

# Security Challenges in South Asia: Envisioning a Cooperative Security Architec

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The countries of South Asia have a shared history, culture, religion and language. Yet, this is the region that is economically least integrated and look at security from the prism of state. The challenges to security in South Asia are both military and non-military in nature. While the military security receives greater attention, non-military aspect of security is largely ignored or given least emphasis. Other than interstate conflicts where the military are likely to be deployed to ensure security; increasingly internal conflicts – both in the nature of ethnic violence and terrorism, are drawing the military to internal security duties. Non-traditional security threats like the issue of migration, economic stagnation that can propel popular dissatisfaction, other issues like environmental degradation; river bank erosion, flooding and other natural disaster etc. would require a greater cooperation at the inter-state level to manage common resources which can have ramification beyond the borders of nation-state. Similarly issues like arms smuggling, smuggling of contrabands that help terrorist to finance their terror activities and bolster their fire-power is another dimension of security that transgresses geographical confines of nation state. The porous borders result in easy breaching of borders. At the same time it is the porous border that makes a compelling case for cooperation as force inimical to the state use the porosity to transgress and engage in illicit activities. To secure such kind of border to prevent criminal trespassing security collaboration with the neighboring countries becomes a necessity. There is plethora of non-traditional security threats, which remain beyond the capacity of the nation state to control. While the states need to be militarily prepared to defend their territory and engage in confidence building measures that would address mistrust and suspicion and reduce chances of conflict; cooperating on non-traditional security issues is not matter of choice which the States can make, rather it is a compulsion. Nature of threat itself is enormous and only through cooperation these challenges can be averted. For example:

transnational threat of terrorism and financing of terrorist activities, the issue of flooding where an early warning given by the neighbouring country would help the lower riparian in evacuating people in time thereby avert large-scale disaster. On the issue of smuggling of contraband; intelligence inputs provided by neighbouring countries would help in better management of internal security situation. Given the changing nature of security, defending a country no more remain a matter of military alone; it now encompasses several other state institutions working in coordination to prevent internal order from collapsing and ensuring domestic stability. In this context, regional cooperation becomes a necessity to deal with diverse threat that remains beyond the exclusive domain of the military.

Over the period of time, to address security threats posed by non-state actors, cooperation between the countries of South Asia has increased. Countries have taken initiative through bilateral, trilateral, subregional and regional framework to address the security challenges. Similarly to deal with issues of natural disaster, poverty, and environment the countries have stepped up cooperation. There are several initiatives to develop connectivity within the region for economic development and progress. Increasing market access and economic integration to a large extent would address the problem of employment and deal with popular discontentment. Market integration would not be feasible unless accompanied by visa liberalization. Greater integration would lead to lessening of suspicion and mistrust as there would be more interaction between the people at various levels. Without these initiatives envisioning a cooperative security framework for the region would be difficult. Unfortunately, the benefits of cooperation are largely ignored as the states remain suspicious of each other's intentions. This paper will dwell on what are the common security challenges this region faces and whether the countries can think of a cooperative security framework to overcome

these challenges.<sup>i</sup> It is need to be emphasized here that security as used in this paper do not refer to military security but what is generally referred to as non-traditional security threats that very much impacts on our economy, environment and social fabric of the nation state.

#### I. POST-COLD WAR CONTEXT

Post-cold war provides an amenable context for the countries of the region to cooperate. Conflict between the states is no more attached to the bloc politics. In fact cold war politics aggravated security situation in South Asia and led to mistrust and suspicion. India, the dominant power in the region was suspicious of external powers presence and felt that these powers are fuelling regional conflict and undermining India's security interest in the region. Moreover, military threat remained a predominant threat and the two bigger countries of the region, i.e. India and Pakistan are locked into enduring conflict. US arms transfer to Pakistan as a major ally against communist threat only aggravated the security situation. A cooperative security framework would have been difficult to conceptualize during the cold war period as security was mainly constructed in military term. Other issues like economic development, environmental issues, and natural disaster were considered as secondary to the survival of the state. It was in the 1990s that non-traditional security issues were conceptualized as security challenges by the Copenhagen School, which challenged the realist paradigm of international relations.

