CHAPTER – I: INTRODUCTION

This chapter deals with the relevance and significance of the study, objectives of the study, key research question, hypothesis, research design and the chapterisation.
CHAPTER - I

HUMAN SECURITY AS A FACTOR IN INDIA’S NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY MAKING: A STUDY

Relevance and Significance of the Study

The dominant concept of security was fundamentally constructed around the concept of national sovereignty from the very start and it was state centric, privileging the instruments and agents of the state, carrying forward the principles of state sovereignty as first articulated in the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. The UN principles for security were initially focused on ways in which the structures and practices of the modern state might address threats to its sovereignty. These threats encompassed compromises to territorial integrity, issues surrounding political stability, military and defence arrangements, and economic and financial activities.\(^1\) The behaviour of states was understood ‘rationally’ as the pursuit of power.\(^2\) To that extent, the security calculus was based on a zero sum outcome, with gains on one side coming only as a result of losses on the other. This ‘realist’ approach to security was most sharply applied in relations between the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics from the onset of the Cold War in the 1950s.

In the years that followed, attempts to mediate between the US and the former USSR probably presented the most difficult test for the UN and its mandate. Operating in a world dangerously close to a devastating nuclear confrontation forced the organization to develop innovative and creative solutions to seemingly intractable problems, such as limiting the threats posed by the nuclear arsenals stockpiled by each superpower. The UN’s role in disarmament led to the establishment of standards such as the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (1968), the Anti-Ballistic-Missiles Treaty (1972), the Biological Weapons Convention (1972) and the Chemical Weapons Convention (1993). Since the principle targets of these weapons were communities and, by extension, individuals, it could be argued that although states had the principal responsibilities for action, individuals and communities were ultimately the main beneficiaries of these UN-led initiatives.\(^3\)
The world military expenditures rose over most of the decades after the UN was founded, prompting a succession of proposals by member states to reduce military spending and to transfer a proportion of the resources saved into development in developing countries. France made the first such proposal in 1955, suggesting that 25 per cent of the resources released should be allocated to an international fund for development. This was followed by other proposals from the Soviet Union and Brazil. In 1973, the General Assembly adopted a resolution calling for a 10 per cent onetime reduction in the military budgets of the Permanent Members of the Security Council—with 10 per cent of the saved sum being allocated for economic and social development in third world countries. The UN special sessions on disarmament and development in 1978, 1982 and 1987 all came up with similar proposals.4

With the end of the cold war and the demise of the Soviet Union by 1991, the UN’s strategy for dealing with conflict shifted from containment to prevention. In 1992, the UN Secretary-General issued ‘An Agenda for Peace, Peacemaking, and Peace-keeping’.5 Early optimism for a more peaceful world, however, was dashed by a rising number of conflicts in developing countries which were overwhelmingly internal conflicts in nature wherein sometimes national groups received external support. Most of these conflicts were outside the inter-state mould espoused by the realists. In an attempt to address these transformations, the UN system once more engaged with alternative views of security, articulating the concept in terms of a re-framed emphasis on the empowerment of individuals by addressing systemic policies and practices that contributed to insecurity. Despite having embodied the concept of collective security since its inception and having witnessed the transformation of the concept beyond its original parameters during the cold war competition of superpower interests, the UN increasingly championed alternative approaches to development and security.

In fact, this alternative focus on people as the referent object of security is evident in the UN initiatives on human rights almost from the beginning. The unanimous adoption of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the subsequent creations of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
(1966), the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (1966), the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (1979) and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) can all be seen as elements of alternative perceptions of security. Each of these conventions and covenants focused on various vulnerabilities and threats experienced by individuals. The entry into force of these regimes laid the groundwork for more fundamental questioning of dominant ideologies about security and for broadening the concept into new areas more directly linked to human rights and individual concerns.

By the start of the 1990s, the UN had substantively engaged with a plethora of new issues through its policies and programmes. Following the end of the cold war and the collapse of the existing East-West stalemate, the presence of decentralized and non-conventional threats to security had become more the norm than the exception. It thus became increasingly necessary to adopt an approach that attempted to be both holistic and contextual. History and experience had shown that although the notion of security was at the forefront of many debates, how this concept was interpreted and viewed differed greatly from region to region, country to country, community to community, and individual to individual. It was in this context that the concept of human security was first put forward.

The concept of human security emerged as part of the holistic paradigm of human development cultivated at UNDP by Mahbub ul Haq, with strong support from economist Amaratya Sen. United Nations Development Programme (UNDP’s) 1994 global HDR was the first major international document to articulate human security in conceptual terms with proposals for policy and action. The 1994 global Human Development Report (HDR) argued that the concept of security has “for too long been interpreted narrowly: as security of territory from external aggression, or as protection of national interests in foreign policy, or as global security from a nuclear holocaust. It has been related more to nation states than to people.” This narrow approach was categorically widened to include the safety of individuals and groups from such threats as hunger, disease and political instability; and protection from “sudden and hurtful disruptions in patterns of daily life.” The report went on to further identify seven core elements that—when addressed
together—reflect the **basic needs of human security**: economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security and political security.\(^8\)

After 1994, the concept of human security became a central theme of a number of governments through their foreign and defence policies. In particular, the Canadian, Japanese and Norwegian governments led the way in institutionalizing human security concerns into their respective foreign policies. According to a Canadian government report, “human security means safety for people from both violent and non-violent threats. It is a condition or state of being characterized by freedom from pervasive threats to people’s rights, their safety, or even their lives.”\(^9\)

In its foreign policy statement, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for Japan urged states, international organizations, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and civil society to work towards eliminating threats to each and every person\(^10\).

Human security represents an effort to re-conceptualize security in a fundamental manner. It is primarily an analytical tool that focuses on ensuring security for the individual, not the state\(^11\). Exploring options aimed at mitigating threats to the insecurity of individuals thus becomes a central goal of policy recommendations and actions. In line with the expanded definition of human security, the causes of insecurity are subsequently broadened to include threats to socio-economic and political conditions, food, health, and environmental, community and personal safety. Policy initiatives generated through the application of the human security framework have incorporated considerations far beyond the traditional focus on military force, greatly reducing the emphasis on armies, if not replacing them altogether.

Human security is therefore, people-centred, multidimensional, interconnected and universal. In principle, human security reflects the aggregate gains as a result of the mitigation of each and every factor that contributes to insecurity. In practice, as recognized by the report Human Security Now, there is a need to focus on a core of insecurities within each specific context\(^12\).
Linkages between Human Security and National Security

National security is concerned with the safety of particular political communities: sovereign states. Individual security is assumed to follow from national security by virtue of our membership in a particular political community. Thus, national security presupposes the assumption that states express something worth preserving: they are moral communities in their own right and, as such, they are entitled and competent to determine the nature of their security interests and how best to address them. This idea is deeply entrenched in the constitution and practise of international society. States, irrespective of enormous differences in size, population, wealth, power, and influence, are legally equal to all others. And all states are entitled, by virtue of their membership in international society, to preserve what is of value, their achievements and their way of life, from the jealousies and intrigues of their neighbours.

The idea of ‘state’ or ‘national’ security is too often misinterpreted as solely the defence of states’ borders from external threats. On the contrary, given the changing nature of today’s dangers, it has to do primarily with the protection of its citizens and the rule of law and, therefore, it is about human security. Gradually the security of people was also considered important and therefore many causes of insecurity were linked to non-state and non-traditional factors such as internal socio-political conditions, rapidly deteriorating economic conditions, environmental threats, health threats identity politics and powerful organized crime rings. The strength and appeal of human security is not only in its new elements but in the growing inability of traditional concepts of security to generate adequate responses to many of the new causes of insecurity in the world today, particularly in the post-cold war situation. Therefore this has greatly enhanced the notion of human security as a useful tool of analysis, explanation and policy generation. The most striking thing about the concept of human security is that it was born in the policy world, and did not come from either academics or analysts. Subsequently the importance and relevance of humans security was increasingly realised by many scholars with reference to weak states and more so in the developing countries like India.
The importance of state power through governance in the mainstream human security framework is crucial. Human security and national security are interconnected and interwoven. State security in this context refers to a term that is normally preferred to ‘national security’, is intended as the protection of ‘the state—its boundaries, people, institutions and values—from external attacks’. The need to integrate this vision of ‘state security’ in light of the idea of ‘human security’ in a developing country like India with a growing number of threats within societies or across states do not fit well in a conventional security framework. The domestic relevance of state security can in no way be overlooked. A state that protects its citizens can more easily be perceived as legitimate, and a state that is considered legitimate by its citizens will find it less problematic to address domestic security issues.

Human security acknowledges the interconnectedness between peace, human development and human rights and considers these to be the building blocks of human and, therefore, national security. At the same time, protecting the well-being of individuals and communities can clash with securing territorial, economic, and political interests of the nation.

