

EMERGING HIMALAYAN GEOPOLITICS AND INDIA-CENTRAL ASIA RELATIONS: ASPIRATIONS AND CHALLENGES.

Vivek Sumberia

Research Scholar

Centre for Kashmir Studies, Central University of Himachal Pradesh

ABSTRACT

The Himalayas have captured the imagination of Indians since times immemorable. The Himalayas have great geopolitical significance in South Asia. It acts as a natural boundary between the Indian subcontinent and the rest of Asia. Since ancient times, travellers, pilgrims, and traders have crossed these mighty mountains, but they have remained militarily invincible. However, technological advancements have ensured that it is no longer invincible. The Himalayas form a strategic high ground in South Asia. The Himalayas act as a connecting link between India and Central Asia, which share deep historical and cultural relations. However, the partition of India in 1947 and the subsequent formation of Pakistan led to the loss of direct land linkage between the two regions. The disintegration of the USSR further led to a decline in the relationship between the two regions. As the power equation rapidly changes in Asia, the Himalayas have emerged as a strategic pivot. This study aims to explore the emerging geopolitical landscape in the Himalayas and how changing Himalayan geopolitics will impact India–Central Asia relations.

Keywords: Himalayas, Geopolitics, Central Asia, Strategy.

INTRODUCTION

India is a huge country with an area of 3.2 million square kilometres. Like any other country, geography has determined India's geopolitics. Geographical features have determined the extent of this great nation since ancient times. The imagination of India as a singular geographical identity has existed since antiquity. The Vishnu Purana describes Bharat Varsha as

“Uttaram yat samudrasya himdreschaiva dakshinam

Varshan tat bharatam nama Bharati yatra santati”

The area lying between the Himalayas in the north and the Indian Ocean in the south forms Bharat Varsha, and its natives are called Bhartiyas. The southern boundary of this great nation is clearly demarcated by water bodies. The Bay of Bengal lies on the eastern side, the Arabian Sea on the western side, and the Indian Ocean on the southern side. The northern frontier is demarcated by the Great Himalayan Range, extending from East to West, with a length of more than 2500 kms and an average height of 6100 metres. The Indus River is considered its western boundary, and the Brahmaputra River is considered its eastern boundary. (Sharma, P., & Dua, 2025)

The Himalayas have been the identity of India. It has fascinated and captured the imaginations of our great poets. Kalidasa in his epic poem Kumarasmbhava, describes Himalayas as

Asty uttarasyam disi devatatma himalayo nama nagadhirajah |

Purvaparau toyanidhi vigahya sthitah prthivya iva manadandah ||

In the north of this country is situated the king of the mountains named Himalaya stretching from eastern to western oceans like a measuring rod of the earth.

The Himalayas have been the centre of our territorial consciousness since ancient times. It has acted as a natural boundary of the Indian subcontinent for ages. India has been a civilizational state, and there was no concept of hard political boundaries. There are buffer zones, such as Tibet, between India and China. The Himalayas acted as India's northern frontier, preventing the subcontinent from foreign invasions. The Himalayas have been at the centre of our civilization. The Himalayas have been imagined as the abode of Lord Shiva and his consort, Goddess Parvati. Many sacred pilgrimage sites are located in the Himalayas, the most sacred of which is Mount Kailasha. The presence of the Himalayas on its northern frontier has given India a unique geological, geographical, and climatic identity. The Himalayan region is highly diverse. It has a diversity of ethnicities, cultures, languages, and religions. (Davis et al., 2021; Kumar et al., 2020; Warikoo, 2009)

Though militarily invincible, travellers, traders, and pilgrims traversed these mighty mountains and established cross-cultural linkages. Various mountain passes made it possible to cross these mountain ranges. Consequently, the Himalayas also act as a bridge between various regions of Asia. Traders, along with travellers and pilgrims, traversed high mountain passes and established cross-civilizational relations that lasted centuries. Major trade routes pass through the Himalayas. Utrathapatha, the historical trade route mentioned in the Mahabharata, connected India with Central Asia and passed through the Himalayas. The historical Silk Route traversed these high mountain ranges, connecting civilizations. Along the trade routes, cultures, languages, and religions also travelled. Buddhism spread from India to China and Central Asia through these trade routes. (Kumar et al., 2020; Sharma, P., & Dua, 2025)

