

**INTERNAL SECURITY ISSUES IN THE INDIAN
CONTEXT: AN ANALYSIS OF THE TWENTY FIRST
CENTURY**

**Dissertation Submitted To Jadavpur University For The Degree Of Doctor of Philosophy
(Arts) in International Relations, 2017**

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INTERNAL SECURITY ISSUES IN THE INDIAN CONTEXT: AN ANALYSIS OF THE TWENTY FIRST CENTURY

Submitted by Nilimpa Ghosh for The award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Arts at Jadavpur University is based upon her research work carried out under my supervision and that neither this thesis nor any part of it has been submitted before for the award of any degree or diploma anywhere/elsewhere.

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TOWARDS FULFILLMENT OF PARTIAL REQUIREMENT OF THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (ARTS) IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, OF JADAVPUR UNIVERSITY KOLKATA. IT REPRESENTS AN ORIGINAL RESEARCH WORK WITH DUE ACKNOWLEDGEMENT FOR BORROWED RESOURCES..

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INDEX

THEME	PAGE NOS.
INTRODUCTION	1-8
CHAPTER-I	9-67
CHAPTER-II	68-148
CHAPTERIII	149-211
CHAPTER-IV	212-269
CONCLUSION	270-280
BIBLIOGRAPHY	281-302

INTRODUCTION

Security continues to rank high in National Agendas among most of the states all over the world. Traditionally the realm of National Security included i. the security of a territory from external aggression, ii. Protection of national interest in Foreign Policy and iii. As protection from threat of a nuclear holocaust. It was related more to the theory of the state than the theory of the people.

Since the early 1980s many scholars made a demand for the broadening of the definition of Security, while many others preferred to keep it within the parameters of Realism, which was the reigning paradigm for the subject area, especially during Cold War. However, the disintegration of the former Soviet Union, the terror attacks of September 11th, 2001 in the U.S.A. followed by the unilateral aggression of Afghanistan in 2002 and Iraq in 2003, brought to the forefront the futility of advanced weapons in ensuring the security of a state in the prevailing hegemonic world power structure. The Security scenario prevailing at the global and at the regional level however has far-reaching implications for the security of India and its people at large. Therefore, in this thesis the Researcher has made an attempt to look into the new, emerging dimensions of Security, i.e., Non-Conventional Security Threats India is facing today. The non-conventional security threats deal with the internal security issues of a country.

In the Twenty First Century, the internal security threat factors like socio-economic threats have loomed large for various countries including India. India is plagued by various socio-economic problems like poverty, food-security and unemployment leading to many social security threats like ethnic strifes, communalism, regionalism, caste-based violence which mainly cut across economic lines. In the era of globalization, the states in many cases become a vulnerable prey to the consequences emerging out of the decisions and activities of other states and non-state actors. Migration of refugees from other states and terrorist activities can be cited as examples where state security has been affected due to the policies and decisions of

other states or non-state actors like the various terrorist organizations. In view of the growing importance of the environmental threats the researcher also dealt with the emerging environmental threat factors India is facing today-pollution, global warming, resource degradation and the like. Depletion of ground water reserves and food shortage are yet other factors dealt by the researcher in the context of the rising population in the country. Various environmental disasters ultimately lead to various economic problems like poverty that lead to social upheavals.

Due to social problems like corruption at various levels of the government, many issues like gender problems and trafficking have not been adequately dealt with. The work not only deals with internal issues but also with the impact of external factors like cross-border migration and cyber-crime. In this context it is also a study in public policy analysis.

OBJECTIVE OF THE RESEARCH

The objective of the dissertation would be to look into the process of evolution of the notion of security in the international system-the translation from the traditional sources of threat to a state's security to non-traditional sources of threat to state security as emanating from the contemporary international system. The research would try to bring out the differences between them and in conclusion would try to show how they complement each other.

The research would try to locate the major nontraditional security threats in India, in what way have they harmed the security of the state or prove to be dangerous for the security of the state. The research would try to show how the social, economic and environmental problems escalate to the stature of security threats for India and the ways in which they can be prevented.

The Researcher would strive to relate theorizing in International Relations with the process of development of security-both traditional and non-traditional in the

international system and would take up the question of the non-traditional security threats in India as a case study and would thereby analyse whether the non-traditional security threats are overshadowing or complementing the traditional notions of security

RESEARCH QUESTION(S)

In the main, the work would try to answer the following questions.

1. What are the major issues concerning the security of the Indian state?
2. What are the major non-traditional security threats to the Indian state?
3. Do the non-traditional security issues present a more serious challenge to the Indian state in comparison with the traditional military threats emanating from across the border?
4. In what way the Non Traditional Security Threats prove to be serious and dangerous in comparison to the traditional ones?
5. What are the major causal factors behind the escalation of non-traditional threats to the Indian state. Are they purely national issues or have they, to an extent, been influenced by international factors?
6. What are the competent measures undertaken by the Indian state to counter the challenges posed by non-traditional security threats and how successful are the same?
7. Finally, what steps can be taken at the National and at the Global Level to solve or atleast reduce its occurrences and minimize the losses?

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

As to the methodology adopted, the work is based on the historical method for an in depth understanding of the background issues, along with a textual analysis of data. The Researcher has also tried to use the tools of political sociology and comparative politics.

Apart from this, the Researcher has also made use of Primary source materials like Official documents, Government records and Administrative records, interviews, as well as Secondary sources like newspaper articles and journals.

SOURCES

As to the source materials concerned, the work would be based on primary sources including government documents, ministerial speeches, official documents of various bodies, personal diaries, interviews as well as eye-witness accounts.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

1. The neo-realist approach to human security has been advocated by 'structural' or neo-realists such as Barry Buzan in his seminal work **People, States and Fear,; An Agenda For International Security Studies in The Post Cold War Era. Harvester, 1991.** Buzan argued that the "straitjacket' militaristic approach to security that dominated the discourse during the Cold War was 'simple-minded' and led to the underdevelopment of the concept. He subsequently broadened it to include political, economic, social and environmental threats, in addition to those that are militaristic. Although Buzan examines security from the three perspectives of the international system, the state, and the individual, he concludes that the most important and effective provider of security should remain the sovereign state. His analysis provides the most extensive contemporary examination available of human security from a state-combined perspective (as originally proposed in a similar

form by Clausewitz).

2. Human Security in South Asia: Gender, Migration and Globalisation, PR Chari and Sonika Gupta (Ed) New Delhi: Social Science Press, 2003

This book argues for a concept of security that extends beyond the conventional domain of military threats to include those that fall outside it. Non-military threats are rooted in social, economic, ecological and political choices made by the country, but are frequently left out in the decision-making process. Very often these threats jeopardize the economic development, social fabric and political stability of the nation. This book discusses the non-military threats arising from misgovernance, competition for energy resources, migration, the negative effects of globalisation and gender discrimination. It maintains that by failing to protect its people adequately from these dimensions of non-military threats, the state endangers the overall security of its people. Military and non-military threats cannot be looked at in isolation of each other. One needs to have a clear understanding of both military and non military security threats or else it will undermine the security of the countries of South Asia.

3. Studying Non-Traditional Security In Asia: Trend and Issues. Rolf Emmers, Mely Cabaero Anthony, and Amitav Acharya (eds.), 2006

This book argues that the security challenges confronting Asia today go beyond the traditional dimensions of security and tend to be more diverse than what the region has ever known before. Issues like infectious diseases, trafficking in illegal drugs, irregular migration, environmental degradation, financial crisis, and natural disasters are increasingly being treated as pressing concerns with serious security implications. Such concerns pose threats to the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of nation-states as well as to the welfare and security of their respective societies and individuals. Consisting of a collection of essays, this volume presents current trends and research directions in non-traditional security in Asia. It is structured around research

projects undertaken by various research institutes in the region, showcasing their major findings and highlighting key implications for the field of non-traditional security studies.

4. International Security: An Analytical Survey, Michael Sheehan, December, 2004, Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Michael Sheehan provides a masterly survey of the varied positions that scholars have adopted in interpreting security, one of the most contested terms in international relations, and asks whether a synthesis is possible that both widens and deepens our understanding of the concept. Sheehan begins by outlining the classical realist approach of Morgenthau and Carr and the ideas of their neorealist heirs. He then explores how the economic security approach embraces both defense economics and human security from poverty and hunger; and how environmental security links environment and security in a fundamental challenge to the international political hierarchy. Next, tackling the various postpositivist perspectives on security, all of which stem from worldviews fundamentally different from that of realism, he explains the range of feminist thought on security, the ideas of the critical security school, and the main concerns of postmodern security theory. In conclusion, revealing his own interpretation of security, he makes the case for a postpositivist conception that links human emancipation, justice, and peace.

Hypothesis:

- i. The researcher felt that sometimes the security threats of one sector mainly leads to the emergence of a security threat in another sector.
- ii. The Researcher also assumed that many a times the policies and decisions of a neighbouring country can result in a crisis which poses to be a serious security threat for a country. In the era of Globalization, the states in many cases become a vulnerable prey to the consequences emerging out of the decisions

and activities of other states and non- state actors. Migration of Refugees from other states and terrorist activities can be sited as examples where state- security have been affected due to the policies and decisions of other states or non- state actors like the various terrorist organizations.

- iii. The Researcher based her analysis on the assumption that the underlying cause of most of the social security threat factors has its root in economic deprivation at some point of time.
- iv. The Researcher also made another hypothesis that ethnic strifes and violence is one of the most important social security threat factor in India. The researcher, in this context, felt that India's inability to subsume ethnic identity to national identity is one of the main reasons for the rising number of ethnic strifes in India.
- v. Another determining factor for many economic and social security threats are social mores, customs, cultures and superstition.

CHAPTERISATION

The Research contains the following Chapters.

Introduction

Chapter-I: Concept of Security in International Relations: Theoretical Perspective.

(The Chapter traces the evolution of the concept of Security from the Traditional to the Nontraditional concept after the post Cold War Era when the concept of Security underwent a change to include social, economic and environmental factors.)

Chapter- II: The Emerging Socio-Economic Problems in India And The Internal Threats to security.

(The Chapter deals with the Internal Security Threat factors like, Economic Security threats namely, poverty, unemployment, food security, developmental displacement etc. which leads to various social security threats in the form of ethnic riots, regionalism, communalism etc. Caste in India manifests itself in various social problems like caste war, politics of reservation and the practice of Honour Killing. Corruption and Criminalisation of Politics, violence against women and children are some of the factors discussed here.)

Chapter- III: Cross- Border Terrorism and Migration: Important Social Security Issues in India.

(In this Chapter the security threats which are aggravated by external factors, like the Government policies and decisions of the neighbouring countries and other non state actors are discussed. Thus, here Terrorism and related issues like cyber terrorism, proliferation of small arms, drug trafficking leading to drug abuse among Indian youths, has been dealt with to show how these factors emerge as major social security threat factors within the country. Refugee problems and illegal migration from neighbouring countries and the related social problems have also been dealt with here.)

Chapter- IV: Environmental Disasters as a Major Security Threat in India.

(Various deleterious effects of the environmental changes like pollution, global warming, arsenic poisoning, depletion of natural resources, natural disasters, climate changes etc. would be dealt with in this Chapter.)

Conclusion.

CHAPTER-I

Concept of Security in International Relations: Theoretical Perspective

What is Security?

Security continues to rank high on national agendas worldwide. It commands enormous resources, including the sacrifice of life, liberty and property, the protection of which justifies the state in the first place. The anticipated peace dividend has materialized in only a few countries.¹ Termination of the Cold War, however, has contributed to a rethinking of security, especially on the part of the major protagonists in that ideological conflict. Policy makers' interest in broadening the scope of security in the post- Cold War situation has further stimulated the controversy within the academic community over how security should be defined. Since the early 1980s quite a few scholars have argued for a broader definition. Others have argued the contrary; at most they accept only limited broadening of the concept, preferring to keep it within the parameters of realism, the reigning paradigm for this subject area, especially during the Cold War.

The dictionary definitions of security give the flavour of ambiguity with their reference to notions like being protected from danger, feeling safe and being free from doubt. Here Baldwin's definition of the same can be referred to, where he modifies Arnold Wolfer's famous discussion of security where it was stated that security "in the objective sense, measures the absence of threat to acquired values, and in a subjective sense, the absence of fear that such values will be attacked" to read "a low probability of damage to acquired values."²

Thus, it can be said that Security policies are those actions one takes to reduce or limit the probability of damage to one's acquired values. This leaves open a number of vital questions that Baldwin argues must be answered if the term security is to be analytically and prescriptively useful. At least two questions are fundamental: security *for whom* and *security of which values*? These, he notes, "suffice to define the concept of security," but "they provide little guidance for its pursuit".³ Thus, in addition, the analyst should ask: how much security, from what threats, by what means, at what cost, and in what time period?

Security is a sharply contested concept. Contestation encompasses all four of its constituent elements: the referent, the composition of core values, the type and nature of threats, and the approach to security.

First, *the referent* of security is who or which entity is to be secured.

Secondly, *the composition of core values* are the aspects associated with the referent which must be protected or enhanced to ensure security. The concern here is with the goals and values that decision makers of the community in question consider vital and seek protection under the label of security.

Thirdly, *the types of threats*- political, military, sociocultural, economic, or environmental, against which these core values have to be protected. What is the nature of the security problem in each case? Is the security problem zero-sum and distributional (relative gains) in nature, or is it one of political market failure? The second and third question may be grouped under the heading of scope or domain.⁴

The fourth or the final question is the ways in which security is to be achieved: whether the approach to security should be competitive, cooperative, designed to build community, or some combination of them. These four key interrelated elements – referent, core values, threats and nature of security problem, and approach to security constitute the structure of security. They also constitute the dominant terms of security discourse and inform the investigations in this study. (See Table 1 next page).

TABLE 1.
Structure and terms of security discourse.

Element of Security		Illustrations
Referent (Who?)		Communal, religious, or other group, society, regime, non-state, state, regional community, world/ planet.
Scope/ Domain (what?)	Core values	Political independence and territorial integrity; social harmony and internal order, political stability, national unity; sociocultural essence Of nation; economic security (safeguarding prosperity, promoting economic growth and modernization, international competitiveness, distributive justice, etc.); safe environment
	Types of threats	Political, military, economic, sociocultural, environmental
	Nature of Problem	Zero- sum, distributional, political, market failure
Approach (How?)	Competitive (self- help), cooperative security; community security	

Source: Muthiah, Alagappa (ed.), *Asian Security Practice. Material and Ideational Influences*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, California, 1998, p. 2.

The Traditional Concept of Security:

The concept of Security in the traditional realm had military connotations and an external orientation. Threats were understood only in terms of armed conflicts and the sources of threat were considered possible only from across the border. Securing territory and sovereign independence came to be accepted as the supreme values in the security debate. The state became the referent subject/ object of security and security became threat- based. However, the concept gained currency as national security. This is the Conventional or the Traditional Security paradigm. ⁵

This paradigm actually has strong roots in the intellectual traditions of Political Realism that characterizes the international system as anarchical in which a state has to use coercive means against another state to achieve political objectives. Scholars like Stephen Walt and Patrick Morgan, who are realists and hardcore traditionalists, take it for granted that the state is the referent of security. They resist any horizontal and vertical expansion of the concept of national security.⁶ They keep their focus strictly on the military threats to the security of the state. According to Stephen M. Walt, *“The main focus of security studies... is the phenomenon of war...Accordingly security studies may be defined as the study of the threat, use, and control of military force.”*⁷ Patrick Morgan also agreed with Walt when he said, *“It is important to confine the concept of security to physical safety from deliberate physical harm inflicted internationally, i.e., across national boundaries.”*⁸

An unprecedented efflorescence of issues and theoretical developments in International Relations in recent times have emerged like Constructivism, Post Modernist approaches to security, which have strongly criticized the “State Security” held by the Realists, Neo Realists and the Neo Liberals. Thus, before we move on to analyse the New Security thinking of the Post Cold War era, let us briefly go through the Realist, Neo Realist and Neo Liberal concept of Security.

The Classical Security Paradigm: Realism

The Realist approach to security focuses on states and military means to achieve maximum security in an anarchical context. Realism’s unchallenged area of dominance coincides when the state becomes the principle actor and is traced to the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. Realism is a broad umbrella with a wide variety of ‘schools’: classical realism, neo- realism, structural realism, defensive, cooperative, state – centric realism, reflections in terms of balance of power or unipolarity are all grouped together under this common denomination.