The connection between ‘national’ or ‘state’ security in its domestic meaning and the provision of ‘narrow’ human security can be easily understood. The fragile institutional capacity of the state as a threat to human security is strictly connected with the possible emergence of non-state actors within the territory where it should exert its sovereignty, as well as with the weakening of the boundaries of the country, which can create connections between internal and external threats. This connection between human security and state security should, therefore, lead to the prioritisation of state building and state stabilization as viable, long-term, approaches in those states that lack the capacity to protect their citizens. State building is a complex process, and requires more than the simple construction of an institutional apparatus grounded on high principles of governance. It is necessary to create strong linkages between state and society. The individuals of the state need to be more secured through governance under different institutional apparatus in operation within a state.
The Promise of Human Security

Human security was thus meant to change the referent object of security “from an exclusive stress on territorial security to a much greater stress on people’s security”, and, somewhat more problematically, to advocate “security through sustainable human development”\(^\text{13}\). The problems presented by failed, unjust and developing states are quite different from the developed world forcing scholars and practitioners of world politics to confront directly the moral dilemma of national security, a dilemma that expresses a conflict between the rights of states and the rights of human beings, security of the collectivity and security of individual persons. The doctrine of human security has emerged as one possible response to this prevailing conflict.

Aside from being the most recent attempt to reformulate or redefine the concept of security, the human security approach is significant for two reasons. First, because unlike most other previous reformulations, it stands in tension, or potentially even conflict, with the state-centric conception of security that has dominated our thinking. Second, it is important because policy-makers have adopted the discourse of human security, and have used it to generate important and interesting foreign and security policy initiatives. But a full understanding of the conceptual and practical implications of human security – which also helps to explain its utility and attractiveness – must unpack the complex relationship between human security and state security, and in particular the rights and responsibilities of states in meeting the security needs of their citizens\(^\text{14}\).

The Dynamics between Human and State Security

How can we move from this brief historical sketch to understand the contemporary strength and resonance of the conception of human security focused on “freedom from fear” of organized violence? The first step is to resolve an apparent paradox in human security policies: despite the desire to “put people first” or adopt a “people-centred” approach to security, most of the practical policy measures on the agenda of human security actually involve strengthening the role and resources of the state. Programmes to enhance security sector governance, or to reduce armed violence by stemming the proliferation and misuse of small arms, or to
improve the criminal justice system, focus on the national level, and involve strengthening state institutions and working with state authorities. This paradox disappears, however, once one recognizes that the goal of human security – understood as outlined above – is to propagate the norms underpinning the Western liberal state, and where necessary to reshape the relationship between states and their citizens. In a sense, promoting human security is about making states and their rulers keep their side of the basic social contract: states are created (among other things) to provide security – in order that individuals can pursue their lives in peace. States have responsibility not just to provide for welfare, or representation, but – first and foremost – to ensure the security of their citizens.

Through human security framework, it would therefore be possible to develop a collection of policies that successfully address the specific insecurities in each country, while ensuring that the primary beneficiaries of these policies are individuals, not the state. As a result, state security becomes a direct reflection of the perception of the security of the state’s citizens. It is important to recognize when the human security framework is most useful in its analysis. For instance, attempting to locate human security within the superpower rivalry of the cold war world order does not demonstrate the theoretical strengths of this framework. As such, in cases where security threats to the state are addressed through actions aimed at external state-based actors, traditional security studies appears better situated to undertake effective analysis. Surely, human security advocates present a variety of different positions regarding the role of the state.

Though the motivation of governments to implement policies relieving different forms of human insecurity will inevitably vary in different countries, human security analyses can still be of widespread importance and use even if not implemented. The information obtained and the analysis of human security needs can be used to critique the inadequacy or neglect of security issues in present policies, to build coalitions for change and to pressure policy makers to respond to specific needs. In principle, human security reflects the aggregate gains as a result of the mitigation of each and every factor that contributes to insecurity. In practice, there is a need to focus on a core of insecurities within each specific context.
To the extent that the security and the stability of state institutions are the main guarantees for the safety of citizens, human security, rather than ‘complementing’ state security, coincides with the latter. Therefore, human security is ‘unavoidably and inextricably about the state’, because of the fact that human security can only be provided ‘by democratic states with the authority and through able governance. The deficit in governance or lack of capacity to protect its citizens from major threats can in no way be comprised because the role of the state as a security provider cannot be replaced. Through the utilization of a human security perspective, it is possible to generate policies that are at once sensitive to the insecurities and integrate these concerns into a wider narrative of human threats.

The value of human security as an operational approach to people-centred security that is able to identify priorities and produce important conclusions for national and international policy. The drive to eliminate insecurity is informed by considerations of human development and human rights, and not strategic calculations of power and military gains/advantages alone. What remains is to illustrate how the policy agenda of human security has expanded in ways that also implicate the remaking of relations between states and their citizens, in the image of the Westphalian liberal state is to be seen.

Review of Literature

A large literature dealing with the notion and action concerning human security issues has recently emerged and a network of scholars and students are engaged world over in human security studies. An extensive study of literature relating to the area of research was undertaken covering the origin, growth, development of the concept of human security world over in general and India in particular to identify the research gap. An overview of the selective literature on the research topic can be categorized into three themes based on their approaches and they were further broadly classified into three groups namely:

a) Studies pertaining to security, national security, comprehensive security, human security, human insecurities, country specific and context specific studies
b) Studies drawing linkages between human security and national security and
c) Studies pertaining to the development of policy framework—both national and foreign policy.

The review of literature is chronologically arranged to understand the sequences of developments in the area of research and also to identify the research gap.

The edited work of William W. Kaufmann entitled *Military Policy and National Security* (1956) examines issues like strategic doctrines for nuclear war, passive defence, deterrence, limited warfare and the military potential in the nuclear age. The study propounds that the nuclear weapons are here to stay and they cannot be easily wished away. The problem, therefore, is of their adaptation in political and military terms. The study explores all possible contingencies ranging from deterrence to actual military action. The components of the defence system and its related military and diplomatic strategies are discussed within the context of these contingencies. The study comes to the conclusion that (a) Soviet-American parity in nuclear weapons will not by itself remove the possibility of aggression in future (b) traditional politico-strategic concepts may change with the situation of parity.

*Defence in a Changing World* (1964) by J.L. Moulton concentrates on the different dimensions of defence in the environment of nuclear deterrence. The study establishes the significance of the problems of nuclear defence in terms of organisation, weapon systems and national will. The study gives importance to national participation in decision-making, in finding solution of psychological and technical problems. The study also examines the relationship between internal security and peace forces, the unreasonableness of aggression, the logic of arms race and the functional organisation for security forces in a changing world.

*India’s Quest for Security* (1967) by Lorne J. Kavic is an interesting study which examines India’s approach to various issues of national security in its initial two decades of independence. The study traces the defence policy of British India and explains the development of “Ring Fence” concept consisting of two concentric circles comprising of inner ring with the Himalayan kingdom’s of Nepal,
Bhutan and Sikkim, tribal areas of North and North-east Assam and on the North West Frontier. The outer ring consisted of the sheikhdoms of the Persian Gulf, Persia, Afghanistan, Tibet and Siam. While the long term prospects of Himalayan security with post 1962 defence programmes to counter threats to India security have been discussed in detail the study has not made any reference to nuclear security. Problems of defence production, defence science research, re-organisation of ordnance factories and civil military relations have not been overlooked to conclude that ‘Total Security’ is a utopian concept.

The Essence of Security (1968) by Robert S. McNamara emphasizes that even though the basic components of power remain obviously unchanged, security arises from development, and without development there can be no security. The study further point out that security is not traditional military activity, though it may encompass it. A developing nation that does not, develop cannot remain secure. Development means economic, social and political progress. The author opines that the real essence of security is development and as development progresses, security also progresses. The study, however, does not cover various problems related to the development nor does it suggest how the process of development could be conditioned by other related security issues.

K. Subrahmanyam in his study Perspectives in Defence Planning (1972) examines the problems of defence production in India, in terms of systems analysis, planning and programming, budgeting systems and decision-making process. The study theorizes as to how security problems of the countries of a region are likely to interact with the problems of national security of an individual country of that region. In nutshell, the study attempts to promote discussion on national security issues in terms of alternatives to widen the national policy options and to improve policy formulation and management techniques in the area of national security management.

K. Subrahmanyam in his pioneering work Defence and Development (1973) analyses the linkage between development and national security. The study also analyses the defence expenditure of developed and developing countries with reference to their security requirements. The study brings out the fact that how the lack of an integrated view of the global environment and its impact on our national security has
conditioned national policies of defence and development. Finally, the study emphasizes the need for a healthy and modern political structure to formulate a sound integrated national security policy. In short, the study concentrates on measures necessary to give the nation a capability to defend its sovereignty and territorial integrity in a limited war, to guard against subversion and to promote modernisation and further development.

K. Subrahmanyam's classic work Indian Security Perspectives (1982)\textsuperscript{21} has been divided into three parts. The first part deals with the global security environment, arms race and prospects of arms control in the Indian Ocean region, conflict systems and the NPT regime. In the second part, relevance of non-alignment and its impact on peace and security is discussed. The third part examines various issues of Indian security like new international economic order, power and foreign policy, problems of defence industrialization, modernisation of Indian defence, Pakistan's nuclear factor, and dimensions of the Sino-Indian relations, nuclear option and the sub-continental security. On the whole, the study attempts to promote a comprehensive understanding of the Indian security problems with Indian approach. The study emphasizes the need for powerful linkages between foreign and security policies. The author pinpoints as to how the security problems of the industrialized world are different from those of the developing world.

