INTRODUCTION: REDEFINING SECURITY

Whenever the term ‘security’ is used in international politics, the first thing that comes to mind is military security. It happens because, in the postwar period, it is believed that international politics is nothing but ‘footnote of Realism’\(^1\) (Baylis and Smith, 2001:143). According to Classical Realists view, states are the major actor in international politics and security comes first for the foremost actor (Morgenthau, 1978: 4-15). Simply, the concept of security in postwar period means, the security of prime and only actor i.e. ‘state’ or ‘nation state’.

Not only Realists but social and political scientists also emphasized on state centric nature of security. One can trace the roots of state centric security directly or indirectly very easily in earlier writings of Aristotle in ‘Statesman’, Hobbes in ‘Concept of Leviathan’, Machiavelli in ‘Prince’ and Plato in ‘Ideal State’ (Menon, 2006: 6). All these writings highlight the significance of state and emphasizes only on State’s security. Even Indian political thinkers such as Kautilya in ‘Mandal Sidhanta’ and ‘Statesman’ and Manu in ‘Saptanga Sidhanta’ greatly emphasized the importance of state’s security.

The ‘Treaty of Westphalia\(^2\) of 1648 has also been exceedingly state oriented. The entire era of colonialism and de-colonialism in the last four to five centuries was the eyewitness of intensely state centric international politics. Although, monarchy was practiced most of the time in that phase and only an individual autocrat wielded power with the help of very few people around him, however, this system sustained of state security. Unfortunately, almost all war in international politics was the result of state centric security including the two ‘Great Wars’\(^3\) the World War I (WWI) and World War II.

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1 ‘Footnote of Realism’ means that almost theories in post war period were interpretation of ‘Realism’.
2 ‘Treaty of Westphalia’ commonly known as “Peace of Westphalia” (1648) was the result of “Thirty Years War” (1618-48) and “Eighty Years War” (1568-1648). This treaty was based upon the concept of sovereign state govern by sovereignty. It is considered in international politics that this treaty is the beginning of modern state.
3 ‘Great Wars’ generally indicates the situation where all key international players were keen to achieving their national interests not by negotiation but confrontation. WWI and WWII are the major example of Great War in 20thC.
Again, all wars including ‘Central Wars’\(^4\) were also a result of state security solitary. Although, ‘personality cult’ played pivotal role in sharpening of these ‘central wars’. (Waltz, 1959:16). Yet again it took place in the name of state security. The entire era of cold war since WW II was again the period of ideological differences. Issues and measures of world politics and rivalries between two power blocks i.e. ‘capitalism’ and ‘socialism’ were ideological in nature. Arms race, nuclear race, balance of power, formation of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and many more are the key issues in international politics. All these proceedings are directly related to state security and there is no room for individual’s security. In view of the above, the whole concept of individual’s security was ignored during all these phases.

Even the United Nations (UN) also mentioned:

> For too long the concept of security has been interpreted narrowly as security of territory from external aggression, or as protection of national interests in foreign policy or as global security from the threat of nuclear holocaust ... forgotten were the legitimate concerns of ordinary people who sought security in their daily lives. (UNDP, 1994:22)

However, the state centric security is just one dimension of ‘comprehensive security’\(^5\). Security concerns in international politics changed absolutely since preceding part of the cold war. With the end of cold war and disintegration of Soviet Union, the approaches of state centric security shifted from ‘Offensive Realism’\(^6\) to ‘Defensive Realism’\(^7\) in the light of the disinclination of Warsaw Pact.\(^8\) In that phase, security aspects have shifted noticeably and individual’s security became key issue in world politics. In those utterances, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) started an annual publication named Human Development Report (HDR) from 1990 onwards with single goal of putting

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\(^4\) Central Wars denotes the situation where all key existing powers tried to secure their interests through warfare. It is considered that there are more than two players in Central Wars.

\(^5\) Comprehensive Security denotes security as a whole in individual’s day to day life including military security. In this concept, ‘Military Security’ is just a part of it and not the entire notion.

\(^6\) Offensive realism denoted hegemonic position of any nation by power maximization totally in militaristic terms. This concept leads arms race.

\(^7\) Defensive realism supports requisite amount of power to ensure the survival of the states.

\(^8\) Warsaw Pact (1955-91) was security treaty of communist countries Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungry, Poland and Romania headed by USSR to counter NATO.
people at the center of the development process. According to UNDP Report of 1994 and Canadian School of thought, the dimension of state security is not absolute in a changing world. It represents only direct conventional threat from another country, but it does not include internal threats from own state and hypothetical enemies (Radtke, 2000). In this regard, the notion of security needs revision and expansion. Revision and expansion of the notion of security includes the notion of 'human security' as well.

The central question behind the idea of human security is how safe and free are people as individuals? (Bajpai, 2000:2) The term human security bears different meanings at different points of time. This term found its main thrust in the well being of individuals and like 'Sustainable Development' and 'Social Safety Net'. Simply, the concept of human security refers to multidimensional approach of well being of individuals.

The first major statement concerning human security appeared in the HDR 1994, an annual publication of UNDP. The concept of human security is defined in HDR1994 broadly as “freedom from fear and freedom from want”, and particularly as “safety from chronic threats such as hunger, diseases and repression as well as protection from sudden and harmful disruption in the pattern of daily life” (HDR, 1994:22). The scope of this definition is vast. The HDR1994 itself identified seven specific components of human security like: economic security, food security, health security, environment security, personal security, community security and political security (HDR, 1994:24-33).

These seven components outlined by UNDP and HDR 1994 is so broad that it is difficult to determine as to what, if anything, might be excluded from definition of human security. Indeed, the HDR 1994 seems distinctly uninterested in establishing any definitional boundaries. However, all these seven components outlined by UNDP and HDR 1994 have its own precedence and vary according to state, time and circumstances.

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9 The School that opined elements of human security should be incorporated in each nation’s foreign policy for the first time in international arena. This school also adopted “Freedom from Fear” approach to achieve human security rather than UNDP approach. For understanding of initiatives taken by Canada to promote human security worldwide collectively and commonly known as ‘Canadian School of thought’.

10 ‘Hypothetical Enemy’ stands for a nation i.e. not direct enemy to other nation but it considered ‘a potential enemy’.
Tracing the Roots of Human Security

International politics is always defined in terms of either ‘Offensive Realism’ or ‘Defensive Realism’. In that respect, nomenclature of human security is comparatively new. However, the perception and elements of human security can be traced in various writings and in numerous thoughts. The entire concept of ‘Idealism’, ‘Welfare State’, ‘Socialism’, ‘Gandhism’, ‘Pacifism’, ‘the Notion of Common Goods’, ‘the Concept of Justice’, ‘the Notion of Human Rights’, ‘the Notion of Sustainable Development’, ‘the Concept of Social Safety Nets’ and many more have certain amount of human elements. However, all these ideas have no ground to serve actually for the people until and unless in 1945 when the United States (US) Secretary of state, informed the American Government after San Francisco Conference that:

"The battle of peace has to be fought on two fronts. The first is the security front where victory spells freedom from fear. The second is the economic and social front where victory means freedom from want. Only victory on both fronts can assure the world of an enduring peace... No provisions that can be written into the Charter will enable the Security Council to make the world secure from war if men and women have no security in their homes and their jobs" (HDR, 1994:24).

Actually, that was the time when entire world suffered the catastrophe of World War II (WWII). After that, third world countries are enjoying the freedom, democracy, sovereignty and Human Rights after centuries of imperialism and exploitation. That phase was a key witness of Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), International Development, Sustainable Development, concept of Welfare State and many more at national and international level.

But, after the San Francisco Conference (1945), everything became as usual, as all the countries became busy in their economic development and once again human elements were missing from international politics till the beginning of 1970s, as the ‘Club of Rome Group’ produced a series of volumes under the theme “World Problematique”, which
directly associated with the problems faced by the people of almost all countries – ‘poverty’. These volumes not only concentrate on the matter of poverty but also some more thing like; degradation of environment, loss of faith in institutions, uncontrolled urban spread, insecurity in employment, alienation of youth, rejection of traditional values, inflation and other monetary and economic disruptions. (Mendlowitz, 1975). Actually, this group proposed that there was a complex global system of conceptualizing global development.

In 1980, the Independent Commission on International Development Issues (ICIDI) chaired by Willy Brant in its Report, which commonly called “North-South Report” not only raised traditional questions about peace and war but also how to overcome world hunger, mass misery and alarming disparities between the living condition of rich and poor (Independent Commission on International Development Issues, 1980:13).

Further, the Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues (ICDSI) chaired by Olof Palme focused on “Common Security”. The Commission commonly known as ‘Palme Commission’ extended the concept of security from state national frontiers to individual human beings. (Common Security, 1982: xv). This Report noted that, “Common Security” requires that people live with dignity and peace, that they have enough to eat and are able to find work and live in a world without poverty and destitution (Common Security, 1982:172). That document proposed a smaller amount of military security replica. The exclusive spotlight on the security of the State (military and strategic approach) is criticized and the importance of the well-being of people living in a society is stressed (agenda for the economic, social and political element in addition to the military dimension).

With the end of Cold War, new security matters grew rapidly. In 1991, the Stockholm initiated for “Common Responsibility in the 1990s” which referred to “Challenges to security other than political rivalry and armament”. This wider concept of security dealt with the threats that staunch from failure in development, environmental degradation, excessive population growth and movement and lack of progress towards democracy
(Common Responsibility, 1991:17-18). Four years later, the Commission on Global Governance’s Report, “Our Global Neighborhood”, emphasized that “The concept of global security must be broadened from the traditional focus on the security of states to include the security of people and the security of the planet”, (Our Global Neighborhood, 1995:338).

All these Commissions and Government’s initiatives were talking about the contemporary circumstances of world order and emphasizing on the human elements in international affairs. But it was only in the early 1990s, that the human security paradigm was first expressly articulated in the context of the UNDP activities.

The UNDP’s HDR1993 became the first document that clearly indicated that individual must be placed at the centre of international affairs (HDR, 1993). In this document, UNDP stressed that “the concept of security must change – from an exclusive stress on national security to a much greater stress on people’s security, from security through armaments to security through human development, from territorial security to food, employment and environmental security” (HDR, 1993). This Report also emphasized on “faster economic development, greater social justice and more people’s participation … (for) the new concepts of human security” (HDR, 1993).

However, Dr. Mahbub Ul Haq, a noted Pakistani Economist first drew attention to the concept of ‘human security’ in the UNDP’ HDR of 1994 and sought to influence in the UN’s 1995 World Summit on Social Development in Copenhagen, Denmark. Then the notion of human security became notable after the UNDP’s Report of 1994. He also interpreted security as:

i. Security of people, not just security of territory.
ii. Security of individuals not just security of their nations.
iii. Security through development, not security through arms.
iv. Security of all the people everywhere-in their homes, in their jobs, in their streets, in their communities, in their environment (Haq, 1994:1).
Subsequent to HDR 1993, 1994 and Dr. Haq’s initiative, human security became noteworthy in the international sphere and became a key element to those countries whose foreign policy derived from human development. In such regard, Canada was the foremost. For Canada, human security implies for the individual, a people-centered view of security. Human security is much more than the absence of military threats that includes, “security against economic privation, an acceptable quality of life, and a guarantee of fundamental Human Rights” (Axworthy, 1997:184). The focal point of “Lysoen Declaration” also pertained to values that human security means freedom from fear, freedom from want and equal opportunities (Chairman’s Summery on “A Perspectives on Human Security”, 1999).

Due to UNDP and Canada initiatives, a number of countries around the world have put human security as a guiding principle in their domestic as well as foreign policy making after the end of cold war and especially after the incident of 9/11 terror strikes (commonly known as post-post cold war). Japan, Norway and Netherland took the lead in framing new individual security policy.