The intellectual appeal of political realism can be traced back to disillusionment caused by the collapse of the world order built on Wilsonian idealism which thrived

between 1919-1939), at the end of the First World War. The outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 confirmed, for the realists at least, the inadequacies of the interwar idealists' approach to studying international politics, thus resulting in the emergence of The Great Debate that took place in the late 1930s and early 1940s between the inter-war idealists and a new generation of realist writers, which include E.H. Carr, Hans J. Morgenthau, Reinhold Niebuhr, Frederick Schuman, George Kenan, and others, who all emphasized the ubiquity of power and the competitive nature of politics among nations.

Elements of Realism:

The classical ancestry of the Realist paradigm maybe traced to the writings of Kautilya in ancient India, and to the works of Thucydides, Machiavelli, Hobbes and Clausewitz in the West. On a theoretical basis, classical realism derives elements from 'just war' (St. Thomas Aquinas), 'necessary War' (Machiavelli), as well as Clausewitz's thought. Their influence in classical realists is profound with regard to the submission of the military to the political sphere, the unquestioning acceptance of the unitary, all- powerful state, and foundational belief in practical reasoning.⁹ The theory of Realism that became dominant after the Second World War can be identified with the three core elements- statism, survival and self- help. These 'three Ss' constitute the cornerstone of the realist triangle.

Statism is the centre piece of Realism. This involves two claims. First for the theorists, the state is the pre- eminent actor and all other actors in world politics are of lesser significance. Second, state 'sovereignty' signifies the existence of an independent political community, one which has juridical autonomy over its territory. However Statism is flawed both on empirical (challenges to state power from 'above' and 'below') and normative grounds i.e., the inability of sovereign states to respond to collective global problems such as famine, environmental degradation, and human rights abuses.

Survival: In order to preserve the security of the state, leaders must adopt an ethical code which judges action according to the outcome rather in terms of judgement

about whether the individual act is right or wrong. However the key criticism of this element of security is that there are no limits to what action a state can take in the name of security.

Self- Help: In International Politics, coexistence is achieved through the maintenance of the balance of power, and limited cooperation is possible in interactions where the realist state stands to gain more than other states. But self- help is not an inevitable consequence of the absence of a world government; self- help is the logic the states have selected.¹⁰

In realist thoughts humans are characterised as being preoccupied with their own well-being in their competitive relations with each other. This pessimistic view of human nature is strongly evident in the IR theory of Hans Morgenthau (1965; 1985), who was probably the leading realist thinker of the twentieth century. He sees men and women as having a 'will to power'. Thucydides, Machiavelli, Hobbes and indeed all classical realists, share that view to a much greater or lesser extent.

Classical Realism:

Classical Realists have lived in different periods, from ancient Greece right down to the present time. Classical Realism can be traced back to the times of *Thucydides*, who regarded International Relations as the inevitable competitions and conflicts between ancient Greek City States (between Hellas and non- Greek empires, such as Macedonia and Persia). In his famous study of the *Peloponnesian War (431-404 B.C.)* Thucydides put his realist philosophy into the mouths of the leaders of Athens- a great power- in their dialogue with the leaders of Melos – A minor power during a moment of conflict between the two city- states in 416 BC. According to Thucydides, political animals were highly unequal in their capabilities to dominate others and to defend themselves. All states large and small must adapt to that given reality of unequal power and conduct themselves accordingly in order to survive and perhaps even prosper. If states fail to do that, they will place themselves in jeopardy and may even be destroyed.¹¹

According to the political teachings of *Machiavelli*, the supreme political value is National freedom, i.e., independence. The main responsibility of rulers is always to seek to defend the interests of their states and thus ensure its survival. The ruler, according to Machiavelli must be as strong as a Lion and as cunning as a Fox.¹² The statesmen and stateswomen must therefore be both Lions and Foxes is at the heart of Machiavelli's realist theory. But in an attempt to Above all, according to Machiavelli, if a ruler does not know or respect the maxims of power politics, his or her statecraft will fail and with it the security and welfare of the citizens who depend absolutely upon it. Thus, in an attempt to overemphasise on the survival of the state Machiavelli has overlooked the responsibilities of rulers not merely to themselves or to their personal regimes but also to their country and to their citizens. Therefore, Machiavellian Realist writings can be regarded as a portrayal of a manual on how to thrive in a completely chaotic and immoral world.¹³

Thomas Hobbes' political thought stands out for his concept of the 'state of nature', which according to him, is the pre-civil condition, in which men and women dwelt, prior to the invention and institution of the sovereign state. Hobbes believes that there is an escape route from the state of nature into a civilized human condition, through the creation and the maintenance of a sovereign state. But the very act of creating a sovereign state to escape from the state of nature simultaneously poses a serious political problem i.e., creation of another state of nature between states which results in what is usually referred to as 'the security dilemma' in world politics: The achievement of personal security and domestic security through the creation of a state is necessarily accompanied by the condition of national and international insecurity that is rooted in the anarchy of the state system. There is no escape from the international security dilemma between states as there is no possibility of forming a global state or world government, as the sovereign states will not agree to give up their independence for the sake of any global security guarantee. But this international state of nature between states is not as threatening and dangerous as the original state of nature. There can be no permanent or guaranteed peace between sovereign states. War is necessary as a last resort, for resolving disputes between states that cannot agree and will not acquiesce.

According to Hobbes, International Law can moderate the international state of nature by providing a framework of agreements and rules that are of advantage to all states. The classical realism of Hobbes thus lays emphasis on military power and international law. But international law, which is created by the states, will only be observed if it is in the security interests of the states to do so, or else it will be ignored. For Hobbes, as well as for Machiavelli and Thucydides, security and survival are values of fundamental importance. But the core value of Hobbesian realism is domestic peace- peace within the framework of the sovereign state- and the opportunity that only civil peace can provide for men and women to enjoy felicity.¹⁴

Morgenthau's Neoclassical Realism:

Hans J. Morgenthau's *Politics Among Nations* (1948) comes closer to being a Realist text book. It was written in the aftermath of the Second World War as the United States was emerging as a major world economic and strategic power. Morgenthau took up Carr's challenge to create a 'science of international politics' by applying the Positivist methodology of the 'hard' or natural sciences to the study of international relations. The intellectual rigour of this approach would reveal the underlying reality of world politics, from which certainties and predictions could be deduced. Not surprisingly, Morgenthau's writings are scattered with references to laws and principles, objectivity and science.

Theories, according to him, must be factual, independent and retrospective. Morgenthau clearly believes that there is a 'knowable reality' or 'rational essence' of foreign policy which theories can reveal.¹⁵ This is the methodological approach of positivism and its application to the study to international politics was designed to provide the field with greater coherence, rigour and intellectual respect.

Morgenthau's account of world politics is underpinned by the contrast he draws between two schools of modern political thought and their conceptions of the nature of humanity, society and politics. The first, which closely resembles liberal

utopianism, 'believes that a rational and a moral political order, derived from universally valid abstract principles' can be achieved by constant political action. By contrast the second school, with which Morgenthau identifies and that he calls realism, believes the world's imperfections are the result of forces inherent in human nature and in order to improve the world one must work with those forces and not against them in a world where conflicts of interest are endemic, moral principles can never be fully realized, only approximated through a temporary balancing of interests. Principles of universal relevance can be deduced from historical experience rather than abstract moral and ethical codes. From this contrast between utopian and realist conception of the nature of politics, Morgenthau lists *the six principles* of political realism which has been summarized below:

Political realism believes that politics, like society in general, is governed by objective laws that have their roots in human nature, which is basically self-centered, self-regarding and self-interested.

The main signpost that helps political realism to find its way through the landscape of international politics is the concept of interest defined in terms of power.

Realism assumes that self-interest is the basic fact of the human condition Political realism is aware of the moral significance of political action. It is also aware of the ineluctable tension between the moral commands and the requirements of the successful political action.

Political realism refuses to identify the moral aspirations of a particular nation and the moral laws that govern the universe.

Intellectually, the political realists maintain the autonomy of the political sphere, as the economists, lawyers, and the moralist maintains theirs.¹⁶

The liberalist Claims:

The second traditional approach, popularly known as the classical liberalism, emerged during the breaking down of bipolarity economic challenges after the oil shock. This

paradigm was influenced by the works of Grotius, Kant etc. It marked a digression from the Neo realists' belief in the fatality of conflict and stressed on the role of institutions, political relationships, and economic interdependence as a means to strengthen peace and cooperation among nations, as the Liberalists consider it possible to reduce the natural aggressiveness of states through the establishment of common values, harmonization of norms, and the creation of networks and multilateral institutions. Since the 1970s, the liberalists have taken interdependence and globalization into account and have built a radically new paradigm known as institutional liberalism. Thus, this paradigm takes into consideration the role of groups, NGOs, international organizations, and transnational movements apart from the state, as they believe that security does not comprise only of military and material capacities but also institutional, economics and political factors.

Schelling on Strategic Realism:

Since the 1950s and 1960s new realist approaches have emerged which are a product of the behaviouralist revolution and the quest for a positivist social science of IR, as a result of which many contemporary realists seek to provide an empirical analysis of world politics.

Schelling views diplomacy and foreign policy especially that of the great powers and particularly the United States, as a rational instrumental activity that can be more deeply understood by the application of a form of logical analysis called 'game theory'. His analysis concerns how states people can deal rationally with the threat and dangers of nuclear war and states about the importance of nuclear deterrence. Therefore, he concluded that one of the crucial instruments of foreign policy for a great power, is that of armed force and one of the characteristic concerns of strategic realism is the use of armed force in foreign policy.

There obviously are striking similarities between the realism of Machiavelli and that of Schelling. However, unlike Machiavelli the Strategic Realism of Schelling usually does not probe the ethics of foreign policy; it merely presupposes basic foreign policy goals without comment.¹⁷

Structural Realism:

Structural realists concur that international politics is essentially a struggle for power but they do not endorse the classical realist assumption that this is a result of human nature. Structural realists are interested in providing a rank-ordering of states so as to be able to differentiate and count the number of Great Powers that exists at any particular point in time, which in turn, determines the structure of the international system. This form of realism is most commonly associated with *Kenneth Waltz's Theory of International Politics*, which is often termed as *Defensive Realism*. Waltz defined the structure of the international system in terms of three elements- organizing principles, differentiation of units and distribution of capabilities. He argues that the units of international system are functionally similar sovereign states. He also adds that in crucial situations, the ultimate concern of states is not for power but for security. This, states are not power maximizers but are security maximisers.¹⁸

John Mearsheimer's Theory of Offensive Realism: Another structural realist theory, Mearsheimer builds on Waltz's argument concerning the stability of the bipolar systems as compared to the multi polar systems. And tried to elucidate on the possible outcome of the replacement of the bipolar world order by a multipolar one. According to Mersheimer, the structure of the international system compels states to maximize their relative power position. While sharing many of the same basic assumptions with Waltz's Defensive Realism, Mersheimer differs from Waltz when it comes to describing the behaviour of the states. "Most fundamentally, offensive realism parts company with defensive realism over the question of how much power states want."¹⁹

Contemporary realist challenges to Structural Realism:

Since the end of the Cold War a group of scholars have attempted to move beyond the parsimonious assumptions of structural realism and incorporated a number of additional factors located at the individual and the domestic level into their explanation of international politics. In attempting to build a bridge between structural and unit level factors, this group of scholars have been characterized by Gideon Rose (1998), as *Neoclassical Realists*. While Structural Realists assume that all states have

a similar set of interests, Neoclassical Realists such as Randall *Schweller* argue that with respect to Waltz, the assumption that all states have an interest in security results in neo-realism exhibiting a profoundly status quo basis.²⁰ Thus, Schweller returns to the writings of realists such as Carr, Morgenthau and Kissinger to remind us of the key distinction that they made between status quo and revisionist states.

The structural determinism of Neo-Realism:

The emergence of Neo- Realism sought an advance from realist perspective by adding the ‘scientific’ element into its theory, in addition to rational choice. It maintained continuity with realism in the importance it gave to the state, military power and the polarity of the international system. There are however other differences within the overall continuity between the two. Apart from this, the neo- realist theorists such as Gilpin and Waltz pointed out the underlying difference lies in its approach to Security Dilemma in the international anarchical system. For Waltz, security would be ensured through nuclear deterrence and nuclear power balancing. This Balance of Power could be produced through bipolarity which would assure a considerable measure of security, and not any transnational movement or subsequent redistribution of power. Moreover with regard to the international order, the Neo Realists like the classical realists and the structuralists believed that the fundamental feature of the international system is anarchy and lack of control; therefore, it is a system of self help through military buildup or alliances, but, Waltz felt that it is not the character of the state, but its relative position in a structure that determines outcomes and proclivity to war.²¹

The Security Dilemma is that war is a constant possibility. Moreover, for the Neo Realists’ security exclusively means, ‘order and international boundary maintenance, to be achieved by the preservation of a hierarchical international system in which the great powers act as the world’s policemen’ the neo- realist school also emphasizes on economic interests. However, it does not act as a priori. States make threats in sectors where they have the best options, and when reacting to threats, they choose their means on the basis of comparative advantage. Lastly, in classical realism, balance of power occurs because of conscious effort of states; for the neo realist it occurs despite and outside the effort of states: The neo- realist framework emphasizes the primacy of

the state in addition to ‘new security thinking’ by writers like Barry Buzan. Neo realism has been criticized for its ‘insistence on the sameness effect and on the unchanging, structurally determined nature of international politics.’²²

Background to the Emergence of the ‘New Security Thinking’:

The ideology of the Cold War corresponded with realism, but the very fact that international security was equated with the strategic relationship between the great powers was criticized even during the Cold War period. Hedley Bull pointed to the ethno- centrism in security thinking as the focus in the national security studies on the US – Soviet relationship meant that their security became equated with the security of the international system as a whole. With this emphasis on political/ military issues, the work of scholars who raised issues about the economic relations between states was consigned to the realm of ‘low politics’.²³

Although bipolarity began to break before the end of the Cold War and economic issues moved onto the security agenda after the oil shocks of the 1970s, a full fledged debate about the meaning of security did not begin until the early 1980s.

There were various other factors that formed the backckground of the New Security Thinking.

First, the fears of the possibility of an impending nuclear war loomed large with the renewal of the Cold war, which raised the question regarding the compatibility of the escalation of the Arms Race with the enhancement of security.

Secondly, by 1980s, the nuclear weapons deployed under the excuse of providing national security, resulted in security among many: national security thinking reached its height when the Strategic Defense Initiative under the Regan administration made it clear, that the state could no longer assure the security of its citizens within its own boundaries. The critics of the realist strategic thinking felt that the military security of the state, in turn, resulted in the insecurity of its individuals as they were held hostage to nuclear deterrence. Thus as the conflict between the great powers de- escalated rapidly at the end of the 1980s, space opened up for broadening the security agenda to include issues that Carr so prophetically raised in 1945.²⁴

Thirdly, due to the above developments a multiplicity of theoretical challenges to the realist paradigm assures that new definitions of security and prescriptions for its achievement will be more contested than the old. This emerging dialogue on security issues has led to some fundamental rethinking, not only of the fundamental foundations upon which the traditional understanding of security was constructed but also of the epistemological foundations of the field more generally.

The definition of security is being widened in the contemporary re-analysis of security to include the economic and the ecological dimensions, unlike the Cold War period, when the focus was on the military dimensions of the security of the great powers. The precarious position prevailing in the South and the recent and the changed security perspectives of the Northern states have enabled them to see their own security in terms of economic vulnerabilities. This situation has led to the emergence of debates about a new international order, centering on a variety of issues, ranging from the trade-offs between economic, military and ecological security to the likelihood of the instability in the world economy associated with US hegemonic decline.²⁵ The re-analysis of security is thus, taking place at the same time when the 'third debate' in international relations is questioning the theoretical foundations of the field more generally. These critical perspectives are claiming that an understanding of security, more appropriate for the contemporary world requires a fundamental re-thinking of the framing assumptions of the realist analysis. On the contrary, the critics of realism claim that state-centric analysis, focusing exclusively on the political or military dimensions of security, is no longer adequate, in a highly world vulnerable to multiple security threats. These security threats are non-military in nature and have emanated more from internal than external sources. These security threats have at times made the notion of territorial security irrelevant, the role of the state inadequate and the roles of the domestic non state actors and international community desirable and even essential.

