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# Emerging Challenges to Global Peace India's Peace Policy in Post-Cold War Era

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## **Introduction**

Historically, the idea of security has been associated with the use of force between the states. Throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century, international community were confronted and lived under a constant fear of wars which had been fought among different nations basically under three mother wars, World War-I, World War-II and the Cold War, thus the whole period was prominently characterised by 'Terror of Wars'. However, since late 20<sup>th</sup> century, this notion is constantly being argued in terms of the changing nature and sources of threats, and the kind of responses from international community in order to tackle such threats. Consequently, the new conception of international security apparently resolved the problems raised by the earlier notion of international security.

In fact, with the collapse of USSR in 1991 which laid the foundation of unipolar world order along with some other global events, has led the changes in the sources and the nature of threats to international security. Now, the inter-state rivalries among two super powers along with their allies are outdated; and new conception of state-non-state rivalries has come into existence. Thus, the nature of threat gets also changed as a result of these global changes; the threat from 'terror of wars' of 20<sup>th</sup> century is now characterised by 'war on terror' of 21<sup>st</sup> century. Perhaps the single most important phenomenon of the 21st century is globalization, clearly redefining the international security environment. Terrors are also being transmitted rapidly due to globalization and communication revolution. While analysts and scholars continue to debate its economic, social, and political effects, they have done comparatively little

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work concerning its impact on conflicts, particularly on the nature of conflicts. Against this changing global reality, this paper is intended to analyze the factors responsible for these changes; underline the major impact of globalization on the nature and character of current threats, and analyses India's peace policy in order to tackle these challenges.

### **Global Development in Post- 'Terror of War' Period**

In early 1990s new security thinking had gained prominence, was an appropriate starting point for any consideration of security in developing world. In considering the evolution of new security policies in the post-'terror of war' period, it is important to focus on the factors which are responsible for these changes. There are three factors responsible for these changes: firstly, the advent of unipolar world order as a result of the end of the Cold War has opened a new door of opportunities and cooperation; however, this was not completely immune from new security challenges as states experience great sense of insecurity out of increasing acts of terrorism, sea piracy, ethnic violence, trans-national crimes etc. Secondly, the globalization has facilitated the liberalization of trans-

border transactions with minimal government interference. Thus, it endorses political, economic and social homogenization of the global populations, and consequently to the threats to security as well. Broadly, it can be defined as a process of growing international activity in many areas that is creating ever-closer ties, enhancing interdependence and greater opportunity and vulnerability for all. And lastly, the perceptual change in government attitude and new growth oriented philosophy has led the countries to participate in more and more regional and international groupings. Therefore, instead of pursuing earlier policy of self-reliance (close policy), they are looking for deeper and wider engagements with regional and global players (open policy), thus it brought new opportunities of cooperation along with an increasing emphasis on bilateral and multilateral engagement with other partners.

### **New Challenges to Global Peace**

The period following the end of terror of war is characterized by continued incidents of terrorist attacks, criminal warfare and wide range of irregular non-state threats all over the world. Militia factions

and armed gangs are everywhere, for instance the US considered as the safest place in the world till 2001 when it came under attack on 9/11. Notably after 9/11, security challenges such as terrorism, drug trafficking, maritime threats including piracy, and oil bunkering are becoming more prominent, as these issues are directly linked with the very survival of the states. These are not isolated phenomena, rather a vicious circle has been created. Weak states' irregular threat dynamics sustain black markets directly linked to state corruption, divert attention from democratization efforts, generate or fuel civil wars, drive state collapse, and create safe havens that allow terrorists and more criminals to operate (Sage, 2010).