**Defining Human Security**

Prior to contemplating the notion of human security, it is necessary to investigate, what security means in international politics? Security threats became intercontinental in a globalized world and no longer a uni-dimensional affair. Rather, security threats must be conceptualized from an interdisciplinary point of view. This multi-dimensional and interdisciplinary nature of security threat includes something more than traditional military security and consist the notion of human security. The concept emerged from a Post-Cold War, multi-disciplinary understanding of security involving a number of research fields including Development Studies, International Relations, Strategic Studies and Human Rights. All these concepts have their own impact and correlated with each other. In such scenario, a noteworthy question arises that what is the concrete, useful, suitable and working definition of human security?
Unfortunately, there is no particular definition of human security. HDR 1994 defined human security broadly as "freedom from fear and freedom from want", and particularly as "safety from chronic threats such as hunger, diseases and repression as well as protection from sudden and harmful disruption in the pattern of daily life" (HDR, 1994:22).

Description of human security by HDR 1994 is vague in nature (Paris, 2001). It actually divided security threats in two different categories. First one is 'freedom from fear' means a notion in which a person can overthrow his/her concern about physical threats, sexual or physical abuse, violence, persecution, torture, war, criminal attack, discrimination and even traffic accident. On the other hand, 'freedom from want' describes the lucrative employment, hygienic food, safe drinking water, improved healthcare facilities, excellent education and superior residents and working place.

Subsequent to the description given by HDR 1994, a series of definition provided by different school of thoughts like: European Union (EU), Canada, Japan, different scholars, think tanks, policymakers, media-persons and Non Government Organizations (NGOs) according to their experience, precedence and consequence (See Appendix I). Collectively and simply, the definition is imprecise in nature that could not provide crystal clear picture of basics of human security. It became messy in nature as the concept includes all aspect of security except traditional security. In the last more than a decade, it is believed that human security is just an amalgam of ideas, declarations, reports, analyses, critique and counter critique (Chenoy, 2007:2).

Although, a number of definitions and characterizations have been provided by different sects, however, all these definitions have certain pros and cons in limitation of the boundaries of human security. Even, all definition provided by different school of thoughts lack certain elements; however, almost definitions have certain common elements regarding referent objects (See Appendix-II) the definition suggested by HDR 1994 is comprehensive and comprises almost all components of human security. (HDR, 1994:22-24).
Conceptualizing Human Security

Before conceptualizing ‘human security’, one must conceptualize the term ‘security’. For conceptualizing and clear understanding of security as a concept, one must emphasize on four key questions. The first question for security studies is – ‘Security for whom?’ Who or which entity is to be secured, that is, who is the ‘referent’ of security? And which are the acquired values to be secured? What values and goals of the referent are considered vital and should be protected? Further, second question is – ‘Security for which values?’ means what are the core values of the referent that are being threatened? And what are the types of threats against which core values have to be protected? Then, the third question is – ‘Security from what threats?’ – What types of threats must core values be protected against? How is a threat or threats to core values to be averted? What are the means, instruments and strategies that can be used in order to divert or avoid a threat directed to a referent’s core value? Moreover, the last and the fourth question is about strategy to be used – ‘Security by what means?’ security by what means clearly indicates measures adopted to secure the security. (Alagappa, 1998:624-629) and (Baldwin, 1997: 13).

The concept and intensity of security have relative connotations in different contexts. However, the concept of security in international politics has been interpreted narrowly and in Realist’s way (HDR, 1994: 22). According to Realists, security after all, was automatically associated with strategic dealing, defense, military, deterrence etc. (Chenoy, 2007: 4). Straightforwardly, security is directly related to the safety of state or the ‘referent object’ of security is ‘state’ in the conventional conception of security.

On the other hand, human security is incredibly different than conformist conception of security in global politics. It is directly associated with the security of habitants of the state rather than geographical terrain of state. Since the ‘referent object’ of security in the concept of human security has shifted to individuals from state, consequently the entire concept of prime actor and security dimension has shifted in favor of individuals. This shift directly or indirectly includes each and every aspect and welfare activities that helps
human beings to enhance their capabilities for improved resolution in contemporary social order. In due course, one can say that human security is ultimately about human welfare, justice and dignity of individuals (Chenoy, 2007:6) in particular vicinity rather than the particular geological topography.

Nature of human security contradicts the state based security. The shift from state-based security to individual-based security, introduces a series of questions like; security for whom, security for which values, how much security, security from what threat, security by what means, security at what cost and in what time period? (Bajpai, 2000:9).

All these questions are not very imperative except security for whom, security of which values, security by what means and security from what threats? In fact, all these questions facilitate to conceptualize human security in substantial way:

i. Security for whom:

The question ‘security’ for whom? underlines in its ‘referent object’. Usually, ‘referent object’ in international security is ‘state’ or ‘nation state’ (Morgenthau, 1978: 4-15). But, in the concept of human security, referent object has been ‘trickle down’ to individual’s security. Once the referent object of the security became change; the whole dimension and structure of the security became change consequently. In such a way, individuals became prime actor in the concept of human security overriding the state (See Appendix II, where almost school of thoughts emphasizes that individuals are referent in Human Security)

Although, referent object of human security is individual’s security. However, it does not mean that human security ignores the significance of state security and argues that state security actually enhances the level of human security (Sato, 2000:15) and (Ogata: 2001). As security of individual depends on the security of the state; but individual security is never coterminous with state security only. Historically, states have come to be regarded as the most effective way of ensuring the safety and freedom of individuals (Bajpai,
The key argument is that state security is ultimately for individual's security or human security. In simple way, state security and human security are coeval. Although, both go hand in hand, however, human security began to focus on individual as referent object rather than state.

ii. Security of which values:

For answering the question - security of which values? - is directly interconnected to building blocks of human security. HDR 1994 itself describes human security as 'freedom from fear and freedom from want' (HDR, 1994:22). In essence, that report particularly in the former part of the concept i.e. 'freedom from fear' actually describes the values upon which human security became heavily dependable. However, there are two dominant values of human security; first one is physical safety of individuals and second one is personal liberty of individuals. (Bajpai, 2000: 38).

Physical safety implies two things; protection from pain and destruction and at least minimal level of physical safety. On the other hand, personal liberty can be explained in terms of two components: the basic liberty of individual in relation to one of the most intimate and meaningful life choices (e.g. marriage, personal law, sexual orientation and employment); and liberty of the individual to associate with others. The latter may be called 'civic freedom' and refers to the liberty to organize for culture, social, economic and political purposes (Bajpai, 2000:38).

However, in such milieu, human security consists of both values. Human security is neither simply about the physical safety and well-being of the individual nor it is only about personal liberty. Physical safety and well-being are related to personal liberty and go hand in hand. In such a way, human security therefore describes some balance between the need for physical safety and the necessity of personal liberty. (Bajpai, 2000:38).
iii. Security by what means:

The appropriate tool or means used by human security is also fairly different than the ‘Realist’ conception. That may vary in different way like; first, using force is a secondary tool in the concept of human security. Actually force is not very effective in dealing with diverse form of threats to personal threats and freedom. If required, then various kinds of sanctions are alternative. Force can be used for managing human security threats rather than national purposes and it should be used collectively and preferably under appropriate national or international institutions. (Bajpai, 2000:46-47).

Secondly, long term cooperation is possible in human security. Human security includes International Organizations (IO), non-governmental organizations (NGOs), the UN, global economic and financial institutions, regional institutions, state institutions and other agencies of civil society as tools or means. After a certain period of time, these agencies play essential role in sustainability of human security. Third, soft power or the power of persuasion is central in the notion of human security rather than hard or military power. These soft powers can be used to disseminate information and ideas for international cooperation and collaboration for strengthening of human security (Bajpai, 2000:47).

iv. Security from what threat:

Once again security from what threat as derived in human security is adjacent to the ‘common security’ in international politics. Realist perception of security threat is related to direct organized security threat from other states. But, the nature of security threat in the concept of human security includes both direct and indirect threats which includes a number of identifiable sources such as own state, other states, hypothetical enemies, non-state actors and many more. In some cases, the security threats are not easily traceable to the intention of any one or more actors and may be unintended. (Bajpai, 2000: 40).
UNDP and other school of thoughts have identified different security threats of direct and indirect threats. These can be as follows:

TABLE NO. 1
DIRECT AND INDIRECT THREAT TO INDIVIDUALS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Direct Threat</th>
<th>Indirect Threat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Violent Death/Disablement: victims of victims of violent crime,</td>
<td>• Deprivation: Levels of basic needs and entitlements (food, safe drinking water, primary health care,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>killing of women and children, sexual assault, terrorism, inter group</td>
<td>primary education)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>riots/pogroms/genocide, killing and torture of dissidents, killing of</td>
<td>• Disease: Incidence of life-threatening illness(infectious, cardio-vascular, cancer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>government officials/agents, war casualties</td>
<td>• Natural and Man-made Disasters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Dehumanization: slavery and trafficking in women and children; use of</td>
<td>• Underdevelopment: low levels of GNP/capita, low GNP growth, inflation, unemployment, inequality,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child soldiers; physical abuse of women and children (in households);</td>
<td>population growth/decline, poverty, at the national level; and regional/global economic instability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kidnapping, abduction, unlawful detention of political opponents + rigged</td>
<td>and stagnation + demographic change.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trials</td>
<td>• Population Displacement (national, regional, global): refugees and migration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Drugs: drug addiction</td>
<td>• Environmental Degradation (local, national, regional, global)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Discrimination and Domination: discriminatory laws/practices against</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>minorities and women; banning/rigging elections; subversion of political</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>institutions and the media</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• International Disputes: Inter-state tensions/crises (bilateral/regional)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ great power tensions/crises</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Most Destructive Weapons: the spread of weapons of mass destruction +</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>advanced conventional, small arms, landmines</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The table includes direct and indirect threats above are from (Bajpai, 2000: 40).

The above mentioned table is illustrative. However, it makes certain points about the threats to human security directly or indirectly. The sharpness of these twelve security threats (both direct and indirect) apparently may vary by country to country, time to time
and circumstances to circumstances like; developed countries to developing countries, and democratic countries to non-democratic countries. Some countries may face a multitude of threats while others may face relatively simple threats. For example, human security is complex and challenging in third world countries than Europe and North America. (Bajpai, 2000: 41).

Further, some security threats are global in nature that effect entire humanity, though, not in the same measure. Some developed countries have threats regarding possible world war, nuclear stockpiles, chemical and biological weapons and environmental damage (Bajpai, 2000:41). On the other hand, some developing countries have different security threats like; disease, man-made disaster, population displacement, dehumanization and some prejudiced laws by their own government. Further, some developing countries or common people across the globe may undergo security threats of combination of both.

Although, most of the threats are product of wrong/inequitable policies of one’s own government but, some discriminatory laws are defensible in nature because that benefits disadvantages community and one of it is called, “reserve discrimination” or “affirmative action”.

**Characteristics of Human Security:**

Following a micro level analysis of the seven clusters of security threats to human beings, one can identify its four characteristics:

Firstly, human security is related to worldwide apprehension. It is related to people everywhere in the world from well-off nations to underdeveloped nations. There are various threats that are common to all natives such as joblessness, drug trafficking, pollution, population, human rights violation, terrorism, environmental degradation, lack of safe drinking water and many more. The intensity of these security threats may vary to people from one part of the world to another part of the world, but, all these threats to human security are genuine, rising upward and universal in nature (HDR, 1994:22).
Secondly, the components of human security are interdependence. When the security of the people is endangered in any part of the world, all nations are likely to get involved. Food crisis, diseases, pollution, environmental degradation, drug trafficking, terrorism, ethnic disputes, social disintegration, human rights violations and many more are no longer became secluded events. Restrained within national boundaries, their consequences affect intact humanity (HDR, 1994:22).