In this new environment the state centric, military-oriented definitions of security seems to be too restrictive and fails to address the issues regarding non-state actors, and security against non-military threats. Therefore the post Cold War era has

witnessed a reformulation and reorientation of the concept of security all over the world with the objective of making the meaning and the content of security more inclusive.

Among the Inclusive Approach there are scholars who conceptualize security in a vertically extended sense and those who are in favour of extending it horizontally. The Deepeners, for example, Kaufman Walter and Snyder, Rothstein etc. who want to vertically expand the level of analysis, by willing to consider the security of individuals and communities/ groups as well as of the state. The Wideners, like Ullman and Barry Buzan accept the idea of the horizontal expansion by recognizing the political, economic, social and environmental issues.

On the other hand Ken Booth and Simon Dalby argue that the referent should be people instead. For Barry Buzan, the referent is human collectivities, and the specific referent varies with the level of analysis. At the international level he posits the state and society as the referents of security.

According to Buzan, “[Security is] primarily about the fate of human collectivities... about the pursuit of freedom from threat. [The] bottom line is about survival, but it also includes a substantial range of concerns about the conditions of existence... Security... is affected by factors in five major sectors: military, political, economic, societal, and environmental.”⁸

‘The New Security Thinking’ of Barry Buzan:

Barry Buzan defined security as existential threat to a designated referent object which justifies measures to handle the use of force, and/ or provokes a situation where rules can be broken. In his seminal work, *People, States and Fear*, Buzan argued that the ‘straitjacket’ militaristic approach to security that dominated the discourse during the Cold War was ‘simple-minded’ and led to the underdevelopment of the concept. He subsequently broadened it to include political, economic, social and environmental threats, in addition to those that are militaristic. Although Buzan examines security from the three perspectives of the international system, the state and the individual, he concludes that the most important and effective provider of security should remain the

sovereign state. Buzan also explains that the strength of a state is determined by the socio-political cohesion, while the strength of its powers refers to the traditional distinction among states in respect to their comparative military and economic capabilities. Buzan acknowledges that almost all weak states are found in the South or developing world, where they find themselves trapped by historical patterns of economic development and political resources necessary to build a stronger state.²⁶

Richard Falk on the other hand, argued, that while the new threats of security which defy boundaries cannot be solved by one states alone, the uneven development fostered by a hierarchical international system of states and a global capitalist economy has contributed to an intolerable situation. The security of the rich seems to be increasingly diminishing the security of the poor.²⁷ Accepting Falk's argument, it is clear that Buzan assumes that an integrated world economy would offer mutual gains for weak and strong states and powers alike. Robert Gilpin argued that the placement of a state in the international division of labour, defined by the modern World Systems Theory as lying between the core, semi-periphery or periphery, determines whether the state is 'hard' or 'soft'.²⁸

In spite of the criticisms it can be said that Buzan has moved beyond the traditional realist fixation on security associated with military power.

The Constructivist Approach:

In the 1990s, a group of theoreticians led by *Alexander Wendt* contested the traditional realist and liberalist theories in an effort to free themselves from the usual focus on the state as one security actor. In the new approach, individuals, groups, NGOs, and the emerging transnational civil society actors became the centre of focus. Realism and liberalism were criticized for their over-emphasis on material, objective and rational factors, and for failing to take into account subjective, psychological, and 'human' elements.²⁹

The Constructivist Approach is defined by four key points:

Wendt opposed both realists and liberalists arguing that the international system is not the reflection of power relationships and desires to dominate but of concepts and images. Thus security is only a question of what he calls ‘inter subjective’ perceptions. Nicholas Onuf contests the historical, mono- variable realist view of security and points out that there is no single truth, for truths are linked to the arguments with which they are justified. ³⁰

As a consequence, anarchy and security dilemma can be *deconstructed*. Constructivists consider that tensions between states flow from values, aspirations, and perceptions that change from time to time. Such shifts do not stem from material conditions as realists think but from self and subjective representation.

Constructivists like Adler point out that not only are the security dilemmas socially constructed but also the whole structure of the international system.: anarchy, competition ., search for power, constant tensions are not objective realities,. They are ‘inter- subjective constructs’ integrated by states since the Westphalia Treaties in 1648. Wendt thus says that ‘Anarchy is what states make of it.’ ³¹

Finally, the determinants of security, according to the constructivists, are not material conditions (military for the realists and economic or financial for the liberalists) but ideas and norms. States’ interests are not exogenously given. They are constantly evolving and, therefore they make it possible to change security and to challenge the determinism of realism in changing representations. For constructivists, the end of the Cold War was due to a cognitive reformulation of the external environment by key elite decision makers.

These are the basic concepts shared by all writers who conduct extremely diverse researches under the ‘constructivist’ determination. *Katzenstein (1996)* studies the impact of cultural identity on security policies and on the construction of perceptions and values, stressing that power and culture should not be separated as distinct phenomena or causes. ³² Finally, Finnemore (1996) reconciles liberalism and

constructivism in studying how norms can be socially 'reconstructed' and how international organizations reshape state behaviours.³³ As a response to the failure of traditional realism, the constructivist paradigm focuses on endogenous factors determining security policies. Although it may not provide a coherent theory of security and often interprets case studies which cannot always be generalized, it does propose a clear theory of agency that orients actors' behaviour and dictates strategies and choices.

The Critical Theory Approach:

The critical theory, inspired by the philosophical underpinnings of the Frankfurt School and the Antonio Gramsci, seeks to provide an alternative to the realist paradigm of security and structure. It stands for social transformation in a world which, in its view, supports a powerful few and reinforces status quo.³⁴ Critical theorists maintain that the realist security framework preserves the existing system managed by powerful countries at the international level. They argue that the realist preoccupation with the security of the state overlooks the insecurity of individuals, groups and communities. Critical Theory explores the connection between the dominant ideas and its impact on the practice of power. It examines the relationship between the wealth, knowledge, and the perception of reality. It sees the present in terms of the past; the present is an outcome of continuous historical process. Critical Theory further challenges the existing system and favours a fundamental change in the institutions and power structure.

Radical Theory of Security:

The radical theorists, contest realist epistemology from a Left position. Their strength lies in their critiques of realists and their focus on the world systems. They object to the realist premise that the objective of international relations among states, because states hold ultimate political and military power based on sovereignty. This definition is deliberately restricting, since it excludes other actors, communities and systems and presents the international system and the state as unalterable entities. In reality, alternative theories exist and international laws can be changed.

Vanaik argues that 'By its basic premise, political realism is incapable of theorizing of the relationship between intra- and trans- state actors, actions processes and inter-state behaviour and occurrences. Realism then, is 'obsessed with stability' and how to manage this. Its treatment of the source of state power / interest is necessarily crude and unproblematic since order is established in the international system through 'balance of power'. So fewer the big actors, the more manageable the balance of power, whereas the nature of international system i.e., capitalism or the global expansion of capital and its implications are ignored. Radicals argue that realists see power as the aggregate of territorial size, population, valued natural resources, political cohesion, national morale, economic strength and productivity, and above all military strength. The key aim of state power is enhancement of security of one's state. Military security is geared not for a nation's own needs but to intentions or perceptions of security of other nations. This is what leads to the arms race. The radical writers focus on policies of imperialism and see globalization as a negative phenomenon.³⁵ Human security accepts the people- centred premise of the radical approach, however it focuses on development rather than developing a critique of imperialism as the dominant factor of international relations.

Further, radical theory uses class rather than the individual as the basic unit of analysis.

Postmodernists' views on Security:

Postmodernists factor in the dramatic changes of the contemporary period into their world view, so international relations too should be based on an understanding of new structures. The most influential amongst the many postmodernists are Lyotard, Foucault, and Derrida, who reject modernity and do not accept normative positions that they believe are grounded in privileged ethical assumptions.³⁶ They argue against meta narratives and grand theories of knowledge on the ground theories of knowledge on the grounds that there is no single truth, ideology, or text. For the Postmodernists, security is part of the linear narrative characteristic of the modern capitalistic values. Modernity is linked to war and its brutality and those who reject it, postmodernists argue, are seen as obstacles to development. This paradigm essentially attempt to

dislodge the state as the primary referent of security, and place emphasis on the interdependency and trans-nationalization of non-state actors such as individuals, ethnic and cultural groups, regional economic blocs, multinational corporations (MNCs) and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and just about all humankind. In expanding the concept of security horizontally and vertically, Booth argues that human security is ultimately more important than state security. Put differently, the Postmodernist conceptualization of security does not equate state security with human security.

Critique of the Postmodernist Approach:

The problem with the Postmodernist Approach is that regards as proven the assumptions made by the pluralist theoretical framework of international relations. It accordingly asserts that national sovereignty is unraveling, and that states are proving less and less capable of performing their traditional tasks. Regional integration or cooperation, on the other hand, as a crucial trend within the international system, aims not only to address the political and economic interests of the member states, but also the security needs of their people and threats to human security that compel a review of the traditional conceptualization of state sovereignty are especially noticeable at the regional level. Therefore regional mechanisms that are created to address such threats are ultimately the building blocks for greater regional, national and individual security. Secondly, the Post Modernists' claim that that the power of the Non State actors such as MNCs , crime syndicates and NGOs operate beyond the control of the state and should be generally applicable to all states and should be construed as meaning and end to state sovereignty has been criticized. Thirdly, the overemphasis on the power of non- state actors such as MNCs have also been contested on two grounds: First, The Post Mordernists feel that MNCs have no attachment and operate beyond the control of any state, including their home country, which have been criticized on the ground that MNCs will retain its home country identity because of its need to be protected from outside interference. Secondly, the assumptions that MNCs increasingly operate beyond the control of national governments and the state also ignores the process of liberalization in the world economy. The addition of new rules such as the Multilateral Agreement on Investment will grant MNCs access to

any economic sector of the host country, ensure the removal of any discriminatory legislation against foreign firms, and guarantee full profit repatriation by the MNCs. The power and mobility of MNCs are not only derived from advances in technology 'makes globalization feasible, but it is liberalization that makes it happen'. As a result, the MNCs of the advanced industrialized countries are able to operate beyond the control of soft, dependent and weak peripheral states, precisely because of the rules advanced by the former to guarantee uninhibited access to the latter's economies.³⁷

The Feminist Contribution to the concept of Security:

Feminists form a variety of theoretical and disciplinary perspectives, ranging from liberal, radical, socialists and essential feminists. All the theories share a common concern for women's equality and see patriarchy as an overriding part of the social system that permeates every other institution. Their critique of the traditional approaches of realism has contributed to alternate security paradigms. The contemporary critics of realism challenge the realist doctrines of the state where the central figure and the main actor is the 'sovereign man' or the 'hero warrior' who is the symbol of power. In this system 'sovereign man' can make a rational choice to legitimize violence while women are controlled either through direct physical violence or indirectly by conceptions and ideology that endorse military and national security functions of the state as 'masculine' issues and women have been seldom recognized by the security literature. Feminists believe that the realists and the neo-realists emphasis on anarchy is really a subterfuge that keeps women from discerning the recurrent patterns of patriarchy and denies the interconnection of things and prevents visualizing reality in all its complexity. Feminists like Tickner believe that national security has an almost exclusively a male domain.³⁸

Women have favoured defining security in multidimensional terms, which include freedom from both physical and structural violence. Extending the definition of security to economic and environmental dimensions also highlights women's vulnerabilities. A 1981 report to the UN Committee on the Status of Women claims that while women represent half the global population and one-third of the paid labour force and are also responsible for two-thirds of all working hours, they receive

only a tenth of world income and own less than one per cent of the world property.³⁹ Such data reveal that women are at greater economic risk in all societies.

Feminist perspectives are also raising new questions about political identities and political boundaries that certain critics of realism claim are barriers to a comprehensive, non-exclusionary definition of security. As David Campbell notes, the discourse that is used to secure the identity of those on the inside, through the association of danger with those on the outside, is frequently framed in gendered terms. Excluded from military combat in almost all societies, women have been perceived as second class citizens or victims who lack agency in matters of their own protection. By analyzing this protector/protected relationship and by seeing how these political identities are constructed in terms of gender inequalities, we can understand how they, and other social relations of domination and subordination, can be obstacles to a comprehensive definition of security.⁴⁰

Feminist perspectives can also contribute to the reconsideration of boundaries that have locked traditional security analysis into its statist framework by emphasizing the interrelationship of physical violence, which like international conflicts; feminist perspectives question the identification of security with state boundaries. Feminists believe, therefore, that the evidence of the woman's insecurities demonstrates that the activities of the state and the global market are not neutral with regard to security provisions for all individuals. However, looking at security from these feminist perspectives is not intended only to address women's insecurities; rather, its goal is to point out how unequal social relations can make all individuals more insecure.

Understanding the shared experiences of women worldwide hail to overcome divisions between citizens and people and insiders and outsiders that some critics of realism have identified as detrimental to the achievement of comprehensive security. Many feminists claim that true security cannot be achieved until the divisive boundary distinctions are recognized and until all individuals participate in providing for their own security.⁴¹

Paradigms compared:

To sum up, for the realists the key words are ‘state’, ‘sovereignty’, ‘power’, ‘national interest’, ‘national security’, and ‘self- help’. They assume that human beings are innately bad, an assumption which is transferred at the state level and for which the resort to force is a natural way to increase power and to ensure survival. The liberals stress on norms, institutions, and moral issues promoted by international organizations and by non- state actors in a multi- centric system. They believe that anarchical conditions can be mitigated through the expansion of liberal democracies, the growth of liberal trade trade etc. Finally, Constructivism argues that the state interests stem from identities and international norms, rather than from the effects of international anarchy. ⁴²

However, if attention shifts from theory to practice, one sees the growing role of peace keeping operations, civil society involvement, human rights considerations, and the role of the media etc. One single paradigm is not capable of explaining the security behaviour of relevant actors; rather each of the paradigms has something potentially worthwhile to say regarding security. Currently security in practice seems to evolve towards the critical paradigm expanding the notion of security to individuals, to social, economic and environmental threats to human life and dignity. The following table (table 2, in the next page) provides a complete comparison of the different international relations theories against human security variables.

TABLE 2: Comparison of the various International Relations Theories of Security against Human Security Variables:

Questions/ Focus	Human Security	Realist Approach	Liberal Approach	Constructivist Approach	Feminist Approach
State of the International System?	Insecurity from inequity, injustice, poverty, health and environmental hazards	Anarchy, competition, and self- help system, Balance of Power	Anarchy, competition but some space for regulation through multilateralism	Anarchy as an 'inter- subjective' construct that can be deconstructed. The international system is based on communal interaction.	A system based on the exclusion of women and masculinity.
Central referents of security?	Individual and communities	The state and its expressed national interest	States and Inter national institutions, NGOs and civil society as well as transnational groups.	Individuals, groups, NGOs, the civil society.	Women and Feminist values.
Determinants of security?	Economic, health, food environmental, personal, community and political security	State and national security and military security.	State and market security; and security for institutions.	Security of cultural identities ideas and norms.	Security and empowerment of women and subaltern classes.
Aims/ interests of the state?	To empower and protect its citizens.	To ensure stability and maximum power, state's interests determined by material conditions	To reach military, economic and political interdependence. States' interests are based on values and institutions.	To change the aspirations and the perceptions of the population States' interests are determined by identity and culture.	To create gender-equity and a justice based peace loving state. Feminist interests representing civil society to replace elitist patriarchal state interests

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Security through which means?	Prevention, protection, provision of human security, empowerment of people.	Protection of the state, a zero- sum game.	Cooperation; institutionalization and interdependence.	Peaceful norms and perceptions, reconstructed security through international organizations.	Security through gender rights, equity and empowerment.
Role of actors in security?	People and civil society should be empowered and responsible for human security.	State executives, military commanders selected experts oversee national security.	Actors that emerge from and use democratic processes to build trust.	Multiple actors who work on the basis of trust.	Women to be empowered as equal citizens and actors.
Notion and role of power?	Power as collective principle and people's power.	State has ultimate power based on legitimate force and military strength. Between states there is a balance of power.	Power sharing based on values and ideals.	Power is based on 'inter subjective' perceptions	Power needs to be feminized and negotiated.