Disintegration of Soviet Union, and onset of globalization unleashed market forces that could only survive on cooperation between countries. South Asia that long been pursuing a protective market economy and was wary of foreign capital and its likely political implications started to open up. Especially, India faced a serious balance of payment crisis forcing the country to adopt economic reform measures. Other countries through the World Bank induced Structural Readjustment Program took steps to reform economy and liberalise it and open their market. However, this program remained controversial but the countries also took step to liberalise their economy and improve their export market. This required sourcing raw material from cheaper sources to make a profit. Bilateral trade remained extremely low and balance of payment between the

countries of the region remained politically debated.

Security now constituted both military as well as non-military security threats. Some of the security challenges are now beyond the state's control in South Asia. Therefore, a need for cooperative security framework is essential to overcome the challenges that the states are facing. It needs to be mentioned that most of these challenges are non-military in nature and would require cooperation between them to meet the challenge. A regional security architecture would need a regional order that will shape cooperation and determine the areas of cooperation and engagement at higher policymaking level. Though SAARC as an organization is functioning as a regional platform; it has not graduated to an organization, which can function as a regional entity managing security in South Asia. Given the tensed relationship that the region shares, SAARC can deliver regional security much more efficiently. In fact its capability to function as a regional cooperation organization has been stymied due to India Pakistan relationship. As a result, subregional cooperation beyond SAARC framework is gaining ground in the region. One needs to look at various security challenges that the region face in order to frame an architecture which will take care of security needs.

In spite of inherent biases, mutual mistrust and suspicion; SAARC that was struggling to establish a footprint in the region by trying to forge cooperation on non-controversial issues also; started to pursue economic cooperation vigorously. From South Asia Preferential Trade Agreement; SAARC moved to SAFTA paving the way for greater regional integration. Market forces assumed significance in the region. In this context, connectivity became the key. Countries, like India started looking a regional cooperation from the perspective of its own economic development, connecting remote region to the ports in geographical proximity and thereby building a win-win story of trade and transit.

Multilateral forums have become important vehicle to ensure broader security and economic objectives. As mentioned earlier security issues are not confined to the national boundary. Therefore cooperation in multilateral forum becomes imperative as the forum provides certain common agenda. Issue of terrorism has occupied major

attention of many multilateral forums as the issue is emerging as a major challenge. Transnational linkages of the terrorists coupled with money laundering and proliferation of small arms has made it a global problem. At the same time trade in a globalised world has drawn the attention of multilateral forums. Not only SAARC countries are members of other multilateral forums but their participation in those would contribute to greater interaction between the various multilateral organisations. Collective action in a multilateral forum like SAARC becomes significant as most of the South Asian countries are facing numerous problems that are common and need a regional approach.

#### A. Main Non-Traditional Security Challenges in South Asia

Among the several security challenges that the countries of the region face; terrorism comes across as a potent challenge that has the ability to destabilize the region and can lead to military conflict as one has seen in the context of India and Pakistan in 2001 attack on Indian Parliament and 2008 Mumbai attack that derailed bilateral relations. In this context not just the domestic context that fuels terrorism is important but the external context assumes relevance.

### II. TERRORISM AND TRANSNATIONAL PROBLEMS

Terrorism poses major threat to the countries in South Asia. Their transnational linkages have become portent and its ideological mooring have indoctrinated and galvanized youth to the terrorist network. While dealing with ideological change remains a problem; defeating their network and source of recruitment remains a challenge. While states have collaborated to bust heir network, legal framework for extradition proves to be an uphill task. Additional protocol on terrorism within the SAARC framework provides for extradition. But it is ambiguous and complex allowing each country to exercise discretion whether they want to extradite or not on political grounds. As a result, in spite of a regional framework the countries continue to pursue bilateralism. The challenge of terrorism, due to its transnational nature, has made the countries to realize the necessity of adopting a cooperative framework which would deliver required results. Even though countries like Sri Lanka has been able to deal with the issue of terrorism; the portent

threat of reoccurrence is always present. Terrorists have developed network and possess ideology that influences people across the national border. In some case ethnic affinity provides the necessary wherewithal like sanctuary, funding, international support that are part of terror infrastructure. For example: the Taliban – both Afghan and Pakistani Taliban have sanctuary across the border. At one point of time the LTTE had bases in India, the Indian insurgent groups in the past took shelter in Bangladesh, Bhutan and Myanmar, the terrorist groups functioning within Kashmir have found sanctuary in Pakistan; the Maoists, who at one point of time were fighting the Nepal security forces, also found sanctuary in India and ideological support from the Indian Maoists. However, given the dimension of terrorism; except for Pakistan state support of terrorism against India; in all other cases, the states have cooperated to a large extent as they realized that the threat posed by them is transnational and beyond the control on single state. This common threat binds the states of South Asia in their fight. There are also major differences among the countries on who are terrorists? For example, in Kashmir, terrorism has been a contested term between India and Pakistan. In fact, this difference led to the delay in the signing of additional protocol to SAARC convention on terrorism.

