
Theoretical Analysis of Security Paradigms Engenders Regional Peace and Stability

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It is intended to discuss various paradigms and frameworks in order to understand the regional security in the perspective of regional power politics in South Asia. Moreover, as per the nature of the research study, it is discussed and presented some of the theoretical frameworks and issues in the regional and international power politics. In the area of foreign policy studies, some of the very relevant theoretical frameworks are deliberated that would illustrate the area under study. An analysis is made on regional security complex, security dynamics of the regions and the concept of security community in the international political system to draw long term solution for regional peace. The article classifies the regional inevitabilities for the peace and stability of the regions. It also elaborates a theoretical framework based on Regional Security as one form of regional order in South Asia.

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Introduction

It is understood that each state has clear or misleading strategies depending upon the political gains to deal with the other countries but magnificent strategies are usually a scholarly field¹.

It gives the impression that who carves on and what are the ways to overwhelm terrorism². Grand strategy is a wider framework which depends on lower levels for its practicality and operationalization. According to Biddle (2005)³, grand strategic thinking is assessment or re-evaluation as how to counter modern terrorist threats. Biddle presented the following two approaches to elaborate the grand strategy;

Rollback notes to national goals professed through policy assuring national edifice and structure. This enhances the power struggle to ensure the national security. Temporarily it surges the risk of propagation and attainment of nuclear competence by terrorists but in the long run this strategic approach recurses to extenuation of this threat.

Containment is abstraction from any nation building determinations, inactive commencement of big power resentment, and possible risk of nuclear terrorism but determined threat of foremost terrorist improvement for unspecified future, protracted span of intra-state tensions.

Profuse prospects and projections are caused for grand strategy by the Asymmetric Warfare. Never the less, Metz & Johnson (2001) brush up the related notions of strategic asymmetry and Walt (2005) sort out a well-meaning work of contributing the view point that a War on terrorism should be defined and determined by how other countries realize their securities not in the very wider term. Walt also offered examples of whole scope of scenarios, from "balancing" to "balking", "binding", and de legitimation. According to him "offshore balancing" is the supreme strategy (Walt, 2005, p.2)⁴. Hook & Spanier (2006)⁵ selected an innovative foreign policy infused with a deviating logic of nationwide brilliant approach (Bennett & Leggold, 1993)⁶.

There is a need to apprehend the grand strategy apart from the cold war strategies that keep us tangled to non-operational requirements, like Taiwan. On the other hand grand strategy entails big ideas of regional security setting. This approach was presented by Barnett (2004; 2005)⁷. This type of concept helps to appreciate global stratification in the viewpoint of American domination. Wallerstein's (1974) effort to capture world power politics situation puts forward this method. Nonetheless, contrasting Wallerstein (1974)⁸, who had been lamenting the pronouncement of Capitalism. This molded the current global political development. The nuisance of American distinct democracy and its transfer to the world composes so many regional conflicts (Carothers, 2004;⁹ Diehl, 2003;¹⁰ Leppgold & Weiss, 1998)¹¹. Barnett (2005) presented the global political scenario in a comprehensive manner and uses different vocabulary to elaborate the notion of regional security;

The functioning foundation means the parties acting in the world which are united on the base of their economies and designed the world economy; e.g., the G20 nations, North America, Europe, China, Russia, Japan and South Korea, India, Australia and New Zealand and South Africa etc.

The non-integrating gap are the countries which separated from the world economy where there are dictatorships and civil unrest e.g., Central Asia, the Middle East, and most of Southeast Asia, the Caribbean Rim, Andean South America, all of Africa, portions of the Balkans and the Caucasus.

Seam states are the states which fill the gap such as Pakistan, Mexico, Brazil, South Africa, Morocco, Algeria, Greece, Turkey, Thailand, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Indonesia. In these countries, some of them are members of the Core but others are aspirants to be the member of the core. These states are essential to global security because they are accountable for terrorist's

geographic entrance to the Core. The United States ruse is to getting them to upsurge their security practices.

Leviathan is the United States war capacity. There is no contest of the US military strength in the world today.

