

Iryna Tykhonenko

Petro Mohyla Black Sea State University, Mykolaiv, Ukraine

SOUTH ASIAN REGIONAL SECURITY SYSTEM: THE OVERVIEW OF NON-WESTERN STUDIES

The article deals with regionalism trends in international relations especially in so-called Third World countries. The purpose of the research is to consider the differences in approaches of Western and non-Western international relations theories to the phenomenon of regionalism on example of South Asia and determine the Asian researchers' position towards building regional security system. The conclusion of the research is that non-Western studies exist as an appropriate way to analysis of regionalism in Asia. Such assumption was confirmed on the example of South Asian regional security system and place of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan in it by overview of Pakistani, Indian and Chinese scientific approaches.

Key words: regional security system, non-Western theories, South Asia, India, Pakistan, China.

The trend of regionalism is becoming increasingly important in international relations today. Regions are formed by non-European countries or the so-called Third World countries have certain characteristics, which serves as a background to new approaches in international relations theory. They are called non-Western.

South Asian region may serve as the example of regionalism in the Third World and developing of non-Western international relations theory (IRT). South Asian regionalism is based on the security factor with the problem of building a regional security system that is dominated by interstate conflicts and a significant number of threats. Pakistan takes an important role in the regional security environment, which is investigated in Asian studies.

The phenomenon of regionalism in South Asia and its study in non-Western IRT take place in Ukrainian and Russian scientific schools. Ukrainian researchers such as P. Ihnatiev, A. Kobzarenko, I. Yastremska and Russian scholar N. Melehina¹ have classified non-Western theories of regionalism in South Asia by the country studies approach. Russian scientists such as A. Voskresenskii, A. Kuznetsov, E. Mikhailenko, and Ukrainian researcher V. Konstantinov² have explored theoretical aspects of non-Western IRT formation and regionalism issues. These scientists do not deny the relevance to the problem of building a regional security in South Asia a theory represented by B. Buzan³ from Copenhagen school of international relations.

Objectives of this article involve:

- to consider the differences in approaches of Western and non-Western IRT to the phenomenon of regionalism on example of Asian model;

- to compare non-Western approaches to building a regional security in South Asia and to define the place of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan in the region by Indian, Pakistani and Chinese scientific schools.

The system of international relations constantly is in a stage of development and changes that have an impact on its theoretical level. So-called critical approaches to the theory of international relations or non-Western studies are represented. These new approaches are closely related to the appearance on the

¹Ігнат'єв, П.М. (2010). *Політика Республіки Індії в Південній Азії*: автореф. дис. д-ра політ. наук: 23.00.04. Київ; Кобзаренко, А.М. (2012). Особливості регіоналізму в Південній Азії. *Стратегічні пріоритети*, 1, 190-195; Ястремська, І.М. (2013). *Ядерний вимір безпеки в Південній Азії*: автореф. дис. канд. політ. наук: 21.03.03. Київ; Мелехина, Н.В. (2008). *Каширський конфлікт: еволюція, типологія і пути регулювання*: автореф. дис. канд. ист. наук: 07.00.03. Москва.

²Воскресенский, А.Д. (2014). *Практика зарубіжного регіоніведення і мирової політики*. Москва: Магістр: ИНФРА-М; Кузнецов, А.М. (2014). «Мирное развитие Китая» и некоторые проблемы современной теории международных отношений. *Политическая концептология*, 3, 166-177; Михайленко, Е.Б. (2014). «Старый» и «новый» регионализм: теоретический дискурс: курс лекций. Екатеринбург: Изд-во Урал. ун-та; Константинов, В.Ю. (2006). *Регіоналізм та регіоналізація в міжнародних відносинах*: Монографія. К.: Видавничо-поліграфічний центр «Київський університет».