Cross border aspect of terrorism has been a major problem in post-cold war period. Pakistan sponsorship of terrorism in India has been a major source of interstate tension. The infrastructure that exist in Pakistan, Pakistani state's attitude towards recruitment, indoctrination and collection of money for jihad has been at the root of this problem that has proliferated over the period of time. Groups operating from Pakistan have also targeted Afghanistan; desatabilising the nascent state building in that country. The terrorist have not used the porous Durand line to operate with ease. Therefore, this problem is no more confined to Afghanistan only it has slowly engulfed Pakistan. However, the distinction made between good and bad Taliban has defeated Pakistan fight against terrorists. As it becoming increasing evident, terrorism as an instrument of foreign policy is not sustainable as it has several domestic implications. What is happening within Pakistan due to its long sustained policy of sponsoring terrorism reflects the corrosive impact. It cannot improve its domestic security situation without cooperation from

Afghanistan. The formation of al Qaeda in South Asia and the emergence of Islamic State which has drawn youths from the subcontinent to its rank makes a case for greater cooperation for larger security of the region.

India has greater cooperation with Bangladesh, Bhutan and Myanmar in dealing with terrorist and insurgent groups operating in North East from across the border. Similarly, in 2009, India extended intelligence support in Sri Lanka's fight against terrorist and also patrolled the Indian Ocean and effectively blocked clandestine arms procurement by the LTTE. Some of these operations against terrorist groups would not have been possible without cooperation between the states.<sup>ii</sup> There has been significant cooperation and sharing of information between Government of Bangladesh and India on the Burdwan blast case. The two countries have also signed extradition treaty to deal with cross border crime.

### III. ECONOMIC SECURITY

Economic development is linked to political stability as South Asia marches on the path of democracy. Increasingly, economic issues are being framed within larger security framework as it has destabilizing impact on stability. Naxal movement in India, Sarbohara campaign in Bangladesh, Maoist movement in Nepal have banked on economic and political marginalization of groups who live in the margins of nation state. Any discussion on comprehensive security includes economic security. In the era of globalization countries are becoming increasingly integrated to the global economy.

Generating employment opportunities, developing educational facilities and road and connectivity would be important; it is equally necessary, wherever possible, to link them to the markets across the border. SAARC has signed an agreement on trade in service, it is yet to materialize which can take into account large human resources that exist within the region. Linking North East to Bangladesh and Myanmar is considered as an effort at transforming this region and connecting it to its natural hinterland. For example: "With 96 per cent of the borders of the North Eastern Region constituting international boundaries.... the immediate priority is to build the required infrastructure right up to the border areas, establishing connectivity and communication links

to the cross-border points through which trade and economic exchanges with the countries neighbouring the North Eastern Region are proposed to be promoted under the Look East Policy".<sup>iii</sup> Similarly, Nepal and Bhutan which are landlocked depend on India for their major import and export. In 2010, Bangladesh has decided to extend its port facility to Nepal and Bhutan for their export and import. Bangladesh, Bhutan, India and Nepal (BBIN), in the second Joint working Group held in January this year have now decided to sing a subregional cooperation to facilitate "potential cargo (both roads and railways) and bus routes, involving at least three countries in addition to the existing bilateral routes."<sup>iv</sup> In a meeting held in February the BBIN countries decided that they will work out the transit fee bilaterally and keep the membership of the group open for other countries like Myanmar and China to join.<sup>v</sup> Within the SAARC framework, transit and connectivity is also given primacy. All these efforts suggest that the countries are moving within a cooperative framework keeping comprehensive security of its citizenry in mind. Though trade liberalization per se would not lead to poverty alleviation but it will help in generating economic activities and employment. International trade and labour movement contribute to economic growth. Market integration would also mean getting product at a comparative cheaper price. According to a study on Economic Cost of Non Cooperation in South Asia, the consumer will benefit by \$2billion by way of saving on aggregate consumer expenditure across selected imported products with potential exponential growth.<sup>vi</sup>