People, States and Fear - The National Security Problem in International Relations (1983)\textsuperscript{22} is a scholarly work by Barry Buzan which concentrates on the problems relating to the concept of security in detail. The author's approach in dealing with security at various levels covering issues like international economic system and its relation with the security of states, the defence and security dilemma, the policy problems between national and international security indicates the need for a holistic approach to security. Further, the study examines different dimensions of the concept of security with individual, state and the international system as referent points. The study also focuses on threats and vulnerabilities and their interaction to define national insecurity. Finally, the study comes to the conclusion, that domestic policy making process is conditioned by perceptual political orientation and hence national security problems defy assessment and evaluation in isolation.
**India's Security** (1983)\(^{23}\) is the edited work of U.S. Bajpai that examines the concept, strengths and vulnerabilities of India's security structure with appropriate mechanism to neutralize the various military and non-military threats. The study also concentrates on politico-strategic environment of the region with particular emphasis on the role and contribution of the two neighbouring countries i.e. Pakistan and China. The study further looks into the prospects of changing nature of regional security dynamics with particular reference to security problem faced by India. The study however has not discussed security problems in changing perspectives of the definition of national security.

Virinder Uberoy's work on **Threat of War** (1985)\(^{24}\) examines the anatomy of military threat in which sources and magnitude of threat, threat vector, threat assessment, evaluation and analysis are researched. The study points out that every nation-state at some point or the other faces some kind of threat to its national security because of error of judgement in the process to threat perception. The study therefore recommends (a) utmost care in threat calculus and (b) a comprehensive approach to various options of going to war.

**India's Security Considerations in the Nuclear Age** (1986)\(^{25}\) is the edited work of Gautam Sen which examines the problems of security in a nuclear age. The study point out that national security requires multi-dimensional perspectives for the formulation of a unified theoretical orientation. The study discusses the two main factors which are deeply rooted in the origin of the problem of insurgency in the North-east region of India namely (a) the problem of cultural adjustment to the national mainstream and (b) the problem of nationalism in a plural society.

Klaus Knorr’s edited work **Power, Strategy and Security** (1987)\(^{26}\) addresses a number of interconnected analytical problems on the role of national power in interstate relations, strategic configurations between powerful states, strategic theory and doctrine concerning nuclear arms. The work also deals with the crucial problem of perceiving external threats correctly, the major institutional problems in making decision in foreign and military policy by scrutinizing the role of National Security Council in United States. The study pinpoints that even though the usability of military power had diminished due to the emergence of nuclear weapons, still global military
expenditures have gone up and not down. Lastly, the study further indicates that no recent year has been free from a number of armed conflicts.

P. S. Jayaramu's study of *India's National Security and Foreign Policy* (1987)\textsuperscript{27} deals with the concept and components of national security, development of national security studies, threat perception, national security problems of big and small powers, challenges to India's national security at global, regional and contiguous levels in the aftermath of 1962. Further, the study also examines the concept of national security from conventional to modern perspectives and the instruments available for nation states in its threat management.

Caroline Thomas’s work on *In Search of Security: The World in International Relations* (1987)\textsuperscript{28} is an important work focusing on specific problems and issues relating to the Third World countries in international relations. The study is based on theoretical approach, starting from general issues and illustrations and reference to specific examples. The study looks into the issue of nuclear weapons from the Third World Perspective and nuclear non proliferation regime. The views on missile proliferation are unique since the study opines security through proliferation as a third world justification. Even though the study looks into several aspects of food and health security, the work has not offered anything concrete in terms of missile race or missile proliferation nor the impact of this missile rivalry between countries.

K. Subrahmanyam in his pioneering work *Security in a Changing World* (1990)\textsuperscript{29} examines various facets of security in its comprehensiveness to include national and international issues, such as insecurity of developing nations, world views of different global players, confidence building measures, nuclear deterrence, geopolitical implications of atmospheric changes and terrorism. The evolution of the concept of nation-state, its impact on the nature of international system and the linkages between different parameters of nation-state mechanism have found dominant place in the study. In nutshell, the study attempts to stimulate thinking and generate debate on many crucial issues which dominate global discourse in the ever changing global strategic environment.
Michael T. Klare and Daniel C. Thomas in their study *World Security: Trends and Challenges at the Century's End* (1991) examines the critical security threats facing the world community, including the continued existence of weapons of mass destruction in the broader framework of common and comprehensive security. The study makes an assessment of the status of nuclear arms race and the prospects of nuclear arms control and suggests a policy framework for world security incorporating environmental sustainability, demilitarization, non-military influences and de-nuclearization of security policies. The study emphasizes that in the pursuit of both national and international security objectives, a country should never lose sight of the concept of human security. On the whole, the study encompasses all significant threats to global peace and well-being.

Joseph J. Romm in his study *Defining National Security: The Non-military Aspects* (1993) examines the growing policy debates concerning several non-military threats to U.S. security like domestic drug abuse and the international drug trade, the greenhouse effect and other global environmental problems, energy security and economic security. The author analyses the implications of these threats to the conception of national security, and argues how that many of these national security threats are inter-connected, that energy security is, for instance, inextricably tied to environmental and economic security issues. In summing up, the author offers a new definition on national security and suggests a new national agenda for United States. The study on the whole offers a starting point for further research and debate on security concerns in the aftermath of the cold war.

Mohammed Ayoob in his work *The Third World Security Predicament: State-making, Regional Conflict and the International System* (1995) examines the concept of security from western and third world prospective. The author attempts to catalogue and analyze the main sources of insecurity in the Third World in addition to the factors and forces which hinder state-making. Major sources of inter-state conflict and regional insecurity also find a place in the study. The study mainly analyses security problematic of the Third World with reference to domestic, regional and global dimensions of security. The author points out how security considerations dominate domestic as well as the foreign policies and to what extent the perceptions of political elites are important in defining the security problems faced by third world states, since they are responsible for meeting challenges to state and regime security.
Kay and Cristobal, in their edited work, Globalisation, Competitiveness and Human Security (1997)\(^{33}\) explore the connections between globalization, competitiveness and human security and their relevance for development studies. These issues, amongst other issues connected to security, are also explored in a number of case studies taken from Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

“Nuclear India” (1998)\(^{34}\) is an edited work of Jaspal Singh suggests the need for nuclear weapons. The work focuses on India’s nuclear policies from 1964 to 1998 while narrating the overall picture of nuclearization in Asia. The study discusses the international security at the advent of Ballistic Missiles in South Asia particularly the impact of the nuclear programmes of three countries namely China, Pakistan and India.

P.R.Chari’s in his edited work, India towards Millennium (1998)\(^{35}\) attempts to identify the parameters to evaluate the success and failure of the Indian state since independence. The study examines the stresses and strains of the constitution, the dynamics of political parties and the role of the bureaucracy in national security calculus, the credibility of Indian technology, its role in foreign policy, nuclear conundrum, civil-military relations. Cultural-economic diplomacy also finds a due place in the study. However, the major focus of the study is on the internal dimensions of India’s security.

Security: A New Framework for Analysis (1998)\(^{36}\) is a scholarly work by Barry Buzan, Ole Waever and Jaap de Wilde focusing on a new and comprehensive framework for analysis. The study sets a new framework on the expansion of the security agenda to include a wide range of sectors like military, environmental, economic, societal and political and how these sectors are synthesized. The study elucidates how the danger of excessive securitization raises new security problems in a multisectoral framework. Further, the study suggests the need to provide the means of identifying and criticizing counterproductive claims to securitization including military ones. On the whole, the study has taken into account two views of security studies namely (a) a new one of the wideners and (b) the old military and state-centered view of the traditionalists.
David Campbell in his book *States Foreign Policy and the Politics of Identity* (1998)\(^{37}\) examines the way in which the identity of the United States of America has been written and rewritten through foreign policies writing. The main issues of this work are the construction of US identity, as seen particularly in its foreign policy, and structural issues of identity. By taking foreign policy to be an important (though not predominant) practice of security, and by taking United States foreign policy to be an important, this work thoroughly discusses the vitality of the foreign policy of United States.

Brahma Chellaney in his scholarly work, *Securing India's Future in the New Millennium* (1999)\(^{38}\) deals with India’s long term security from different perceptive. The study suggests that comprehensive analysis demands a coordinated, long-term approach to security planning including the role of science and technology. The work suggests the need to have a comprehensive and coordinated analysis on major issues and problems confronting a nation. Energy security, problem and military power, nuclear command and control also find a place in the analysis. The study propounds that India’s security in the new millennium would need holistic approach with increased attention to the non-military threats.