On the southern and southeastern fronts, the ocean has acted as our natural boundary and natural defence against foreign invasions. Hence, before the advent of European colonial powers in the 16th century, India was never attacked from these fronts. However, the northern and northwestern fronts have always been vulnerable to foreign invasion. The region is surrounded by high, nearly invincible mountain ranges that have acted as a boundary wall against foreign invasion. However, mountain passes have made it possible to cross these mountain ranges and invade them. India has been invaded from these fronts multiple times in history. This vulnerability still exists owing to the presence of hostile neighbours, namely, China and Pakistan. (Warikoo, 2009)

The Himalayas are rich in natural resources. The Himalayas, along with the Hindukush and Karakoram Mountain ranges, are known as the 'third pole' of the world because of the presence of glaciers and permanent ice caps. All major rivers in the region originate from the Himalayas, making it the water tower of Asia. These rivers include the Amu Darya, Indus, Ganga, Brahmaputra, Irrawaddy, Mekong, Tarim, Salween, Yangtze, and Yellow rivers. These rivers support more than half of the world's population. Owing to the rapidly growing population and increasing water demand, competition to control water sources is becoming more intense. Asia is the most water-stressed continent, and this has further increased due to rapid economic growth. Water has become an instrument of power in interstate relations in Asia. As a result, the Himalayas are rapidly emerging as a centre of conflict. All the countries surrounding the Himalayas tend to control and exploit these rivers. This has made the Himalayas a hotspot for regional interstate conflicts. (Chellaney, 2014; Davis, 2023)

India has had historical relations with Central Asia. Despite the presence of the mighty Himalayas between the two regions, they have had political, cultural, and economic linkages. Ancient Indian texts referred to regions beyond the Himalayas and Hindukush as Uttara-kuru. The Sakas were the earliest tribes from Central Asia to attack India, and the linkages between the two regions have remained almost continuous since. The ancient Indian text Mahabharata mentions a trade route extending from

India to Central Asia, known as Uttarpatha. This signifies that both regions had trade linkages. Along these trade routes, culture, traditions, philosophy, and religious traditions also travelled. Indian culture has had a profound influence on Central Asian culture and vice versa. Buddhism spread from India to Central Asia through Afghanistan and reached far-off places. Traces of Buddhism can still be found in the region. (Stobdan, 2020)

Central Asia was a staging ground for invasions into India. During the medieval period, many attacks were carried out in India from its northwestern frontier. In the sixteenth century, the Mughals, whose origin was Mongol, attacked India and established the Mughal Empire. This renewed the connection between the two regions. The Central Asian influence on Indian art, architecture, literature, and culture can be clearly observed. Arch and dome structures were built in India, which had a Central Asian influence. Large buildings surrounded by square gardens, known as Charbagh style, were built, influenced by Central Asian design. Marble is used on a large scale in buildings. The style of warfare has also changed. Horses became the most important war animals, which was a characteristic of Central Asian warfare. Superior quality horses were imported from the Central Asian region. Connections between the two regions remained strong until the Mughal Empire ruled India. (Kumar et al., 2020; Warikoo, 2009)

The arrival of the British changed the fundamental character of Indian polity. Before that, all the foreign invaders who came to India were assimilated into Indian culture and tradition and settled here. However, the British were different. Their cultures and political traditions were different. They were an imperial power in the region. They united almost the whole of India under a single political entity and endeavoured to demarcate clear political boundaries of their Indian possessions. In this process, they had to focus on the Indian northwestern frontier, which was the most vulnerable.

This vulnerability was further enhanced by the rise of the Russian Empire, the main rival of the British Empire. The Russian Empire extended its influence and control over the Central Asian region, reaching the doors of the British Empire. This imperial rivalry changed the region's fundamental geopolitics. The British wanted to create a buffer zone between the Russian and British empires. Afghanistan emerged as a buffer zone, and the Wakhan Corridor was an extension of it. Another tectonic shift in the region was the independence and partition of India. As a result of the partition, India lost its direct land link with the region. The presence of hostile neighbours further complicates the situation. (Sharma, A., & Murton, 2025; Warikoo, 2009)