Thirdly, human security is much easier to ensure through early prevention than later intervention. It is less costly to meet these threats ‘upstream’ than ‘downstream’. And fourthly, human security is ‘people centric’. It concerns first with people rather than anything else like; community, region or nation (HDR, 1994:23).

The nature and characteristics of human security emphasizes that people’s interest are at its core. Actually, human security is a ‘positive’ concept which provides individuals a platform to mastering their lives. Providing a platform does not mean that human security is a ‘defensive’ concept the way territorial or military security is.

As human security is about human welfare, justice and dignity of individuals, however, it does not mean to take away responsibility and opportunity from people. Actually, it provides more and more space for individuals for mastering their lives. The concept of human security stresses that people should be able to take care of themselves: all people should have the opportunity to meet their most essential needs and to earn their own living. This will set them free and help ensure that they can make a full contribution to development (their own development and that of their communities, their countries and the world). Human security is a critical ingredient of participatory development (HDR, 1994:24).

Therefore, human security is not a defensive concept - the way the territorial or military security is. Instead, human security is an integrative concept. It acknowledges the universalism of life claims. It is embedded in a notion of solidarity among people. It cannot be brought about through force and with armies or simply, security is just more
than ‘guns and guard’ (Radtke, 2000). It can happen only if we agree that development must involve in all the people. (HDR, 1994:24)

Components of Human Security:

Regarding the elements of human security, one can find that HDR 1994 identified two major components. The first one is ‘freedom from fear’ and second one is ‘freedom from want’. The ‘freedom from fear’ is directly related to the security front and the ‘freedom from want’ is related to economic and social front.

Actually, the nature of security threats may overstress for the people in poor nation rather than people in rich country. The habitants of rich nation may have worries about the security threats of crime, drug, the spread of deadly diseases like HIV/AIDS, soil and environmental degradation, rising level of pollution, fear of losing their jobs and many other anxieties. On the other hand, people in poor nations may have worries about the threats of hunger, diseases and poverty including the same problems that threaten the developed countries (HDR, 1994:24).

The cluster of security threats affect developed countries and underdeveloped countries in unusual constraints. But, some security threats are very common in nature that affects not only the people of a country or a community or a specific region or subcontinent but the entire humanity (HDR, 1994:24). The list of threats to human security is long, but most can be considered under the seven main categories as derived by HDR 1994:

1. Economic security
2. Food Security
3. Health Security
4. Environment Security
5. Personal Security
6. Community Security
7. Political Security
1. Economic Security:

Economic security means freedom from poverty. Economic security is the condition of having steady earnings to sustain a minimum standard of living. Towards that, it requires an assured basic earning usually either from productive and remunerative work (through employment by the public or private sector, wage employment or self employment including social security benefits, and pensions or money management by individual or family and savings) (Chenoy, 2007:15).

Economic security is directly associated with employment. However, people are more likely to be unemployed or under-employed in different region and in different circumstances as 1.7 billion people around the world are unemployed (Krugman, 2009). The situation of economic security or employment among the people in developing and undeveloped countries is comparatively worse than developed countries. Some factors play a key role in employment like; ethnicity, disability, children, women and the person from a deprived section. The nature of employment such as temporary, part-time work or wrong job has also significance in some circumstances.

UNDP's HDR 1994 itself recognizes that many people today in the rich nations feel insecure because jobs are increasingly difficult to find and sustain. Formal and informal sectors have more insecure working conditions. Even manufacturing sector’s jobs have been disappearing gradually. There are many new opportunities in service sectors but, jobs are temporary and less protected by trade unions. In that case, for many people in the world has only option is self employment. But this can be even less secure than wage employment for most of them, and those at the bottom of the ladder find it difficult to make both ends meet (HDR. 1994:25).

Though, economic security is comparatively better in developed countries. However, the most acute problems are in developing countries, where more than one third of the people live below the poverty line and more than one billion people survive on a daily income of less than US $1. (See Appendix-III). The World Bank defines “in 2001, 1.1 billion people
had consumption levels below $1 a day and 2.7 billion lived on less than $2 a day.” (The World Bank. 2007).

The status of economic security/employment world wide is getting worse day by day even in the industrialized countries. It would be difficult to say that these conditions are favorable for industrial society (as it considered that 4% labor pool is essential for industrialization). In that case, one can clearly summarize that income gap and economic security has inversely related to each other as the income gap increases then the situation of economic security will go down and vice-versa.

Economic security does not only mean the safety of children, adults and families on economic front but, it is directly associated with the economy of the concerned state. It is always believed that economic security of individual or families can only be secured through the economic security of concerned state and vice-versa. In such regards, economic security has been proposed as key determinant of international relations of any country as it can change the entire scenario of international politics.

2. Food Security

'Food security' is related to access to food. It means that all people at all times have both physical and economic access to basic food. This requires not just enough food to go round but also that people have enough access to food that they have an “entitlement” to it. It may be by growing it for themselves, by buying it or by taking advantage of public food distribution system. The availability of food is thus a necessary condition of food security but not a sufficient one. People can still starve even when enough food is available as has happened during many famines (HDR, 1994:27).

There are two commonly used definitions of food security. First one is from UN Food and Agriculture Organization (UNFAO) and second one is United States Department of Agriculture (USDA). According to UNFAO, Food security exists when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet
their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life. Further, USDA emphasizes that food security for a household means access by all members at all times to enough food for an active and healthy life. Food security simply means nutritious food with socially acceptable ways (that is, without resorting to emergency food supplies, scavenging, stealing, or other coping strategies) (USDA, 2008). Thus, food security is not just quantities of food consumed by people as a whole but it also includes quality and nutritious food in a respectable manner.

In such case, the overall production of food-grain in the world is not a problem. Actually, the production of overall food-grain worldwide is increasing in last couple of decades as:

**Figure No. 1**

*Food production per capita index 1961-2005*

* Y Axis is percent of average food production per capita*
Even if overall food production is increasing then what causes the food insecurity? And why people often go for malnutrition especially in underdeveloped countries? Moreover, the answer consist a number of factors. Those factors are little physical and more economical in nature. In the last two decades, physical reason of food insecurity does not exist at all. Although, drought and other naturally occurring events may trigger famine conditions, however, government’s action or inaction determines its severity, and whether or not a famine will occur in the specific region. The problem lies in the poor distribution system and lack of purchasing power to buy food i.e. purely economical in nature. Often it mentioned that people go hungry not because food is not available, but because they can not afford it.

Further, women and children are more affected from the food insecurity. The prevalence of food insecurity rose from 11.2% of households in 2003 to 11.9% in 2004, and the prevalence of food insecurity with hunger rose from 3.5% to 3.9% in a developed country like US (USDA Report, 2005). Sometimes, mother feeding their children, junk food such as potato chips and hot dogs instead of nutritious foods such as fruits, vegetables and milk even in a developed country like US (Associate Press, March 1, 2009). So one can predict the situation in the third world countries, if habitants of a so-called 'superpower' are facing food insecurity. And obviously its not due to lack of food but lack of purchasing power. It is estimated that 642 million people are suffering from chronic hunger world wide (UNFAO Report, 2009) and (Science Daily, 14 June 2009). Chronic hunger became significant in undernourishment worldwide (See Appendix-IV).

The causes and definition focused on just one dimension of food security as facing by a number of countries from third world especially in Sub-Saharan Region. However, these definitions could not draw the attention of other dimension. On the other hand, UNFAO emphasized that global per capita food production has been increasing substantially for the last several decades which also caused obesity and overweight in the some parts of the globe. According to a report by BBC, the number of people who are suffering from overweight and obesity has surpassed the undernourished people in number. The report also emphasized that China is suffering from an obesity epidemic as around 200 million
people are thought to be overweight, 22.8% of the population, and 60 million (7.1%) obese. (BBC, October 12, 2004).

In such circumstances, food security does not only mean the availability of food but also includes its availability, quantitatively and qualitatively. Thus, food security comes from access to assets, work and an assured income.

3. Health Security

Health security is access to health care and protection from diseases that includes the safety from injury and diseases. However, this is just one dimension of health security. As ‘health’ is defined – “a state of complete physical, mental, and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity” (WHO Preamble, 1948). In such scenario, the vague meaning of health security includes not only security from injuries and diseases but also security from a combination of physical, mental and emotional health (World Health Organization’s Constitution, 2006).

Unfortunately, entire concept of human security includes ‘health security’ in a limited manner, focused on physical health security only and has ignored the other aspects. One cannot ignore the importance of Physical health however, other dimension of health security is also important and together it shape vague nature of complete health security.

Even physical health security is also talking about the security from infectious and parasitic diseases, the condition that boost up the diseases caused by poor nutrition and unsafe environment (mostly related to diet and life style), safe drinking water, number of doctors spending on healthcare and health insurance. However, the notion of ‘health’ is heavily dependent on the conditions of habitants of any geographical locations, age, sex, economical conditions and environment of specific location (Determinants of Health, Report prepared by WHO). Actually, all these conditions are more or less interrelated to each other and together they boost up the threats to health security.
In a globalize world, health security majorily depends on economic condition because the threats to health security are greater for poor people in rural areas, particularly women and children, who are more exposed to disease (HDR, 1994:28). The availability of doctor in remote regions and medicine to poor are going out of their reach day by day.

Most of the governments are not providing basic healthcare facilities to its own citizen. A number of reasons have put for their inactiveness in providing healthcare including lack of hospitals, doctors, medicines and most important lack of funds. Even developed countries are not providing the basic healthcare facilities in certain circumstances because healthcare facilities came last in their priority list. In such respect, health insurance will become a milestone in protecting health security.

The nature of diseases that caused the threat to health security is also changing from time to time. Diseases in 21st century are quite different from the 20th century. New diseases are more severe to health security. In such respect, HIV/AIDS, Bird Flu, Mad Cow Diseases, H1N1 Flue are more severe threats to health security because there is no vaccine available to cure these diseases.

4. Environmental security

Environmental security is protection from dangers as environmental pollution and depletion. For that, it requires healthy physical environment, security from local ecosystem, air and water pollution, deforestation, desertification, natural disaster (e.g. cyclones, earthquakes, floods, droughts or landslides) and man made disaster (e.g. road or nuclear accidents or poorly built slum buildings) (Chenoy, 2007:15).

The threats to environment are a combination of local and global in nature. The environmental threats within the countries include a number of threats alike; water, land and air pollution. For details, water scarcity is increasing day by day and it has become the cause of ethnic strife and political tension across the globe. A number of countries have gone through the trauma of political tension with their neighboring countries over the issues of water.
As population is increasing, it is also putting pressure on land. Some eight to ten million acres of forestland are lost each year measuring the size of Austria (HDR, 1994:29). In addition, deforestation combined with overgrazing and poor conversation methods is accelerating desertification. Apart from this, irrigated land is also under threat. Salinisation of irrigated land has become a major threat because of excessive use of pesticides, fertilizers, and due to acid rain. Salinisation of irrigated land causes much pressure on other irrigated land that leads to deforestation and desertification. Meaning deforestation, desertification and salinization all three are correlated to each other that became threat to environmental security.

In a global world, one of the major environmental threats is air pollution. A number of industrial cities produce tons and tons of pollutants every year. These pollutants are harmful to human health and damage natural environment. Although, industrial cities are producing more air pollutants than rural areas but it does not mean that only industrial cities are facing the side effects of air pollution. Acid rain is mostly due to air pollution and it has affected mainly irrigated land in rural areas. Global warming caused by emission of greenhouse gases is another threat to environment.