Jakkie Cilliers (2003) argued that the event of 9/11 did not occur in isolation, nor do these events reflect a sudden new threat but the symbolic reaffirmation of a trend that had been evident for several years. The resurgence of international terrorism during the 1990s, for example, had its roots in the development of a covert alliance to counter and reverse Soviet expansion in Central-South Asia, particularly in Afghanistan. The US's CIA trained former US allies consisting of various factions of the secret anti-Soviet Muslim army in Afghanistan have

been at the forefront. Following the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan in 1989, the subsequent withdrawal of the CIA left former US allies isolated and betrayed. The contagion carried by returning veterans from that war spread particularly rapidly in northern Africa, Middle-East and South Asia. The spread of radical fundamentalism was first financed from countries such as Saudi Arabia, and later by largess from Osama bin Laden and other radical private financiers. They provided a nucleus for the terrorist movement that would follow. Previously violent extremism had primarily been orientated towards domestic issues. The return of the veterans from the war in Afghanistan revitalized these groupings and reoriented their focus externally. The ripple effects from that conflict would even add to the motivation for a wave of terrorist attacks in Africa and Asia in 1990s.

Thus, terror had previously been an uncomfortable adjunct to anarchism, liberation wars, counter-insurgency campaigns and the battlefields of the Cold War, the events of that day took terrorism to a global level. In contrast to the close-knit, disciplined groups of the 1980s, the new threat came from loose groupings of people with similar backgrounds and beliefs, who resorted to terror as a way to strike

against their enemies (Botha, 2003). Hence, the modern focus on the impact and potential threat of terrorism is an international concern.

There has been much debate among academics about the extent to which the horrific events of 9/11 constituted a series of fundamental changes and assert the 'war on terror' would be a defining paradigm in the struggle for global order (Bootha and Dunne, 2002).

Undoubtedly, globalization has actually increased the role of politics, both in determining the purpose for and influencing the actual conduct of conflicts (Echevarria, 2003). However, the occurrence of 9/11 has transformed the very discourse of international relations and global politics. Almost all states experience great sense of insecurity out of increasing acts of terrorism, sea piracy, ethnic violence, trans-national crime etc. Governments have increasingly cooperated on international front to monitor the flow of information, people and monies across borders. These heightened measures are a result of the change in priorities. Cost is now second to security and therefore in pursuit of safety, profits are being sacrificed (Khan, 2001).

### **The Challenges to India**

The centrality of India in the South Asia is a historical and geographical

fact. Most South Asian countries share a border with India, which is both porous and disputed. However, the overall asymmetry between India and its neighbours in South Asia is central to the persisting security dilemma in the South Asia. The threat perception of India's overt power by neighbouring countries has led them to use extra-regional powers or non-traditional means to keep India on the defensive. For instance, Pakistan's support to militants in Kashmir is part of this strategy. Consequently, India has suffered from cross-border terrorism for decades. In Jammu and Kashmir, the Pakistan-sponsored terrorism has been a peril to normal life since independence. According to Indian estimates, terrorism has claimed 34,000 lives since 1990 (Misra, 2005). The apparition of terrorism is one such phenomenon which has gone global fast after the advent of globalization. In post-9/11, terrorism has been moved to center stage in the security discourse.

Regionally, India's neighbours - both China and Pakistan, possessing nuclear weapons continue to have territorial disputes with it. Despite an enormous improvement in relations with China, there are certain issues particularly the border issue and China's military assistance to Pakistan (especially in nuclear and

missile fields) that continue to keep India wary about their intension (Beri, 2007).

India's concern is to focus on non-traditional security issues as traditional threats are no longer relevant, particularly in post-terror of war period. The threat of war in the region may have condensed, although, the concern remains at least over proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and fear of them falling into the hands of non-state actors. The trafficking in drugs and proliferation of small arms are another area of concern for India. It goes on to elaborate on the instability caused by the rise of fundamentalism and terrorism in Bangladesh and Pakistan. India is also facing a number of threats to its security such as terrorism, trans-national crime, illegal immigrants, non-traditional maritime threats including piracy and threats to Sea Line of Communications (SLOCs). However, among them the major threats to India's security comes from terrorism and related issues, for instance, arms proliferation, drug trafficking and piracy, which are now considered as a major source of finance for terrorist organisations, and threaten the stability in the regional.

### ***Arms Proliferation***

Most scholars all-over the world

identify the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, particularly nuclear weapons, as the greatest potential threat to global security in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. There are suspicions that a number of armed non-state actors are actively seeking to acquire nuclear weapons or the material and technology required to produce them. In addition, the expansion of nuclear technology, as well as the development of civilian nuclear energy capacity, may in the future pose an increase challenge to current non-proliferation efforts.