*Refugees, Gender and Human Security* (1999)\(^{39}\), a detailed volume by Ellen is a compilation of the linkages among the concepts "refugees", "gender" and "human security". The topics include issues related to gender and/or women, forced migration (rather than refugees, specifically), as well as some aspect of security, e.g., personal, health, political, legal, food, or economic. The author provides references to specific bibliographic entries in her introduction to help demonstrate the thematic inter-relationships and to broaden the framework for discussing and reflecting on refugee issues. This gender perspective on human security establishes a linkage between gender and human security.

*Asian Security in the 21st Century* (1999)\(^{40}\) is the edited work of Jasjit Singh, which looks into the emerging security challenges of Asia. The study is divided into four parts. The first part deals with the strategic framework for policy makers of Asia with particular reference to non-military security challenges like ethnic diversity, small
arms proliferation, narcotics trafficking and religious extremism, energy crises, ecology and threats from intra-regional trade. The second part analyses the evolving nature of relationship among the great powers and India with their implications for peace and security in Asia, keeping the emergence of China in view as a supervisor. The third part deals with the future of nuclear deterrence and suggests that nuclear deterrence would remain central to international politics as a principal, since they are not the instruments of war. The fourth part attempts to study the emerging challenges and threats to national security and examines various options of coping with strategic uncertainties.

Perspectives on National Security in South Asia: In Search of a New Paradigm (1999)\(^1\) is the edited work of P.R.Chari wherein scholars undertook country-studies pertaining to this region. They focused on their world views based on their security concerns. The study analyses the historical legacy of South Asian countries and attempts to develop a holistic framework for national security evaluation with various sources of threats, military and non-military. A new paradigm of national security for South Asia based on cooperative approach has been advocated.

R.C. Mishra in his study Security in South Asia (2000)\(^2\) classifies various threats as military - strategic, political, socio-economic, cultural and ecological and also establishes their inter and intra relationship with security. The study highlights India's relations with its neighbouring countries in relation to America's South Asian Policy. Drug trafficking, nuclear proliferation and lack of adequate institutionalized security mechanism are some multiple threats which have received attention in the study.

Clay, Edward and Olay Stokke in their collective work, Food Aid and Human Security (2000)\(^3\) has put up a view that the future role of food aid is in question. In the past food aid was a major element of aid to support longer-term development and the primary northern response to help countries and people in crisis. Doubts about food aid are arising because there is a growing mismatch between the new circumstances produced by rapid political and economic change and the international arrangements for food aid that are predicated on an earlier reality. The decade since 1989 has seen the end of the cold war but the proliferation of more localized conflicts and humanitarian crises. A new international trade
regime is being established through the World Trade Organization. At a regional and
country level there is liberalization of markets and many countries have experienced
extreme economic shocks during these years, an increasing share of official
development assistance (ODA) has been used for relief - responding to the
consequences of conflict and natural disasters. In fact the study concentrates more
on food security.

Arthur Helton in his study, Forced Displacement and Human Security in
the Former Soviet Union: Law and Policy (2000) explores the practical legal
realities of mending the damage caused by severe social disruption, protecting the
injured and vulnerable, and preventing the recurrence of destructive patterns. It is an
effort without delving into the complex reasons that populations in many parts of the
former Soviet Union face rather permanent displacement and migration, It is also a
survey all the relevant national and international instruments that can be invoked in
cases of forced displacement, including laws and policies of all 15 countries that
rose from the Soviet pyre, and relevant conventions by such bodies as the
Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe and the International Labor
Organization.

The primary objective of Rajpal Budania's work entitled India's National
Security Dilemma (2001) is to develop a conceptual framework for India's national
security including threat perception so that policy responses could be analyzed within
that framework. The study attempts to build a theory on India's security concerns to
examine the hierarchy of threats. Further, the work has also concentrated on problems
like irredentism, arms race, secessionism, nation-state building, terrorism and effects of
psycho-cultural variables. The study is only Pakistan-centric and has not taken into
account other sources of threats in considering India's national security dilemma.

Bharat Karnad in his pioneering work “Nuclear Weapons and Indian
Security” (2002) has traces the evolution of Indian national security perspective
since independence, the shortcomings and failures in the decision-making structure
and processes of political leadership, bureaucracy and armed forces leadership over
the last half century. Matters as diverse as traditional religious concepts of war and
peace, technological details of the latest nuclear submarine, along with the changes
in the perception of nuclear weapons of our political leaders, scientists, bureaucrats and down to the military men also finds appropriate place in the study.

Stephanie Lawson in her work *New Agenda For International Relations. From Polarization To Globalization In World Politics* (2002) states that just as the collapse of the Soviet Union in the period following the fall of the Berlin Wall signalled the end of strategic polarization, it also marked the apparent end of a particular form of polarized debate around political, social, and economic ideas. The various new dimensions taken by scholars of international relations in the post Cold war era constitute a large part of how a ‘new agenda’ for the discipline. Issues tackled in this volume include the power of culture and ideology, the concept of globalization, inequality, human rights and security as well as reflections on new forms of polarization in the post Cold war world.

Bertrand G. Ramcharan in his study *Human Rights and Human Security* (2002) opines that the quest for human security is a defining issue of our times. The international human rights norms define the content of human security. The study points out that in the contemporary world, it is of the utmost importance to understand the linkages between human rights and human security and also the relationship between freedom and security is also a central issue of our times. This is a unique study which attempts to trace the links between human rights and human security. It provides answers to a key question: How does the protection of human rights in the contemporary world contribute to human security and how can one strengthen protection in the future?

Chari and Sonika in their edited work *Human Security in South Asia: Gender, Migration and Globalisation* (2003) argue for a concept of security that extends beyond the conventional domain of military threats to include those that fall outside it. Even though non-military threats are rooted in social, economic, ecological and political choices made by the country, they are frequently left out in the decision-making process and hence these threats jeopardize the economic development, social fabric and political stability of the nation. This study discusses the non-military threats arising from misgovernance, competition for energy resources, migration, the negative effects of globalisation and gender discrimination.
The study strongly suggests that by failing to protect its people from non-military threats, the state endangers the overall security of its people. Therefore military and non-military threats cannot be looked at in isolation of each other while the dangers arising from military threats are well understood; those arising from non-military threats are not similarly understood and hence will undermine the security of the countries of South Asia.

Michael Edward Brown in his work New Global Dangers: Changing Dimensions of International Security (2004) has opined that despite growing concerns after September 11, 2001, over the global terrorist threat and the spread of weapons of mass destruction, international security no longer hinges only on arms control and the prevention of war. Nonmilitary concerns, including emerging infectious diseases, environmental degradation, demographic trends, and humanitarian catastrophes, also represent significant threats to global stability. The study offers an overview of critical security dangers facing the world today and further looks at the relationship between weapons and security, discussing such aspects of proliferation as "nuclear entrepreneurship" in Russia and the threat of biological warfare. It then examines nonmilitary security concerns, including resource scarcity, migration, HIV/AIDS in Africa, and why humanitarian assistance sometimes does more harm than good. Finally, it looks at the role of transnational actors, including terrorist groups, nongovernmental organizations, and the privatized military industry.

Neil MacFarlane and Yuen Foong Khong in their pioneering work, Human Security and the UN: A Critical History (2006) attempts to answer the question as to how did the individual human being become the focus of the contemporary discourse on security? What was the role of the United Nations in "securing" the individual? What are the payoffs and costs of this extension of the concept? The study attempts to tackle these questions by analyzing historical and contemporary debates about what is to be secured. From Westphalia through the 19th century, the state’s claim to be the object of security was sustainable because it offered its subjects some measure of protection. The state’s ability to provide security for its citizens came under heavy strain in the 20th century as a result of technological, strategic, and ideological innovations. By the end of World War II, efforts to reclaim
the security rights of individuals gathered pace, as seen in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and a host of United Nations covenants and conventions. MacFarlane and Khong highlight the UN’s work in promoting human security ideas since the 1940s, giving special emphasis to its role in extending the notion of security to include development, economic, environmental, and other issues in the 1990s.

Michael Sheehan in his scholarly work *International Security: An Analytical Survey* (2006) offers diverse perspectives of scholars on security. The study gives a comprehensive understanding of security and the broader agenda is then analyzed from the classical reading approach, neo-realist, post-positivist thoughts on security, the critical security school and post modern security theory. Finally the author makes the case for a post positivist concept wherein the author draws a link between human security Justice and peace. In short, the study sets a broad agenda for security.

Kirshner in his edited work *Globalization and National security* (2006) covers areas such as international migration, information technology, and the marketization of security forces. The study demonstrates that, even while retaining the state-centric perspective, globalization changes the nature of the international security game. Failure to account for the influence of globalization will make it increasingly difficult to understand changes in the balance of power, prospects for war, and strategic choices embraced by states.

Balzacq and Carrera in their edited work *Security versus freedom: A challenge for Europe’s future* (2006) give critical analysis of all the main issues in EU justice and Home Affairs Law. In particular the authors examine the tension between the objectives of ensuring security and immigration control on the one hand, and the protection of human rights and civil liberties on the other, and assess whether the EU has managed to accomplish its objective of creating an ‘area of freedom, security, and justice’.