Although, the character of environmental damage differs between industrial and developing countries, the effects are similar almost everywhere. Environmental threats are chronic and long-lasting. Natural disasters in the recent past have been provoked by human being. For example, deforestation has led to more intense drought and floods. Population growth has forced humans to inhabit areas prone to cyclones, earthquakes or floods that are always considered dangerous for human. Poverty and land shortage are also doing the same as increasing exposure to natural disaster (HDR, 1994:29).

To tackle the environmental threats, industrial countries or the countries that are facing same natural hazards continuously had developed little technology to check the problems. However, the situation will be more and more severe in the case of sudden natural calamity.
5. Personal Security

Human beings are at greater risk than ever before. In any society, human life is increasingly threatened by sudden, unpredictable physical violence. The physical threats to human beings have several forms like:

- Threats from own state through physical torture, cruel and unusual punishment inflicted by the military or local police;
- Threats from other states such as wars and international or cross-border terrorism;
- Threats from other group of people such as ethnic tension or religious conflict;
- Threats from individuals or gangs against other individuals or gangs such as crime, street violence and from hostage-taking;
- Threats directed against women such as domestic violence, abuse or rape;
- Threats directed at children based on their vulnerability and dependence such as child abuse, neglected child labour and child prostitution; and
- Threats from one’s self such as suicide and drug abuse (HDR, 1994:30).

Most of the people are worried about the rising crime rates according to the increasing rate of physical violence and physical threats. As murder, drug related crimes, car theft, industrial and traffic accidents, violence at workplace are going-up day-by-day, however, worse personal threats are to women and children.

No society in the world treats women at par with men. In the household, they are last to eat. At school, they are last to be educated. At workplace, they are last to be hired and first to be fired. In addition, from childhood to adulthood, they are abused because of their gender (HDR, 1994:31). Threats to women in form enhance sexism\(^{11}\) (Oxford English Dictionary). The rising number of sexual harassments at job, physically battering in houses and dowry related violence and deaths are shocking indicators of gender insecurity and physical violence to women. Same things apply to children. Children

\(^{11}\) Sexism is a term coined in 20\(^{th}\) century denotes that particular sex is inferior, less competent and less valuable than others.
should be the most protected in any society however; they are reported to be victim of abuse and neglect. This situation got worse in case of street children. The exact number of street children across the globe is impossible to count, however, UNICEF estimated in 2002 around 100 million (UNICEF, 2002:37). Abusive and neglected environment compelled them to act against civil society's norms. In addition, elderly people are on marginal line in this sequence. Any physical violence and physical threats to elderly people will be the loss of humanity. This situation also shows the severe condition of personal security in today's globalize world.

As security from various forms of physical violence and physical threats are going-up, human beings need personal security. In this regard, government needs establish social security norms to secure each and every individual's personal security. Social Security Number provided by US government to secure its civilian's personal rights and security is one of the landmarks in this direction.

6. Community Security

Community Security is survival of traditional cultures, traditional communities and ethnic groups as well as the physical security of the groups. Community security aims to protect human beings from the loss of customary or ethnic violence. Minority ethnic groups are often threatened by dominant ethnic groups. It generally happened due to limited access of opportunities whether from social services from the states or jobs from the market. People fear that they will loose out such opportunities. Indigenous ethnic groups are also facing widening spirals of violence by other dominant groups. As a result, about half of the world's states have recently experienced interethnic discord. In addition, this became more serious where national conflicts also intermingle with ethnic rivalry (HDR, 1994:32).

However, ethnic groups are also perpetuating oppressive practices like bonded labor and slaves and treating women harshly. In certain ethnic groups, the religious and conventional practices are exceptionally antagonistic, humiliating and some are very
ruthless within or outside community. Victims of these practices are mostly women and children like genital mutilation and female circumcision in Africa (HDR, 1994:31) and male circumcision in entire Abrahamic Religions (Hodges, 2001: 391). Further, some sects of certain community indulge in trafficking of girl child for prostitution. Arab world is well known for use of kids as 'camel jockey' in inhuman 'camel race'. In addition, a number of women were killed in almost under-developed countries on the name of indulging themselves in so called 'Black Magic'. In fact, traditional and religious practices in ethnic groups are so common and closely related to their daily life. Some democratic government took initiatives to abolish these practices and somehow they got success. However, modern nation states have miles to go especially the developing countries to overcome these problems.

Ethnic conflicts in between two or more ethnic groups/communities are also very common based on differences like cultural, linguistic, religious, behavioral and for supremacy (Eriksen, 2001:261). About half of the world’s states have experienced some inter-ethnic strife in different forms (HDR, 1994:32). In some cases, conflict between Diasporas and Aborigines has also been noticed. With respect of the entire conflict the United Nations declared 1994 the Year of Indigenous People (UN Resolution 49/214). Later on 20 December 2004 the UN Assembly decided to continue “International Day of Indigenous People” every year during the Second International Decade of the World’s Indigenous People (2005–2014) (UN Resolution 59/174) to highlight the continuing vulnerability of the 300 million aboriginal people in 70 countries as they face a widening spiral of violence.

In due respect, community security on the same time emphasize on the survival of cultural diversity, social harmony among the different ethnic or indigenous groups. At the same time community security, also emphasizes that almost enter-ethnic community should discard all inhuman religious and traditional practices.
7. Political Security

Political security is enjoyment of civil and political rights and freedom from political oppression. This is one of the most important aspects of human security, which emphasizes that people of any country should be able to live in a society that honors their civil, political and human rights. For political security, certain condition should be indispensable like; political activism, democracy and rule of law. In that regard, certain Westphalian states have done considerable positive progress.

Democracy is still a single pillar of fulfillment of ones political security. This is the condition where any individual can actively participate in political process and secure their or their group’s interests. Though, democracy is the best condition for political security while other forms of government are just opposite like military dictatorship or monarchy. Even one party system in democracy itself is also not enough for political security. International factors also influenced democratic patterns of any state, however, main threat to political security is own government and little bit of hypothetical enemies.

Political security does only mean political activism, but it also emphasizes the atmosphere which is necessary for political security, because major threat to political security comes from within the state. Thus, political security simply means security from state repression, systemic torture, ill treatment or disappearance, human right violence, political detention, imprisonment and military intervention or abuse. These conditions are so common worldwide that Amnesty International itself identified that all these things are practiced in nearly 110 countries in the world (HDR, 1994:32).

Global Human Security

Apart from the above-mentioned seven clusters of threats to human security, HDR 1994 itself identified some global challenges beyond national frontiers. Some threats take global character, means, whenever human security is under threat anywhere, it can affect people everywhere across the globe. It is indivisible and extent to its consequences of
both prosperity and poverty. HDR 1994 grouped these global threats into six broad areas that can spread or its effects go well beyond any given national boundaries are:

- Unchecked population growth
- Disparities in economic opportunities
- Excessive international migration
- Environmental degradation
- Drug production and trafficking
- International terrorism

**Unchecked Population Growth:**

The population growth is increasing rapidly worldwide. It is believed that, it took one million years to produce the first one billion people on earth, but now it take less than ten years to add the next billion.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year (A.D)</th>
<th>Population (in billions)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1000</td>
<td>0.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800</td>
<td>0.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>1.65</td>
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<td>1.75</td>
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<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>1.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>2.30</td>
</tr>
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<td>1950</td>
<td>2.52</td>
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<td>3.02</td>
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<tr>
<td>2100</td>
<td>9.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2150</td>
<td>9.75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Near stabilization (after 2200) Just above 10 billion

*Figures in red indicate expected population growth in the respective year.
Nearly 7 billion people on earth in year 2010 simply indicate the sever condition of rapid population growth. Increasing population growth is not only creating lack of development opportunities but also overcrowding the planet and adding the problems like migration and environmental degradation. The enormous pressure and extraction of natural resources for additional crowd will put human beings in danger in near future. Moreover, the reason behind unchecked population growth is not only clinical problem but also a development problem. In many societies, human development (especially the education of females) has proven the most powerful contraceptive.

Any plan or action to slow down population growth must receive both national and international support and include both family planning services and human development, so that people will habitat this planet peacefully forever.

**Disparities in Economic Opportunities:**

After end of WWII, world income increased drastically in both terms (in GDP and GNP), but, the income worldwide spread is very unequal in national as well as international sphere. Moreover, income inequality is increasing rapidly. It also reflects many other disparities in trade, investment, savings and commercial lending. The growing disparities in global income lead other threats of human security like over-consumption and over-production in industrialized countries or in 'north' and poverty and environmental degradation in developing countries or in 'south'. Inevitable, this lead to the migration from poor countries to rich countries.

**Migration Pressure:**

There is clear consequence in between population growth and poverty in developing countries. It is considered that population growth and poverty are inversely related, meaning severity of poverty increase with increasing population in any region or country and vice versa. This situation also leads to internal and international migration The causes behind the migration are some how due to expanding population, limited employment
opportunities, internal conflict, lack of infrastructure and lack of law and governance in own countries, search for good job closed international market and continuing environmental degradation that force millions and million of people around the world to leave their own home and country for better future and secure life. All these causes also lead to refugee in alien countries and internally displaced people.

Control of international migration is not just an administrative problem. It is primarily an economic issue that requires a new framework of development and cooperation worldwide, which need foreign assistance, trade liberalization among the countries, technology transfers, foreign investments and flow of labor.

**Environmental Degradation:**

Environmental degradation has severe impact to everybody and everywhere. The production of greenhouse gases, emission of ‘Chlorofluorocarbon’ (CCl₂F₂) and ‘Sulphur Dioxide’ (SO₂) in individual countries has a global impact. These gases destroy ‘Ozone (O₃) Layer’ that filter-out ultraviolet radiation, which can lead to various kinds of skin cancer. The irony of environmental degrading is that; mostly it is produced by developed countries but, the entire human kind and mostly the underdeveloped countries suffer from its negative impact.

Environmental decay causes a number of troubles like acid rain, global warming, destruction of wetland, coral reefs, temperate forests and tropical rain forests, reduce biodiversity, water pollution, air pollution and many more, which have global impact to everybody across the globe without specific frontiers.

**Drug trafficking:**

Drug trafficking or illegal narcotics drugs trade is one of the coercive threats to human security. Drug trafficking is a global black market consisting of the cultivation, manufacturing, distribution, sale and consumption of illegal and/or controlled drugs.
Almost all the countries prohibit trade of illegal drugs except few of them are free under drug control law or under the supervision of government body. However, the narcotics industry has progressed from a small cottage industry from beginning to highly organized multinational business that employs hundreds of thousands of people and generates profits in billions. The retail value of drugs now exceeds the international trade in oil and second only to the arms trade (HDR, 1994:36). The UN Report said that global drug trade generates an estimated around $321.6 billion in 2007, much higher than other illegal goods. (UN World Drug Report, 2007:15) and (Boston.com. June 30, 2005). This figure simply explains the whole story of how large the drug trade is?

Figure No.2

Estimated global value of illicit markets

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>US $ billions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Diamonds</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Firearms</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human Beings</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drugs</td>
<td>322</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: UN World Drug Report 2007

Even the countries involved in drug trade can be separated on two levels: the drug producing countries and the drug consuming countries. The major drug producing regions are “Golden Crescent”, “Golden Triangle” and some Latin American countries. (See Appendix-V). Apart from these Bolivia and Peru also indulge in drug production. The ‘Golden Crescent’ has a much longer history of opium and other illicit drug production
than does Golden Triangle even though the Golden Crescent emerged as a modern-day opium-producing entity only in the 1970s, after the Golden Triangle did so in the 1950s. Although, “Golden Crescent”, “Golden Triangle” indulged in the production of narcotics, however, the consumption is rapidly increasing worldwide and the highest per capita use of narcotics is reported to be in US and Canada. (HDR, 1994:36). Drug trafficking is not only problem of under developed countries but it affects developed countries in same pace.