System administrators are the second half incorporated vitality that guarantees the peace after the Leviathan has efficaciously steered war. Post engagement balance and rebuilding setups, military drills other than war and all actions associated with low-intensity engagement, counterinsurgency maneuvers are dealt with at this stage.

Regional Security Frame Work Order

Lake and Morgan defined Regional Security Complex (RSC) as where the states are affected by security externalities persistently. In this type of Regional Security Complex, the security of the states are so intersected that the security action of any state and considerable security developments inside any state have a prime impact on the other states of the region (Lake, 2009)¹². The term security externalities mean the outlays and paybacks that are not only accumulating in the state but also jeopardize the security of bordering states (Jervis, 1967)¹³. The compactness and density of the Regional Security Complex can be appraised and marked on the basis of number of security externalities and variations in enormosity (Lake, 1997)¹⁴.

The concept and prerequisites of regional security fluctuates from region to region and is dependent upon the grade of engagement and security organizations' measures among the stake holders. These provisions are termed regional order and dependent on the various factors:

- (a) Predilection of super powers
- (b) Power distribution among the states in the region

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- (c) Entrenchment of the states of the region with the world
- (d) Number of stake holders involved and their topographies and geographies
- (e) Extent of competition among the actors

All these factors govern the regional framework order in any particular region and figure the regional security complex of the region. On the other hand, the conception of hegemonic trait is another approach of regional framework order. The signal is derivative of hegemonic stability theory. The central and basic logic is that power disparity leads to stability in the region when authority is functioned out in a non-threatened modus. Benign uni-polarities put forward a categorized arrangement in which an outstanding state creates a power over a weaker actor in the RSC. For instance, in the empire, the central power applies a force over the periphery by its unquestionable dominance and the large and stable economy. But in contrast to classical system of empire, regional stability and security order appears out of consent on give and take between center and periphery not from multitude (Powers, 2004)¹⁵. However this type of relation does not abruptly formalizes the relationship. Relatively, it is the result of evolutionary process and by the constant interface between the states in the particular region. Nonetheless it is completely reliant on the adequacy of a hegemon's rule in the regional order. On the other hand informal covenants can be the repercussion of strategic partnerships in between the stake holders in the region (Singer & Wildavsky, 1993¹⁶; Kacowicz, 1998)¹⁷. But this type of outcome is heavily dependent on the environmental factors in which the states shape their engagements and relations. Consequently the security externalities increase the needless expenditures in the region. Nevertheless social safeties, prosperities and pay backs are the only encouraging factors to have regional harmony and collaborations which can also make the regional security complex in the region (Lake, 1997)¹⁸.

In the Regional Security Complex, the association among states has evolved in to contradictory outlook grounded on repelling interests. In fact RSC forms the strategic environment fashioned by externalities and the sprouts in order to handle them. Consequently, the sort of management of the issues among the actors in the region is determined by the proclivities, sensitivities, and authority of the regional state engaged. But their selection of interests is based on their inclinations and arrangements occupied by other states (Ayoob, 1986¹⁹; Leggold, 2003)²⁰. As a result, the measures of managing inter regional issues encompass the cataloging and severity of security externalities, the regional incentives, and the dimensions to manage these issues (Lemke, 2010²¹; Destradi, 2010)²².

Predominantly in conflictive atmosphere in the regional scenario, hegemony's scheme of constraint is ostentatious by a shortage of integrity. Credibility is reliant on the prejudices of the states and doubts about other state's objectives motives. It spreads over to current undertakings and even on pacts of future path of action and future benefits of the state (Morrow, 1999)²³.

Regional Security Complex

The focus of politics has shifted from global domain to regional dynamics of power and politics. Barry Buzan and Ole Weaver (2003) deemed the center of power has moved to regions from world's single stage of politics. The cold war kept the world divided in to two camps led by two super powers. The rivalry between US and USSR was advancing through proxies in the third world but the bilateral balance of power was stable due to hard power capability. The demise of Soviet Union transformed the politics of the world considerably. The structure of two hegemon altered to unipolar world with single super power. The dominance of one power definitely sought its existence in exporting and advancing its ideology (Stone, 2009)²⁴.