³Buzan, B., Wæver, O. (2003). *Regions and Powers. The Structure of International Security*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

international scene of new actors – developing countries, or so-called Third World countries or postcolonial countries. Therefore, the causes of non-Western theories genesis are:

- the colonial system's collapse and new states emergence that can't be analyzed by Westphalia order's concept of "nation-state";

- the end of bipolar world and the trend towards the formation of local regions based on various aspects, particularly, security regionalism in South Asia.

The creation of some regions in Third World countries, because of the fragmentation of global international order, raised questions about theoretical explanations for this trend. New approaches have formed. They get an appropriate name - the non-Western IRT. Questions about the legitimacy of the existence of new approaches to IRT and their differences from the classical Western model are raised. The authors such as Barry Buzan, Amitav Acharya and others try to find answers on these questions¹.

The existence in the shadow of the Western theoretical models is the main problem of the genesis and developing of non-Western IRT, particularly in the Asian region.

What does it mean? Some Asian researchers have graduated Western universities. They are trying to adapt Western theoretical framework to the local context now. Acharya raises the question "How these scientists can be regarded as "truly" local scholars and their work truly "indigenous" contributions to non-Western IRT?"² The answer will be the next. Non-Western scholars have their own ideas, which differ from Western and have been already implemented in original theories, for instance, such as M. Ayoob's "subaltern realism". The internal situation, intra-state conflicts, and concept of "failed state" are key features of this theory³.

The background of non-Western theories as well as Western scientific schools is ideas of regional political theorists, for example, Thomas Hobbes, Niccolo Machiavelli on the West and Sun Tzu, Kautilya, Confucius in Asia. However, the nationalism and ideologies of anticolonial struggle leaders such as Jawaharlal Nehru and Mao Zedong are one of the sources of IRT and the basis for constructing regional security system. Ideas of national and regional identity and religious affiliation are also topical. This statement is confirmed in the book by Navita Chandra Behera, which is devoted to trends of developing international relations in South Asia⁴.

Overall, the difference between Western and non-Western IRT is primarily in local features and historical evolution of the region. Theory of international relations defined by the Third World is quite young. State-building processes and the development of international relations research schools are determine the IRT formation.

Regionalism in Third World has been formed on the background of the Western and non-Western IRT comparison.

According to Acharya, regionalism should also apply to comparative approach, because it can not be formed only by political instruments⁵. South Asia has such peculiarity as security nature of regionalism. In turn, the region is not just a geographical unit, but also a social community. It is appropriate to use the Western theory of constructivism, the phenomenon of identity, which are combined with Asian scientists' innovation theories.

Security in South Asia should be rendered in conjunction with social, religious and ideological component which affecting national interests and foreign policy goals. This is a key-idea of Mohammed Soaib Pervez's monograph⁶. Pakistani researcher is representative of postcolonial theory. He complements the classical constructivist idea of identity. The researcher argues that in addition to determining the identity, religion and state ideology also have influence on the state, for example, in the case of India and Pakistan ("Two Nations Theory" by M. A. Jinnah).

¹ Buzan, B., Acharya, A. (Eds.) (2010). *Non-Western International Relation Theory. Perspectives on and beyond Asia*. Routledge.

² Buzan, B., Acharya, A. (Eds.) (2010). *Non-Western International Relation Theory. Perspectives on and beyond Asia*. Routledge, 14.

³ Ayoob, M. (2002). Inequality and Theorizing in International Relations: The Case for Subaltern Realism. *International Studies Review*, 4(3). 27-48.

⁴ Behera, N.C. (Ed.). (2008). *International Relations in South Asia: Search for an Alternative Paradigm*. New Delhi: SAGE Publications India.

⁵ Buzan, B., Acharya, A. (Eds.) (2010). *Non-Western International Relation Theory. Perspectives on and beyond Asia*. Routledge, 14.

⁶ Pervez, M.S. (2013). *Security Community in South Asia: India-Pakistan*. London: Routledge.