Source: Shahrbanou Tadjbakhsh and Anuradha M. Chenoy, *Human Security: Concepts and Implications*, By, Routledge, New York and London, p. 44.

Non Conventional Security Threats:

The post Cold War Security discourses seems to be taking place at two levels depending on the views in favour of or against widening and deepening concepts of security or for / against shifting the focus away from state centric conceptions: i. at the level of traditional versus non- traditional security and ii. Within the trend of non-traditional security itself.

Within the inclusive approach, there are those who conceptualize security in a vertically extended sense. These thinkers known as the “deepeners” are willing to vertically expand the level of analysis, by considering the security of the individuals as well as groups and communities along with that of the state. Political thinkers like

Rothstein, Kaufmann, Walter and Snyder, Valentino etc. belong to this group of new security thinking.⁴³

The “wideners” like Gleditsch, Barry Buzan, Dalby on the other hand, accept the idea of horizontal expansion by recognizing political, economic, social and environmental issues. However, there are some realists who tend to persist in their conventional views. These realists, who are also hardcore traditionalists, resisted the horizontal or vertical expansion of the concept of national security.⁴⁴ They keep their focus strictly on military threats to the security of states on grounds that inclusion of too many issues would lead to the overcrowding of the concept and thus would render it incoherent and without any analytical or policy relevance. They further stress that military power still has its uses. The inclusivists respond to this critique by disaggregating security into several sectors, for instance, military, political, economic, societal, and environmental ones, and setting rigorous criteria of securitization.⁴⁵

Analysing the concept of ‘new security thinking’, it can be said that the security concept in the 1990s has graduated to incorporate a four- fold extension:

It is extended horizontally...from military to political, economic, social, environmental and ‘human security’.

It is diffused in all directions, from national states including upwards to international institutions, downwards to regional or local governments, and sideways to non-governmental organizations to public opinion and the press, and to the abstract forces of nature or of the market.⁴⁶

Within the non- traditional security paradigm, there are those who hold the view that states are only history specific political formations. As such, they tend to offer a counter- nation- state discourse that discards the metaphysics of domination and control. Ken Booth, for example, has equated security with ‘emancipation’ in an attempt to give a radical definition of the same. He argues that “emancipation is the freeing of people (as the individuals and groups) from the physical and human constraints which stop them from carrying out what they would freely choose to do...

Emancipation, not power or order, produce true security...” He further argued that, “Human security is ultimately more important than state security. It thereby helps to dislodge the state as the primary referent: as a result, states become the means and not the ends of security.”⁴⁷ Thus rethinking security along these lines entail transforming the state itself. Imtiaz Ahmed, for example, suggests that the very nation- state has to be reconstructed in order to provide security to all.⁴⁸ Dalby’s opinion can be referred to in this context, where he states that, “alternative conceptions of security must focus on reforming the state system...” He further contends that, “separating security from state security opens up space for constructive interactions between people across boundaries, eroding the possibilities of constructing security in terms of exclusionist identity.”⁴⁹

In view of the above expositions, Human Security means security of the human individual or simply people’s security. In the long line of neologisms in the sub field of non- traditional security, human security is among the latest. The discourse on human security has come to the fore- front due to certain factors which have been summarized below:

The first factor can be attributed to the emergence of newer types of threats that affect ordinary people and the non- combatants a lot more than they do to the state. As a result the surging concerns for human beings have become a definite value in the current security discourse. As a result, the Critical Theorists and the Peace Researchers since the 1970s started highlighting the need for addressing people’s needs and concerns.

Secondly, in the post - Cold War era of wars and conflicts, the state itself is being seen as the violator of the safety and welfare of its own citizens.

Third, sometimes a state alone is not capable of confronting some newer threats faced by its own people.

Fourth, there is a dire need for rearticulating the responsibilities of the state vis- a- vis its own citizens.

Fifth, there is also the need for refocusing the post Cold- War security debate on ordinary people's needs and concerns.

Though increasingly used in political studies and practice, the concept is still short of a commonly accepted or authoritative definition in political science. While the sphere of traditional security concerns is quite precise and ardently guarded, no accord exists as to what non-traditional security is and what it includes and what remains excluded. However, according to Mely Caballero-Anthony Non-traditional security threats may be defined as “challenges to the survival and well-being of peoples and states that arise primarily out of nonmilitary sources, such as climate change, cross-border environmental degradation and resource depletion, infectious diseases, natural disasters, irregular migration, food shortages, people smuggling, drug trafficking, and other forms of transnational crime.”

Non-traditional security issues have also been defined as those which are termed in contrast to traditional security threats and refer to the factors other than military, political and diplomatic conflicts but can pose threats to the survival and development of a sovereign state and human kind as a whole. From this particular definitional perspective too, one can observe several characteristics of the non-traditional security threats, in comparison with traditional security threats. These are:

First such issues can affect both government institutions and civilian populations and these can originate from a variety of non-state human and natural causes, where the threats may be upshots of certain acts by individuals or social groups, rather than the actions of states. Hence one may observe that the outbreak of non-traditional issues is more unpredictable, and the enhanced mobility and expanding activities of individuals enable their impacts to spread and proliferate far more quickly in the contemporary world.

- Secondly, the indirect effects of such issues can cause tremendous economic losses to a region or the whole world – as reflected in the SARS (Severe Acute Respiratory

Syndrome) outbreak of 2002-2003 and the Great Economic Recession which started in 2008.⁵⁰

However, the most comprehensive definition of the concept of non-traditional security was provided by Richard H. Ullman in his revolutionary article of 1983. According to him national security should not be perceived in the 'narrow' sense of protecting the state from military attacks from across the territorial borders. Such a perception was, for him, "doubly misleading and therefore doubly dangerous", because it "draws attention away from the non-military threats that promise to undermine the stability of many nations during the years ahead. And it presupposes that threats arising from outside a state are somehow more dangerous to its security than threats that arise within it." Ullman rather preferred to define a threat to national security as, "an action or sequence of events that threatens drastically and over a relatively brief span of time to degrade the quality of life for the inhabitants of a state, or threatens significantly to narrow the range of policy choices available to the government of a state or to private, nongovernmental entities (persons, groups, corporations) within the state." For the purpose of comprehensive analysis, one can identify six broad branches of non-traditional security, namely, International Terrorism, Trans-national Organized Crime, Environmental Security, Illegal Migration, Energy Security, and Human Security.

Human Security:

The concept of Human Security can be related, if not traced back to the growing dissatisfaction with the prevailing notions of security and development in the 1960s, 70s and 80s. In the middle of the 1970s in International Relations, the home of security studies, the Multi National World Order Models Project (WOMP) drew attention to the problem of individual well-being and safety. However, the most important fore-runner to the idea of Human Security were the reports of a series of multi-national independent commissions composed of prominent leaders, intellectuals and academics. In the 1980s two other independent commissions, the first being the International Development Issues chaired by Willy Brandt which, in 1980, issued the

so called “North-South report”. In his introduction to the report, Brandt wrote: “Our Report is based on what appears to be the simplest common interest: that mankind wants to survive, and one might even add has the moral obligation to survive. This not only raises traditional questions of peace and war, but also how to overcome world hunger, mass misery and alarming disparities between the living conditions of rich and poor.”⁵¹ The second commission namely, the Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues (chaired by Olofe Palme), which authored the Common Security Report, which noted that “Common security requires that people live in dignity and peace, and that they have enough to eat and are able to find work and live in a world without poverty and destitution.”⁵²

These attempts were followed by such similar attempts like the Stockholm Initiative on Global Security and Governance in 1991, which issued a call for “Common Responsibility in the 1990’s” which referred to “challenges to security other than political rivalry and armaments” and to a “wider concept of security, which deals also with threats that stem from failures in development, environmental degradation, excessive population growth and movement, and lack of progress towards democracy.”⁵³ Four years later, the Commission on Global Governance’s report, *Our Global Neighborhood*, echoed the Stockholm Initiative’s words on security. Although these commissions’ reports were the precursors to Human Security thinking, it was only in the 1990s an explicit human security perspective was articulated by the United Nations Development Program Report of 1994.

Thus, conceptualization of human security and the nature of the debate on it actually depend on the views of a country, organization, individual, scholars and analysts of the state, society, power, the international system, security referents and the need for ameliorating people’s plight. Let us now discuss the approaches of the UNDP (Human Development Report of the United Nations Development Program me), Canada, Japan, and the Commission on Human Security (CHS).

1. The Concept of Human Security according to the Human Development Report:

Closely associated with the idea from the beginning was the consulting economist, the late Mahbub ul Haq, who had earlier played a key role in the construction of the Human Development Index (HDI) and who was subsequently the moving force behind the more recent Humane Governance Index (HGI).⁵⁴ Haq's approach is outlined in his paper, "New Imperatives of Human Security" (1994). Haq answers the question of "security for whom" quite simply. Human security is not about states and nations, but about individuals and people. Thus, he argues that the world is "entering a new era of human security" in which "the entire concept of security will change – and change dramatically". In this new conception, security will be equated with the "security of individuals, not just security of their nations" or, to put it differently, "security of people, not just security of territory." Elsewhere, more normatively, he writes, "We need to fashion a new concept of human security that is reflected in the lives of our people, not in the weapons of our country." In fashioning this new concept, Haq was not explicit on the issue regarding the values which need to be protected, but stated clearly that individual safety and well being in the broad sense were the prime values. Whereas the traditional conception of security emphasizes territorial integrity and national independence as the primary values that need to be protected, human security pertains above all to the safety and well-being of "all the people everywhere – in their homes, in their jobs, in their streets, in their communities, in their environment".⁵⁵

2. UNDP Concept of Human Security:

Published in the same year as the Haq monograph was the UNDP's *Human Development Report* of 1994 which includes a section on human security. Called "Redefining Security: The Human Dimension" (hereafter "the Report"), it purports to offer a thoroughgoing alternative to traditional security and a necessary supplement to human development. The Report answers the question of "security for whom" by reference to traditional notions of security. Traditional notions of security were concerned with "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. It has been related more to nation-states than to people.”⁵⁶ Thus, the Report insists, as did Haq, that the referent object of human security is individual or people. In support of this contention, the Report cites the founding document of the UN and its original delineation of security as “freedom from fear” as also “freedom from want” and “the equal weight to territories and to people” that that distinction implied. Beyond these generalities, the Report lists seven “components” or, in terms of our schema, seven specific values of human security: economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security, and political security.⁵⁷

The Report’s treatment of security values are found in two parts. It, first of all, makes a number of rather general statements about values which emphasize the safety, well being, and dignity of individual human beings in their daily lives. The Report draws a distinction between human security and its cognate, human development, where it argues that the latter is a “broader concept” and refers to “a process of widening the range of people’s choices,” while the former implies that “people can exercise these choices safely and freely – and that they can be relatively confident that the opportunities they have today are not totally lost tomorrow”. Along with a sense of choice and surety about the future, people should be efficacious and empowered enough to 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.”⁵⁸

Beyond these generalities, the Report lists seven “components” or, in terms of our schema, seven specific values of human security: health security, environmental security, personal security, community security, and political security.

- i. Economic security- an individual’s enjoyment of a basic income, either through gainful employment or from a social safety net.
- ii. Food security, refers to an individual’s access to food via his or her assets, employment, or income

- iii. Health security refers to an individual's freedom from various diseases and debilitating illnesses and his or her access to health care.
- iv. Environmental security refers to the integrity of land, air, and water, which make human habitation possible.
- v. Personal security refers to an individual's freedom from crime and violence, especially women and children who are more vulnerable.
- vi. Community security refers to cultural dignity and to inter-community peace within which an individual lives and grows.

Finally, political security refers to protection against human rights violations.

The Report also appears to distinguish between two sets of threats, i.e., First, localized- threats are those threats which seem to be a particular threat to different societies or regions of the world and seemingly vary by level of economic development and geographical location. Secondly, global- where the threats are global in nature because "threats within countries rapidly spill beyond national frontiers".⁵⁹

3. ***The Views of Various Authors Regarding Human Security:*** As evident from the burgeoning literature on Human Security, individual authors have advanced their own views on Human Security.

Hans Van Ginkel and Edward Newman gives a very inclusive conceptualization of Human Security. According to them, "The concept of human security seeks to define the bases of security as a comprehensive and integrated matrix of needs and rights, from which all individual and social values can flourish and be optimized."⁶⁰ They also view human security as an alternative paradigm which can be understood in the following quotation, "As a conceptual starting point, instead of the instinct of the "national security" paradigm- which seeks security by strengthening military deterrence- human security thinking is an alternative prism through which to view security. The human security model seeks to identify the core elements of human needs upon which intra and inter- societal security are based and upon which

individual and collective aspirations are articulated and realized.” The authors relate this development to circumstances that are new and that appear to have a normative message. They add, ‘ This changing context- some have heralded the post-Westphalian, post- hegemonic, post- industrial and even postmodern world- holds great implications for state power, statecraft, national interest and the normative implications attached to being a member of the international community.’⁶¹

5. Sustainable Human Development conception of Human Security:

This concept of human security stems from the UNDP Human Development Report 1994. It gives emphasis on non- military threats to human security and the threats to human survival that have arisen from wide variety of largely human – induced problems, such as unchecked global population growth, migration, disparities in economic opportunities , especially the widening income gap between the world’s rich and poor), the rise in pandemic diseases (e.g., AIDS), environmental degradation, and new security problems that affect individuals and groups, such as drug trafficking and terrorism. The tools of human development, particularly those that address socio- economic inequalities, have been regarded as the appropriate instruments to deal with the problems, according to Sustainable Development concept of Human Security. However, the problem of this concept lies in the global nature of these threats, which make it impossible to deal with them at the national level, thus various multilateral institutions take up some of the work of states owing to their global nature which makes it impossible to deal with such problems at the national level. Secondly, this approach sees a diminished role for the state, while it reserves a special role for civil society organizations.⁶⁰

Thus it may be reiterated that human security is based on the sanctity of the individual. The concept of human security is based on foundations of both negative and positive values- threats as well as fulfillment of basic needs and aspirations. Personal safety and dignity, group identity and status, economic wellbeing and fundamental rights and freedoms are some of the most important human security values that may be threatened by violent conflicts involving external forces and even the state, by some policy initiatives/ actions of the state itself, by ethnic/ religious

insurgencies, by inter- ethnic or inter- religious violence, and even by natural disasters, Clearly, threats may be violent or non- violent or both. The instruments or mechanisms used to maintain and advance human security values or to meet the threats to those values are mostly non- military and are drawn from domestic and/ or international sources. Military means are sometimes necessary. ⁶¹

6. The Concept of Human Security according to the Government of Canada:

The Canadian led middle powers' approach to human security overlaps with the UNDP approach but over the years has differentiated itself from it. The Government of Canada, more specifically its former Foreign Minister, Lloyd Axworthy, defined human security as, "freedom from pervasive threats to people's rights, their safety, or even their lives." Which is a less ambiguous and a more restrictive concept. The underlying essence of the definition lies in the safety of the people from violent and non- violent threats. ⁶² Canada emphasizes not only on individual security but also to state security and, as means of ensuring security, suggests promotion of political development and global norms and institutions. ⁶³

The 1997 paper cites among others the income gap between rich and poor countries, internal conflict and state failure, transnational crime, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, religious and ethnic discord, environmental degradation, population growth, ethnic conflict and migration, state repression, the widespread use of anti-personnel landmines, child abuse, economic underdevelopment, and a unstable, protectionist international trading system. ⁶⁴ 39 The 1999 paper refers to the dangers posed by civil conflicts, large-scale atrocities, and genocide. Globalization is another factor, which has brought in its wake "violent crime, drug trade, terrorism, disease and environmental deterioration" and internal war fought by "irregular forces" of ethnic and religious groups equipped with small arms. ⁶⁵ The decline of state control and subsequently the growth of warlordism, banditry, organized crime, drug trafficking, and private security forces, all these have increased violence against individuals. In addition, a "broadening range of transnational threats" renders individuals more vulnerable: economic globalization and better communications and

transportation increase pollution, disease vectors, and economic instabilities worldwide.⁶⁶

The Canadian Report suggested peace building, peacekeeping, disarmament (especially the abolition of anti-personnel landmines), safeguarding the rights of children, and economic development through “rules-based trade” were key areas of the human security endeavor for Ottawa.⁶⁷ To move this agenda forward, Canada would have to rely increasingly on “soft” power – “the art of disseminating information in such a way that desirable outcomes are achieved through persuasion rather than coercion.”⁶⁸

Comparison between the UNDP and the Canadian Conception of Security:

For both the UNDP and the Canadian proponents of Human Security the end of the dramatic changes which was brought about with the end of the Cold War brought since 1991, paved the background for their emergence. The fearsome enemies in the form of the major powers, being no longer present, the individual or the Human Security became the central concern of security and the traditional national concerns became secondary. It is here that the Canadian and the UNDP conception of Human Security differ from The Traditional conception whose referent object is the state while individual appears the central area of concern for the Canadian and the UNDP conception of Security. Thus it can be said that in both the UNDP and Canadian view, two overarching values appear central: the safety and well being of the individual in physical terms; and individual freedom. This is aptly expressed in the UNDP’s statement that “Human security is not a concern with weapons - it is a concern with human life [physical safety and well-being] and dignity [freedom].”⁶⁹ Virtually all of the values implicit or explicit in the UNDP report fall under one of these two categories. Thus, as noted earlier, the UNDP lists personal, economic, food, health and environmental security, all of which relate to the overarching values of individual safety and well being. The Report also suggests that the capacity of individuals to make choices, a sense of surety about the future, feelings of personal efficacy and empowerment, and community and political security are important human security

values, which for the most part relate to the freedom/dignity of the individual in social and political life.