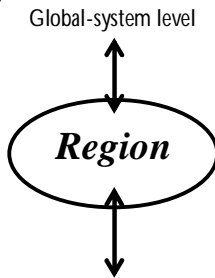
The states, which enjoyed either camp's security umbrella, came out of such shelter after cold war. The absence of threat within super powers finished their interests in different regions to form their periphery out there. The states tried to find security structure within their regions. The regional rivalries compelled the states to seek the shelter of either super power. But the unipolar political dynamics of the world enhanced states' dependence over regional powers and lesser powers than super power. This reality gave way to the emergence of 'great powers'. These are powers which cannot qualify for being super power but are above the regional powers. Thus, the system of world is determined by one super power, four regional powers and the regions.

1+4+regions

The regional approach fills the gap between globalist view of politics, analyzing at system level, and neorealism scrutinizing political dynamics at unit level deeming state as unitary and primary actor. Both these levels ignore the regional subtleties. Post-cold war era has given regions special place in shaping and determining global politics. These three levels have two causal relationships (Buzan & Waeber, 2003, p. 27)²⁵.

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Levels of Security



Unit-state level

Source: Developed by the researcher on the basis of *Regions and Powers* by Buzan & Waever (2003).

The current political structure of world can be classified in to a three tiered scheme. The interaction of these tiers determines the global political scenarios. The super powers lead an entire course of state engagements utilizing wide spectrum of their capabilities. The huge range of system capabilities defines their global actions and behavior. After the cold war only United States qualifies such status. Wilkinson ignores the difference between super power and great powers. The great powers form the second tier of this structure. Papayoanou defines great powers as "*Those states which have the capabilities to play major role in international politics with respect to security related issues*" (Papayoanou, 1997, p. 125)²⁶.

The problem lies with this definition in distinguishing great power from super power. This gap is filled by Lake (1997) who connects the relationship of great power with regional powers. They have close proximity with regional powers which possess the driving force in their respective regions (Lake, 1997)²⁷. The distinguishing feature between great power and super power

remains the key factor differentiating them in terms of capabilities. The economic, military and political potential of a great power, though, remains less than that of super power yet makes that state's prospects to qualify for super power in medium term. China qualifies as a great power having considerable impact on South Asian and South East Asian Region.

The impacts of Chinese politics are wide ranging on world generally and on South Asia particularly. The great powers usually have limited and appropriate power capabilities strengthening their hard and soft power dimensions. But China has showed impressive tendency to achieve and practice these attributes. The prospects of China have increased considerably to qualify vertically upwards. The improvement in Chinese capacity has steadily shown upward trend during last whole century (Segal, 1999)²⁸.

Regional power refers to the states in a particular region driving the political dimension of a region. These states determine the polarity of a region. Some regions are unipolar while the other regions may be bipolar. South Asia is remarkably bipolar. The two states which determine the security environment of South Asia i.e. India and Pakistan are both nuclear states. The rivalry of both states dates back to their partition in 1947. This conflicting relationship makes the security environment of this region more vulnerable.

The security relationship of states within a region shape and govern a regional security apparatus defined by Buzan as Regional Security Complex; *"A group of states whose primary security concerns link together sufficiently closely that their national securities cannot realistically be considered apart from one another"* (Buzan, 2007, p. 160)²⁹.

The complex depends upon the amity or enmity among states rather mostly upon enmity. The nature of security complex

relationship is contingent upon perceptions of states about each other (Bunyavejchewin, 2013)³⁰. The influence of regional powers drives the whole region in a specified direction. At this level the 'great power' interacts with the regional power and acts to influence the region or a specific regional power. This interactive relationship is based on bilateral benefit. Great power draws benefit to be able for qualification to move vertically upwards while the regional power endeavors to adjust the region.

States emerged with need of security after the process of decolonization and during the game power in the Cold War era. While the bipolarity of the world paved the way for global actors to intervene in the international politics creating separate spheres of global and regional politics. Since then regions matter more in the current era and the security threats emerged as one of the contemporary issues. "Decolonization opened the space for regional military-political dynamics, and the ending of the Cold War enabled these dynamics to operate with much more freedom from high level of rival superpower intrusion" (Buzan & Weaver, 2003, p. 19)³¹. The global politics eventually contributed in fears of small states and their need to form the regional security complexes and balance of power (Buzan, Waever & De Wilde, 1998)³².