Internal and intra-state conflicts are also security features of regionalism in South Asia. The level of Asian researchers' interest in local features of regionalism, confirming the desire to create their own non-Western approaches to IRT, are determined in the book edited by Indian researchers Kanti Bajpai, Siddharth Mallavarapu¹.

Scientists from other South Asian countries examine issues of local regionalism trends too. For instance, Bangladesh Institute for Peace and Security Studies is presented by Khalid Iqbal Chondhury's² work that focuses on the Chinese influence on regional security and PRC's ties with South Asian countries.

Another Bangladesh scientists Iqbal Shailo³ tries to show how the geographical scope of security in the region affects the socio-political aspect and the formation of priorities between states towards the constructivism ideas "We" and "They". However, Shailo underlines the great role of cultural and religious component in South Asian state building processes. These processes are still evolving and regional security requires a transformation at the institutional level of SAARC. This position is inherited by other Asian researchers.

In particular, Indian scholar Nihar Nayak⁴ reviews the problems of SAARC and classification of regional threats on traditional and non-traditional, because threats are an indicator of security level.

Islamic Republic of Pakistan is an appropriate example of post-colonial state and occupies one of the central positions in the building of South Asian regional security system. Traditional and non-traditional threats are one of the indicators of Pakistani influence in the region.

Pakistani role in South Asian regional security system is subject to scientific examination firstly by Pakistani and Indian researchers. Islamabad and New Delhi are competing for leadership in the region and this struggle determines some differences in scientific approaches to establishing security regime in South Asia.

Accordingly, views of Pakistani scientists are represented by leading research centers in the country, so-called think tanks – Pakistan Institute for Peace Studies, Institute for Strategic Studies, Islamabad Policy Research Institute (all located in Islamabad), and leading centers for studying international relations – University of Punjab (Lahore), Quaid-i-Azam University (Islamabad), National Defense University (Islamabad).

Researchers at each of think tanks prepare analytical reviews of Pakistani-India relations as the main actors in ensuring regional security stability, as well as, analysis of current trends in relations with Afghanistan and China. Methods of dealing with security threats of Pakistan, in particular, Talibanization, radicalism, Islamism, extremism, separatism, nuclear terrorism, illegal drug trafficking and refugees from Afghanistan are also considered.

In this case should be useful an overview by the Islamabad Policy Research Institute⁵. This analysis is based on reports of Pakistani, Indian, Chinese and other South Asian scholars that were presented at an international conference in Islamabad in 2014.

Nuclear deterrence and the confrontation between Islamabad and New Delhi as a traditional threat to the security of South Asia are studied in the book edited by a leading Pakistani nuclear physicist, former Council member of Pahwash, Pervez Amirali Hoodbhoy⁶. Pakistani Indian scientists' views towards nuclear non-proliferation and peace in South Asia, action on the possible reduction of nuclear weapons arsenals in the post-Cold War era are considered. Pakistani researchers such as Zia Mian and Abdul Hamed

¹ Bajpai, K. ., Mallavarapu, S. (Eds.). (2014). *International Relations in India: Theorizing the region and nation*. New Delhi: Orient Longman Private Limited.

² Chowdhury, K.I. China-South Asia Relations: A Dynamic Contour. *The International Relations and Security Network*. <<http://www.isn.ethz.ch/Digital-Library/Publications/Detail/?lang=en&id=164385>> (2015, July, 14).

³ Shailo, I. Critical Geopolitics and the Construction of Security in South Asia. *University Research Virtual Environment*. <https://curve.carleton.ca/system/files/etd/096b3eac-4764-483c-9418-d0614bc39b3e/etd_pdf/f3d5e56335a5782b1e7d57f39fb09198/shailo-criticalgeopoliticsandtheconstructionofsecurity.pdf> (2015, July, 14).

⁴ Nayak, N. (Ed.). (2013). *Cooperative Security Framework for South Asia*. New Delhi: PENTAGON PRESS.