Increasing trade, gaining access to market and proliferation of service industries are facilitating this trade which has now become more global in character. Unfortunately, South Asia remains the least integrated region in the world where inter-regional trade constitute a little more than 5 per cent, even though, the regional has a great potential. Bilateral trade between India and its neighbours have increased many fold in the recent past, but trade between the countries as percentage of their global trade has been negligible. This can be attributed to low level of transport connectivity, several tariff, paratariff and non-tariff barriers, and a large negative list that does not allow trade on commodities that a country has advantage on. SAFTA to some extent has liberalized trade as 5 LDC countries enjoy zero tariff for their product under SAFTA but complain regarding

infrastructure and nontariff measures remain major issues.

This further means improving trade facilitation and connectivity that will not only provide market to each other's good but in the future should include service industries and movement of labour. Greater regional cooperation will have salutary effect on poverty and economic development in the region. Artificial barriers created by nation state effectively cut down all the connectivity that was established during the British regime. Restoring the transport network that was in place before the partition has become difficult as states tend to get mired in statist discourse and look at this issue from the narrow prism of national interest. There are already bilateral agreements to facilitate transit than a regional corridor. For example: India Bangladesh, Nepal and Bhutan now have access to each other through Indian territory. Many have argued how transit and transport network will generate economic activities and employ transporters to carry goods from one place to the other within the region and thereby generate a flurry of economic activities within the region. This may lead to opening up of small eating places along the road, shops dealing with spare parts for trucks will generate economic activities. This will help in employment of people in running the transport corridor like collecting toll taxes, establishing small eating joints, establishing petrol pumps, setting up garages etc. Such connectivity can only fructify if the countries of the region look at these issues from a comprehensive security framework and not get obsessed with state security and becoming conscious of their sovereignty.

The countries of the region are collaborating on electricity trade and are working towards grid connectivity. Though SAARC electricity grid is in place, grid connectivity is seriously lacking behind. In the last five years in the sub-regional level India and Bangladesh are working together to connect their grid. Nepal and Bhutan are also part of it.

#### IV. MANAGEMENT OF RIVER BASIN

Flood control and management of river basin are other areas that the countries in the region need to work together. Environmental degradation, erosion of river banks, pollution of river water; as is the case in most of the countries, the sewerages invariably discharge the wastes into the rivers. This has also

been a major source of ground water pollution and has led to water contamination. Some of these problems are transboundary. For example: India shares 54 common rivers with Bangladesh. These rivers flow through most of the populous areas of the two countries and is vital for the economy of both. River is also used for transportation in the two countries. Though India provides fund to dredge the rivers to maintain navigability; similar attention is not given to basin management or prevention of soil erosion. Similarly, Nepal and India, Bhutan and India, India and Pakistan, Afghanistan and Pakistan share many common rivers in the South Asian region. Apart from water sharing, which has become a constant source of embittered relationship; how to engage in basin management or nurture ecological aspects do not find any place in the common agenda of these countries. In other regions like in the Asia Pacific, organizations like the Asia Pacific Water Forum and in Central Asia organizations like central Asia and South Caucasus Water Utilities association (CASCWUA) are engaged in knowledge sharing and capacity building. In the region, South Asia water Utility Network, exists but there is little collaboration between the governments on basin management though SAARC provides a regional framework for such kind of cooperation. However, in the recent past, India, Bangladesh and Nepal have come together to collaborate on Ganges basin and India, Bangladesh and Bhutan are collaborating on Brahmaputra basin. Under the BBIN subregional framework these four countries met in January this year to discuss how to enhance cooperation in managing water resources and agreed, "that joint efforts would be made to explore harnessing of water resources including hydropower and power from other sources available in the sub-region. It was also agreed to exchange lists of potential future hydropower/power projects to be undertaken jointly involving at least three countries on equitable basis."<sup>vii</sup>