The security analysis generally enclosed within the national level and global level security, while the regional security level placed at junction of the global and national security levels. The regional security tenacities can be explained when various states or units are linked closely that their shared security purposes cannot be alienated from each other. These integral units drive their security purposes or the regional security complexes from their domestic features and cracks. These states or units share their ambition at the regional level, where the global powers also cooperate with the system or national levels. The regional security subtleties are the result of the security objectives and aspirations

of the national level and the interest oriented global intervention in the region.

Regional Security Dynamics

Similarly, we can also discuss Moore & Turner's (2005)³³ amalgamation in order to understand the power balance and security environment in the regional power politics. In security environment parameters, power balanced approach is always significant and widely held tactic to maintain the peace and security in the regional politics. We can find the traces of this approach from the history when Frederick the Great (1712-1786) devised this notion for the first time in his manuscript "Anti-Machiavel" but the concept of power balance is as old as history and it subsists when there is a firmness and stability between the states. The theory postulates a just symmetry doctrine to stop a single nation to become adequately powerful to impose its determination on the other actors of a region.

The globe makes up the set of rational state actors making coalitions with one another to counter a possible jeopardy. In order to formalize the alliances, converts them to treaties to make them long term contrary to that coalitions are on short term basis and informal. In the 18th and 19th centuries balance of power was the British stated objective. Many scholars have the view that minimum five states form an operative partnership. If we look at the world scenario, we can find seven big supremacies governing the world's GDP and have military might prognosis competences never the less there are three great alliances in the world power politics scenario that are NATO; The U.S.-Japanese Security Treaty and the twelve former Soviet republics made up the Commonwealth of Independent States. Waltz (1979)³⁴ used the term balancing which means making a weak coalition to combat a stronger antagonist by a state in the regional security environment. It can be external and internal as well. Internal balancing means state's grander deployment of resources in the state to strengthen itself to counter the any kind of threat (Buzan

& Little, 2000). On the other hand external balancing is making of coalitions with allies to group resources against a joint competitor (Buzan, 1991)³⁵. It is evident from the history that power changeovers brought on by the rapid growth of a challenger to a big power have often spurred endangered hegemon or big powers to attack before the opponent becomes too strong in terms of capabilities consequently leads to the conclusion that the mere existence of a stronger power is an incitement to conflict. Non-aligned states can also exist but what is more likely to materialize is the following:

- (a) Regional alliances (African Unity or Union movement)
- (b) Informal alliances (Alliance between China and Pakistan)
- (c) Hegemony (one state becomes predominant)

Hegemony is the fastest approach to reduce anarchism, but there are many disadvantages in this regard. For instance, hegemon states include overreaching itself military might and supposed to be unjust in almost everything it does Invalid source specified.³⁶ It is supposed that hostilities among the states are not materialize in balance of power theory because every actor is watchful and focused to each other's coalitions. Nonetheless, the prerogative that balance of power is a peace theory invites the most vital disparagement and somewhat called power transition theory has led to the perception that confrontations often upshot from rather mild transferences in the international system of power distribution (Paul, Morgan, & Wirtz, 2009³⁷; Buzan, 2004³⁸; Buzan & Hansen, 2009³⁹; Buzan, 1997)⁴⁰.

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The Security Community

The concept of security community is a step headed for regional harmony and peace, it is derivative of the liberalist school of thought; it is branded by the nonappearance of war and

military. The political communities are the other type, which are promoter of war for their endurance. The folks of a security community are guaranteed by the "sense of community", shared compassion, confidence, mutual benefits and collaboration. Karl Deutsch related peace to the concept of security community. He defines it as "a group of people trusting that they have come to agreement on at least this one point: that common social problems must and can be resolved by processes of peaceful change". The process of peaceful transformation has been further explained as the process of determination by institution. The idea of security community has been modified by the social constructivist afterwards Cold War. They defined security community by social viewpoint of shared characteristics, morals, and denotations. The security community framework was evaluated by other regions of the world i.e. the European Union, the American Canadian, and ASEAN. Adler and Barnett designate the characteristic development of a concept from embryonic to influential. A burgeoning security community meets the rudimentary prospects of nonviolent transformation, whereas a developed security community is considered by some shared security apparatuses and global foundations. Moreover, they divide the matured security community into "tightly" and "loosely coupled", depends on interactional mechanism, without involving into conventional and unconventional warfare.