⁵ Anvaz, M. (Ed.). (2014). *Pakistan's Strategic Environment: Post 2014*. Islamabad: Islamabad Policy Research Institute.

⁶ Hoodbhoy, P. (Ed.). (2013). *Confronting the bomb: Pakistani and Indian Scientists Speak Out*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

Nayyar¹, examine the development of the nuclear program of Pakistan.

Although, scientists stand on the peaceful atom position, political leaders of India and Pakistan continue to use its nuclear capability as a tool of struggle for leadership in the region.

Representatives of Pakistani school of international relations, in particular, S. Akhtar, K. Chandio, K. Iqbal, S. Malik² deal with non-traditional security threats.

The research centers such as Institute for Defense Studies and Analyses (IDSA), Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University (all located in New Delhi) represent Indian position on bilateral relations with Pakistan and its actions to ensure stability in the region.

The IDSA Report³ is the example of a common vision of Indian scientists towards situation around Pakistan. The internal situation in Pakistan, level of Islamization, terrorism and separatism in Pakistani provinces, particularly, the situation in Kashmir are described. This Indian interest in Pakistan is implemented by the famous expression "You should know your enemy".

Pakistan historically has connected with Afghanistan (Pushtunistan issue). Withdrawal of US and NATO's coalition troops from Afghan territory increases the importance of Afghanistan to the Pakistani foreign policy. India tries to participate in the Afghan settlement too. The internal situation in Afghanistan, Pakistani role in it, and the American concept of AfPak region are objects of two reviews by IDSA's authors such as the books edited by V. Chandra and S. D. Muni, V. Chadha⁴.

Kashmir issue is an integral part of Indian studies that is considered by A. Kumar⁵ in the context of Pakistan's failure in countering terrorism and supporting separatist movements as a threat to the region.

Analysis of Pakistani role in South Asia is the subject field for researchers of such non-regional actor as China. Chinese research centers, in particular, China Institute of International Studies, Shanghai Institute for International Studies deal with bilateral Pakistani-Chinese relations, development of cooperation towards India nuclear deterrence and New Delhi's policy in Afghanistan. Quian Quemei and Yang Xiaoping have highlighted these issues in their studies⁶. A joint think-tank Pakistan-China Institute studies the increasing of Beijing's importance in Islamabad's foreign and regional policy. The current situation in bilateral contacts is considered by a public diplomacy E-Magazine "Ni hao-Salam".

Consequently, from the above mentioned, the following conclusions may be drawn.

The emergence and formation of non-Western IRT is historically defensible fact. Indeed, the collapse of the colonial system had led to the appearance of new states called Third World or the developing countries. There are some differences between Western and Third World state-building model. The trend of regionalism also has specific characteristics among these states.

The difference between Western and non-Western IRT on the example of the Asian region could be defined as follows. Firstly, the concept of the Third World is based on ideas of nationalism and views of political figures towards religious, ideological and ethnic aspects. Secondly, Asian scientists building their theories pay attention to the colonial past and the illegitimacy of power in regional states, the specifics of internal and international conflicts, which determine each other. Thirdly, theory of international relations defined by the Third World is quite young. State-building processes and the development of international

¹ Mian, Z., Nayyar, A.H. (2010). A Playing the Nuclear Game: Pakistan and the Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty. *Arms Control Today*, April, 17-24.

² Akhtar, S. War on Terrorism and Kashmir issue. *University of the Punjab*. <<http://pu.edu.pk/images/journal/pols/Currentissue-pdf/SHAHEEN%20AKHTAR.pdf>> (2015, July, 16); Chandio, K. US & Asia's Security Structure. *Islamabad Policy Research Institute*. <<http://www.ipripak.org/us-asias-security-structure/#sthash.CbmTVhXl.dpbs>> (2015, July, 14); Iqbal, K. India Pakistan Talks: Difference of Approach. *Islamabad Policy Research Institute*. <<http://www.ipripak.org/india-pakistan-talks-difference-of-approach/#sthash.jcoVuNjG.dpbs>> (2015, July, 14); Malik, S. (2015). *Pakistan in 2015*. Islamabad: Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies.

