a regional institution to make decisions, as well as the existence of organs, rules and procedures to implement them. Of concern here are the capacity and efficacy to collect, collate and analyze data; the principles and procedures to make decisions; the necessary subsidiary organs to carry out these decisions; command, control and communications capabilities; and administrative and logistics support. To be effective, regional institutions must command the respect and authority of the parties to the dispute in concern.

For this to be the case, they must be perceived to be impartial and strong, and with a good track record. Recognition and support by other regional and global institutions as well as cooperation with them may also enhance credibility. Lack of coordination and especially competitive behavior by other institutions may undermine legitimacy and credibility.

Fast economic growth is visible in the region nowadays. This economic growth may encourage countries to collaborate more effectively while dealing with market sphere. This factor is even rising: economics in India has risen 7,4 percent in 2013 while economics of Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka has risen 6,6 percent during the same year. It encourages collaboration and integration in the sphere of economics. It is possible that economic integration may expand collaboration in the political sphere later as well.

Six assumptions can be made while talking about retardation of regional development: (1) Unresolved situation in Kashmir; (2) Boundaries between India and Pakistan, Nepal, Bangladesh are still not defined and it is the source of tension between these countries; (3) Relations between China and India are still very intensive; (4) Inner conflicts; (5) Low level of development; (6) Illiteracy of people in Southern Asia's region.

The states of the South Asia are in a difficult situation. However, based on the theory of neo-liberalism, cooperating successfully may first require a level of sovereign control and unifying national identity that many states are still trying to create. In the emerging international environment, being a strong, legitimate, sovereign state may be a necessary prerequisite to building the foundation of a successful regional organization. States must first have a firm grip on the levers of sovereignty before they can loosen their hold. New international forces may be states to accept new responsibilities. However, if states lack the capacity and the internal unity necessary to manage these new responsibilities, then they are left in a more difficult situation than before. Globalization could promote to collapse of domestic structures. This being said, the best prospect for institutional development in the South Asia is still that states believe that regional institutions can assist the state-building process.

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