Central Asia forms an 'extended strategic neighbourhood' for India. In the emerging political landscape of Asia, this region holds great geopolitical significance for India. The region's rich energy resources can help India ensure its energy security as India is heavily dependent on imports to meet its energy requirements. Strategic engagement with the region has not reached its full potential, and both regions complement each other in the Asian geopolitical landscape.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The Himalayas form the core of the Indian northern frontier and have acted as a bridge between India and Central Asia since antiquity. Central Asia forms our extended neighbourhood and is critical for our national security, energy security, and stature as a great power. Himalayan geopolitics has a significant impact on India-Central Asia relations. This study will be based on historical, explanatory, and analytical methods. This will be a qualitative study analysing various aspects of Himalayan geopolitics and how it impacts India-Central Asia relations.

Both primary and secondary sources will be used to study emerging geopolitics in the Himalayan region, various actors involved, and how it shapes India-Central Asia relations. Primary sources will

include official policy documents of the government, official statements, and speeches of delegates, as well as policy reports of various institutions and organizations regarding the subject. Secondary sources include books, research articles, journals, newspapers, and other sources of information regarding the subject.

HIMALAYAS: GEOPOLITICAL PIVOT IN SOUTH-ASIA

Halford John Mackinder in his 1904 research article, “the geographical pivot of history”, gave heartland theory in which he argued that the Eurasian landmass is the “world island” and called it the ‘heartland’ of world politics. In this heartland, the Himalayas along with the Hindukush mountains form the strategic high ground. Geographically located at the core of this heartland, the Himalayas hold great geopolitical and geostrategic significance. Hence, all regional powers try to maintain their dominance and control over the Himalayas. The Himalayas are the youngest and highest mountain range in the world. Since antiquity, these mighty mountains have fascinated the people of this region. These mountain ranges have acted as natural boundaries between the civilizations that emerged in the region. To the south emerged the Indian civilization, to the east the Chinese civilization, and to the west the Persian civilization. The Himalayas emerged as a buffer zone between these civilizations. Though militarily invincible, people crossed these mighty mountains to form cross-civilizational links. (Kumar, 2025; Sk & Qamar, 2023; Warikoo, 2009)

The colonization of the subcontinent fundamentally changed the region’s geopolitics. Colonial masters tried to establish states based on the Westphalian model with hard and clearly defined geographical boundaries. The British concluded many treaties with boundary states to establish a clearly defined boundary. Consequently, the Himalayas were divided into distinct spheres shared among various countries and ceased to be a buffer zone. As the British Empire consolidated in India, the focus shifted to the northern frontier. The British focus on the Himalayan region was due to two reasons. The first was to exploit the natural resources of the region. The other was to prevent the expansion of the Russian Empire. The Russian Empire was the biggest threat to the British Empire. The Russian takeover of Central Asia was a direct threat to British imperial ambitions. To protect its crown jewel, the British sought to build a buffer zone in the northwestern Himalayas. (Sharma, A., & Murton, 2025; Warikoo, 2009)

In 1922, Halford Mackinder remarked, “In all the British Empire, there is but one land frontier on which warlike preparation must ever be ready. It is the North-West frontier of India.” Afghanistan emerged as a buffer zone between the British and Russian empires. Further, the British actively interfered in the affairs of the bordering princely state of Jammu and Kashmir and, in 1935, took the Gilgit agency under their direct control. Wakhan corridor was an extension of Afghanistan to prevent any direct contact with the Russian empire. The Himalayan climate suited the British elite living in India. Hence, they built their summer resorts in the Himalayas. Shimla emerged as the summer capital, and many hill stations were developed, such as Mussoorie and Dalhousie.