The security community can further be divided in to the following:

The first one is amalgamated

The other one is the pluralistic

An amalgamated security community is created when more states that are self-governing and sovereign relinquish their formal sovereignty to a vertically higher authority in order to link against a common threat. An example of the amalgamated security community is the United States, later the unique thirteen colonies

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yielded considerable of their leading supremacies to the national government. It is not fruitful at all the times and there is a possibility to downturn, for example the unsuccessful Amalgamation among Sweden and Norway. The second likelihood is combination that indicates the mixed security community, wherein states hold formal sovereignty and settle the desertion of war capacities and join peaceful determinations for their disputes. As per the Karl Deutsch the integration is "the attainment of a sense of community, accompanied by formal or informal institutions and practices, sufficiently strong and widespread to assure peaceful change" (Deutsch, K. et. al. 1966)⁴¹. However, the United States and Canada represents pluralistic security community. In terms of political administration, the United States and Canada are independent states but both the states have no chance of potential confrontations in future. Deutsch argued that communities preserve than their amalgamated corresponding state. On the other hand, the security community in South Asia is, threatened by the offensive and defensive capabilities of India and Pakistan. The process of nuclearization coddled both states in a security impasse leading to nuclear holocaust. The concept of security community can only be executed in South Asia, if these two states find pacific answers for their disputes. The security of South Asia could be boost up by making the countries in this region interdependent in economic terms. SAARC could be the best option to improve socio-economic interdependence and regional security.

SAARC as agency for regional integration in South Asia has been adopted adopted very late as compared to the other regions in the world. It is hard to measure the prospects of the organization due to its political cleavages and regional conflicts. Although, the region historically was never united under one power but now all the concern is about the Indian hegemony. The supremacy of the regional power is due to its enormous size, stable economy, strong military and nuclear power; its dominance has created many questions among the small poor countries about

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their state integrity, identity, security issues and sovereignty. The strategic position also sanctions India, as it is being in the center and the rest in the periphery, as it is regulating the trade routes, irrigation water, trade and transit, and communications within the region.

The true idea of SAARC was a security guarantee that could ensure economic cooperation. SAARC has been proved to be a regional organization that never fulfilled the main aspects of regionalism; no collective external threat was shared but rigid cultural and political ideologies. However, if SAARC was initiated and implemented by India it might have improved circumstances because India suffered from a perception that the small states were trying to 'gang up' through SAARC while the small states were looking for support from a larger forum that could represent their aspirations.

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Conclusions

South Asia is geopolitically and geo strategically important due to its unique location. Starting from Russia to down China, India and Pakistan are four nuclear powers. One shares border with the other nuclear actor. Security is very important in this nuclear armed belt. The security of the states in the region of South Asia is so intersected that the security actions of any state and security developments inside any state have a prime impact on the other states of the region. It is easily concluded that there is a high degree of security interdependence in South Asian region, that is, between India and Pakistan. India has strong motivations to have a leading role in this region. Since other regional and global actors could not manage security arrangements especially in western South Asia. On the other hand, it is clear that the establishment of regional order is hampered by Indian domination in the region. India has an ambition to be recognized as a global major power. It is evident that Pakistan cannot accept an India-centered order if its own security—vis-a-vis neighbors, external

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powers, and most importantly India itself—is not granted. As the security issue is vital for Pakistan, it cannot afford misjudgments of Indian motivations. In order to have permanent stability and security of the region, Pakistan's sovereignty needs to be strengthened. For this border issues between India and Pakistan need to be resolved. However, India, as the most consolidated state in the region, should make unilateral concessions in resolving conflicts with Pakistan.

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