Environmental degradation is another issue where the states of the region can collaborate. Early warning system in case of flood, cyclone or Tsunami would go a long way in enhancing the security of the common people of the region. Within the region, SAARC has SAARC Meteorological Centre, SAARC Coastal Zone Management, which was established in 2007; there is also SAARC disaster Relief Centre. SAARC Action Plan on climate change and subsequent initiative through the Thimpu

Climate change declaration, SAARC Convention on cooperation on climate passed in 2010, SAARC Rapid response mechanism to deal with the aftermath of natural disaster are some of the collaborative initiatives that can be taken further. All these cooperation are intergovernmental and is contingent upon ratification by the member states. Though such initiatives attest that the states in the region have envisaged collective response in the time of natural calamities; most of the response has been at the bilateral level. Whether it was response of the SAARC countries to the flood in Pakistan in 2010 of cyclone Sidr in Bangladesh; disaster relief remains intergovernmental.

Humanitarian relief, disaster management remain major issues where the countries can take a regional approach. SAARC food bank can be used to provide food grain at the time of natural calamities. Providing relief would help the nation states to nurture a common bond and help forge a regional identity that would further help in evolving a regional security framework.

A regional security framework will bring the countries together to tackle some of these emerging issues which are transboundary in nature and are beyond the capacity of any single state to deal. It is easier to forge cooperation on the issues that are considered non-traditional security issues. For cooperative security to translate into a robust framework for cooperation, there is a requirement of modicum understanding. In the region, where regional cooperation receives least political priority; the states unitedly trying to tackle environmental issues, issues to economic cooperation, management of water, flood warning and providing disaster relief would go a long way in building regional bond which may help in reducing mistrust and suspicion by laying a groundwork for cooperation. South Asia region has several regional organisations that are helping the countries to come together on a common platform to cooperate on issues of mutual concern. Role of some of the regional organisations are analysed below.

#### A. Regional Organisations and Cooperative Security

Several regional organisations has now been formed to help the government of the region to further economic and political integration. South Asia Association for Regional cooperation (SAARC) was founded in 1984 to serve the purpose of

regional integration. Though the organization has made very little progress but in the process it has provided a platform to discuss regional issues which are beyond the bilateral purview. Its role in regional economic integration is important.<sup>viii</sup> Smaller states of SAARC has more faith in the organization, compared to the large countries like India and Pakistan. Nevertheless India has started taking more interest in SAARC since the 14<sup>th</sup> summit when issues like trade and connectivity assumed importance. Afghanistan became a member of SAARC in 2005. SAARC has also attracted countries to become observer in the organization. Though the organization has not emerged as a provider of security in the region, nevertheless, its potential to forge a common identity is immense.

SAARC social charter deals with issues like poverty alleviation, exchange of data on biotechnology for long term food security, health where vital cooperation in health sector encourages exchange of expertise on capacities to manufacture various drugs. The social charter also emphasizes on education, human resource development and youth mobilization which lays emphasis on cross fertilization of ideas through academic exchange. It also envisages promotion of status of women, promotion of right and well-being of child, population stabilization, drug de-addiction, rehabilitation and integration. Interaction between the youths of the region is very important as they are the group that can be utilized to bring socio-economic changes. It is expected that to implement these broad based social issues the "Member States shall formulate a national plan of action or modify the existing one, if any, in order to operationalise the provisions of the Social Charter. This shall be done through a transparent and broad-based participatory process". However SAARC is yet to see broad based participation of the various segment of the society. It still remains a foreign ministry driven initiative. Therefore these policies are more declaratory in nature and provide good sound bytes to the media and the world. It is necessary to incorporate the essence of SAARC charter to various domestic legislations pertaining to social security. BIMSTEC which was established in 1997 have now expanded to include Nepal and Bhutan and now has a permanent secretariat in Bangladesh. These countries are striving to improve trade and connectivity. The countries have been able to establish Free Trade regime and are working on transport and connectivity within the region. The

Indian Ocean Rim Association envisages cooperation on maritime issues. All these organisations contribute to evolving cooperative security framework on which national states can collaborate and act by laying ground rules.