**International Terrorism:**

Today, there is no well accepted definition of terrorism (Martyn, 2002) and (Deen, 2005) however, the menace is a systematic use of force especially as a means of coercion (Carsten, 2008:1-28). Hence, it became a common saying that, “one man’s terrorist is another man’s freedom fighter” (BBC News, 11-01-2010). But, terrorism is quite different from freedom movement, guerrilla warfare and others mode of violence where force is regulated by certain guiding principals. But terrorism spread violence with a goal to destroy the public’s sense of security in the places most familiar to them without any principals, ethics or morality.

Terrorism become a tool of organizations for furthering their objectives and practiced by right-wing and left-wing political parties, nationalistic groups, religious groups, revolutionaries and also even ruling government (Britannica Encyclopedia :3).

To generate and maintain widespread fear, terrorist groups engage in increasingly dramatic, violent and high profile attacks that include hijacking, hostage taking, kidnapping, car bombing and also suicide bombing. Terrorist groups often target schools, shopping centers, bus and train stations, restaurant and nightclubs very easily because they attract large numbers of people. Even, important economic or political symbols are also their target such as embassies or military installations to secure their interests. Such activities will become more severe threat to human race when terrorists groups will have
access to using weapons of mass destructions including nuclear, biological or chemical weapons.

There were more than 500 incidents of international terrorist attacks in a year (HDR, 1994:37), however, most of them were low profile. But it was spread all over the world. Terrorism with no particular nationality is a global phenomenon.

**Measurements/Responses to Human Security**

The sharpness of threats to human security is increasing day by day and even a number of other threats are also pushing human race in a danger zone. By this instance, the elements of human insecurity demands new policy response to tackle threats to human security both at national and international level. For global human security, nation states have already formed structural nuclear deterrent, power balance, strategic alliances, regional security pacts and international policies through the superpowers and other non-governmental organization including United Nations (UN).

These structures are doing acceptably according to their proceedings, however, the new threats compassing a new structure and measurements to ensure the security of all people across the globe – as some global concerns require national actions while others a coordinated international response. In due respect, these new security framework demand some change to secure new threats to human security. Some of them are:

**Early warning indicators:**

International community always wants early warning signals to tackle the risk of national catastrophes either on personal, economic, political or environmental security front. The early warning signals could really provide some preventive action and can avoid conflict and war, rather than wait until it becomes too late. Deteriorating food consumption, high unemployment and declining wages, human rights violence, incidents of ethnic violence, widening regional disparities and overemphasis on military spending are the reasons of
threats to human security worldwide that can be cure through early warning indicators. Bosnia, Somalia, Afghanistan, Angola, Haiti, Iraq Mozambique, Myanmar, Sudan, Zaire, Burundi, Georgia, Liberia, Rwanda, Tajikistan, Egypt, Mexico and Nigerian crisis are the best examples (HDR, 1994:38-44). In these cases it was measured through an early warning system and also through the other internationally recognized body like UN.

**Policies for Social Integration:**

Early warning indicators through international community can really prevent future crisis, however, the prime responsibilities lies with the particular state and the people of that countries themselves. Some countries have already chosen developmental process to avoid chaos in near future; however, certain process can play as milestone in that direction for others:

1. It is important to allow everyone from any ethnic group; the opportunities to develop his/her own capacities particularly through effective health and health services.
2. To ensure equal access to economic opportunities to all section of society.
3. More effective affirmative action plan so that all section of the society can gain but, weaker section of the society can gain proportionally more (HDR,1994: 38-39)

Examples show that where human security and social integration are ensured, economic growth and human development can progress too (in case of Malaysia and Mauritius). But unfortunately, many countries have chosen different paths and allowing inequalities to rise to a disturbing extent.

**Criticism of Human Security**

In the case of new notion, the definitions are abundant and so the critics are. In the case of human security, critiques based on definitional, theoretical, analytical and policy
oriented squabble. The noteworthy critique is the vagueness of the idea and broadness of its new epistemology of threat. The intact notion offers little conceptual and very little theoretical. The securitization of economic, social, political, environmental and human rights issues are criticized by a number of noted commentators. However, these critics have their own pros and cons and they little fear that jargon can easily fall prey to political manipulation by government on the name of security.

For better understanding of the assorted critiques of this notion of human security, one can differentiate in diverse sects;

**Conceptual Level**

Usually it is believed that the notion of human security lacks a crystal clear, well defined and concrete definition (Mack 2004:367), (Paris, 2001) and (Khong, 2001:234). Secondly it is believed that if this notion seizes almost all forms of destruction to anyone, it may lose actual threat. Thirdly, the vagueness of the notion may create analytical mistakes (Owen, 2004:380). Fourthly, the notion is so broad that one can not act against actual threat. Fifthly, vague notion have little academic utility because it covers diverse people across the globe with diverse issues that can not sharply pin point the actual threat (Buzan, 2004: 369). And sixthly, social science has nothing to deal with ethical posture.

Lack of conceptual clarity and vagueness of the notion is prime critic. About the conceptual clarity, one may make mistakes if consider all seven components of human security as separate entities. Actually, the components outlined by HDR 1994, are multiple and interdisciplinary in nature and someway or the other, all components are different branches of same tree. However, the work of definition is to recognize and outline any notion. In such a way the concept of human security is doing sound in that direction. Thus vagueness and lack of clarity is just one part of critiques. Further, social sciences are normative in nature so is human security. And noted economist such as Amartya Sen has described that ethical things are quite obvious and significant in the social sciences in general and human security in particular.
Academic Level

In academia, it is always mentioned that international politics is related to states or nation states not to particular human beings. So, human security can not be a part of international politics. Secondly, the problem of securitization means priority of soft issues over direct military threats.

For academic counter critiques one can say that, international politics is inter-dependent system. Almost all issues of world politics are interlinked with each other across the globe and affect every human being across the sphere. And the threat to human security is a threat to international security (Nef, 1999) and vice versa. Thus, it is ridiculous to say that human security can not to be a part of international politics. Further, military security is not a guarantee of well being. On the other hand, human security does not ignore the significance of military security and argues that military security actually enhance the sharpness of human security (Sato 2000:15). Together, they can constitute comprehensive security i.e. the ultimate goal of politics. Thus, the critique of academia is baseless.

Political Level

In political sphere, it is always mentioned that the notion of human security is a challenge to the role of state. Secondly, it is also believed that human security is a threat to state sovereignty. Thirdly, human security will securitize the state responsibility.

For the counter critique, securing human security is the prime accountability of any state. Firstly, state liability is not only to protect its own citizen from direct military threats but, also includes country’s government’s wrong policies and hypothetical enemies. So human security is not a challenge to the role of state but it identifies the role of state. Secondly, it is not a threat to state sovereignty despite the fact that it actually strengthens the sovereignty of state if human security can achieve through government body. Thirdly, yes it securitizes the state responsibility to secure human security on a rapid pace like other security especially military issues.
Moral Level

It is commonly asserted that human security fortifies inequalities across the globe based on ‘North-South’, ‘developed and underdeveloped’ or ‘rich-poor states’. Secondly, it is also assumed that human security is individualistic in nature not universal.

Actually, world is already divided on the name of ‘North-South’, ‘developed-underdeveloped’ and rich and poor countries. In such scenario, human security will provide a bridge in between North-South, developed-underdeveloped and rich-poor countries. Further, human security is universal because threats to human security in any part of the world can influence the entire humanity. Thus human security is universal not individual. Mahbub-Ul-Haq also mentioned that human security should be universal, global and indivisible (Haq, 1995).

Implication Level

At implication level, it is criticized that human security is complex in nature and it does not allow policy-makers to prioritize between components of human security and traditional military security. Secondly, it also criticizes that human security has old tools with security in name.

Yes, it is true that components are complex, interconnected and interdependent. Thus, hierarchy of security the components of human security can be the best option to secure on both national and international sphere. Further, prior to this concept, not a single concept has drawn international attention to form a theory and securitize other than military issues. Thus, human security is like old wine in a new bottle but not exactly.

Most of the criticisms made by commentators is heavily based on the vagueness of concept because they mess-up with the entire notion. Human security can be established and recognized in international sphere if the concept could be understood differently on academic level, policy-making and policy-implication level.
Some commentators always claim that concept of human security is not a new phenomena. They claim that entire concept is just like old wine in a new bottle and something like human rights, development, social safety net and many more. For the clear understanding that how human security is different from other concept, one should take a micro level analysis of the entire notion that is somehow equal to human security including military security.

In such regard we need to take a look on other existing notion like:

1. Relationship with Traditional Security.
2. Relationship with Development.
4. Relationship with Social Safety Nets.

1. Relationship with Traditional Security

It is general perception that human security confronts the idea of military security. But in reality, human security and military security are interchangeable concepts. Both are like two faces of the same coin. Both are equally essential for common human beings. Because, without human security, traditional military security can not be attained and vice-versa.

In international politics, two notions are not exactly same, so human security and military security are also not the same. Both concepts have little disparity on different front and that can be summed-up in following ways:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Security for Whom</th>
<th>National Security</th>
<th>Human Security</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Security of what values</td>
<td>Territorial integrity and national independence</td>
<td>Personal safety and individual freedom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security from what threats</td>
<td>Direct threats from other states</td>
<td>Direct threats from states and non-state actors + indirect threats</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Security by what means | • Force as the primary instrument of security, to be used unilaterally for a state’s own safety.  
• Balance of power is important; power is equated with military capabilities.  
• Cooperation between states is tenuous beyond alliance relations.  
• Norms and institutions are of limited value, particularly in the security/military sphere. | • Force as a secondary instrument, to be used primarily for cosmopolitan ends and collectively; sanctions, human development, and humane governance as key instruments of individual-centered security.  
• Balance of power is of limited utility; soft power is increasingly important.  
• Cooperation between states, international organizations and NGOs can be effective and sustained.  
• Norms and institutions matter; democratization and representativeness in institutions enhance their effectiveness. |

* The above table showing contrast between military security and military security is from (Bajpai, 2000: 46)
Away from the argument of security for whom, what values, what threats and by what means, traditional military security describes the philosophy of international politics and international security predominance since Treaty of Westphalia in 1648 and heavily based on the notion of ‘Realism’ (Morgenthau, 1978: 4-15). While human security describes in terms of “complex interdependence”, where non-state actors plays strategic role in international relation. This notion is heavily dependent on the idea of ‘Idealism’ and ‘Theory of Justice’.

**Relationship with Development**

Usually, it is considered that human security can be compared with the concept of Development. It happens because some commentators alleged this because both notions share some fundamental elements like:

1. Human security and human development both are people-centered and both emphasizes that people are the ultimate ends but not means.
2. Second, both perspectives are multidimensional. Both address people’s dignity as well as their material and physical concerns.
3. Third, both schools of thought consider poverty and inequality as the root causes of individual vulnerability (Alkire, 2003:35).