Similarly, in the Canadian approach, human security implies “an acceptable quality of life” - which connotes physical safety and well being, minimally – and “a guarantee of fundamental human rights” - which connotes a basic charter of political freedoms. The list of values in the Canadian papers can also be arranged in terms of these two overarching values. Basic needs, sustainable economic development, and social equity, on the one hand, are central to the notion of physical safety and well being. Human rights, fundamental freedoms, rule of law, and good governance, on the other, are all dimensions of political freedom.⁷⁰

Therefore it can be concluded that if sovereignty of the state is at the heart of the traditional national security conception, sovereignty of the individual is at the heart of human security.

A comparative study of both the approaches has been summarized and presented in the table below:

TABLE: 3, Comparison of UNDP & Canadian Schools of Human Security.

	UNDP School	Canadian School
Security for Whom?	Primary and individual	Primarily the individual but the state security is also important
Security of what values	Personal Safety/ well being and individual freedom	Personal safety/ well being and individual freedom.
Security from what threat	Direct and Indirect Violence; Greater emphasis on Indirect Violence.	Direct and Indirect violence; greater stress on direct violence at two levels: National/ Societal and International/ Global
Security by what means	Promoting human development: basic needs plus equity, sustainability, greater democratization and participation at all levels of global society.	Promoting political development: Global norms and institutions plus collective use of force as well as sanction if and when necessary.

Source: Kanti Bajpai, “Human Security: Concept and Measurement”, op. cit. p. 303.

Security Threats:

As we have already seen, according to the UNDP and the Canadian conception on Human Security, not only the list of human security threats cited in the writings in details, but have also attempted a distinction between Direct and Indirect Security Threats. However, to permit a more systematic comparison, it is necessary to distinguish between types of threats. To do this, it will be useful to use Johan Galtung's distinction between structural or indirect violence and direct or personal violence, which will enable us to conceptualize the notion of threats in terms of violence.

According to Galtung, violence is not merely the "intentional use of force... against one or more 'others'...to inflict injury or death." It is not necessarily "goal oriented" and intended to "achieve some particular or general purpose(s)."⁷¹ Rather violence is the difference between the potential and the actual in human life. Thus, Galtung writes "violence is present when human beings are being influenced so that their actual somatic and mental realizations are below their potential realizations."⁷² Galtung also distinguishes between direct violence and structural or indirect violence.

Personal or Direct Violence can be defined as the Violence committed by an actor whereas in Indirect Violence there may not be any person who directly harms another person in the structure. The violence is built into the structure and shows up as unequal power and consequently as unequal life chances. Irrespective of the differences, in both the cases individuals may be killed or mutilated, hit or hurt in both senses of these words, and manipulated by means of stick or carrot strategies.⁷³ Thus, harm or damage can be traced back most usefully in this view to social relations or structures.

In this context the definition of Structures according to Galtung can be referred to as, "the settings within which individuals may do enormous amounts of harm to other

human beings without ever intending to do so...Structural violence was then seen as unintended harm done to human beings...as a process, working slowly in the way misery in general, and hunger in particular, erode and finally kill human beings.”⁷⁴⁵⁹

Most of the threats listed by both the UNDP and Canadian government papers relate to personal safety and well being. Both identify indirect and direct threats. However, Canada, as has been stated before lays greater emphasis on Direct Violence and therefore, lists in addition, various other kinds of direct violence – call it societal violence – that endanger personal safety including the existence of private security forces, banditry, warlordism, internal war, and ethnic violence.

The Canadian writings in particular include organized violence that is more familiar in security thinking - transnational violence and international/global violence. Thus, Canada refers to the violence caused by transnational crime, worldwide narcotics trafficking, and the proliferation of small arms, all of which endanger personal safety and well being. Finally, there is international/global violence which also harms the individual - inter-state war, weapons of mass destruction, and, in the Canadian conception in particular, anti-personnel landmines.⁷⁵

Both the UNDP and the Canadian papers also overlap with regard to personal safety and well being, the lack of food, water, and primary health care entitlements as well as various diseases. The UNDP schema also shows how a particular security threat has different manifestations in the developed and the developing countries, which have been summarized below:

Table 4: The Direct and the Indirect Security Threats as identified by the UNDP Human Security Scheme.

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

Source: International Relations in India: *Bringing Theory Back Home*, Kant Bajpai and Siddharth Mallavarapu, Pg. 307.

First, in the UNDP schema, there is a recognition that the types of disease at issue differ by economic development levels – infectious diseases in the developing world and cancers and cardio-pulmonary ailments in the developed world. At a more expanded, societal level, the extent of poverty (UNDP) and economic underdevelopment (Canada) in developing societies are indirect threats.

Secondly, lack of remunerative and sustained employment, in the developing countries, employment difficulties may tantamount to life and death. In the industrialized countries, it may lead to psychological anxieties and debilities which threaten individual health and happiness.

Thirdly, population growth also poses as a crucial long-term security threat, as it puts pressure on scarce resources particularly in the developing countries. On the contrary, neither the UNDP nor Canada note that slows population growth or even population decline are threats to other societies (parts of Africa, Western and Eastern Europe, and Russia).

Fourthly, natural disasters can kill, injure, and deprive millions. These disasters are often not natural at all but at the same time is not the product of any single agent.

Beyond these societal-level indirect threats, there exist indirect threats at the international/global level. These include global population growth, population movements (migration), global environmental degradation (e.g. ozone depletion, carbon emissions, global warming, rain forest depletion, acid rain, biodiversity), and highly unequal patterns of consumption worldwide.

The issue of unequal consumption which appears as a problem between rich nations and poor nations should be noted here that it is at once a national as well as global problem. There is a global elite that consumes far more than the average global citizen and thereby denies it to others, now or in the future, and puts additional pressures on scarce resources everywhere.

Finally, the UNDP and Canadian writings point to the emergence of a globalized economy as an opportunity but also as the source of indirect threats to personal safety and well being. Both sets of writings agree that a more open global economy is a good thing for poor and rich countries alike – because more trade is good for everyone – but they also argue that protectionism by some nations (rich and poor) and an unwillingness to play by the rules of the game pose dangers to the stability of this globalizing economic system which could have painful effects on individual safety and well-being. Various economic shocks and crises in one part of the world may, in the Canadian view, hurt others and therefore constitute another set of indirect threats.

While both the UNDP and Canadian writings are exhaustive in their treatment of threats to personal safety and well being, their treatment of threats to the other core

value of human security, individual freedom, is rather modest. This probably reflects the fact that many of the direct and indirect threats to personal safety and well being are also threats to basic and civic freedom.⁷⁶

7. The Concept of Human Security According to the Government of Japan:

The idea of Comprehensive National Security was a natural out- growth of Japan's post- war experience with national security issues. The policy was adopted with the motive of a careful examination of the country's security environment in the late 1970s. Thus, in the early 1980s Japan adopted its Comprehensive Security Policy (sogo azen hoshō) with greater emphasis on its economic policy. A 1978 Report by the National Institute for the Advancement of Research (NIRA) and the Nomura Research Institute called for comprehensive and varied responses to national security threats according to the nature of these threats , i.e., political, economic and military. The approach was endorsed in the 1980 Report prepared by a Task Force appointed by the Prime Minister.⁷⁷

The Comprehensive National Security was defined as a policy to "... secure our national survival or protect our social order from various kinds of external threats which will or may have serious effects on the foundation of one nation's existence, by preventing the arising of such threats, or by coping with them in the case of their emergence, through the combination of diplomacy, national defense, economic and other policy measures. However, this concept is criticized as being far from the original one, it merely states the obvious."⁷⁸

The Government of Japan offers another concept of Human Security that "covers all the measures that threaten human survival, daily life, and dignity... and strengthens efforts to confront these threats." According to the Commission on Human Security, "Human Security is concerned with safeguarding and expanding people's vital freedoms. It requires both shielding people from acute threats and empowering people to take charge of their own lives."⁷⁹ The Commission, in essence, synthesizes the Canadian and the UNDP approaches with a new thrust on empowerment of the people to enable them to make their own choices. While the Commission Report attempts to

make linkages between state security and human security, it advocates a new paradigm of security centered on people and not states.

Criticisms of Human Security:

This conceptualization, being too broad based, came in for severe criticism and severe reservations from both policy makers and intellectual communities across the world. Del Rosso, for example, stated, “The writings on “new gospel of security” did not produce a “singular, widely accepted new paradigm”, instead, an “additive ‘laundry list’ approach to security became commonplace” and led to the production of a “raft of dimly remembered and rarely consulted books and articles”. He further wrote that, “Some of the efforts to redefine security have appeared to use the security level at almost everything in the hope that the word alone will create a conceptual framework. But a label alone does not create a framework.”⁸⁰

Whether human security means the ultimate ends of all security concerns⁸¹ or whether it is just a means to an end,⁸² or whether it is a separate, distinct and parallel concept of security remain points of contention.

Another problem lies in delineating the scope, i.e., the possible parameters of human security. Barry Buzan relates this to the issue of securitization of the problems that cause human insecurity.⁸³

Since the main referent object of human security is the individual, “the relationship between individual security and state security and establishing a balanced relationship between the two will have a significant impact on allocation of power within the state. This brings about changing dynamics among actors in a number of areas, such as governance, social and economic organizations.”⁸⁴

The utility of human security lies in the acceptance of the issues in the said area, both operationally and conceptually:

Operationally, the state need to recognize human security issues which include prioritization of policies and resource allocation to that effect for not only maintaining

internal political and social order but also for protecting people's lives, rights, group/community identity.

Conceptually, human security needs to be accepted as an integral part of comprehensive national security just like the concept of state security.

Comprehensive National Security:

The term 'comprehensive' in relation to the concept of National Security is seen to have been used in two senses- inclusion of non- military threats only in respect of the state. Secondly, inclusion of both military and non- military threats to non- state security referents. The idea of Comprehensive National Security was first propounded by the Japanese, meaning state security, as an element of state philosophy way back in the 1980s. The idea of expanding the scope of national security, was to go beyond the pale of inter- state wars and military threats to ideas about territorial integrity and political order and to include threats from non- state actors and even natural disasters. Like the Japanese Government and some South East Asian scholars, Kanti Bajpai of India has also preferred to keep his concept of National Security state- centric. He contends that the concept of comprehensive security refers to military and non- military threats to the state. His most significant contribution towards conceptualization of human security is the Human Security Index, with qualitative and quantitative inputs. This application of this index along the same lines as the Human Development Index and the Humane Governance Index formulated by Mabbub-ul-Haq, enables an identification of problem areas for each country and consequently is a valuable tool in addressing problems of human security.

However Bajpai's views have been challenged by many scholars like Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema, who states that "the notion of comprehensive security implies abilities to defend against external as well as internal threats; prevent disintegration that may have been commenced by internal strife; growth of power and prosperity accompanied by improved quality of life, and abilities to maintain desired level of peace and security.". He also states that "a comprehensive definition of national security must take into account external and internal threats as well as threats emanating from economic insecurity and inequalities." ⁸⁵ However, inspite of the

criticisms, Kanti Bajpai's views are relevant in this context where he stated, "Human security relates to the protection of the individual's personal safety and freedom from the direct and indirect threats of violence. The promotion of human development and good governance, and, when necessary, the collective use of sanctions and force are central to managing human security. States, international organizations, non-governmental organizations, and other groups in the civil society in combination are vital to the prospects of human security", he writes.⁸⁶ Upreti discerned that the challenges to security are both internal as well as external which have to be given equal importance so as to give full security to individuals, communities as well as to the state. Internal and external security may provide strength and vitality to each other and therefore there is a need to adopt a comprehensive approach to national security.⁸⁷

The concept on comprehensive national security has several other benefits, both academic and real- life ones. The utility of the same lies in the fact that it possesses the ability to hold all the security dynamics in a single framework. Thus, it becomes possible to capture the permanent and the evolutionary threats to the state and its people, thus weathering the vicissitudes of seasonality in security thinking. Such a security concept also helps overcome the apparent dichotomy between traditional and non- traditional security thinking. Such a comprehensive framework also facilitates the devising of appropriate national policies in response to security threats and vulnerabilities.⁸⁸

Human Security in South Asia:

It has been argued now and again that military expenditure is vital for national security based on the premise that the development of a country is useless if the same loses its very independence to external aggression. But, the trouble arises when there is a serious imbalance between National and Human Security. Thus, it has become imperative for the third world countries to adopt a new concept of security. These countries, namely from the sub- Saharan Saharan and the South Asian regions including India, are still grappling with the problems regarding political institutional issues in the post- industrial phase of nation state formation.

In the words of Mahbab- ul- Haq , “ We must move away from Arms Security to Human Security, and use the emerging peace dividend to finance the lengthening social agenda of human kind .”⁸⁹

Although the end of the Cold War has phased out the tensions between the East and West relations, it has provided no relief to the third world countries. While people starve in South Asia, modern arms accumulate. When military spending is falling all over the world, it continues to rise in South Asia. Mah- bab –ul- Haq has observed that military spending in South Asia have continued to rise inspite of the prevailing poverty even after the end of the Cold War.⁹⁰ However, the military centered security is a phenomenon not restricted to South Asia alone. International Relations both as a practice and as a discipline have been dominated by Realism, which has been reflected in the trend of maximization of military power by most of the countries of the world. However, in an attempt to safeguard their petty national interest through the acquisition of military power the countries have put to stake the issues of Human Development and Human Rights in these countries.

The Changing Concept of Security- Interpretations by Mah- bab- ul –Haq and Barry Buzan:

Mah- bab- ul- Haq, in an introductory speech in the Seminar stated that, “...we are still fighting the battles of tomorrow with the concepts of yesterday.” He further commented in view of the rising Human Rights issues within a country, “...It is time to recognize that most conflicts are now within nations, not between nations.” Haq also showed the four ways in which the concept of Security has undergone a change in the post Cold War era:

First, Security of people and not just of territory.

Secondly, Security of individuals and not just of nations.

Thirdly, Security through development and not through arms.

Fourthly, Security of all the people everywhere - “in their homes, in their jobs, in their streets, in their communities and in their environment.”

Therefore, it can be observed in the post-Cold War era, Realism was challenged by alternate approaches to security shifting the focus from the State to the individual and from a military centered concept to a people centered concept of security.

However, Barry Buzan argued for broadening the security agenda to include the individual as a referent of security he kept the realist foundations of the concept of security intact. Even Buzan's concept of Global Security was in keeping with the Realist conception, in which the security of the state acquired the centre- stage. Buzan's Global and National Security is unique in the sense that it has been redefined by Human Security and highlighted Individual Security as an issue of primary concern.

Barry Buzan, who traditionally belonged to the English School, which is said to adopt a more Pluralistic view on International Relations, Buzan's approach to Security is an interesting one as he looks at Security from every angle, i.e. from macro to the micro and also addresses the Social aspect of Security. This micro/macro methodology is something that, while infinitely complex, is also of the utmost importance in order to be able to get a better idea how to deal with what Buzan calls the 'National' Security Problem.⁹⁰ Buzan broadened his analysis on Security and gave his readers a more complete understanding of the complexities of Security and then applied the same to the current issues, like the War on Terrorism.