The partition fundamentally changed the geopolitical landscape of the Indian subcontinent. Similarly, Himalayan geopolitics has also undergone a tectonic shift. Tibet, which acted as a buffer zone between India and China, came under China’s control, and India and China came into direct confrontation with each other. The 1962 Chinese incursion was a watershed moment in India-China relations. India realized that the Himalayas were no longer invincible and could no longer provide a shield against foreign invasion. This has led to the large-scale militarization of the Himalayan region, deeply disturbing the ecological balance of this fragile region. In addition, two major Asian powers were in direct confrontation. Both are simultaneously rising powers with a history of conflicts. The Himalayas are the centre of geopolitical flashpoints. (Davis et al., 2021; Davis, 2023; Warikoo, 2009)

CHANGING GEOPOLITICS IN THE HIMALAYAS

In the Himalayan geopolitical landscape, China has emerged as the dominant force. China is leveraging its economic initiatives to advance its political claims in the region. The Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) aim to establish Chinese hegemony in the region. Besides these connectivity corridors, China is also planning to build mega infrastructure projects, such as dams, highways, and railways. The core aim of developing these infrastructure projects is to establish Chinese dominance in the region. China aims to isolate India in the region by developing strategic alliances with India's neighbours, Pakistan, Nepal, Bangladesh, and Nepal. China's military incursions and territorial claims in the Himalayan region are also linked to establishing its hegemony over the region. If China manages to establish its hegemony in the Himalayan region, it will establish China as the regional hegemon and restrict India's strategic space in the region. (Cannon, 2024; Panda, 2024; Pradhan, 2018)

INDIA- CENTRAL ASIA RELATIONS

Central Asia comprises five countries (Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan). Before the disintegration of the USSR in 1991, they formed part of the USSR. These are also known as the Central Asian Republics (CAR). This region has rapidly emerged as a global geopolitical hotspot. This is due to its geographical location and the abundance of energy resources. The region is located in the heart of the "world island," as Mackinder termed it. It lies at the centre of the Eurasian landmass. It has linkages with Europe, Russia, the Middle East, South Asia, and China. Additionally, the region is rich in energy resources, making it a strategic hotspot. As a result, all major powers are involved in the region to secure their interests there. This has started a "new great game" in the region. All major powers, including the USA, Russia, China, and the EU, are involved in this great game. (Kaushiki, 2013; Menon, 2021; Mohapatra, 2021)

India also wants to be a player in this great game of the future. The region holds great geopolitical and geo-strategic significance for India. The region forms an extended neighbourhood of India. According to Kautilya's Mandal theory, Central Asian states are neighbours' neighbours; hence, they are our natural allies. The region has rich sources of hydrocarbons and uranium that can fulfil our increasing energy requirements. The region can act as a market for Indian goods as well as a source of raw materials. The South Asian region, along with the adjoining regions of West Asia and Central Asia, is politically unstable. The peace in the region is fragile, and various implicit and explicit conflicts are ongoing among the nation-states. India is facing the biggest threat to its peace and security on its northwestern front due to the presence of hostile neighbours. In such a situation, cordial relations with our extended neighbourhood of Central Asia are crucial. (Bhaduri, 2022)

From independence until the collapse of the USSR, India viewed the region through the prism of the USSR. India had cordial relations with the USSR and, hence, with Central Asia. The collapse fundamentally changed the nature of engagement. India launched the "Look North Policy" in the 1990s to focus on the region, but significant progress could not be made in that direction. India enjoyed political goodwill in Central Asia due to the Soviet legacy. However, India has not capitalized on this to build strong political and trade relations with these countries. India lacks the financial and economic instruments to capitalize on its goodwill. In addition, India was deeply engaged in domestic problems. India lacked a scholarly understanding of the region and viewed it through a Western lens. Consequently, India lacked strategic clarity regarding the region. To renew its focus on the region, India launched the Connect Central Asia Policy (CCAP) in 2012. (Bhattacharya, 2021; Kaushiki, 2013; Sharma, 2009)

The strategic significance of CAR has increased in the changing geopolitical scenario of the region. It has become a “strategic backyard” for Russia, “greater middle east” for USA and “far west” for China. It is rapidly emerging as a hotspot in global politics. The significance of the region is further enhanced by the presence of rich energy sources, such as hydrocarbons and uranium. Capital flow and large-scale infrastructure development have led to the large-scale flow of goods and people across the region. In accordance with the ‘Heartland Theory,’ Russia is trying to maintain its leverage over Central Asia, which will help to ensure leverage at the global level. Similarly, China’s Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) is an attempt to control the Central Asian heartland. Through the BRI, China aims to connect the Heartland with the Rimland. Similarly, European nations are trying to extend their influence over Central Asia to ensure energy security and their presence in the heartland. (Bhaduri, 2022; Pradhan, 2018; Pradhan, 2020)