Sandra J. MacLean, David R. Black and Timothy M. Shaw in their edited work, *A Decade of Human Security: Global Governance and New Multilateralisms* (2006) attempts to find innovations in the advancement of the
human security agenda over the past decade and throws light on themes and processes around which consensus for future policy action might be built. The study considers the ongoing debates regarding the human security agenda, explores prospects and projects for the advancement of human security, addresses issues of human security as emerging forms of new multilateralisms and examines claims that human security is being undermined by US unilateralisms.

Shahrbanou Tadjbakhsh, Anuradha Chenoy in their commendable work, *Human Security: Concepts and Implications* (2007) trace the key evolutions in the development of the concept of human security, the various definitions and critiques, how it relates to other concepts, and what it implies for polities, politics, and policy. Human security is an important subject for the whole world, in particular Asia, as it deals with interactions among fields of social change, such as development, conflict resolution, human rights, and humanitarian assistance. In a globalizing world, in which threats become trans-national and states lose power, security can no longer be studied in a one-dimensional fashion.

*Reintroducing the Human Security Debate in South Asia* (2007) is an edited work by Rajesh M. Basrur and Mallika Joseph that gives an account of major human security problems in South Asia. The study also points out the human security deficit in these countries. In brief, the study highlights the problems and needs of the people of the sub continent.

Dipankar Banerjee in his work *Rethinking Security, UN and the New Threats* (2007) reflects the collective view from South Asia as to the nature of these challenges and how to address them through international action. The study analyzes the impact of socio-economic challenges on regional and global security, promoting effective collective action to counter terrorism, role of peacekeeping and humanitarian intervention in maintaining global peace and ensuring human security, restructuring international security mechanisms and views statements from NGOs and civil society. The study reviews the existing international security structure at the UN level from a holistic perspective and specifically focuses in the final chapter about engendering human security.
Mary Kaldor in her work *Human Security* (2007) explores the security gap and makes a case for a new approach to security based on a global conversation—a public debate among civil society groups and individuals as well as states and international institutions. The work is a combination of contemporary history and political analysis. The study has analyzed the problems of war and peace we face today. It explains the experience of humanitarian intervention, the nature of American power, the new nationalist and religious movements that are associated with globalization, and how these various aspects of current security dilemmas have played out in the Balkans. The final part of the study is more normative, dealing with the evolution of the idea of global civil society, the relevance of just war theory in a global era, and the concept of human security and what it might mean to implement such a concept.

Truong, Wieringa and Chhachhi in their edited work *Engendering Human Security: Feminist Perspectives* (2007) present a variety of feminist perspectives on human security under globalization. Looking at gender as a multifaceted power domain, and human security as a policy framework, the study attempts to explore the configuration of the state, power/knowledge systems and the implications for people living with deprivation and social exclusion. Further it offers new forms of analysis to expose the gendered character of global transformation and the explicit and implicit threats to human security in different places and explore the gendered implications of transnational processes such as conflict, international migration, human trafficking, the changing boundaries of work and care, environmental degradation, neo-conservatism and body politics. The study challenges conventional approaches to politics and economics and suggest alternative ways of framing strategies and policies. A key thematic area concerns the intersection between gender - as a domain of power - and human security as a new policy framework. The study, no doubt is an integration of a feminist materialist analysis of gender relations with a feminist post-modern approach to gender representation and cultural construction. A combination of the two approaches links culture with politics and economics, and integrates analysis of class, ethnicity and other dimensions of gender identity.
Peow in his work, *Security in East Asia: Challenges for Collaborative Action Research* (2008) examines the number of interstate wars that has emerged since cold war, although whilst states may be more secure than ever and this does not mean that individual human beings are secured too. This has led to a growing recognition of the importance of human security, in contrast to the traditional realist focus on state security. This study further explores human security in East Asia and the theoretical complexities of conceptual arguments about human security, drawing on the ideas of scholars from Asia and the West, to provide a global perspective on what causes human insecurity and how security can best be achieved. The work highlights as to how interventions uphold human security in few cases.

Liotta in his study, *Environmental Change and Human Security: Recognizing and Acting on Hazard Impacts* (2008) establishes a linkage between human and environmental security and takes both a conceptual and a pragmatic approach to complex environmental issues (such as soil erosion, desertification, water degradation, demographic shifts, food security and agricultural prospects, urbanization trends, hazard-induced migrations) that affect human security. In a nutshell, the study summarizes the collective work of both natural and social science disciplines in regard to how best address, mitigate, adapt, or achieve resilience in the face of changing environmental conditions. Specifically it uses separate approaches beginning with conceptual methods to understanding the intersections of risk, uncertainty, and environmental challenges—as well as the challenges measuring human security and is followed by region-specific challenges for environmental and human security in North Africa, the Balkans, and the Middle East.

David Roberts has constructed his study *Human Insecurity: Global Structures of Violence* (2008) in three parts. Part I considers “The Case for Collective Security”. In the first chapter, Leon Gordenker and Tom Weiss provide a baseline for the rest of the work, when one takes a close look at the “Collective Security Idea and a Changing World Politics.” The examination of the development of this concept in the twentieth century precedes Oscar Schachter’s overview of international legal developments in “Sovereignty and Threats to Peace.” A skeptical
view of big power motivations and the feasibility of a new regime, from a distinctly Third World perspective, follows in Chapter 3, where Mohammed Ayoob argues “Squaring the Circle: Collective Security in a System of States.’ The study’s first part ends with Ernst B. Hass’s quantitative and prescriptive examination, “Collective Conflict Management: Evidence for a New World Order. The study further gives an analysis of a variety of political and management initiatives followed by an examination by John Mackinlay of the military lacunae of the UN, and of the international community more generally.

Gamini Keerawella in his work Evolving Security Discourse in Sri Lanka: From National Security to Human Security (2008) describes the transition of the human security idea from a national security scenario. The study explores the symbiotic relationship between traditional and human security in Sri Lanka in academic as well as in practical terms. It argues that human security discourse may bring about conceptual breakthrough on the security of the state which is essential to find a way out of the complex emergencies arising from the internal crisis of Sri Lanka.

Saba Gul Khattak, Kiran Habib and Foqia Sadiq Khan in their study Women and Human Security in South Asia: The Cases of Bangladesh and Pakistan (2008) have discussed gender sensitive approach into the discourse and practice on human security in Bangladesh and Pakistan. The work provides an intellectual understanding of the concept of gendered human security through a synthesis of academic discourse and scholarship, good practices and policies. The study also contributes to the building of standards and norms of measuring human security and ventures into developing a conceptual basis for the rationale behind the need for a separate framework for women's insecurity.

This work, The Viability of Human Security (2008) by Monica Den Boer and Jaap de Wilde elaborates on the EU Report; A Human Security Doctrine for Europe, adding an engaging discussion of international legal consequences and operational demands in the European Union’s quest for domestic security. The study highlights how people in war-torn countries have no choice but to create their own security arrangements. The study argues that human security as a concept only makes sense if it covers both foreign and domestic policy concerns.
Moufida Goucha and John Crowley in their edited work, *Rethinking Human Security* (2008)\(^6\) provides seven studies that address major issues such as the human rights and human security nexus, gender aspects of human security, ethical and environmental challenges, human security as a basic element for a policy framework, the human security agenda developed by the Human Security Network (HSN), and debates on human security within the United Nations. Building on its variety of themes, the study takes account of the complexity and scope of the concept of human security.

*Globalization and Human Security* (2009)\(^6\), a unique work by Paul Battersby and Joseph M. Siracusa describe that the citizens of state must urgently reconsider the principle of state sovereignty in a global world where threats to humanity are beyond the capacity of any one nation to address through unilateral action, in their concise text by present a focused, well-rounded, and clear-eyed introduction to the concept of human security. Questioning the utility of traditional national-security frameworks in the post Cold War era, the study points out circumstances, actors, and influences beyond the traditional focus on state security, especially the role of international organizations and nongovernmental organizations. Further the study emphasizes the importance of human rights, arguing for the development of an effective intervention capacity to protect individuals from state action as well as other security threats arising from conflict, poverty, disease, and environmental degradation. A welcome alternative to state-centric approaches to security, this balanced book will be a valuable supplement for courses in international and national security.

*Search for Human Security: The Shifting paradigms* (2009)\(^6\) by Narottam Gaan, is a scholarly work that gives comprehensive account of various schools of thought about security. The study provides ample evidence that the search for peace and human security is a positive-even game in which everyone stands to gain. In addition, the study gives a detailed account of security and securitization, neorealist and neoliberal view of security. Lastly, thoughts on environmental security, digital security, feminist perspectives on security and the concept of human security also find a place.
Global Governance and Bio Politics: Regulating Human Security (2009) by Roberts is an interesting work that attempts to explain the importance of human security in the international system. It represents global governance not as impartial, but as asymmetrical and violent towards those it marginalises through its liberal control technologies, representing a bio political mechanism that in turn engineers bio poverty. Further, the study offers a powerful critique of global governance as an ideational norm, and in practical terms, proposes human security policies that transcend borders without violating sovereignty, focused on the most lethally-exposed people in the world.