³ Pakistan on the Edge. (2013). *Pakistan Project Report IDSA*. New Delhi: Magnum Books Pvt Ltd.

⁴ Chandra, V. (Ed.). (2015). *The Unfinished War in Afghanistan: 2001-2014*. New Delhi: PENTAGON PRESS; Muni, S.D., Chadha V. (2014) *Asian Strategic Review 2015: US Pivot and Asian Security*. New Delhi: PENTAGON PRESS.

⁵ Kumar, A. (2012). *The Terror Challenge in South Asia and Prospect of Regional Cooperation*. New Delhi: PENTAGON SECURITY INTERNATIONAL.

⁶ Xuemei, Q. (2014). A Closer Look at Afghanistan's Political Transition: A Record of the Herat Security Dialogue. *International and Strategic Studies Report*, 12. 2-8.; Xiaoping, Y. The Security Architecture of South Asia: Problems and Prospects. *India China Institute*. <<http://indiachinainstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/03/Yang-Xiaoping-Security-Architecture-of-SA.pdf>> (2015, July, 14).

relations research schools are determine the IRT formation.

Asian regionalism has security nature and the difficulties in building a regional security system, implemented mainly in interstates contacts and situation around Pakistani-Indian confrontation. The priorities for researchers from South Asia are security threats, the level of inter- and intra-state conflicts in the region and institutional support mechanisms to build regional security architecture.

Pakistan occupies one of the central places in the study of South Asian regional security system. Scientists who nowadays study security and regional policy of Pakistan can be divided into three groups by geographic criterion: 1) the group of Pakistani researchers. They justify the actions of Islamabad as supporting national interests in ensuring state's safety and deterring India as an enemy; 2) the Indian school of international relations. Its reviews are based on coverage of internal destabilization in Pakistan and its involvement in supporting terrorists and separatists primarily in Kashmir; 3) the group of Chinese researchers. They consider Pakistan as an ally in a regional deterrence of India and geopolitical maneuver to deal with the US for global leadership.