Despite the above mentioned similarities, some human security experts advocate that human security and human development are two different themes but, closely linked to each other since progress in one can enhance the chances of another while, failure in one can increase risk of failure of another. (Chenoy, 2007:106-109)
To clarify the relationship between human development and human security one must take a look at the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original definitions</th>
<th>Human development</th>
<th>Human security</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Human development aims at widening people’s choices. Amartya Sen equates the notion of ‘choices’ with that of ‘freedoms’. Enlarging people’s freedoms is thus the means and the end of development Mahbub Ul-Haq underlines that human development ‘embraces the enlargement of all human choices, whether economic, social, cultural or political’ (Ul Haq, 1995)</td>
<td>Human security aims at enabling people to exercise choices offered by human development, allowing these choices to made safely and freely, while also guaranteeing that the opportunities brought today by development will not disappear tomorrow (UNDP, 2004)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Values | Well-being | Security, stability, sustainability of that well-being |

| General objectives | About people, about expanding choices to lead lives they value, through expanding opportunities (growth/expansion with equity) | Emphasis on prevention: means going beyond coping mechanisms to avoiding poverty and potential conflict and preparing for disasters. Downturns with security require social minimums, safety nets, etc. Assurance of continuity: guarantee against risk, probability that gains made in one sphere not taken away suddenly |

| Orientation | Moves forward, is progressive and aggregate: ‘together we rise’ | Looks at who was left behind at the individual level: divided we fall (even growth with equity does not provide protection to those who are thrown to the wall) |

| Scope | Broad and multi-faceted | Can also be relief and preventive oriented, as a matter of urgency, but also deals with root causes of potential insecurity (poverty, inequality, etc.). Identifies and prepares for recessions, conflicts, emergencies and the darker events of society |

| Time-scan | Long term | Combines short-term measures to deal with the risk, but also long term prevention efforts. For example, during conflicts, spans from emergency relief work and peacekeeping to longer term human and institutional development to prevent new cycles of violence |

| View of role of people | People are seen as both ends and means Emphasizes on participation and empowerment of people | Also emphasizes protection of people, in addition to their empowerment |

| View of society | Aggregative: development for all society | Emphasizes more on individuals, because any larger unit can discriminate (example of women in households) |
Measurements | The human development indices measure quantitatively the levels of human development achieved in society based on indicators of income, education and health care | Although there is no human security index devised yet, indicators that are most likely able to determine human security levels are qualitative, as human security is more of a subjective feeling of the satisfaction received, the feeling of being 'secure'  

Policy objectives | Removing the various hindrances that restrain and restrict human lives and prevent its blossoming | Actions needed to secure what is safeguarded, and to prevent the spiralling down which could create conflicts, crisis(including man-made and natural ones)  

Policy goals | Prescribes four policy goals: Empowerment sustainability, equity and productivity. | Insists on the promotion of human 'survival' and 'daily life' and the avoidance of indignities that can result in injury, insult and contempt (Sen, 2002).  

Policy example | Promoting Health for All | Preventing and coping with a sudden growing pandemic, HIV/AIDS, malaria, etc.  

*The table showing relationship between Human Development and human security is from (Chenoy, 2007:107-108)*

**Relationship with Human Rights:**

In the context of relationship between human security and human rights, the former could be greatly thankful to the latter’s norms like the idea of natural law and natural rights. One can trace that model of human security has been drawn from the concept of human rights. Human-beings are the referent object in both the ideas. Both ideas also talking about a wide range of issues like civil rights, cultural identity, access to education and healthcare and more issues i.e. essential for human dignity ((Evans, 2001), (Farer in Roberts 2000), (Galtung, 1994), (Sen 2000b) and (Stewart 1990)).

In view of the above similarities, some analysts also evaluate that human rights and human security are same. The term ‘security’ in the notion human security is used just for sensitization of the term. However, this is just one view. The major differences between these two concepts originated in the context of dealing with threats to human dignity and human survival. Human right approach employ legalistic method while human security exercises a number of actors with flexible and issue-specific approaches that can be operate at local, national or international level.
A few differences also arise at the goal of these two concepts. Some experts emphasize that the goal of human security should be to strengthen the existing human rights legal framework (Hampson, 2002) on the other hand, some experts also argue that human right is a part of global insecurity and believed that human security may propel to move beyond the legalistic approach and focus on inequalities which are at the root cause of insecurity in today's globalize world (Thomas, 2001:159-175).

**Relationship between Human Security and Social Safety Nets**

Social Safety Nets are programs that prevent the poor from poverty and from falling below a certain poverty level. These programs can be provided by the public body (the states and other aid donors) or by the private sectors (NGOs, Private firms, through charity by individual donors and also by informal household transfers). In simple ways, Social Safety Nets are part of a broader poverty reduction program organized by public or private bodies that includes the area of healthcare, education, financial services, food based programs, public transport and other policies aimed to reduce poverty and managing risks.

The main motto of Social Safety Nets is to distribute more resources to the group of poor population. However, these have certain cost and benefits about a specific group and methods.

However, Social Safety Nets are quite different from the concept of human security. First difference is that Social Safety Net is just like donation by provider. In such case, beneficiaries have no claim to ask for endowment. But in human security, it is the state that is bound to make available to all its countrymen inevitably.

Second one is related to its scope, that Social Safety Nets have a specific group of people to target and for specific time period. Though, human security is for all habitants across the globe and is forever. These are the two main differences between the Social Safety Nets and the concept of human security.
People generally form misperception about the notion of human security near to the four theories i.e. Traditional Security, Development, Human Rights and Social Safety Nets. But all these four theories are quite different from the notion of human security in respective manner. Some analysts also claim that except traditional security, all are same. On the contrary, a close look in these aspects will give an apparent answer that all notions are not same. At the same time, it also indicates that human security is more feasible, more translucent for any government across the globe than any other concept. It also point that only human security has almost all elements through which anyone can take care of themselves. Only human security can set the people across the world free and provide opportunity to meet their most essential needs and to earn their own living respectfully.

SECTION-C

HUMAN SECURITY IN JAPAN

As discussed earlier, most commentators misinterpreted ‘security’ as military security. However, it was just one dimension of security and not an absolute concept. In this sense Japan is not an exception. Here again there is no agreement among Japanese scholars what ‘security’ constitutes (Shumpei: 1980:44). Security again means military security that secures Japan from external aggression. And the result is imperial, warrior and invader Japan in-between last half of 19th century and first half of 20th century. This kind of security dimension costs two time nuclear devastation and a fully ruined Japan after the end of WWII.

Though, military security is just a single posture in Japan. Development of human security also can be traced in Japanese policy-making in certain ways. The first element of human security can be traced in the policy adopted by the then ‘Emperor Mutsuhito’ in his policies famously known ‘Meiji Restoration’ in 1868 and Article 9,25,28,29 and 62 of Meiji Constitution in 1869. Before that, the whole era was just a period of chaos where there was no well accepted central authority in Japan that could regulate the entire
policies. The then Emperor Mutsuhito adopted the policies that clearly has human features. Human elements got pace in Meiji Restoration however; military posture got more space than elements of human security. And the result was well established internal governance with time-honored imperialist army in the entire Meiji Period.

It was the period of World War II that showed the clear pictures of deep accentuation on military security. The wreckage of Japan in every front shows that only military security can not be enough for development of any country. For this instance, occupational forces also established some human elements in the Preamble of the Japanese Constitution. Other than Preamble, the Chapter-III of the Japanese Constitution also contains human security elements.

**Comprehensive Security**

Apart from Constitution, the first step towards the elements of human security was taken by the then Japanese Prime Minister Masayoshi Ohira when he first coined the term ‘Comprehensive Security’ (Sogo anzen hoso) in international sphere, however, the concept as such can be traced back to Japanese thinking on security during the 1950s (Radtke: 2000:13). Ohira’s understanding of the term ‘Comprehensive Security’ has a more generalized notion of security rather than its defense application alone. The idea has a vibrant industrial base, robust economy and beneficial export relationship with other countries (Endicott, 2001:1).

The concept ‘Comprehensive Security’ was suggested to Ohira by the joint efforts of National Institute of Advance Research (NIRA) and Nomura Research Institute (NRI) (1978) that has meaning only in three aspects i.e. Political, Economic and Military. However, the meaning of the term ‘Comprehensive Security’ goes far beyond requirements of military defense against a particular ‘enemy’, and stresses the need to take into account other aspects vital to national stability; food, energy, environment, communication and social security (Radtke, 2000:13-14).
Although, the entire concept of ‘Comprehensive Security’ was manipulated lately in terms of ‘US-Japan Alliances’, however, the perception of ‘Comprehensive Security’ has its own consequence. The approach legitimizes in 1980 Report that postulates three levels of national security measures for Japan: (1) self help of self-defence, (2) efforts to render the whole international system conducive to Japan’s security and, (3) intermediate level effort to build a favourable security environment in the region (Akaha, 1991:324). Broadly, the term categorizes security into military dimension and non-military dimension. This non-military aspect of security clearly indicates the elements of human security. By then, the three-level approach has since become official policy and enjoys wide range of public support.

Actually, the concept of ‘comprehensive security’ was the result of Japan’s successful post war security experience. It was the ‘Yoshida Doctrine’ that pushed Tokyo to serve the nation’s interests well in the US-Security-Umbrella and avoid military entanglements abroad.

Except this, there were a number of other incidents that took place in that period that propelled Japan to keep herself non-alien in international politics and stick to notion of comprehensive security. In that phase, Japan was exposed to a series of unsettling international development in 1970s and early 1980s like the superpower strategic parity and short-lived Détente, the Sino-American rapprochement, the collapse of the Bretton Wood system, the deepening Sino-Soviet rift, the two oil crises and the US defeat in Vietnam War. But the most severe reason behind the comprehensive security was the 1973-74 oil crises. By the early 1980s, other developments also affected Japanese security perspectives such as the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the Vietnamese invasion in Cambodia, the escalation of the Iran-Iraq war in the Persian Gulf and the relentless Soviet force build-up in East Asia. All these events scared Japan that was keen only in its economic growth and development concerns.
These events forced Japan to avoid military dimension and stick to non-military aspects in international politics that is the only necessity for economic growth. And for the economic growth, Japan propagated policy and approaches to Comprehensive Security.

Although, the term comprehensive security was an ‘excuse’ of the drastic change in international politics in 1970s and 1980s from which Japan wants to kept herself aside, however, the entire notion of comprehensive security has strong elements of human security. Straightforwardly, comprehensive security was the first official document in Japan that contains the elements of human security.

**Human Security in Japanese Politics:**

There is a background about the appearance of human security in international parlance. It was the product of the end of cold war and disintegration of former Soviet Union where international politics was witnessed of rivalry between two ideological blocks. It was the time of fall of Berlin Wall, Disintegration of Soviet Union and end of Cold War. But after the end of cold war, the military base security has lost its sharpness and most of the countries started looking for new paradigm of security. In such a scenario human face of security emerged in international sphere in the name of human security.

On the other hand, Japan has different experience to narrate about the emergence of human security. No doubt, the fall of Berlin Wall and end of Cold War are said to be the turning points of modern history.

But in Japanese context, a reason for looking at 1989 as a turning point is that this was the year when Emperor Hirohito (Japan’s Emperor since 1926) passed away. His 63 years reign had been given the name Showa, or “Enlightened Peace”, but rather than peace it was a period that evolved in the shadow of war. The first 20 years were marked by wars and the following decades by the need to handle its legacies. It also happened because in that phase emperor had lesser roles in policy-making in the light of new Constitution especially after WWII. The new emperor Akihiko chose “Heisei” as the name of his
reign, signifying peace in heaven and on earth. This carefully selected name became psychological symbol that the war and the post war period were over. The starting year of ‘Heisei Era’ coincided with the end of cold war (Edström, 2000:8).

Japan also faced a number political and economic downturn since the beginning of Heisei Era. Pivotal role played by Hosokawa Morihiro, when he founded a new political party in 1992 in the light of a number of scandals and corruptions in early 1990s in Japan. This resulted in general election in July 1993; when Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) had lost power after 38 years of rule that commonly known as end of “the 1955 System”. The economic bubble burst was another signpost in that phase. Last but not the least was the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake that hit the Kansai Area particularly Kobe in 17 January 1995.