Monirul Hussain in his study Human Security in India: Health, Shelter and Marginalization (2010) points out as to how South Asia is undoubtedly a human security deficit region, and India being no exception, the study reflects human security situation in India arguing that even when on one side development is good, majority of India suffers from a deep sense of insecurity, marginalization, exclusion, shelterlessness and violence and then explores the journey ahead towards enhancement of human security in India. The study also discusses the issues of insecurity of the child and the abuse of child rights; problem of the refugees and the internally displaced persons; issues of the disempowered women. The study argues in favor of enhancing human security through human development.

Daase, Christopher and Cornelius in their edited work Rethinking Security Governance. The Problem Of Unintended Consequences (2010) explore the unintended consequences of security governance and how negative consequences can be limited. Security governance describes new modes of security policy that differ from traditional approaches to national and international security. While traditional security policy used to be the exclusive domain of states and aimed at military defense, security governance is performed by multiple actors and is intended to create a global environment of security of states, international organizations, and private actors, security governance is seen to provide more effective and efficient means to cope with today’s security risks.
Mahendra P Lama in his work *Human Security in India: Discourse, Practices and Policy implications* (2010) examines the case for broadening the scope of security by breaking the rigidity brought about by traditional forms of dominant state-centric and military based security concepts and their determining matrices. The main thrust of this study is on three critical areas, viz., (i) environmental security, (ii) food security and (iii) energy security. The study endeavours to unfurl a new framework of concerns, complexities and constituents of human and national security linkage and thereby enhances the possibility of arriving at a collective and comprehensive notion of security on a national and sub-national basis, away from state-centric and threat perception-dominated determinants of security.

The work titled *The Ultimate Weapon Is No Weapon: Human Security and the New Rules of War and Peace. New York* (2010) by Beebe, Shannon and Kaldor presents a detailed account of populations threatened by military, economic, and social upheaval. The study focuses on how marginalized populations are trapped in poverty and lawlessness and denied political power and justice brutality, and fascism. In brief, the study points out the importance of human security as a new concept and the policies and priorities as required.

Ellen Bal and Oscar Salemink in their study *A World of Insecurity: Anthropological Perspectives On Human Security* (2010) explore the possible uses of the concept of human security in anthropology. The concept of human security was introduced by the UNDP in 1994, in order to expand the scope of development work and research. Human security is defined as ‘freedom from want and freedom from fear’, and thus includes the subjective or existential dimensions in an area which has been dominated by quantitative and ‘objective’ measurements of well-being. So far, the concept of human security has been largely absent from academic anthropology. This is regrettable insofar as anthropologists thereby exclude themselves from relevant theoretical and policy debates that touch on the heart of the discipline, as well as from potentially fruitful exchanges with other disciplines. This study represents an effort to sharpen and broaden the scope of human security research, placing it at the very centre of social inquiry.
Feigenblatt in his work, Human Security in the Asia Pacific Region: Security Challenges, Regional Integration, and Representative Case Studies (2010) uses the “Human Security Paradigm” to highlight and discuss a series of issues relating to conflict, politics and social standing in selected areas of the Asia Pacific region. The study attempts to define human security as both protective and developmental. Protective in that individuals need to be protected from physical threats (natural, political and arising from the abuses of human rights) and developmental which includes repression, hunger and disease. The study examines three main areas namely: Regional Trends: Normative Contestation, Regional Integration and Regional Security. The next part concerns The Two Chinas and Costa Rica: Asia Pacific Diplomacy and, the last part deals with Thailand’s socio-political unrest and southern insurgency from a Human Security Perspective. Even though the study is interdisciplinary in nature, it gives a more holistic outline of the case studies and also delves into the notions of “Freedom from Want” and “Freedom From Fear” from the standpoint of the individual, rather than for the state.

Rekha Datta in her work Beyond Realism: Human Security in India & Pakistan in the 21st Century (2010) gives the idea that in the post cold war period which has several bilateral conflicts, the nuclear tests of 1998, the post 9/11 world, South Asia has become a breeding ground for terrorists which make India and Pakistan a pivotal region to study. The study is an analysis which starts with traditional approaches and combines them with new thinking within a human security policy framework. The study views the security policies of India and Pakistan that have emerged in the context of geo-political concerns based on realist calculations. It also looks at the policies of the two governments in key areas such as the economy, education, public health, and safeguarding against gender-based violence. Concern with human security prompts analyses such as the one adopted in this book to argue that governments should empower and protect their citizens from serious threats to their survival. Home to a fifth of the world's population, large numbers of whom are reeling in poverty, where terrorism continues to be a concern, along with ongoing border disputes, the author opines that India and Pakistan will find it imperative to make careful evaluations of this multipronged challenge to security. While it has relevance for regional policy priorities, this analysis also has broader implications for world powers such as the United States and China, for whom South Asia remains a key strategic area.
Amitav Acharya, Subrat Kumar Singhdeo, M. Rajaratnam in their combined work on *Human Security: From Concept to Practice: Case Studies from Northeast India and Orissa* (2011)\(^7\) has portrayed that human security as a new paradigm for security, development and justice. Since it was first proposed in the 1990s, there has been an endless debate between its proponents and critics, and even among its advocates, over the meaning and utility of the concept. What is important now is to move the concept beyond the realm of theory and explore its practical applications, considering possible policy perspectives and implications. This study suggests new practical applications of the human security concept, such as human security mapping, the human security governance index and human security impact assessment. By designating the individual rather than the state as the referent object of security, human security is emerging as a framework that can serve as a means to evaluate threats, foresee crises, analyze causes of discord and propose solutions entailing a redistribution of responsibilities.

Abdus Sabur and Abdur Rob Khan in their work *Human Security Index for South Asia: Exploring Relevant Issues* (2011)\(^7\) provide the site for measuring the interface between the downsides of development and various levels and sources of insecurities. The traditional debate between ‘freedom from want’ and ‘freedom from fear’ is also reflected. Several attempts have been made to construct a Human Security Index (HIS) at country and regional levels following variants of these epistemological debates. The study is an exploratory attempt in the context of South Asia to suggest possible approaches and bring out relevant methodological issues.

David Chandler and Nik Hynek in their edited work, *Critical Perspectives on Human Security: Rethinking Emancipation and Power in International Relations* (2011)\(^8\) provide critical approaches towards human security, which has become one of the key areas for policy and academic debate within the field of security studies and international relations. The human security paradigm has had considerable significance for academics, policy-makers and practitioners. Under the rubric of human security, security policy practices seem to have transformed their goals and approaches, re-prioritizing economic and social welfare issues that were marginal to the state-based geo-political rivalries of the Cold War era. Human
Security has reflected and reinforced the reconceptualisation of international security, both broadening and deepening it, and, in so doing, it has helped extend and shape the space within which security concerns inform international policy practices. However, in its wider use, Human Security has become an amorphous and unclear political concept, seen by some as progressive and radical and by others as tainted by association with the imposition of neo-liberal practices and values on non-Western spaces or as legitimizing attacks on Iraq and Afghanistan. The study is concerned with critical perspectives towards Human Security, highlighting some of the tensions which can emerge between critical perspectives which discursively radicalise Human Security within frameworks of emancipatory possibility and those which attempt to deconstruct Human Security within the framework of an externally imposed attempt to regulate and order the globe on behalf of hegemonic power. On the whole, the study represents a range of critical approaches which bring together alternative understandings of human security.

Jon Barnett in his work *Human Security* (2011)\(^81\) states that the climate change poses risks to the basic needs, human rights, and core values of individuals and communities. These risks are increasingly being described as risks to human security, which contrast with the more abstract notion that climate change poses risks to national security. This study focuses on the first of the commonly agreed climate change and security issues — that is the linkages between climate change and human security. The study attempts to define some of the key concepts of vulnerability, adaptation, and human security, which all come together in research and policy on climate change and human security. The relationship between these concepts is explained, as is the distinction between securities as it has traditionally been understood within the discipline of political science, and human security. Furthermore this study provides an overview of the critical and applied uses of the concept of human security as it relates to climate change.

Derek S. Reveron and Kathleen A. Mahoney-Norris in their work *Human Security in a Borderless World* (2011)\(^82\) give an account of the modern threats to security issues such as globalization, climate change, pandemic diseases, endemic poverty, weak and failing states, transnational narcotics trafficking, piracy, and
vulnerable information systems. The study examines key challenges that threaten human beings, their societies, and their governments today and it also provides a thought-provoking exploration of civic, economic, environmental, maritime, health, and cyber security issues in this era of globalization, including thorough consideration of the policy implications for the United States. The study argues that human security is now national security. Lastly it attempts to explain potential counterarguments about human security; explore the policy debates that dominate the area of study; and illuminate concrete examples of security threats.