THE NEW GREAT GAME AND CHALLENGES FOR INDIA

As the “new great game” evolves in the region with all major powers involved, India is emerging as a key state. India enjoys certain privileges in this region. Geographical proximity, as well as historical and cultural linkages, provide India with a high ground in the region. However, India faces certain challenges. India lacks a direct land link with the region, and the presence of hostile neighbours further complicates the situation. Second, India has been a latecomer in the region and lacks the strategic depth to deal with the emerging geopolitical situation. Third, India lacks a comprehensive policy for the region. Bilateral relations with individual countries are not very strong, and India looks at all countries through the same lens. Another challenge is China’s deep presence in the region. China has deep pockets and has invested heavily in the region, and India has to compete against it to secure its interests, which is a huge challenge. (Bhaduri, 2022; Bhattacharya, 2021; Mohapatra, 2021) As the world order is in a state of flux, India is pursuing multiple alignments to maintain its strategic autonomy. As global institutions are receding, regional organizations are gaining significance. Regional organizations in the Central Asian region, such as the SCO, are gaining traction, and India is a core member of such organizations. India has been a latecomer to the region. Hence, India lacks strategic depth in the region. The region has huge reserves of hydrocarbons and uranium deposits, which are crucial for India’s energy security. In addition, the USA’s exit from Afghanistan and the increasing Chinese presence in the region have created huge challenges for India.

As the Himalayas emerge as the pivot of Asian geopolitics, Indian stakes in Himalayan geopolitics are also increasing. To secure its interests, India is diverting a significant amount of energy and manpower in the region. China, which is also a stakeholder in Himalayan geopolitics, is emerging as India’s biggest rival. India is the biggest challenge to Chinese hegemony; hence, it tries to contain India bilaterally, regionally, and globally. Likewise, in the Himalayan region, India is preoccupied with China, and other regions are relatively neglected. In this scenario, Central Asia is also not a priority for Indian foreign policy making. Strengthening India- Central Asia relations will not only help India counter China but also ensure energy security and its status as a great power. (Cannon, 2024; Panda, 2024; Stobdan, 2020)

CONCLUSION

The Himalayas form the core of the Indian northern frontier and have acted as a bridge between India and Central Asia since antiquity. Central Asia forms our extended neighbourhood and is critical for our national security, energy security, and stature as a great power. Himalayan geopolitics has a significant impact on India-Central Asia relations. Power dynamics are changing in the Himalayan region. China is emerging as a regional hegemon, attempting to control the region. China, along with Pakistan, has formed a strategic arch in the Himalayas, trying to encircle India and limit its reach to the region

beyond the Himalayas. The absence of a direct land link with the Central Asian region is the biggest barrier India faces in the region. India holds immense soft power in this region. India must leverage this soft power to strengthen its relations with countries in the region. India launched the 'Look North Policy' to strengthen its relations with the Central Asian states. In 2012, the Connect Central Asia policy was launched to strengthen relations. However, progress has not been significant.

There is a huge potential to further develop the relationship between the two regions. Both regions can complement each other. Central Asia is a rich source of energy and forms our extended neighbourhood. India is rapidly emerging as a great power and can act as a balancing power for Central Asian states against China as China rapidly expands its hegemony in the region. India must adopt a pragmatic approach towards the region, expanding its soft power and aligning with like-minded powers. Most importantly, it must shed its one-size-fits-all approach towards the region and develop country-specific strategies.