But the landmark was the UNDP Annual Report of 1994 about the concept of human security. After the 1994 UNDP Report, the then Japanese Prime Minister Murayama Tomiichi legitimized the concept of human security in Japanese political sphere.

Murayama Tomiichi became the pioneer for introducing human security in Japan. The first step in that direction was taken by him at the UN Summit for Social Development in Copenhagen in March 1995. In this summit, the representatives from 118 countries discussed how to eliminate poverty and endorse employment and integration of society at large (Akira, 1998:77). It was projected that human security became a key notion but finally was rejected due to opposition by some countries. However, Murayama supported human-centered social development and quoted that:

“I seek the creation of a human-centered society”, a vision in which each individual citizen is treated equally, endowed with opportunity to fully develop his or her potential, and enabled to utilize fully his or her capacity through employment and participation in society. I consider that such political beliefs of mine are in line with the central goal of this Summit.’ (Prime Minister’s Speech: 1995).
Murayama also emphasized that UN should also play an important role for world peace and prosperity. Individual human being was accorded the centre point in Murayama’s speech. And according him human being can be endangered by the threats like poverty, diseases and violence (Murayama Policy Speech, 1995).

A number of measures have been suggested to implement human security like; promotion of democracy and economic reforms, economic cooperation, humanitarian assistance, preventive diplomacy, peace-keeping operations, arms control and disarmament with regard to both nuclear weapons and conventional weapons such as anti-personnel landmines and small arms. Murayama’s endorsement of human security was in line with Japan’s UN policy. In this regard, Murayama portrayed human security as a concept that complements but not replaces the national security.

Hashimoto Ryutaro replaced the then Prime Minister Murayama Tomiichi, whose views were opposite of Murayama in various front. Though he did not endorse human security as a concept related to national security, but, Hashimoto was one of the great supporters of human security. Hashimoto’s speech in United Nations (UN) in June 23, 1997 emphasized environmental security (one of the seven security components identified in HDR 1994). Hashimoto’s focus was on jinrui no anzen hosho means ‘global human security’. His environmental aspects of security represented a non-traditional security aspect. His vision was to make Japan an advanced country in protecting the environment (Hashimoto Speech, 1997).

The key figure in Japan for the quest of human security is no doubt Prime Minister Obuchi Keizo. He declared that human security was going to be a key element in Japanese policy making in general and foreign policy in particular (Hiroshi, 2004:50). He revealed a personal commitment and took initiatives that make him a leading champion of human security in Japan and abroad. Obuchi’s detection of human security was a personal endeavor. He ‘took it as his baby, since the concept was consonant with his ideas’ (Yamamoto Speech, 2004).
Obuchi emphasized human security on a various front like campaign against landmines, health care, environmental issues, economic front and many more. His first move was against the landmines and for that instance he also was working on an early ratification of the Treaty Against Landmines (Obuchi Keizo Speech, 1998).

Obuchi’s efforts were also seen on economic front in the case of economic crisis in East and Southeast Asian countries in 1997 and 1998. Due to collapse of economy of ‘Asian Tigers’, Japan’s GNP fell 1.3% in 1998 and 0.7% in 1999. To tackle such a problem in future he also suggested “A Trust Fund for Human Security” (MOFA, 2003).

Obuchi also emphasized on Healthcare facilities. This is also a reason that’s why Obuchi brought the term human security in the opening address at International Symposium ‘Health Initiative in Asian Economic Crisis: Human Centered Approach’. In his speech he emphasized on the importance of paying attention to Social Safety Nets in International Cooperation (MOFA, ODA and the Asian Currency and Financial Crisis, 1998). This approach became a key element in Japanese human security policy.

In simple terms, anyone can accumulate the entire Obuchi work in three security concepts like national security, regional security and human security.

Obuchi has started different front to promote human security that reflects in his Tokyo Speech on December 2, 1998 and Hanoi Speech on December 14, 1998. Bilateral Moves towards United States (US), Nordic Countries\(^\text{12}\), Canada and Okinawa Summit were other indications to endorse human security. Obuchi was how much keen towards human security, it also reflected when he remarked that:

‘as prime minister, I have taken every opportunity to persuade the international community of the importance of the perspective of human security and have done my best to make it a pillar of Japan’s diplomacy’ (Obuchi, 2001, 8).

\(^{12}\) Nordic Country makes up a region in North Europe and North Atlantic which consists Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden.
It became clear from Obuchi’s speeches that human security revolves very much around one of the core values that is human security is not a concern with weapons but is a concern with human life and dignity.’ Due to extraordinary efforts and commitment to human security and establishment of a Human Security Fund by Obuchi, Kofi Annan said, Japan would undoubtedly have a lifetime seat if there were such a thing as a ‘Human Security Council’ (Annan, 1999)

Soon after Obuchi resigned, Mori Yoshihiro became the Prime Minister of Japan. He was also an activist in human security aspects. According to Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA), Mori had indulged in a number of activities related to human security like:

Table No.5
Mori’s Initiatives towards Human Security

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Activities/Speeches</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>April 2000</td>
<td>Mori mentioned ‘human security’ in the keynote speech at the Second Japan–South Pacific Forum Summit Meeting.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 2000</td>
<td>In the conclusions of the G-8 foreign ministers’ meeting of the Kyushu-Okinawa Summit, ‘human security’ was mentioned.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept. 2000</td>
<td>Mori announced at the UN Millennium Summit the expansion of The Trust Fund for Human Security and establishment of an international commission on human security.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan 2001</td>
<td>Mori mentioned ‘human security’ in his African policy speech.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


After the Mori reign, Koizumi Jun’ichiro became the PM of Japan. But, Koizumi did not pay much attention like earlier Prime Ministers (PMs). However, Koizumi started human security process in the Commission on human security when he stated that:

Japan regards “human security” as an important viewpoint and perspective of foreign policy. The 21st century should be a human centered century, and [Japan] has undertaken various initiatives, first and foremost the establishment of the Trust Fund for Human Security. We are determined to continue to promote these efforts.’ (Jun’ichiro, 2001)
Even after the 9/11 terrorists attack, Japanese Prime Minister promised that Japan would extend its positive support for the activities of the Commission, but he did not make any commitment indicating that his government would take action in pursuit of human security.

Koizumi’s speech on January 31, 2003 made clear that human security has now became a matter of Official Development Assistance (ODA) policy than general foreign policy in the way Obuchi and Mori had presented it.

After that, Shinzo Abe, Yasuo Fukuda and Yukio Hatoyama served as PM. Their terms of office were too short that their personal interests and activities did not reflect in their policies as the legacies continued by their descendent. Further, what the present PM Kan Naoto would achieve would be known only after a while.

SECTION-D

Research Theme:

Although, there is no well accepted definition is available of human security in international sphere, however definition suggested by UNDP was absolute. And from that definition and components outlined by UNDP’s HDR 1994, this thesis aims to discuses its dimension, challenges and measures as a concept in general and Japanese case in particular. A number of actions have been adopted by a number of prime ministers of Japan during the entire era both in domestic as well as international front, however, a noteworthy signpost arose on January 9, 2007 when Japan Defense Agency (JDA) became the Ministry of Defense (MOD) (Yuki Tatsumi and Ken Jimbo, 2007).

Only from this step, the whole concept of ‘Pacifist Japan’ became changed to a normal state. Before that, Japan has emphasized adequately more on human security in post WWII era in the light of Japanese Pacifist Constitution. In that period, Japan maintained ‘No Army’ (excluding Self Defense Forces i.e. not army and only for self defense) and contributed less than 1 % of National GDP to the national security. In such a framework,
the present research aims to focus on dimensions and challenges of human security in Japan. Further, it is also significant that what measures need to be carried out by Japan for sustainability and advancement of the status of human security. It will also be significant that how welfare state upholds the stipulation of human security in Japan and how it should be maintained?

For the study of Human Security in Japan: Dimension, Challenges and Measures, 1994-2007, the present research has gone through the following research theme:

Review of Literature

The review of literature here begins with an analysis that the views of theory experts on the widely studied phenomena on the notion of “human security” and correlation with all its dimensions. For this purpose, the review presents the concept of human security in general and Japanese case in particular. Further, it will also place emphasize on the views of theory experts and Japanologists on the theme of human security.


Components of human security incorporated by UNDP Report 1994 suggested seven elements. These elements also integrated physical threats like torture, domestic violence, criminal attack and war. Simply, this element includes threats from other states as well as
own state. Clearly the elements of human security are not denying state centric security. About state centric security, Pauline Kerr (2003), in a working paper, “The Evolving dialectic between state-centric and human-centric security”, suggested that each is necessary, but not sufficient to address the contemporary security agenda. He also suggested that there is conceptual and empirical evidence of evolving dialectic between these two approaches which is producing new thinking about security and finally, enhancing the security of each one.

Human security is one of the core elements of contemporary security agenda. According to UN Human Development Report 1994, human security can be said to have two main aspects. It means, first, “safety from chronic threat such as hunger, diseases, and repression”. And second, it means protection from sudden and harmful disruptions in the patterns of daily life- whether in homes, in jobs or in communities. The scope of the sense of human security is immense. Perhaps emancipating the criticism, UNDP Report identified seven components of human security. However, a great debate started about the broadness and the scope of this definition. In this regard, Jorge Nef (1999) in “Human Security and Mutual Vulnerability”, devises a fivefold classification scheme, arguing that human security comprises of (1) environmental, personal, and physical security, (2) economic security, (3) social security, including “freedom from discrimination based on age, gender, ethnicity or social status, (4) political security and (5) cultural security. Laura Reed and Majid Tehranian (1999) in “Evolving Security Regime”, offer their own list of human security’s ten constituent elements- including psychological security, which “hinges on establishing conditions fostering respectful, loving and human interpersonal relations”, and communication security, or the importance of “freedom and balance in information flows”.


Other scholars avoid least approach about defining human security, but offer equally expensive and immense definition. Caroline Thomas (1999) in “Globalization, Human Security and the African Experiences” refers human security to the provision of basic material needs and the realization of human dignity including emancipation from oppressive power structures either global, national or local in origin and scope. Robert Bedesky (2000) in “Human Security, Knowledge and the Evolution of the Northeast Asian States” includes the totality of knowledge, technology, institutions and activities that protect, defend and preserve the biological existence of human life and the processes which protect collective peace and prosperity to enhance human freedom.

On the other hand, the slightly narrower conceptualization of human security is sweeping and open ended. Among other things, Lloyd Axworthy (2001) in “Canada and Human Security” mentioned that the ‘Canadian formulation’ includes safety from physical threats, the achievements of an acceptable quality of life, a guarantee of fundamental human rights, the rule of law, good governance, social equity, protection of civilians in conflicts and sustainable development. Meanwhile the human security network (Canada, Norway and Japan includes several other states and a broad assortment of international NGOs) has committed itself to a goal of strengthening human security with a view to creating a more human world where people can live with security and dignity. It would be free from want and fear and have equal opportunities to develop their human potential to the full.

For much narrower and more precise terms, Gary King and Cristopher Murry (2001) in “Rethinking Human Security” offer a definition of human security that is intended to include only essential elements, meaning that are important enough for human beings to fight over or to put their lives or property at risk. Using this standard, they identify five key indicators of well being: poverty, health, education, political freedom and democracy. They intend to incorporate into an overall measure of human security for
individuals or groups. Similarly, another scholar Kanti Bajpai (2000), in the “Human Security: Concept and Measurement”, proposes construction of a “human security audit” that would include measure of direct and indirect threats to individual bodily safety and freedom as well as measures of different society and capacity to deal with these threats, namely the fostering of norms, institutions and representativeness in decision-making structures. The measure or audit of human security allowed scholars to assess the factors that led to declines or increases in the human security particularly groups or individuals.