In his work *People States and Fear* Buzan addressed in detail the three levels of security which have been addressed in detail in his work. The sectors which have also been addressed in the article "New Patterns of Global Security in the Twenty-First Century" are Political, Military, Economic, Societal, and Environmental.

The Twenty First Century therefore, marks the inception of various internal security issues which has endangered the security of the states and India is no exception to this. The work thus, attempts to point out and analyse the major internal security issues which pose to be a great challenge for the Indian policymakers. A categorization of the same has been made, taking Barry Buzan and Mah- bub – ul – Haq's above mentioned works as the theoretical reference points. The following

chapters will focus on some of the major Socio- Economic and Environmental Security issues, which emerges as 'Internal Security Threats' owing to its multidimensional consequences within the country.

The Researcher while working on these security issues separately realized that these concepts cannot adequately address the issue of security separately. Rather each one is complexly and intricately linked with the other forming a web. For example unemployment, a problem in the economic sector can result in frustration among the unemployed youths which can create 'security threats' in other sectors like the Social sector in the form of ethnic violence, terrorist activities violence against women and children etc. It can emerge as a serious threat factor in the form of terrorist activities, insurgency or ethnic strife.

As observed by Mah- bab- ul - Haq Human Security nowadays can be and are addressed at three levels: Universal, Global and Individual. No nation can protect the security of its people, i.e. safeguard Individual Security without some Global understanding and agreements. Thus, the work in the course of its study reveals that the failure of the state to provide security to various communities result in insurgencies and militant movements and terrorist activities, which in turn, endangers community and personal security, which in turn jeopardizes the internal security of the state. Moreover, the thesis makes an attempt to show that the policies and decisions adopted by the neighbouring countries and the various non state actors especially pose a potent threat to the internal security of a country by acting as a catalyst thus, aggravating certain Socio-Economic security issues within the country. The ripples of such external factors are also experienced in India. Under this category the Researcher highlighted on two problems, that is, the problem of terrorism and the problem of Migration from neighbouring countries, which aggravates the already existing problems of terrorism, migration and other socio-economic security threats in India. , which have been dealt with in detail in Chapter III of the thesis.

Environmental security forms a major aspect of Non Traditional Security threats and is a matter of concern for all countries, big or small. The Researcher through her

studies felt that environmental threat to security arises from within the country, as well as from the global environmental crisis. Within India environmental degradation in the form of air and noise pollution and resource degradation like ground water depletion and energy crisis proves to be a major security threat. However, Environmental Security threat in the form of global warming and depletion of the Ozone layer is a global phenomenon. One of the most dangerous consequences of Global Warming is the rise in sea level which will submerge the coastal areas. It is predicted that in the future the submergence of the coastal areas, will result in large number of environmental refugees, especially in Bangladesh. It is predicted that these environmental refugees will in turn result in a number of socio –economic security threats for the host countries, especially India. These threats will manifest themselves in the form of pressure on natural resources like water and land, and will also result in food crisis. The long term consequences, on the other hand will manifest itself in many ways, the most serious among them being ethnic strifes, and war over land and water. Thus, the Researcher has also observed in the course of her studies that the security threats in one sector can ‘spill over’ into another sector as illustrated above.

Apart from this, the Researcher in conclusion would like to make the following observations:

The Researcher, thus conclude by summarizing what these classical realists have in common. First, The Classical Realists share the same view point about human condition which is characterized by a condition of conflict and insecurity. Second, the classical realists thus, concentrate on finding out the key to the body of political knowledge to deal with this problem of insecurity. Finally they agree that there is no final escape from this human condition, which is a permanent feature of human life. This pessimistic view was reflected in the works of many realist thinkers, especially in the works of the famous neo classical realist of the twentieth century, Hans J. Morgenthau.

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The Researcher also would like to summarise the basic differences between security and Human Security concepts.

First, the realist and the human security concepts are fundamentally different in their identification of threats to security and the strategies of achieving the same. While the former identifies organized violence between states, weapons of mass destruction and internal armed strife as threats to security, the latter considers environmental pollution, hunger, poverty, violent social and political conflict, economic imbalances, drugs, organized crime, discrimination on grounds of gender, religion, race as threats to human security. In the realist formulation the state is the sole provider of security; the Human Security approach does not identify the state as the sole provider of security. On the contrary, at times the state has been identified as a source of threat to security itself which are reflected in the various cases of Developmental Displacements in India.

Secondly, the tendency to privilege human security over state security or to juxtapose one against the other is unwarranted, and is not likely to be theoretically useful or practically relevant. The two can be viewed as inter- dependent and mutually supportive security approaches. State security and human security are parts of one organic whole and as such, should be viewed through the lens of comprehensive notions of security. Therefore, concepts such as economic security, environmental security, political security etc. in the ultimate analysis tend to fall within the

categories of state security or human security or even both. Such an understanding goes beyond realist restrictions and reins in the critical theorists' expansionist tendency to conceptualise human security, which is originally a normative concern and now demands to be firmly included on the security agenda of a nation- state.

Hence, standing in this complex Twenty First Century, the concept of 'security' can no longer be considered as one dimensional. Rather, it has become multi dimensional where more attentions are paid by the experts of the discipline, policy makers, national elites to the non - traditional threats emanating from various non – state actors and global society, yet the state has remained the object of security or the entity that is to be protected.

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CHAPTER- II

THE EMERGING SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROBLEMS IN INDIA AND THE INTERNAL THREATS TO SECURITY

ECONOMIC SECURITY: Economic security forms an important part of the sectoral approach to security, which aims at the detailed analysis of the various sectors of security apart from state and military security, which forms the crux of the traditional security approach. As already discussed in Chapter I this approach marks a digression from the traditional approach by recognizing the various sectors of security like political, social economic and environmental etc. However, one of the main drawbacks of this method is the absence of a single analytical approach and the case of the economic security is no exception to this. This was reflected in the words of Neuman and Wolff when they stated, “no clear definition of what is meant by that phrase seems to have emerged”¹

Although there has always been an inherent link between economics and national security, it was always subordinated to politics and its importance was only limited to the writings of great scholars like Adam Smith, who discussed the link between “defense” and “opulence” in his famous book ‘*The Wealth of Nations*’.² It was not until the Cold War years that this sector received some importance and emerged on the western policy agenda during the economic and political shock in the year 1973 due to the oil embargo of the Organization of the *Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)*.³

Thus the economic dimension was reinterpreted in the post Cold War Years and underwent a sea change from the traditional approaches to security, where the economic dimension is seen as one of the key criteria by which great powers are defined. The same views of the Traditional approach was also echoed in Barry Buzan’s definition when he declared that “economic security concerns access to the

resources, finance and markets necessary to sustain acceptable levels of welfare and state power.”⁴

However, economic security has always been a vital and immediate concern of the developing countries, who have been the victims of colonial rule and exploitation. Following decolonization, thus it became imperative for the Third world leaders to recognize economic development and consolidation of state legitimacy as their primary national policy agenda. At the same time Soviet Union’s success in achieving sustained growth during the Depression Years and its ability to withstand the debilitating effects of the Second World War, Soviet Union’s strategy to state controlled economic development gained momentum. However, the state’s role has undergone a major transformation with the prevalence of free market economy in today’s world. Although a state retains its responsibility in the area of economic regulation its primary concern now is the management of economy and the optimization of the following three goals:

Growth : aims at attracting foreign investment and technology and promotion of infrastructural development. At the same time the state has to accommodate the provision of incentives for enhancing growth and competitiveness in key sectors.

Welfare: The state have to undertake policies to cushion the impact of externally - driven change for the welfare of all (e.g., providing a welfare cushion to those displaced by new technologies or supporting programmes for retraining workers); and

Stability: Basic controls over the volatility of stock markets, foreign exchange transactions and interest rates.⁵

The state’s ability to control the economic life within its jurisdiction has decreased to a great extent due to the performance of the above- mentioned tasks. For example, the need for foreign capital and technology compels it to tailor its policies to lure investors with competitive terms, such as lowering of taxes which reduces the state’s own resources. This in turn pressurizes the states in attempting to meet its welfare goals. As economics goes increasingly global, the state’s control over economic

activities declines. The economic fate of its people is determined ever more by forces outside its borders. The recession in the American economy, which began with the crash of the Lehman Brothers in the beginning of the year 2008, has adversely affected the world economy. The Indian economy has also been hard- hit by this global economic phenomenon rendering many Indians jobless. Thus India, like all other South Asian states are still struggling to come to terms with the new realities of globalization. Globalization in its present phase is neither employment friendly nor does it care for the poor. The economic reforms under globalization, for the last thirteen years have sort of sanctified consumerism, thus increasing the gap between the rich and the poor. Liberalization- the loosening of state control over economic life is the order of the day.⁶ The ongoing Liberalization is empowering the rich rather than the poor who, in the first place, should have been empowered to liberalize. There is a chance, that the psychological polarization between the rich and the poor might imperil the internal sovereignty of India. Thus, economic reforms and liberalization with external participation have generated social and political tensions within India.

New economic trends and arrangements have not only widened economic disparities but also created imbalances in economic and social progress between different regions.⁷ Economic disparities have opened up avenues for social insecurities of varied kinds. The primary Economic threats the states face today have been discussed below:

Unemployment:

Nature of Unemployment in India:

Most of the unemployment in India is definitely structural.* During the 1961- 2001 period, population in this country has grown at an alarming rate of around 2.15 per cent per annum and with it the number of people coming to the labour market in search of jobs had also increased rapidly, whereas employment opportunities did not increase most of the time correspondingly due to slow economic growth. Hence there has been an “increase in the volume of unemployment from one plan period to another.”⁸

*Structural Unemployment is caused by structural changes in the economy There are other reasons which might lead to Structural Unemployment: 1)decline in demand 2)disinvestment, 3)reduction in its manpower requirement. Structural unemployment is a natural concomitant of economic progress and innovation in a complex industrial economy of modern times.

Unemployment increased in India during the period of economic reform which was initiated in the 1990s. Employment and unemployment can be explained on the basis of input of labour in the production process which in turn depends on the use of technology.

With the modernization of economy share of agricultural workforce reduces due to two factors: i. the slower pace in the growth of food demand at higher levels of income, thus moderating the demand for food grains.

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Secondly technology used in agriculture at higher yield levels is much less labour absorbing than traditional agriculture. Thus, during the period between 1991 - 2001 the workforce participation in the agricultural sector at the all India level came down by 9% points, i.e, only 65% to 70% of the workforce was absorbed by the said sector.

These substantial shifts in the ability of the agricultural sector to absorb labour were also confirmed by the 55th Round of the NSSO Survey on Employment (1999-2000).

The Unemployment Rate was estimated to be 2.20% according to UPSS*and 7.32% according to CDS **.

*UPSS: **Usual Status** relates to the activity status of a person during the reference period of last 365 days preceding the date of survey. The activity status on which a person spent relatively longer time (major time criterion) is considered the Usual Principal Status (UPS). Besides the usual principal activity status, a person could have pursued some economic activity for a smaller period, not less than 30 days. The status in which such economic activity is pursued is the subsidiary economic activity status of that person. If these two are taken together, the measure of Usual Principal and Subsidiary Status (UPSS) i.e. usual status is obtained.

****CDS: Current Daily Status (CDS)** of a person is determined on the basis of his/her activity status on each day of the reference week using a priority-cum-major time criterion (day to day labour time disposition). Broadly, a person is considered working (employed) for the full day if he/she worked for 4 hours or more during the day.

In urban areas also the rate of employment growth has declined sharply during the 1990s. Two relatively important forms of urban employment are industrial unemployment and educated unemployment. The study of the NSS Report No. 554 revealed that the unemployment rate for the urban male was as high as 11.5 in the year 1999-2000 which was reduced to 10.0 in 2004- 2005 and has shown a comparative dip to 8.9 in 2011- 2012.⁹ The Eleventh Five Year Plan also identified that despite healthy GDP growth, employment in the organized sector usually declined, leading to frustration among the educated youths who have rising expectations.

The unemployment rate went up between 1993- 94 to 2004-05 from 6.1 % to 7.3% as per the study of the report of the Eleventh Five Year Plan on the basis of Current Daily Status (unemployed on an average in the reference week). It was observed that, unemployment rates for males increased from 5.6 per cent in 1993- 94 to 8.0 per cent in 2004- 05 in rural areas and from 10.5 per cent to 11.6 per cent in urban areas.

The study of the NSS Report No. 554 showed that unemployment among rural men in the age group between 15- 29 showed a rise from 5.1 in 1999- 2000, 5.2 between the year 2004- 2005, 5.5 in 2009-2010 and 6.1 in the 2011-2012.

On analyzing the NSS Report No. 554, of the unemployment rate at usual status adjusted as per education level of the age group of 15- 29 years, for the year 2011-2012, it was found that higher the level of education greater was the rate of unemployment. Thus, it was found that while unemployment rate for the rural male with education upto the primary level was 3.2, while that for the urban male increased

to 4.8. Surprisingly, the same increased to 15.9 the rural male, who completed a diploma or a certificate course, and 19.1 for the rural male who has completed

his graduation and post graduation. The same in the urban areas were 12.5 and 16.3 respectively.

This can be explained in terms of unavailability of jobs up to their standard. This insecurity on analyzing the Fourth Annual Employment and Unemployment Survey Report (2013- 2014), this insecurity was observed to have persisted. The All India Unemployment Rate (both for urban and rural male) for Graduated and Post Graduates for the period 2013- 2014 increased further to 14% and 12% respectively based on Usual Principal Status Approach whereas the unemployment rate in case of illiterate and below primary persons decreased further to 2%. According to the reports by NSSO, illiterate population has the lowest unemployment rate. Because this segment of the society is ready to do low paying jobs.¹⁰ However, educated youth is facing the most of unemployment that shows lack of skill based employment opportunities in India which was revealed from the fact that in September 2015, the unemployment reached a mark that 23 lakh people applied for 368 posts of peon in the state secretariat in Uttar Pradesh. Among the applicants, 255 candidates with a PhD degree and more than two lakh hold BTech, BSc, Mcom and M.Sc degrees. Unemployment Rate in India averaged 7.32 percent from 1983 until 2013, when it decreased 4.90 percent in 2013 from 5.20 percent in 2012.¹¹

The above data also explains the growing social security threats in the form of violence against women and children, drug and human trafficking, etc. is when these frustrated and disillusioned youths take recourse to illegal means to earn money. The report stated that most of the unemployment in urban areas being open and undisguised, leads to social tensions, which often threatens the whole fabric of the existing society. For example one of the main reasons that led to the ethnic crisis in Assam in the 1990s was due to the increased rate of unemployment among the original ethnic inhabitants of the place.

However, according to a survey conducted by the National Sample Survey Organization (NSSO), between 2009- 2010, 36.5 % of the population was gainfully employed but by 2011-2012 the proportion of such workers dipped to 35.4%.¹²

Impact of Unemployment

Apart from financial impact, unemployment has many social impacts like theft, violence, drug taking, crime, health as well as it leads to psychological issues. Next comes the poverty that is directly linked with unemployment as well as inequality. Long term unemployment can actually ruin the family and the society.

Participation rates of women in South Asian region range from about 16 per cent in Pakistan, 23 per cent in Bangladesh, to over 78 per cent in Nepal. In India they remain close to 25 percent. Multivariate analysis at the household level, using NSS data from 1983-2000, point out to the various demographic variables such as age, childcare responsibilities, and marital status which are responsible for the low participation.