The arrest and public confession of Pakistani nuclear scientist Abdul Qadeer Khan in 2004, for instance, confirmed the existence of a global proliferation network which has provided nuclear technology, expertise and designs to Iran, North Korea, Libya and possibly other countries, over the last two decades. This global proliferation network spanned three continents and eluded both national and international systems of export controls that had been designed to prevent illicit trade (Fitzpatrick, 2007).

As Brad Freden (2004) underlined that some of the states support and continue to support terrorism, already possess WMD and are seeking even greater capabilities, as tools of coercion and intimidation. In

addition, the terrorist groups are seeking to acquire WMD with the stated purpose of killing large numbers of people without compunction and without warning. Thus, the fact about A.Q. Kahn's network and the post-9/11 evidence suggesting al-Qaeda-linked groups have an interest in acquiring or developing a WMD, particularly a nuclear or radiological explosive device, put nuclear security on priority for many states around the world (Mowatt-Larssen, 2010).

In fact, WMD may continue to be perceived as an asymmetric response to an adversary's superior capabilities unless fundamental security interests can be addressed and resolved. This is evident particularly in the broadly defined Asian security region confronting serious security challenges. It includes five of the seven declared nuclear weapon states (United States, Russia, China, India, Pakistan), one undeclared nuclear weapon state (Israel), two aspirant states (North Korea and Iran) and several states (Japan, South Korea, Taiwan and Australia) that rely on the American nuclear umbrella for their security (Alagappa, 2009).

### ***Sea Piracy:***

With the coastline of about 7,600 kms

and an Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) of over 2 million square km, India is an important player in Indian Ocean region. Certainly, Indian Ocean is the region where India aspires to play an omnipotent role. India's centrality in the region claims prominence among the other regional powers. Unlike other important regional navies like Australia and South Africa, India's naval strength stretches through both east and west coast of main land and through islands, Lakshadweep & Minicoy and Andaman & Nicobar in Indian Ocean, further enhance the geo-strategic significance of India. In fact, Indian Maritime doctrine clearly indicates about the emerging security threats in the region. For instance, piracy has been on the rise since last two decades, as the Indonesian waters, Bay of Bengal and the Horn of Africa are among the worst affected regions in the world. The news that various terrorists groups, with sophisticated weapons and increasing violence, have resorted to maritime terror in the form of hijacking commercial vehicles are more alarming and distressing (Beri, 2007).

In post-Cold War period, piracies continue to be a well-known phenomenon in many regions of the world, posing security threat to the Sea Lines of Communications (SLOCs) and the commercial fleets on high seas. For instance, Somalia

has emerged as a piracy hot-spot in recent period, in the absence of any central government authority in Somalia since the fall of Said Barre regime in 1991. It should be noted that until recently, maritime piracy has been largely prevalent in Asia, considering piracy on the Malacca Strait between Singapore, Malaysia and Indonesia, and on the South China Sea. But in 2007 the number of pirate attacks in Africa surpassed those in Asian waters (Nincic, 2009).

In contemporary globalized world, any disruption in trade flows is a considerable security concern for littoral economies in particular, and for the world economy in general. This is because of the fact that majority of the commercial activities and energy life-lines are sea-based. In this regard, globalization and maritime trade show a close interface since the bulk of international goods and services, more than 80 percent, travel by sea (Vreÿ, 2009). As far as the prevalence of maritime piracy is concerned, the period 2008 to 2009 will be remembered for a surge in piracy not seen in generations. Since early 2008, Somali pirates especially gained worldwide attention and interest. Out of almost 300 ships that were attacked in 2008, 111 were around the Horn of Africa and in the Gulf of Aden (Wilson, 2009).

India is most important power in the Indian Ocean region both in terms of economic and strategic point of view. Since bulk of trade of India is sea-born, it is inevitable that the country is sensitive to the security of the SLOCs and existing choke points in the region (Ghosh, 2004). Despite growing awareness of the threat, and a variety of national, regional and international initiatives, the tide of piracy continues to rise (Middleton, 2011). Threats of mining, hijacking, gun-running, drug smuggling and human trafficking are the offshoots of piracy. Therefore, piracy needs to be tackled by a mixture of both strategic and tactical measures.