REFERENCES

1. Bhaduri, A. (2022). India and Central Asia: Overcoming the Chinese and Turkish challenges in the region. *Indian Foreign Affairs Journal*, 17(1–2), 47–61. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/48745124>
2. Bhattacharya, D. (2021). India-Central Asia relations: Growing convergences. *Indian Foreign Affairs Journal*, 16(4), 341–350. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/48733885>
3. Cannon, B. J. (2024). Geopolitics in the Himalayas: China's strategy, and what "rimland" states like India can do about it. In A. Chadha (Ed.), *Mapping China's Himalayan hustle* (pp. 235–240). ResearchGate. https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Astha-Chadha/publication/386166062_Reaching_New_Heights_The_China_Challenge_and_India-Japan_Strategic_Cooperation_for_Himalayan_Security/links/6746f21f876bd1777827f49b/Reaching-New-Heights-The-China-Challenge-and-India-Japan-Strategic-Cooperation-for-Himalayan-Security.pdf#page=235
4. Chellaney, B. (2014). Water, power, and competition in Asia. *Asian Survey*, 54(4), 621–650. <https://doi.org/10.1525/as.2014.54.4.621>
5. Davis, A. E. (2023). *The geopolitics of melting mountains: An international political ecology of the Himalaya*. Springer Nature.
6. Davis, A. E., Gamble, R., Roche, G., & Gawne, L. (2021). International relations and the Himalaya: Connecting ecologies, cultures and geopolitics. *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 75(1), 15–35. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10357718.2020.1787333>
7. Friedman, G. (2008). The geo-politics of India: A shifting, self-contained world. *The Himalayan Times*.
8. Kaplan, R. D. (2010). South Asia's geography of conflict. Centre for a New American Security.
9. Kavalski, E. (2009). *India and Central Asia*.
10. Kaushiki, N. (2013). The new Great Game and India's Connect Central Asia policy: Strategic perspectives and challenges. *Journal of International and Area Studies*, 20(2), 83–100. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43107259>
11. Kumar, N., van Driem, G., & Stobdan, P. (Eds.). (2020). *Himalayan bridge*. Routledge.
12. Kumar, R. (2025). A comparative geopolitical study of Heartland and Rimland theories in shaping national security strategies. *ShodhPatra: International Journal of Science and Humanities*, 2(12), 167–173.
13. Menon, S. (2021). *India and Asian geopolitics: The past, present*. Bloomsbury Publishing USA.
14. Mohapatra, N. K. (2021). Geopolitical dimension of India's relations with Central Asia. *Indian Foreign Affairs Journal*, 16(4), 351–366. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/48733886>
15. Muzalevsky, R. (2015). India's long-term presence in Central Asia: From aspirations to influence. In *Unlocking India's strategic potential in Central Asia* (pp. 81–89). Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep12123.11>

16. Panda, J. (2024). China's securitization of the Himalayas: The three-initiative way. In *Mapping China's Himalayan hustle* (p. 29).
17. Pradhan, R. (2018). The rise of China in Central Asia: The New Silk Road diplomacy. *Fudan Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences*, 11(1), 9–29.
18. Pradhan, R. (2019). Petropolitics and pipeline diplomacy in Central Asia: Can India afford to wait in the wings? *India Quarterly*, 75(4), 472–489.
19. Pradhan, R. (2020). *Geopolitics of energy in Central Asia: India's position and policy*. Routledge India.
20. Pradhan, R. (2021). India-Central Asia Summit 2022: From symbol to substance. *Indian Foreign Affairs Journal*, 16(4), 312–321. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/48733882>
21. Sharma, A., & Murton, G. (2025). Revisiting the frontier: Colonial legacies and lived realities of Himalayan border-worlds. *Territory, Politics, Governance*, 13(8), 1059–1067. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21622671.2025.2499007>
22. Sharma, P., & Dua, C. (2025). Himalayan highways and oceanic gateways: India's civilizational trade legacy in South Asia. *Samriddhi Journal of Dr. MCR HRD IT*.
23. Sharma, R. (2009). *India in Central Asia: The road ahead*. Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep09284>
24. Singh, S., & Kaur, A. (2014). Connect Central Asia policy: Factor in India's soft power initiatives in CARS: Problems and prospects. *International Journal of Advanced Research in Management and Social Sciences*, 3(12), 94–114.
25. Sk, M., & Qamar, S. (2023). Geopolitical dynamics in the 21st century: Revisiting the Heartland theory's relevance. *International Journal of Multidisciplinary Research*, 5(4), 1–6.
26. Stobdan, P. (2015). *Central Asia: India's northern exposure*.
27. Stobdan, P. (2020a). *India and Central Asia: The strategic dimension*. KW Publishers Pvt. Ltd.
28. Stobdan, P. (2020b). The trans-Himalayan geopolitics. In N. Kumar, G. van Driem, & P. Stobdan (Eds.), *Himalayan bridge* (pp. 181–189). Routledge.
29. Warikoo, K. (2009). *Himalayan frontiers of India*. Routledge.