According to the NSS Report No. 554, it was seen that the rate of unemployment among educated women increased, both at the urban and rural level, with the rise in their education level. For example, unemployment of the rural graduate and post graduate women were 29.6 while that of the urban women were 23.4. But ironically the unemployment rate was as low as 0.8 among the illiterate rural women and 1.6 among the same category in the urban region. From the demand side it has been argued that cultural mores and the values of status and seclusion in the region prevents higher status households from allowing women to go to work. On the other hand, the supply side postulates the absence of well paid respectable jobs for educated women.¹³

Descriptive rounds of the NSS show that over 92 per cent of women doing domestic work say that they do so from compulsion. Of these over 65 per cent say they do domestic work because there are no other members to perform their duties in their absence. Thus a combination of norms that determine a woman's place in the home and of lack of appropriate employment opportunities seems to relegate many women out of the labour force.¹⁴ 2011 census data shows only half as many as urban women

work as their rural counterparts. India's total female population that is economically active is among the lowest in the world. Karnataka, Gujarat and Kerala is recorded to have the lowest unemployment Rate among urban Females.¹⁵

This lack of financial independence makes the women vulnerable to various forms of domestic violence. Thus low female employment rate is, in a way, responsible for the rising crimes against women, which poses to be one of the major social insecurities today, which have been elaborated later in this chapter.

Child Labour: is the practice of having children engaged in economic activity, on part- or full-time basis. The practice deprives children of their childhood, and is harmful to their physical and mental development. Poverty, lack of good schools and growth of informal economy are considered as the important causes of child labour in India. The 1998 national census of India estimated the total number of child labour, aged 4–15, to be at 12.6 million, out of a total child population of 253 million in 5–14 age group.

There is a flicker of hope when we consider the steady decline in the number of children (less than 14 years of age) in the labour force. The number halved from a little over 22 million in 1983 to under 11 million in 1999- 2000, and declined further to about 9 million in 2004- 2005. Rural India accounted for 90 per cent of the decline. This reduction in labour force participation rates for both rural males and rural females in the 10- 14 age group means an obvious rise in school participation rates by children in the same age group. It is worth stressing though that this data only records paid child labour or child labour for producing goods meant to be sold, and not the use of child labour for unpaid domestic work which can also be hazardous to children's health. * 2009–10 nationwide survey found child labour prevalence had reduced to 4.98 million children (or less than 2% of children in 5–14 age group).¹⁶ The 2011 national census of India found the total number of child labour, aged 5–14, to be at 4.35 million, and the total child population to be 259.64 million in that age group.¹⁷

*Indian law specifically earmarks 64 industries as hazardous and it is a criminal offence to employ children in such hazardous industries. In 2001, an estimated 1% of all child workers, or about 120,000 children in India were engaged in hazardous jobs. Ironically, Constitution of India prohibits child labour in hazardous industries (but not in non-hazardous industries) as a Fundamental Right under Article 24.

Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Work Force: Caste is a determining factor for the labour market as the historically laden strict rules, have always governed the division of labour in India. Certain castes and sub-castes undertake to perform only specific occupations, for example, the SCs are typically landless labourers while the STs have historically been forest dwellers whose mainstay is subsistence agriculture. The STs were traditionally assigned a role outside the pale of the caste system. Those STs who own some land for subsistence agriculture, have a high likelihood of being agriculturalists, while casual labour is the only option left for those SCs/ STs who do not possess any land of their own. Recent evidence also points to caste having a significant effect on the low occupational mobility in the Indian labour market.¹⁸ Thus real mobility for the SCs and STs seem to occur once they migrate to urban areas. The educated SCs/ STs, who migrate to urban areas have an advantage in obtaining regular salaried jobs which are still predominantly in the public sector where the Government's reservation policies favour them.

But, an analysis of occupational groups indicates caste-based occupations have also been noticed within the public sector. For example, the occupations of sweeping and other semi-skilled jobs are mainly performed by them. Apart from this, the educated SC/ ST candidates, become victims of selection bias,¹⁹ as selection is many a times motivated against them guided by superstition, class biasness, corruption and bribery.

Poverty:

The greatest challenge that India faces today is that of poverty, which is responsible for many social problems India is plagued by, like the problems of religious fundamentalism, regionalism, human trafficking etc., which have their basic roots in poverty. Thus removal of poverty has to be accorded a high priority. But before the Government decides its policy measures to solve the poverty problem, it must identify the poor. In India, however, no serious measures have been taken in this direction. Using the NSS data Minhas, Bardhan, Dandekar and Rath and a few others have

attempted to identify the poor. According to their findings, a large bulk of the poor belongs to:

- (i) *agricultural labour households without landholdings* which form about 60 per cent of all agricultural labour households;
- (ii) *agricultural labour households with very small holdings* which constitute about 40 per cent of all agricultural labour households;
- (iii) *non-agricultural rural labour households without landholdings* including village artisans progressively losing their traditional employment; and
- (iv) *Small land operators, with cultivating landholdings of less than 2 hectares, and particularly less than 1 hectare.*
- (v) Besides these, tribals who contributed 18 per cent of India's population in 2001 (according to 2001 census) are poor. This is mainly because of the non-tribals, who, since independence have snatched away the lands of the tribals and have obstructed their access to the forests. Moreover development projects have displaced them from the villages (Which have been dealt with later in this chapter.) Even BPL (Below Poverty Line) ration card holders are denied their full quota of ration from PDS shops. Thus, most tribals in the state of Rajasthan, Jharkhand and Chhatisgarh suffer from extreme poverty.²⁰

Human Poverty in India: Poverty is thus a denial of choices and opportunities for living a tolerable life. To get a complete idea of poverty, one has thus to enlarge the canvas of study and talk in terms of deprivations and not merely in terms of income, as it is only in the deprivations of the life that people lead can poverty manifest itself. Here the choices and opportunities are those which are most basic to human development which are denied, i.e., to lead a long, healthy, creative life and to enjoy a decent standard of living, freedom, dignity, self respect and the respect of others. *The Human Development Report 1997* introduces a human poverty index in an attempt to bring together in a composite index the different features of deprivation in

the quality of life to arrive at an aggregate judgment on the extent of poverty in a community. The report also acknowledges that human poverty is larger than any particular measure, including the human poverty index. Since the issues of poverty in the developing countries involve hunger, illiteracy, epidemics and the lack of health services or safe water, the Human Poverty Index constructed by the Human Development Report focuses on the deprivation in the following three elements of human life- **longevity, knowledge** indicators and a **decent standard of living**.

These major indicators have been used to measure human poverty, which have been found to be quite high in India.²¹ For example, *the first deprivation relates to survival* where the vulnerability to death at a relatively early age is observed. It is represented in the human poverty index by the percentage of people expected to die before 40 years of age. Dying before the age of 40 is a major deprivation. In India 15.5 per cent of the people are not expected to survive to this age. *The second dimension relates to knowledge:* which is measured by the percentage of adults who are illiterate and who are being excluded from the world of reading and Communication. In India adult illiteracy rate was as high as 34.0 per cent during 1999- 2007. This was much higher than the adult illiteracy rate in many developing countries. In Vietnam, Srilanka and Thailand adult illiteracy rates are below 10 per cent.

The third aspect being a decent standard of living: is represented by a composite of two variables-i the percentage of population not using improved water resources and ii. the percentage of children under five who are underweight.

Deprivation in economic provisioning is also high in India. In recent years though accessibility of people to improved water has somewhat increased, a little less than half of the children under five years of age remain underweight.²² An assessment of the performance of the country's health – related indicators would suggest that significant gains have been made over the years as shown in the following Table. But, despite the progress India fares poorly in most of the indicators in comparison with a number of developing countries like China and Srilanka.²³

Poverty can be understood with respect to certain terms like Urban Poor, Rural Poor and Chronic Poor.

Urban Poor: As regard to the urban poor Dandekar and Rath state: “*The urban poor are only an overflow of the rural poor into the urban area. Fundamentally they belong to the same class as the rural poor. However, as they live long in urban poverty, they acquire characteristics of their own. Little is known of their life and labour in the growing cities.*”²⁴

Rural poor: According to Dandekar and Rath the urban poor in India are largely the overflow of the rural poor into the urban areas. These migrants from the rural areas to the cities could have crossed the poverty line, had industrial development in this country been sufficiently rapid to absorb them adequately in the modern manufacturing industries. But, this was not to be. Some of the urban poor have lived for a long period of time in the cities in slums, under extreme unhygienic conditions.

The term ‘Chronic Poor’ is used to those poor persons or households who have been poor for a long duration. This condition prevails among 14 per cent of all -India rural households and 11 per cent of all- India urban households; and comprised about half of the poor in both rural and urban areas in the late 1990s. The incidence of rural (urban) chronic poverty was high in Orissa(28per cent), Madhya Pradesh(19) , Uttar Pradesh (12) but low in Jammu and Kashmir (92.7) and Punjab(4.8).²⁵

The incidence of chronic poverty varied significantly across social and occupational groups, and is among social groups, the highest for Scheduled Castes(21) per cent in rural (urban) areas. In some of the states chronic poverty was a more of a social problem than an economic one. For example, in rural areas, the share of SCs in chronically poor households was as high as 84 per cent in Punjab and 66 per cent in Haryana and the corresponding percentages in urban areas were 61 and 58 respectively. This suggests that economic instruments may not be sufficient for eradicating poverty and their efficacy tends to reduce with poverty reduction in States with high incidence of poverty among social groups. The incidence of chronic poverty

was higher among rural casual labour households (19 per cent), urban casual labour households (24 per cent), and urban self employed households (12 per cent). It is noteworthy that in rural areas, agricultural labour households accounted for 45 per cent of the chronic poor households, and in urban areas chronic poverty was spread among self- employed and casual labour households with self- employed households accounting for 36 per cent urban chronic poor and casual labour accounting for 29 per cent.²⁶

Historically oppressed and disenfranchised lower castes and tribal populations – known as “scheduled castes” and “scheduled tribes” - are the poorest of the poor and the most at risk. It is no surprise that most reported starvation deaths occur in these communities. In Bihar the under-five mortality rate for scheduled castes is 113 deaths per 1,000 births, compared to the state-wide average of 85 and the all-India average of 74. Based on government estimates that 35.6% of Indian women and 34.2% of Indian men have BMIs less than 18.5, the Planning Commission’s India Human Development Report states, “If India is not in a state of famine, it is quite clearly in a state of chronic hunger.”

The Poverty Situation in India:

The Tendulkar Report, a recent Expert Group Report, commissioned by the Planning Commission estimates India’s aggregate poverty to be 37.3%, that is a little over 37.2 per cent of our population lives below the poverty line and in particular, 41.8 per cent of the rural population and 25.7 per cent of the urban population is poor.²⁷ This is implied by the 61st round of NSS data of 2004- 2005. The percentage of poor in 2004-2005 estimated from the MRP* consumption distribution of NSS 61st Round consumer expenditure data is roughly comparable with the poverty estimates of 1999-2000 (55th round) which was 26.1 per cent for the country as a whole.²⁸

The following table reveals the percentage and the number of poor estimated from the Expert Group (Tendulkar) Methodology.

Table:1 The All India Poverty Ratio from 1993-94 to 2011-12 (Tendulkar Methodology)*

Year	Poverty Ratio in %			Number of Poor (in million)		
	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total
1993-94	50.1	31.8	45.3	328.6	74.5	403.7
2004-05	41.8	25.7	37.2	326.3	80.8	407.1
2011-12	25.7	13.7	21.9	216.5	52.8	269.3

Source: Economic Survey, 2013-2014, Ministry of Finance, Government of India, p. 283.

The study of the reports by the Expert Group (Rangarajan) estimated the poverty situation in India in the year 2011- 12. According to their reports 30.9% of the rural population and 26.4% of the urban population was below the poverty line in 2011-12. The all-India ratio was 29.5%. In rural India, 260.5 million individuals were below poverty and in urban India 102.5 million were under poverty. Totally, 363 million were below poverty in 2011-12. But we get an optimistic picture when we consider the decline in poverty ratio which has declined from 39.6% in 2009-10 to 30.9% in 2011-12 in rural India and from 35.1% to 26.4% in urban India.

The all-India poverty ratio fell from 38.2% to 29.5%. Totally, 91.6 million individuals were lifted out of poverty during this period. The decline thus shows an uniform 8.7 percentage points over the two years. The following table gives an estimate of the decline of in Poverty Ratio. ²⁹

*Tendulkar Commission was set up in 2005 and submitted its reports in 2009. According to this methodology poverty line was estimated on the basis of Monthly per Capita Expenditure. The C. Rangarajan Commission was set up in 2012 and submitted its reports in 2014. The Poverty Line according to this methodology is determined on the basis of the Monthly Expenditure of family of five.

Recession:

Recession is the stage of economic declines, an extensive downturn in Gross Domestic Product, employment and business. As the decline in sea level before a Tsunami, Recession is a natural caution sign that an 'Economic Tsunami' is approaching. An economic recession is thus, a phase of the business life cycle when economic activities start on a decline lasting for more than a couple of months. Such a decline is spread across the economy and is normally visible in GDP, employment, real income, industrial production and wholesale or retail sales.³⁰ A recession in one country may be caused by, or may itself cause, recession in another country with which it trades. The crashing down of the Indian Stock market due to a probable recession in the US and an overall global economic slowdown that began in 2008 with the financial crash of the Lehman Brothers is a case to the point.

Impact of Recession in India:

The recession adversely affected the Foreign Institutional Investors (FIIs) in India from abroad as well as industries from within thus emerging to be a portent economic security threat for the country. *The Housing and Real Estate* sector was badly affected in India due to Recession which brought down housing demand from IT and Commercial spaces. The net worth of the individual investors also came down, thus, questioning the sustainability of the housing projects in India. Some of the Indian Real Estate Companies like Peninsula Land Limited, and DLF Assets, which have signed a joint venture with Lehman Brothers have also suffered heavy losses.

Foreign Institutional Investors (FIIs) in India with their parent companies mostly based in The United States and Europe, and who made significant contributions in the Indian share markets too, found themselves in severe credit crisis. To meet the liabilities at home these investors took out their money from the Indian Stock Markets and were also selling their stocks in India. Thus, *the Indian Stock Markets* were adversely affected. Apart from this, *the Indian industries*, which depend on share

markets and external borrowings at moderate interest rates, were badly affected as the share markets were bleeding and the option of external borrowing from global markets had also become difficult.

On the other hand, *the banks* were also facing a cash liquidity crunch resulting in a deficiency of liquidity in the market. The concurrent credit crisis also reduced the availability of loans due to the lack of liquidity and the non-availability of money at moderate rate. The impact of liquidity crunch was manifested in the reduction in demand of all types of Consumer goods and thus, the Indian export was also badly affected. Moreover, security threat doubled when the recession reduced Business Profits and affected Industries which were directly linked to the Global Market. *The Indian IT Companies* were worst affected, where more than 50% of the revenue came from banking and financial institutes. *The Indian tech and Business Process Outsourcing (BPO) Services* were also hit by the crisis as they were strongly dependant on the United States. This even increased the value of Dollar against Indian Rupee, making the situation worst. Many other sectors also faced the adverse effect of Recession like the *Telecom and Engineering sector, the Automobile industry, Aviation and Tourism industry* etc. These companies therefore, started firing old employees and closed recruitment of new ones. Millions of employees lost their jobs and the rate of hiring new employees went down drastically. In 2008, more than 100,000 jobs were lost in the organized job market, the unemployment rate being more than 8%, the highest since 2003.³¹ Thus, the Global Recession posed to be a great economic insecurity among employees and company professionals and impacted upon consumer confidence in India, as the companies faced a slowdown.

Inflation:

Inflation is a period of rising prices (as distinct from high prices). It occurs when not just a few specific prices are rising, but the general price level is doing so. The movement in the rate of Inflation reflects changes in the demand and supply conditions in the economy.

The first half of the financial year 2008-2009 was marked by high whole- sale price index (WPI) – based Inflation, primarily due to the rise in global commodity and fuel prices. Although the period between June to August 2009 witnessed a negative WPI Inflation due to a decline in commodity prices globally and the base effect. However, from September 2009 onwards WPI Inflation has been rising at a very fast clip largely because of increase in the prices of food items, both primary and manufactured as well as non- food agricultural items. Average food inflation which was 7.56 during fiscal 2008-2009 increased to 13.54 % in the period April to December 2009 and appeared to have reached its peak in December 2009 with an overall food inflation of 19.77%.³²

Such a high rate of Inflation can be compared to that of two earlier episodes, i.e., the fourth quarter of 1996- 97 (13.6%) and the third quarter of 1998-99 (17.1%). A further comparative study revealed that the high inflation of 1996- 97 was due to the rise in the price of rice, wheat, gram, fruits and vegetables, whereas the spell of food inflation of the year 2008- 2009 was marked by a rise in prices for all food items except edible oils. Specifically, very high inflation could be observed in the case of sugar, pulses, vegetables, fruits and cereals. Thus, with a rise in prices of the basic food items the common men would not be in a position to access the basic food items.