### ***Drug Trafficking:***

The Indian Ocean region has become another theatre for trafficking of drugs. India is bracketed by two of the world's three largest narcotics producing-exporting regions, i.e. the 'Golden Crescent' (states comprising Afghanistan, Iran and Pakistan) and the 'Golden Triangle' (encompassing Myanmar-Thailand-Laos), region in Asia. There are indications that the narcotics traffic from 'Golden Triangle' constitutes the major source of illicit heroin and opium. South Asia is at present a transit point for drugs, rather than a consumer. This has a

potential security risk for India as well as danger of destabilization of whole South Asian region (Aparajita, 2009). Money laundering is another activity linked to these criminal groups. But unlike the various other trans-national criminal enterprises mentioned earlier, *Hawala* networks came under the scanner of the international community because of their links in financing or supporting global terrorism. Though by no means eliminated, there is greater international cooperation in fighting these networks.

### **India's Open Policy**

In this era of insecurity, India's policy is also undergoing an unprecedented transformation as it modernizes its military, seeks 'strategic partnerships' with the US and other emerging nations, and expands its influence in the Indian Ocean, Asia and beyond. This transformation includes a shift from an emphasis on the *open policy* on security rather than *closed policy* of the past along with an increasing emphasis on bilateral and multilateral exercises and training with many of the global powers.

At the same time, India also emphasises on the south-south cooperation with the objective to enhance the status and participation of developing countries in the UN

and other multi-national institutions, and contributing to a global order in which democracy, peace and prosperity could prevail everywhere. India is also committed to promote peace and security in the region and the world. It is true to some extent that Indian economy is still trying hard to match with the economy of developed world. But politically, India perceives that it is a responsible nuclear power, and has never been a source of nuclear proliferation. Its long-held democracy record and its internal fight against terrorism have found resonance among both the Europeans and the US.

Considerably, post-'terror of war' global politics witnessed changes in power equations between and among states, and India is no longer confined in South Asia by the Cold War rubric. India's nuclear tests in 1998 and a fast progressive economy have altered not only India's perception of itself but the world's view of India (Bava, 2007).

### **Conclusion**

The last decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century had laid-down the foundation for the emergence of new kind of threats for 21<sup>st</sup> century. This decade can also be considered as the transition period between 'terror of war' and 'war on terror'. And the attack of 9/11 in 2001

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can be observed as the mile stone as since then the terrorism has been measured as global terror or global problem, and other criminal activities such as drug trafficking, arms proliferation, maritime threats including piracy, and oil bunkering are generally supplementary to this global problem, as these issues are directly linked with the very survival of the states. This is because not one state is capable of managing or controlling these threats on its own. Besides, the era of globalization opens new opportunities of cooperation among all potential players to tackle new global challenges rather than remaining confined to regional groupings. Therefore, multilateral cooperation is now being considered as more relevant in order to seek equitable multilateral solutions to global problems.

India's answer to their security challenge is to reach out to as many 'friendly foreign countries' as possible to establish a balance between non-alignment and multilateralism. Now India's old policy of non-alignment and non-commitment has transformed to more inclusive policy of poly-

alignment over the past decade. Since the end of Cold War or the 'terror of war', India has signed defense-specific agreements with a number of countries, such as- the US, the USSR, UK, France, Israel etc., in order to acquire new technologies of 21st century. This includes modern weapon systems and technologies; modernizing its army; enhancing bilateral and multilateral military exercises, and efforts to be a global leader in the UN peacekeeping.

India's policy is guided by specific strategic interests of becoming a rational rather regional power across the Indian Ocean basin by securing the support of like-minded partners in the region, establishing strategic relation with P-5 and emerging powers of the South. India is also maintaining ties with smaller countries globally, in order to secure numerical strength in its favour in major international fora, considering its strong candidature for permanent membership of the UNSC. To this end, India is making its continued efforts to make presence in numbers of regional as well as multi-lateral arrangements, in order to block these challenges effectively. ■

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