References

1. Akhtar S. War on Terrorism and Kashmir issue. *University of the Punjab*. <<http://pu.edu.pk/images/journal/pols/Currentissue-pdf/SHAHEEN%20AKHTAR.pdf>> (2015, July, 16).
2. Anvaz, M. (Ed.). (2014) *Pakistan's Strategic Environment: Post 2014*. Islamabad: Islamabad Policy Research Institute.
3. Ayoob, M. (2002). Inequality and Theorizing in International Relations: The Case for Subaltern Realism. *International Studies Review*, 4(3), 27-48.
4. Bajpai, K., Mallavarapu, S. (Eds.) (2014). *International Relations in India: Theorizing the region and nation*. New Delhi: Orient Longman Private Limited.
5. Behera, N. C. (Ed.) (2008). *International Relations in South Asia: Search for an Alternative Paradigm*. New Delhi: SAGE Publications India.
6. Buzan, B., Acharya, A. (Eds.) (2010). *Non-Western International Relation Theory. Perspectives on and beyond Asia*. Routledge.
7. Buzan, B., Wæver, O. *Regions and Powers. The Structure of International Security*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
8. Chandio, K. US & Asia's Security Structure. *Islamabad Policy Research Institute*. <<http://www.ipripak.org/us-asias-security-structure/#sthash.CbmTVhXl.dpbs>> (2015, July, 14).
9. Chandra, V. (2015). *The Unfinished War in Afghanistan: 2001-2014*. New Delhi: PENTAGON PRESS.
10. Chowdhury, K. I. China-South Asia Relations: A Dynamic Contour. *The International Relations and Security Network*. <<http://www.isn.ethz.ch/Digital-Library/Publications/Detail/?lang=en&id=164385>> (2015, July, 14).
11. Hoodbhoy, P. (Ed.) (2013). *Confronting the bomb: Pakistani and Indian Scientists Speak Out*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
12. Ihnatiev, P. M. (2010). *Polityka Respubliki Indii v Pivdennii Azii: avtoref. dys. d-ra polit. nauk: 23.00.04*. Kyiv.
13. Iqbal, K. India Pakistan Talks: Difference of Approach. *Islamabad Policy Research Institute*. <<http://www.ipripak.org/india-pakistan-talks-difference-of-approach/#sthash.jcoVuNjG.dpbs>> (2015, July, 14).
14. Kobzarenko, A. M. (2012). Osoblyvosti rehionalizmu v Pivdennii Azii. *Stratehichni priorytety*, 1. 190-195.
15. Konstantynov, V. Yu. (2006). *Rehionalizm ta rehionalizatsiia v mizhnarodnykh vidnosynakh: monohrafiia*. Kyiv: Vydavnycho-polihrafichnyi tsentr «Kyivskiy universytet».
16. Kumar, A. (2012). *The Terror Challenge in South Asia and Prospect of Regional Cooperation*. New Delhi: PENTAGON SECURITY INTERNATIONAL.
17. Kuznetsov, A. M. (2014). «Mirnoe razvitie Kitaya» i nekotorye problemyi sovremennoy teorii mezhdunarodnykh otnosheniy. *Politicheskaya kontseptologiya*, 3. 166-177.
18. Malik, S. (2015). *Pakistan in 2015*. Islamabad: Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies.
19. Melehina, N. V. (2008). *Kashmirskiy konflikt: evolyutsiya, tipologiya i puti uregulirovaniya: avtoref. dis. kand. ist. nauk: 07.00.03*. Moskva.
20. Mian, Z., Nayyar, A. H. (2010). A Playing the Nuclear Game: Pakistan and the Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty. *Arms Control Today*, April. 17-24.
21. Mihaylenko, E. B. (2014). «Staryiy» i «novyyiy» regionalizm: teoreticheskyy diskurs: kurs lektsiy. Ekaterinburg: Izd. Ural. Un-ta.
22. Muni, S. D., Chadha V. (Eds.) (2014). *Asian Strategic Review 2015: US Pivot and Asian Security*. New Delhi: PENTAGON PRESS.
23. Nayak, N. (Ed.) (2013). *Cooperative Security Framework for South Asia*. New Delhi: PENTAGON PRESS.
24. Pakistan on the Edge. (2013). *Pakistan Project Report IDSA*. New Delhi: Magnum Books Pvt Ltd.
25. Pervez, M. S. (2013). *Security Community in South Asia: India-Pakistan*. London: Routledge.

26. Shailo, I. Critical Geopolitics and the Construction of Security in South Asia. *University Research Virtual Environment*. <https://curve.carleton.ca/system/files/etd/096b3eac-4764-483c-9418-d0614bc39b3e/etd_pdf/f3d5e56335a5782b1e7d57f39fb09198/shailo-criticalgeopoliticsandtheconstructionofsecurity.pdf> (2015, July, 14).
27. Voskresenskiy, A. D. (Ed.). (2014). *Praktika zarubezhnogo regionovedeniya i mirovoy politiki*. Moskva: Magistr: INFRA-M.
28. Xiaoping, Y. The Security Architecture of South Asia: Problems and Prospects. *India China Institute*. <<http://indiachinainstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/03/Yang-Xiaoping-Security-Architecture-of-SA.pdf>> (2015, July, 14).
29. Xuemei, Q. (2014). A Closer Look at Afghanistan's Political Transition: A Record of the Herat Security Dialogue. *International and Strategic Studies Report*, 12, 2-8.
30. Yastremska, I. M. (2013). *Yadernyi vymir bezpeky v Pivdennii Azii*: avtoref. dys. kand. polit. nauk: 21.03.03. Kyiv.