Mary Martin, Mary Kaldor in their edited work The European Union and Human Security: External Interventions and Missions (2012) observe the European external interventions in human security, in order to illustrate the evolution and nature of the European Union as a global political actor. The work involves case studies of external interventions by the EU covering the Balkans, Africa, the Middle East, Afghanistan and Indonesia, to illustrate the nature of the EU as a global actor. Using the concept of human security, the study addresses two key issues: the need for an empirical assessment of EU foreign and security policies based on EU intervention in conflict and post-conflict situations and the idea of 'human security' and how this is applied in European foreign policy.

Guan and Benny in their work Human Security: Securing East Asia’s Future (2012) examine the fundamental issues causing human insecurities and evaluates the extent of which human security plays a role at the state and regional levels. Covering the different areas of threats to humans and applying case study materials, this study provides an intellectual mix of perspectives that captures the relationship between people, state and region. The study stresses that human security is becoming increasingly pronounced in recent years due to changes in the security landscape of world politics. Yet, inter-state relations have continued to dominate security concerns in East Asia eluding the broader understanding of issues and challenges facing the peoples of East Asia.

Kabir and Ahmed in their study Ethnicity and Human Security in Bangladesh and Pakistan (2012) identify the sources and nature of threats to
people belonging to ethnic groups and conceptualizes human security in a manner that addresses the inadequacy of the traditional approach. It conducts an analysis on ethnicity- and non-ethnicity-induced human security problems in the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) of Bangladesh and the Sindh Province of Pakistan, as important areas of human security. The study also deals with threats stemming from ethnicity and the resultant conflict thereof in the CHT and in Sindh. In brief, the study conceptualizes the concept of human security to mainstream it into security discourse.

Valerio de Divitiis in his work *Human Security: A Promising Concept to Address Terrorism-related Threats* (2012) discusses the after effects at the end of the Cold War, the attention of the international community shift towards the promotion of the rule of law and the protection of human rights in the field of security. The study points out that the notion of human security appeared and challenged the dominance of the concept of state security in defining and guiding national security policies. These developments are clearly relevant to counter-terrorism policies and suggest some significantly different approaches to prevent the recruitment of individuals by violent-extremist organizations and the spread of terrorism. Concurrently, the globalization of the threat of terrorism has required responses at various levels, demanding greater international cooperation and forcing multilateral organizations to mobilize themselves and attempts to define a basis upon which to collaborate in the fight against terrorism and violent extremism. The study argues that a commitment to human rights and broad human security objectives is the most promising basis upon which to proceed in preventing the recruitment and radicalization of vulnerable segments of the population. Finally the study draws attention to recent initiatives to prevent prisons from becoming incubators of violent extremism and terrorism.

Wellman and Lombardi in their edited work *Religion and Human Security: A Global Perspective* (2012) have made and effort in bringing religion together with a new and intriguing concept of human security. The editors with their combined work in partnership with thirteen other prominent contributors offer a unique and seminal work that crosses disciplinary boundaries and deepens our
understanding of the relationship between these concepts. They promote the discussion of human security by demonstrating the various ways religious actors interact with it. This framing allows them to emphasize the under-theorized state of human security, while also presenting a nuanced picture of the role of religion in the social and political realms.

The study demonstrates that religion and religious non-state actors, are not necessarily threats to human security. The study delves into the differences between religious non-state actors and challenges the simplistic negative portrayal that religious non-state actors are inherently incompatible with human security. While the study can be seen as part of an emerging literature about the role of religion in domestic politics and international relations, which arose in the aftermath of the Cold War, it goes beyond simplistic depictions. In contrast with many works that discuss religion as a reactionary force which stands in conflict with modernity, or as the source of brutal, indiscriminate violence, this study seeks to present a more balanced view of the important and multidimensional roles religion plays in local and international politics.

Chanthana Banphasirichot in his work Mainstreaming Human Security: Asian Perspectives (2012) attempts to envisage a human security framework interpreted and situated in the Asian context. Rather than focus on the concept of human security for a theoretical debate, this study has a different agenda and it examines how the concept, as defined by the UN Commissioners, has been integrated into existing structures of governance in the Asian region in an attempt to capture the progress of a decade of implementation. The diversity in the region in terms of culture, democratic politics, and economic growth within an emerging regional market, provides a fertile ground for exploring experimentations with the human security frameworks. In brief, the study has covered areas on transcending traditional security, rediscovering human (in) securities and human security in practices.

Altman, Camilleri, Eckersley and Hoffstaedter in their edited work Why Human Security Matters (2012) argue that Australian external relations needs to
treat the 'soft' issues of security as seriously as it treats the 'hard' realities of military
defence, but also the many complex situations in-between, whether it be civil war,
political upheaval, terrorism or piracy. Threats to Australian security today are more
likely to come from climate change or international criminal networks than in the
form of a military attack. The study sets a framework for understanding human
security, from food supply to drug cartels, setting Australian issues in a regional
context. Sea level rises pose a greater long term threat to Australia's coastline and
major capital cities than a military attack by a foreign power. Citizens are more
likely to experience a pandemic virus than a nuclear threat. Food shortages have
already occurred as a result of flood or drought, and the tentacles of international
trade in drugs, money laundering and human trafficking already reach far into
Australian communities. The study has contributions from leading thinkers in
foreign policy and strategic studies.

Karen O'Brien, Johanna Wolf and Linda Sygna in their edited work, *A
Changing Environment for Human Security: Transformative Approaches to
Research, Policy and Action* (2013) have given a number of areas on human
security from the viewpoint of several experts on human security. Primarily the
work deals with a reality check followed by breakthrough conditions and concludes
with transformations for the future. The study has described new ways of
understanding the relationship between environmental change and human
security. The study also includes critical analyses, case studies and reflections on
contemporary environmental and social challenges, with a strong emphasis on those
related to climate change. Human thoughts and actions have contributed to an
environment of insecurity, manifested as multiple interacting threats that now
represent a serious challenge to humanity. Yet humans also have the capacity to
collectively transform the economic, political, social and cultural systems and
structures that perpetuate human insecurities. These fresh perspectives on global
environmental change from an interdisciplinary group of international experts,
inspires us to think differently about environmental issues and sustainability. The
contributions reflect that in a changing environment, human security is not only a
possibility, but a choice.
Mary Kaldor, Mary Martin, Narcis Serra in their edited work National, European and Human Security: From Co-Existence to Convergence (2013) examine how national security strategies relate to an emerging common European or global vision of security, and to human security ideas. The study further seeks to identify key concepts and themes in the national discourse of several European countries, addressing security at a meta-narrative and conceptual level, illustrating the changes taking place in approaches to security, and in particular, mapping moves away from a paradigm of ‘national security’ to one which might be called ‘human security’ that enables an assessment of whether national security is currently converging at either European or global levels.

Joseph E. Stiglitz and Mary Kaldor in their work The Quest for Security: Protection without Protectionism and the Challenge of Global Governance (2013) have given out a balanced analysis of the global landscape and the factors contributing to the growth of insecurity. Whereas earlier studies have touched on how globalization has increased economic insecurity and how geopolitical changes may have contributed to military insecurity. The study looks for some common threads: in a globalized world without a global government, with a system of global governance not up to the task, how do we achieve security without looking inward and stepping back from globalization? The study seeks to answer questions as to how we achieve protection of those people who are most insecure without resorting to economic, military, or mafia protectionism and also suggested that the turmoil in the Eurozone "proves" the deficiencies in the welfare state. The study, argues that the superior performance of Scandinavian countries arises from their superior systems of social protection, which allow their citizens to undertake greater risk and more actively participate in globalization. Finally, it attempts to examine how these global changes play out, not only in the relations among countries and the management of globalization, but at every level of our society, especially in our cities and explores the potential for cities to ensure personal security, promote political participation, and protect the environment in the face of increasing urbanization.
David Joseph Walton, Rikki Kersten and William T Tow in their study, *New Approaches to Human Security in the Asia-Pacific: China, Japan and Australia* (2013) give a bird’s eye view of a distinctly Asia-Pacific-oriented perspective to one of the most discussed components of international security policy, human security. The study assesses countries that have either spearheaded this form of security politics (Japan and Australia) or have recently advanced to become a key player on various aspects of human security in both a domestic and global context (China). The study also provides an interesting investigation into the continued relevance and promise of the human security paradigm against more 'traditional' security approaches.

Mary Martin and Taylor Owen in their edited work *Routledge Studies in Human Security* (2014) draw on three key aspects of human security thinking: Theoretical issues to do with defining human security as a specific discourse, human security from a policy and institutional perspective, and how it is operationalised in different policy and geographic contexts, and case studies and empirical work.

Sangmin Bae and Makoto Maruyama in their edited work *Human Security, Changing States and Global Responses: Institutions and Practices* (2014) critically assess the human security challenges faced by states, focusing on how and to what extent the state is influenced by global structures and operations. Having grown rapidly since the 1990s, the field of human security has spawned a wide variety of academic research. This study has reconceptualized the notion of security, both broadening and deepening it, and it has created a space where unconventional and multidimensional forms of security inform international policy practices. The study also attempts to answer the question as to why sovereign states take on leadership roles in promoting human security. In short, the study examines the role of the state in handling critical human security issues and its rationale for doing so.