A greater sense of cooperative security framework is being evolved through bilateral and multilateral framework of security cooperation.<sup>ix</sup> Earlier, the states took care of their own security and formed alliance. However, now the countries are coming together on common agenda. Rigid visa procedures, state regulated people to people interaction has created hindrances for a South Asian Community to develop and take the shape of regional personality. To evolve a regional personality the state needs to rewrite their biased history that has been root cause for suspicion. A regional personality needs to be nurtured by greater interaction between the communities across the border. The border needs to disappear in socio-cultural and economic sense than in political sense for a South Asian personality to breath and transform itself into a truly South Asian community. The initiatives have to come from the civil society activism. Thinking in regional terms will enhance cooperative security and SAARC, other regional organisations like the BIMSTEC and IORA and cooperation at the subregional level have vast unrealized potential can play the role of the catalyst in South Asia.

#### REFERENCES

<sup>1</sup> For details see Smruti S Pattanaik and Nihar Nayak, "Does South Asia Need a Regional Security Architecture?", in Nihar Nayak ed., "Cooperative Security framework for South Asia", Pentagon Press, Delhi, 2013, pp.52-68

<sup>2</sup> In 2000 and 2001 Nepal had expelled Pakistan Embassy officials on the charges of possessing fake currencies and explosives respectively. "Nepal Expels Pakistani Diplomat", 13 April 2001, [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south\\_asia/1275409.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/1275409.stm). Counselor (Visa) Amir Zubair Siddiqui working in Pakistan High commission, Colombo was expelled in August 2014 for his linkages in terror activities directed against India. <http://z.newsmobile.in/articles/2014/08/05/india-forces-lankan-govt-expel-terror-diplomat>, There are instances of fake Indian currency seized in Bangladesh in which

according to the media report Pakistani High Commission officials were involved. See "Pak Diplomat is Engaged in Anti Bangladesh Activities", Bangla News, 2 February 2015. Later this official was expelled by Bangladesh. <http://www.banglanews24.com/en/fullnews/bn/105995.html>

<sup>3</sup> Government of India, North Eastern Region, Vision 2020, 2008, p.vi

<sup>4</sup> [http://www.mea.gov.in/press-releases.htm?dtl/24746/Joint\\_Press\\_Release\\_The\\_Second\\_Joint\\_Working\\_Group\\_JWG\\_Meetings\\_on\\_SubRegional\\_Cooperation\\_between\\_Bangladesh\\_Bhutan\\_India\\_and\\_Nepal\\_BBIN\\_in\\_New\\_Delhi](http://www.mea.gov.in/press-releases.htm?dtl/24746/Joint_Press_Release_The_Second_Joint_Working_Group_JWG_Meetings_on_SubRegional_Cooperation_between_Bangladesh_Bhutan_India_and_Nepal_BBIN_in_New_Delhi)

<sup>5</sup> Rezaul Karim, "Big Step in SAARC Travel", Daily star, 13 February 2015, <http://www.thedailystar.net/big-step-in-saarc-travel-64559>

<sup>6</sup> Bipul Chatterjee and CUTS International, p.xiv, [http://www.cuts-citee.org/COENCOSA/pdf/Consumers\\_and\\_Economic\\_Cooperation-Cost\\_of\\_Economic\\_Non-cooperation\\_to\\_Consumers\\_in\\_South\\_Asia.pdf](http://www.cuts-citee.org/COENCOSA/pdf/Consumers_and_Economic_Cooperation-Cost_of_Economic_Non-cooperation_to_Consumers_in_South_Asia.pdf)

<sup>7</sup> [http://www.mea.gov.in/press-releases.htm?dtl/24746/Joint\\_Press\\_Release\\_The\\_Second\\_Joint\\_Working\\_Group\\_JWG\\_Meetings\\_on\\_SubRegional\\_Cooperation\\_between\\_Bangladesh\\_Bhutan\\_India\\_and\\_Nepal\\_BBIN\\_in\\_New\\_Delhi](http://www.mea.gov.in/press-releases.htm?dtl/24746/Joint_Press_Release_The_Second_Joint_Working_Group_JWG_Meetings_on_SubRegional_Cooperation_between_Bangladesh_Bhutan_India_and_Nepal_BBIN_in_New_Delhi)

<sup>8</sup> See Smruti S Pattanaik, "Does SAARC have a Future?" in Smruti S Pattanaik ed., South Asia: Envisioning a Regional Future", Pentagon Press, 2011, pp.245-51

<sup>9</sup> S.D.Muni, "Strategic Architecture in South Asia" in Nihar Nayak ed., "Cooperative Security Framework for South Asia", Pentagon Press, 2013, pp.8-9