Analyzing Gary King and Christopher Murry’s definition of human security and Kanti Bajpai’s Human Security Audit, it can be said that they face flows that seems prevalent to the study of human security. Firstly, they identify certain values as more important than others without providing a clear justification for doing so. Bajpai for instance proposes inclusion of “bodily safety” and “personal freedom” in his human security audit and argues that this audit would draw attention to the fact that threats to safety and freedom are most important elements of human security. He does not explain, however, why other values are not equally important or perhaps even more important. What about education? Is the ability to choose one’s marriage partner (which is one of Bajpai’s examples of personal freedom) really more important than a good education. Bajpai does not address this issue. Similarly King and Murry states that their formulation of human security include only those matters that people will be willing to fight over. But they neglect to offer evidence that their five indicators are closely related to the risk of violent conflict. In other words, they favor certain values as representative of human security without offering a clear justification for doing so.

Some scholars and policymakers have indicated other dimensions of human security as well. Although, they do not deny the importance of human security, the beneficiaries of human security vary from time to time. Mrs. Sadako Ogata (1999) opined in her keynote speech in UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for refugees) in “Human security: A Refugees perspective”, that the notion of human security would be overtaken by refugees. Yukio Takasu, (2000) opined in “Towards Effective Cross-Sartorial Partnership to ensure Human Security in a Globalized world”, that preservation of the life

Realists believe that Human security can not be possible without proper military security. On the other hand, neo-realists opined that security is not only ‘guns and guards’ and Westphalian state has to make priority in these two notions of security. Different view by C.Rajamohan (2004), in “Toward Cooperative Security in South Asia. Regional Cooperation in South Asia”, has also become noteworthy that human security can be achieved through collective security. In such circumstances, nation state can secure their security as a whole through cooperation and collective efforts.

Japanese value of human security may vary from other nation states in many ways consisting of mere complexity than other Westphalian states. The first Tsuneo Akaha (1991), in “Japan’s Comprehensive Security Policy: A New East Asian Environment”, expressed view that Japanese security postulated three levels of national security measures for Japan: (1) self help of self-defense, (2) efforts to render the whole international system conducive to Japan’s security and, (3) intermediate level effort to build a favorable security environment in the region. Tsuneo Akaha broadly categorizes security into military dimension and non-military dimension. This non-military aspect of security clearly indicates the notion of human security. He proposed that collective security and Japanese ODA will play significant role in achieving non-military security.

National Institute of Advance Research (NIRA) and Nomura Research Institute (1978) suggested the concept of widespread security that has meaning only in three aspects i.e. Political, Economic and Military. But in today’s context, these three dimensions are not sufficient for the absolute coverage of security. Other views were produced by Chris Laycock (2005), in Workshop on the Next Generation of US-Japan-China Relations on
the theme, “Human Security: How Do We Define It?” introduced the idea of the primacy of personal experience and pointed out the ideological differences between societies having similar importance. He also raised the question of the relationship between personal security and the security of states, noting that the two can infringe on one another and thus become contradictory. Professor Hoshino, (2005) in the same workshop distinguished between the state and individual approaches of human security. He opined that top-down notion of national security dictates that the state protects individuals, the individualistic model says that individuals must feel secure before the state can be considered secure. Professor Ma defined Human Security as the protection of individuals from the invisible threats present in daily lives and pointed the way in which nationalism shapes our perception of “threats”. Professor Hoshino pointed out that such threats indicate that human security is “our” problem as well as a problem for developing nations. But, Professor Hashino does not explain human rights violations in developed countries. Even he failed to indicate the technical and systemic fault in developed nations that causes serious hurdle for human security.

Prof. Amartya Sen (2000) in, “International Symposium on Human Security by Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan”, stressed the need to ensure security during economic downturns and suggested that it would be necessary to go beyond the ‘Bretton Woods’ system during economic crisis. He also acknowledged that the approach taken by former Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi, who classified issues into matters of “survival, daily life, and dignity,” was very effective in discussing how to ensure human security by alleviating and eliminating the lack of security in most extreme forms.

Successfully Japan has balanced human security internally as well as externally. The concept of human security is an important aspect of Japan’s foreign policy that strives to alleviate a wide range of problems which directly threaten the lives, livelihoods and dignity of individuals, including contemporary human security issues. Japan believes that approaching global issues from the perspective of human security can help bring about conditions under which the full potential of each individual can be realized. In order to realize this goal, the Trust Fund for Human Security was established by Japan at the
United Nations in 1999. The Trust Fund for human security is now the largest of its kind at the UN and a number of anti-crime and anti-narcotic initiatives have received support from it.

Japan also took initiative to promote human security across the globe. In such an instance, the ‘trust fund’ became a milestone. Permanent Mission of Japan (PMJ) helps to make Japan more of a presence in the organizations by working to ensure that the human security perspective is widely reflected in a variety of activities. A three-stage approach to this new internationalism is needed to address issues stemming from humanitarian disasters from the perspective of “collective human security”: chronologically, this entails (1) “preventing” possible disasters, (2) “stopping” disasters already underway, and (3) bringing a halt to the use of armed force and “building” circumstances favorable to preventing a recurrence. However, Japan’s international aid activities might shift in the 21st century from “money alone” to “assistance with human face.” Expecting that a certain amount of ODA be budgeted for conflict prevention and resolution.

**Rationale and Scope of the Study**

The notion of security consists of many other dimensions but the proposed research focuses on human security. As border security is imperative for any nation but, human security became more significant in people’s daily life. In such circumstances, the proposed research would be an effort to study all dimensions of the notion of human security focusing on Japan. It will comprise dichotomy between ‘freedom of want’ and ‘freedom from fear’ about human security. The research will emphasize the human rights approach in Japan. It will also focuses on the dimensions, challenges and measurements of human security along with measures that need to be taken by the Japanese policymakers for uninterrupted enhancement of human security internally and externally.

For analyzing the whole notion of human security, the proposed research will follow the guidelines of “Realism”, “Welfare State” and the “Neo-liberal” theory.
Research Questions

1. Can comprehensive security be defined without reference to human security?
2. What is the global debate of human security and how it differs from the Japanese way of human security?
3. Can Japan secure military security and human security simultaneously?
4. What are the external and internal determinants and level of Japanese commitment towards human security?
5. What is the correlation between human rights and securing human security in Japan?
6. What is the role and approach of the political parties, pressure groups and the think tanks towards the notion of human security?
7. What are the challenges that Japanese government is facing in achieving human security?
8. How human security became a part of Japanese Foreign Policy?

Hypothesis

1. For any State, securing absolute security is not viable and attaining military security and human security at same time is not feasible either. The same situation applies to Japan as well.
2. Japan is likely to emphasize military security over human security. However, Japanese Ministry of Defense will argue for shifting emphasis from global platform to domestic stage, even if the constitution remains unchanged.
3. External regional factors, for example the threat from North Korea will provoke Japan to increase its annual budgetary provision or introducing special budget for achieving human security.
CHAPTERS

The proposed study has been designed to be completed in six Chapters. The contents and Chapterization are as follows:

Chapter 1:--
**Introduction: Redefining Security**
Chapter 1 starts with a definition and redefines the term security and discusses the multidimensional aspects of it. Further it emphasizes on contemporary issues of security and discusses the origin, evolution and present status of human security in Japan. In tracing the roots of human security, the research includes all its dimensions. This chapter also deals with the global debate of human security and introduces Japanese way of human security. Thus, research correlates UNDP Report of 1994, Canadian School of thought and Japanese way of human security. Lastly, it also includes the research theme and chapter summary of the whole research.

Chapter 2:--
**Military Security Vs Human Security in Japan**
Chapter 2 discusses the instruments of security and its both dimensions i.e. military security and human security. Further, it discusses the correlations and conflicts within and between the notion of military security and human security with special reference to Japan. This chapter also deals with need and challenges of Article 9 of Japanese Constitution and US-Japan Security Treaty (1952), and correlates it with achieving human security in Japan. This chapter also emphasizes on the pros and cons of paradigm shifts from human security to military security.

Chapter 3:--
**Determinants of Japanese Policies Towards Human Security**
Chapter 3 deals with various decisive and influential factors from all its dimensions of human security with equal emphasis. In such respects, it discusses the operational areas of human security i.e. external and internal factors for determining the needs and
prospects. Further, it emphasizes more on the formative structure of human security. Apart from human security, this chapter also deals with the role of political parties, pressure groups and other institutions as determinants of human security. It also emphasizes on policy-making process for successful achievement of human security. Lastly it will deals with human security as a tool of Japanese foreign policy.

Chapter 4:-

**Human Security: A Human Right Approach in Japan**

Chapter 4 looks human security through Human Rights approach. It traces the conditions of Human Rights, its need, violations, prospects and challenges in Japan. The violations of Human Rights with special reference to outcasts, foreigners and negligence of older generations assume major signpost in this chapter. Further, it correlates the conditions of Human Rights in securing human security. This chapter also deals with role of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), and other institutions in improving the conditions of Human Rights in Japan. Finally, this chapter also focuses on how shifting from human security to military security would affect the condition of Human Right in Japan.

Chapter 5:-

**Japan’s Quest for Human Security: Challenges and Measures**

Chapter 5 traces the emerging trends of human security in Japan. In such circumstances, it focuses on comparatively new dimensions of human security in general and contemporary Japan in particular. It will also emphasize the need, challenges and measures of human security. Lastly, this chapter also focuses that how human security either assists or hinders Japanese interests at national and international level.

Chapter 6:-

**Summary and Conclusion**

Chapter 6 is a concluding chapter which includes the findings, observations, and suggestions of the whole research. Further, it also emphasizes on the prospects of human security with special reference of Japan.
Research Methodology

The thesis entitled, "Human Security in Japan: Dimensions, Challenges and Measures; 1994-2007", is an open ended research. In such a way 'Qualitative techniques' including interpretation of primary documents and other primary sources becomes significant for this study. Although the research emphasizes on all dimensions of human security in general and Japan in particular, however, contemporary issues of human security are prime. Data gathered from a number of sources has been interpreted and incorporated in this research. For such a purpose, comparative method has been adopted for correlating with all dimensions and emphasize on human security.

For analyzing the whole notion of Comprehensive Security through Human Security, proposed research follows the guidelines of "Realism", "Welfare State" and "Neo-liberal" theory.

Variables

The most important actors that decide the destiny of any research are its 'variables'. In such a way the leading independent variables in this research are the concept of "Freedom from fear" and "Freedom from Want". Apart from the independent variable 'Military Security' is only intervening variable in the concept of human security. While, Human Rights, Development and Social Safety Nets are dependent variables that go hand in hand with the notion of human security. Correlations between dependent, intervening and independent variables, provides crystal clear picture of human security.

Japan has adopted, "Freedom from Want" as her way of attaining human security. Thus, "Freedom from Want" becomes independent variable in case of Japan. Though, 'Article 9' of Japanese Constitution has been indirectly associated with promoting human security internally and externally, thus it also becomes independent variable. Japan has done considerable in promoting human security worldwide however, formation of 'Ministry of Defense' from "Japan Defense Agency" create suspicion about Japanese intention.

Limitation of Research

The present research entitled, "Human Security in Japan: Dimensions, Challenges and Measures; 1994-2007", incorporates all dimensions, challenges and measures of human security in general and Japanese case in particular. Although, title of the research has limitation regarding time frame between 1994-2007, however, the present research sometimes incorporated data and analysis prior to 1994 for understanding of background certain dimensions. On the other, this research also incorporates recent data and interpretation for understanding of impact and measures that have been adopted to secure human security.

Sources

The sources consist of primary and secondary categories including books, chapters in books, journals and magazine articles, scholarly papers, speeches, presentations, reports, and government publications, including official statements, political agreements, and press releases.