*State Responses to Human Security: At Home and Abroad* (2014) is an edited work by Courtney Hillebrecht, Tyler White and Patrice McMahon that attempts to analyze why and how states respond to human security, both at home and abroad. It opines that although states still define security as "the defense of
security pertains progressively more to the protection of human beings from violence like attacks from rebels, drug traffickers, terrorism, and even environmental and demographic changes. The study brings in concepts from international security studies and focuses on states’ perceptions of power and the changing nature of human security. Instead of debating whether or not human security exists, the authors agree that human security has been redefined. Case studies analyzed suggest that states respond to human security threats differently, but in both the domestic context and abroad, power and perceptions matter greatly in shaping states’ reactions to human security concerns.

Saul Takahashi in his work, *Human Rights, Human Security, and State Security: The Intersection* (2014) discusses the issue of human security and its impact in nearly every important policy debate in global politics, and also stresses that the protection of human rights is now recognized as one of the main functions of any legitimate modern state. How can the international community best ensure that human rights are protected while simultaneously protecting state security? Who should intervene in cases of mass, gross violations, and when are military actions justified? -- are the most difficult and pressing questions raised and hence the study attempts to address and explore these by presenting the differing views of commentators from various ends of the spectrum.

**Review of Literature indicated the following**

- Threats to security, human security and national security are complex and multidimensional in nature challenging the survival, livelihood and dignity of people.
- The application of human security calls for an assessment of human insecurities that is people-centred, comprehensive, country specific, context-specific and preventive.
- Threats to human security are best safeguarded through holistic, proactive and preventive actions
- Governments retain the primary role through governance for ensuring the survival, livelihood and dignity of their populations.
Human security is an approach that complements state security

Human security addresses threats in an integrated, multi-dimensional and comprehensive way.

Human security is a dynamic and practical policy framework for addressing widespread and cross-cutting threats facing governments and people.

Why this Study?

Firstly, the concept of ‘human security’ emerged as a new paradigm for understanding national, regional and global vulnerabilities. The concept is based on the premise that the traditional notion of national security falls short in addressing the wide range of dimensions of security in the life of the individual human being. It holds that the proper reference for security should be the individual rather than the state. A people-centred view of security is necessary for national, regional and global stability. Secondly, it has become widely understood and acknowledged that peace, security, justice and sustainable development are inherently linked and therefore require a holistic approach for protection and promotion. This has led to the concept of a ‘comprehensive approach’ to human security through interventions aimed at tackling the various security threats, governance and socio-economic challenges by a range of involved actors in a coherent manner.

The end of the cold war has brought about a great variety of demands to expand the concept of security. These approaches are evidenced by the fact that the 1994 Human Development Report (HDR) widened the security agenda by introducing the concept of human security: which includes economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security and political security. In fact last decade have seen the emergence of a wide range of new security threats at the local, national and global level, including threats related to ethnic conflict and civil wars, violent extremism, climate change, illicit trade, drug abuse, migration, health related issues, governance, corruption and organised crime.

In fact internal threats seem to be more threatening and dangerous in countries with weak and ineffective institutional apparatus or lack of robust
governance. Some of these threats are of a very serious nature affecting the stability and security of developing countries like India. This plethora of fast-changing and intertwined threats has led to several important shifts in international and national discourses and policy-making regarding timely interventions through effective and efficient governance in a developing country like India. Therefore one needs to look into the referent object of security being shifted away from the state towards human security largely due to the demands and pressure generated due to lack of effective governance to handle multiple threats to human security, and to how far and to what extent human security finds a place in the national security policy making apparatus. Keeping this in mind, the following research objectives were formulated.

**Objectives of the Study**

- To identify major threats to human security
- To contextualize the causes and manifestations of threats to human security and their impact on people
- To comprehend human security early warning mechanisms that help to mitigate the impact of current threats and, where possible, prevent the occurrence of future threats.
- To identify the major actors responsible for advancing human security and the role of governance.
- To assess the role of the relevant actors in the allocation of resources, goals and responsibilities across and among actors at the local, national, regional and international levels upon which human security is built upon?

**The major research questions formulated with reference to the study are:**

- What is considered to be the human security that is being or should be promoted?
- Whose security is this?
- Who is responsible for providing this security?
- How is human security seen to be contradicting or complementing traditional (state) security?
How can the human security approach be integrated as an overarching framework into India’s national security?

Based on the above research questions the following hypothesis were framed

Hypothesis

H1 Human security approach has become an imperative factor in India’s national governance; for the present day threats to a nation are more internal than external. The perception of human fear, vulnerability and threats have presented significant challenges to policy makers and the responsibility to provide human security falls first and foremost on the states. The human security paradigm emphasizes the need to protect populations and provide them with the means of existence, as well as the ethical obligation to intervene in cases when their security is in danger. Therefore, strengthening national capacities is a precondition for security policy whether it is human or national security.

H2 Human security approach requires a framework for analysis and policy formulation in India. The human security approach presents policy makers an opportunity to formulate human security framework to address major critical threats. Such a framework for analysis would help to identify the inadequacy and misguided nature of domestic/national policies. The human security approach presents the policy makers an opportunity to provide just and dignified livelihood to every citizen and thereby overcome major threats to human survival. And therefore, human security should be integrated into national security policy framework since the rationale for developing a national security policy stems from the nature and the intensity of the threats and insecurities states face whether it be state centric or human centric.

H3 Human security thinking not only combines agendas for action, to build the capacity to avoid, respond to or cope with risks and threats but also create awareness of the increasing cross-sectoral nature of government policies for effective and efficient governance. Mitigating threats to the insecurity of individuals thus becomes a central goal of policy
recommendations and actions for there is a **clear link and interdependence between human security and national security**. Human security also adds depth to national security policies by improving the assessment of both threats to security and actors of insecurity. In addition to traditional security concerns human security added new issues and targeted new objectives of security and hence need to find a place in India’s national security calculus and planning options at mitigating threats to the insecurity of individuals thus becomes a central goal of policy recommendations and action.

The study attempts to articulate new insights based on needs, policies and practices with regard to comprehensive approach to human security. The aim of this research agenda is to enhance the academic basis and underlying assumptions of intervention logic and policy theories on the use and application of a comprehensive approach to human security. The knowledge could help strengthen linkages between academia, policymakers and practitioners, and could feed back into different knowledge domains. The research could particularly contribute towards increasing the capacity of local actors and identify opportunities for capacity-building throughout the process. Further, the research outcome must lead to informed advice and policy prescriptions for practitioners. In fact, the main aim of this work is to highlight the significance of governance in the area of human security threats, the need for a human security framework and the relevance of human security factor in India’s national security policy making.

This research attempts to shed light on what a comprehensive approach to human security interventions means in practice through governance. The purpose was to assess the current state of the art and to reveal some of the pressing issues and key gaps in knowledge, which need to be better articulated and understood. These gaps centre on three main areas of future research: (a) contextual understanding and local inclusion, (b) theories of change and operationalisation, and (c) evolving human security threats and policy implications in a developing country like India.
It is in this context that the logic of the present study could be seen

Research Design

The study is descriptive and analytical in approach based on extensive textual content analysis done from the secondary data obtained from relevant books and professional journals, policy papers published and online sources. Further, in view of the nature of study, this work is based on secondary sources for assessing the significance of human security factor in India’s security policy making and need to evolve a framework for analysis. The data thus collected from different sources has been analyzed to establish the link between human security and national security and resultant observations, facts and findings are interpreted to arrive at a logical conclusion.

Chapterisation

The study has been divided into five chapters drawing linkages to the area of research

The first chapter entitled “Introduction” deals with the logic of the study, objectives of the study, key research questions, hypothesis, research design, and the Chapterisation process.

The second chapter entitled “Theoretical Perspectives” focuses on the conceptual aspects relating to the area of research. This chapter attempts to provide a conceptual understanding of the concept of human security, various theories of change and operationalization, trends in human security approach, implications for policy and governance. Further, it attempts to enhance the knowledge and understanding of academics, more importantly of national policymakers and practitioners, enabling them to sharpen and improve their policies and interventions in the near future with human security.

The third chapter entitled “Human Security Framework for Analysis and Policy Formulation in India” focuses on the need for a human security framework for analysis and policy making in India.
The fourth chapter entitled “Human Security Approach in India’s National Security Calculus and Policy Making” attempts to assess the need and importance of human security approach in India’s security calculations and policy making. Further it enables both analysts and policy makers to make more accurate judgments to formulate adequate policy measures to help shape human security initiatives for the country. In nutshell this chapter suggests the need to adopt a comprehensive national security policy in view of the clear changing conceptualization of the referents and scope of human security.

In the concluding chapter an attempt has been made to answer the research question with suggestions for future research in this area. The chapter brings out the findings, observations, scope and also the limitations of the study. In brief, the chapter while summarising the findings also throws light on possible directions for further research.

End Notes

11 The state should be defined and understood herein as the collection of those elites, structures, mechanisms and institutions necessary to make a country function effectively.
33 The late Dr. Mahbub ul Haq was the creator of the widely acclaimed Human Development Report first issued in 1990. See also ul Haq 1995.
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