However, the food inflation revealed a consistent fall in the inflation rate from 16.1% in April 2010 to 6.15 in November, which got reversed to 8.6% in December, mainly due to the highest build - up since April (2.7 percentage points). Despite this, food inflation in December 2010 at 8.6% was significantly lower in comparison with 20.25% in December 2009. The Food Inflation comprising of primary food articles and manufactured food products (Wt. of 24.31% in WPI) at 10.57% in January 2013 was significantly higher as compared to an inflation of 1.45% in January 2012.

Coming to non-food inflation, the inflationary pressure has consistently remained at elevated levels of above 8% since 2010, in sharp contrast to significant declines noticed during April to October 20-09. This trend however, has shown a reversal since November 2009, and after that touching a peak of 9.2% in April 2010, it has seen a let- up. It is significant that in the non- food category, the manufactured

products index showed an annual increase of 5.3% in December 2010 compared with a meager 0.85% rise in December 2009.

The headline inflation measured in terms Whole Sale Price Index (WPI) averaged at 96.5 % in 2010-2011 and decelerated to 8.94 and 7.46% in the first 10 months of 2012-13 (April – June). In January 2013 inflation was placed at a 38month low of 6.62%.

The above analysis shows that the emphasis upon food inflation is somewhat misplaced. There is no doubt that food inflation must be contained, but over the last year (2009- 2010), the impact of food inflation rates of both whole sale prices and consumer prices were easing, while that of the non- food items particularly of industrial inputs such as fibres, iron ore and fuel prices were on an accelerating pace. The resultant rise in manufactured products, the global trend in rising commodity and fuel prices were impacting upon the prevailing domestic inflation. In this context the role of monetary policy became increasingly important in containing inflation.³³

For about three decades from 1962 to 1991, the RBI had employed both quantitative as well as qualitative measures of credit control- the Cash Reserve Ratio (CRR) and Statutory Liquidity Ratio (SLR). During the 1980s, the RBI increasingly used the as Anti- Inflationary measures. However on the recommendations of the Narasimha Committee, the Government abandoned the policy of relying on the CRR and SLR to control Inflation. The RBI accordingly reduced both the CRR and SLR in a phased manner.

CRR has been used extensively as a measure to control Inflation in India. It was raised to 9.0 per cent on August 30, 2008. However, it was reduced in phases to 5.0 per cent on January 17, 2009 in an attempt to revive the demand which had suffered a set back due to economic slowdown in 2008- 09. The Inflation rate was as high as 10.06 per cent in March 2010, as a result of which the CRR was raised to to 6.0 per cent on April 24, 2010 from 5.75 per cent earlier by the Reserve Bank. It was expected that adoption of such measures would take away Rs. 12, 500 crore from the system. Repo Rate was again raised from 5.0 per cent to 5.25 per cent effective April

20, 2010 and reserve repo rate from 3.5 per cent to 3.75 per cent. An increase in these policy rates signaled a rise in interest rates.

Apart from the above mentioned measures The RBI chose to contain monetary expansion through sterilization of the accumulated reserves via open market operations where it sold government securities. The Government also introduced Liquidity Adjustment Facility (LAF) in June 2000. In 2004, the Market Stabilization Scheme (MSS) was also introduced to provide the Reserve Bank with an additional instrument of liquidity management and to relieve the LAF from the burden of sterilization operations.

Fiscal policy can be effectively employed for checking inflation, especially in western countries due to built- in flexibility and manipulations in public expenditure, taxation and public debt obtain desired results. However, their effectiveness in underdeveloped countries is much less.³⁴

In December, consumer prices in India fell 0.61% from the previous month, which followed November's 0.15% decrease. The monthly fall chiefly reflected lower prices for food and beverages. Inflation continued to fall in December, declining from November's 3.6% to an over two-year low of 3.4%. As a result, inflation is slightly below the center of the Central Bank's target of 4.0% plus/minus 2.0 percentage points.

The wholesale price index (WPI) in December fell 0.16% from the previous month, after decreasing 0.27% in November. The fall in the index was driven by lower prices for food articles and other primary products. Wholesale price inflation rose to 3.4% in December from 3.2% in November. The trend pointed up and annual average wholesale inflation rose to 2.0% in December from 1.6% in November.

Focus Economics Consensus Forecast panelists expect consumer price inflation to average 4.9% in FY 2016, which is unchanged from last month's forecast. In FY 2017, the panel expects consumer price inflation to average 5.0%. Panelists expect

wholesale price inflation of 2.9% in FY 2016, which is unchanged from last month's forecast. In FY 2017, the panel expects wholesale price inflation to average 3.6%.³⁵

(Internet)

Table-4. India - Inflation Data

Year	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Inflation Rate (CPI, annual variation in %)	8.5	10.2	10.0	5.9	4.9

Inflation Rate (CPI, annual variation in %)

Source: As available at www.tradingeconomics.com/india/inflation-rate-mom, 24.11.2015.

Food Security: During the period 1980- 1995, more than 90 developing countries have been following a virtually identical package of economic policies, that can be labeled as 'economic liberalization, stabilization, and structural adjustment programmers', under the tutelage of the international lending agencies- the International lending agencies- the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, in order to pay their external payment deficits. These policies had a profound impact on the nature of the development process in the countries concerned and, and on the food security in particular, and India is no exception to this phenomenon.

In India there has been a substantial accretion to reserves which has arisen not from export surplus, but from borrowing such that the very sources of larger reserves carry a hefty interest burden. This has resulted in a rise in external debt which in turn has increased the vulnerability to speculative capital outflow and to currency crises. This has adversely impacted upon India's productive investment and social wage, both of which have seen cuts since 1991, creating a downward shift in the growth rate of the economy and a rise in poverty, especially in the first three years.³⁶

The Indian Experience thus replicates the experience of dozens of other countries: reduction in growth and rise in poverty, especially rural poverty. The Infant Mortality Rate (IMR), which is a telling indicator of the level of mass well- being, showed that

the rate of decline of IMR has slowed down and in a number of states the urban IMR has actually risen. States in India where urban IMR has become stagnant or has risen include Rajasthan, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Karnataka and Tamilnadu.³⁷

The plight of the people and the spectre of food insecurity leading to acute poverty and starvation continued even in the new millennium, which came to limelight with the death of five tribals due to starvation in July 2004, in Amlashole, in the Midnapore District of West Bengal. In June 2011 again death due to lack of food was reported in Tumkashole village in West Midnapore, situated 25kms away from Amlashole. The villagers were facing starvation as they had no work or enough food in stock.³⁸ Similar allegations also poured in from villages in Ranibandh (Bankura) and Joypuyr (Purulia), but the concerned authorities did not admit that these were starvation deaths. Prior to this, the state of Rajasthan in 2001 also failed to prevent a string of starvation deaths. This incidence along with other national woes were the catalysts for the public interest litigation filed by the People's Union for Civil Liberties in 2001, which resulted in the Supreme Court's decision to convert nine food, work and nutrition programs into legal entitlements. The heart of the PUCL's case was that the Indian Constitution's right to life as spelled out in Article 21 entitles Indians to a right to food.

Eleven years and nine court orders later, the right to food case is still going and is largely responsible for pushing the government to develop food security legislation, which is expected to be debated in Parliament in the coming months. The draft bill would give 75% of rural Indians and 50% of urban Indians access to discounted rice and grains.³⁹

The World Bank's "*World Development Report 2011*" estimated that in the time-span of 2000-8, 43.5% of Indian children suffered from malnutrition. (The figure for China was 6.8). The data in *WDR 2012*, updated to cover the period 2004-9, shows that the percentage for India remains exactly the same. (China's has dropped even more to 4.5%, establishing the real impact that growth there has had on the lives of the poor.)

India is likely to have 33% malnourished children by the end of 2015 while the target under the United Nations' Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) is to bring it down to 26%. According to UNICEF and the Global Health Database maintained by World Health Organization, India has more malnourished children than sub-Saharan Africa and nearly one-in-every-5 malnourished children in the world is from India. Malnutrition is one of the leading causes (about 50%) of all childhood deaths. And malnourishment at an early age can lead to long-term consequences as it affects motor, sensory, cognitive, social and emotional development.

A study conducted by the medical journal Lancet in India, found that 78% of the infant mortality in here was due to low birth-weight and diarrheal diseases. This shows that there is not just a need to focus on providing essential nutrients but also better hygiene and sanitation. ⁴⁰

The data thus makes one apprehensive of the fact that it will have a tremendous negative impact on the country in terms of productivity, disease, of individual and national self-confidence which will in fact jeopardize India's security in the long run.⁴² However, according to data collected from a 'Rapid Survey on Children' in 2013-14, by the UNICEF and the union Ministry of Women and Child Development, India's proportion of children underweight fell from 45.1 per cent in 2005-6 to 30.1 per cent in 2013-14. This makes the decline in one indicator of child undernourishment the sharpest in the 25 years that such data has been collected. ⁴²

Moreover, there are quite noticeable shifts in consumer tastes among metropolitan populations which, have been increasing their demands made on tropical agriculture, and which underlie the new thrust to obtain cheap importable. These shifts in the pattern of consumer demand are mainly due to two reasons: first due to real income inequalities, entailing demand diversification in the upper segments. Secondly, the outcome of increasing health consciousness and the 'green' movement has had an appreciable impact on peoples' perception of organically grown food, free of artificial preservatives and colourings, as more healthy. Prone to cardiac diseases, cancers and digestive tract disorders, consumers in advanced countries, under medical advice, are

substituting fats of animal origin with vegetable oils, fatty meat with sea food and fish etc. to this end there is higher demand for whole grain cereals and green vegetables and fruits and other sources of fibre. Only a fraction of the required diet sources are provided by the local production of the cool IA's temperate lands. The bulk of the new demand has resulted in relentless pressure on the limited productive capacity of tropical and sub-tropical lands. Complementing to this is the pressure to 'open up' to imports of cereals and dairy products in which the advanced countries are performe specialized. Currently this pressure was exercised by the advanced countries on the signatories to GATT' 94, which included India, through the WTO by asking for a much faster rate of removal of the quantitative trade restrictions by them than advanced countries themselves are prepared to undertake with regard to their own manufactured products. Increased production of sea- food for export has long term adverse effect, like the prawn culture for export in the process destroys paddy lands through salination and has created unemployment in India like that in Thailand. ⁴³

Development- induced Displacement: In order to achieve rapid economic growth, India has vested in industrial projects, dams, roads, mines, power plants and new c cities which have been made possible only through massive acquisition of land and subsequent displacement of people. According to the figures provided by the Indian Social Institute, the 21.3 million development- induced IDPs include those displaced by dams (16.4 million), mines (2.55 million), industrial development (1.25 million) and wild life sanctuaries and national parks (0.6 million). Tribals formed the majority of the development-induced displaced persons. As per the Action Aid and Indian Social Institute – over 1.4 million people have been displaced from their homes in the four states of Andhra Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Orissa and Jharkhand. A total of 10.2 million acres of land have been acquired for setting up of development projects such as mines, industrial plants and dams in the last decade. Out of the 1.4 million displaced persons in these four states, 79% were tribals. The following table gives an estimate of the development projects and the number of IDPs in each case with special reference to the tribals. ⁴⁴

**Table:5. Development Projects and its Impact on Indian Population
(With special reference to Tribals)**

<i>No.</i>	<i>Name of the Project</i>	<i>Name of the State</i>	<i>Population facing Displacement</i>	<i>Percentage of Displacement of the Tribal Population</i>
1.	Karjan	Gujarat	11,600	100
2.	Sardar Sarovar	Gujarat	200,000	57.6
3.	Maheswar	Madhya Pradesh	20,000	60
4.	Bodhghat	Madhya Pradesh	12,700	73.91
5.	Icha	Bihar	30,800	80
6.	Chandil	Bihar	37,600	87.92
7.	Koel Karo	Bihar	66,000	88
8.	Mahi Bajaj Sagar	Rajasthan	38,400	76.28
9.	Polavaram	Andhra Pradesh	150,000	52.90
10.	Maithon & Panchet	Bihar	93,874	56.46
11.	Upper Indravati	Orissa	18,500	89.20
12.	Pong	Himachal Pradesh	80,000	56.25
13.	Ichampalli	Andhra Pradesh- Maharashtra	38,100	76.28
14.	Tultuli	Maharashtra	13,600	51.61
15.	Daman Ganga	Gujarat	8,700	48.70
16.	Bhakra	Himachal Pradesh	36,000	34.76
17.	Masan Reservoir	Bihar	3,700	31.00
18.	Ukai Reservoir	Gujarat	52,000	18.92

Source: Anupam Hazra, *Indians in Need of Rehabilitation*, South Asia Politics, July 2009, Vol.8, No. 3 and Satyajit Singh, *Taming the Waters*, (Oxford University Press, 1997).

SOCIAL SECURITY:

Societal security, has been defined by Buzan, in his book, *States People and Fear* (1983) as ‘the sustainability, within conditions for evolution, of traditional patterns of language, culture and religious and national identity and custom’⁴⁵ The logic of exploring the societal dimensions points toward an approach to security that is grounded on the individual. Society is related to identity, the way that communities think about and define themselves as members of a particular community. Ole Waever argues that a striking change in the European security problematic after the end of the Cold War “was a change in forms of community as referents of the security discourse- away from ‘state’ and towards ‘nation’.”⁴⁶

Anderson also feels that Societal Security is mostly about large, self- sustaining identity groups, which could be national groups, but might just as easily be religious, racial or other groupings. The concept according to Anderson could also be defined as ‘identity security’. Anderson also feels that identity communities can be defined as ‘imagined communities’.⁴⁷ Although objective factors such as language or location may contribute in the making of identity, but it remains a personal or an apolitical choice to identify with some community by emphasizing some factor or factors in contrast to others, particularly due to the availability of more than one option, or the existence of a particular political pressure not to identify with a particular group. Waever, thus refers to societal security as being ‘security analysis in the field of cultural identity.’⁴⁸

India also presents an interesting case study where various factors such as language, location, religion, caste and above all the ethnic identities contribute in the formation of various communities which in fact endangers the social security of the country.

India, being the home of various ethnic groups is no exception to this. We get a picture of the diverse ethnic groups in our country from Schermerhorn's study on ethnic groups in India, where he has listed 10 ethnic 'minorities' in India namely, Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, Jains, Jews, Sikhs, Muslims, Christians, Anglo Indians, Parseese and Chinese. He however, omits other categories like linguistic minorities on grounds that there are too many linguistic groups and their factionalised nature makes it impossible to treat them on a societal basis. However, Schermerhorn's study reveals that ethnic diversity in India is a complex phenomenon, which is, in a way responsible for the growing security problem in India.⁴⁹ This diverse ethnic mosaic of India has manifested itself through majority- minority conflicts, which have taken various forms, like i. Ethnic violence, ii Maoist insurgencies, iii. Communalism, and iv. Caste problem. In all these cases the aggrieved minorities have been subjected to economic deprivation at some point of time, which have emerged as a potent source of security threat for the nation.

Therefore, India today faces numerous ethnic upsurges, which has multi-dimensional consequences. Ethnic clash unleashes massive violence against the minority. Other manifestations of ethnicity are terrorism and militancy, regionalism and regional politics which results in multiple divisions of the state. Ethnic strife generates violence that results in displacement. Developmental projects undertaken by the state is another reason for displacement. The displaced migrants, settling in various places, can lead to the creation of identity crisis among the existing *Bhumiputras*, which in turn results in ethnic clashes. Thus, it can be seen that the above mentioned factors move in a vicious cycle, jeopardizing the security of the state.

Since ethnicity and identity crisis are interlinked and is one of the most serious security threats in India, the problem of ethnic crisis has been dealt with at the beginning. This will be followed by detailed studies of other social security problems.

Ethnicity as a Social Security Problem in India:

The onslaught of ethnic nationalism has ravaged India ever since it attained its independence, which was unfortunately marked by the emergence of the two new states of India and Pakistan. The reason for the partition of India and Pakistan can be termed as “an apparent legitimization in the ethnic distinctiveness of the ‘two nations.’ ” Ever since then an increase in the number of secessionist movements in India has been witnessed. India seems to be facing two security threats: First, many movements which were autonomist in nature transformed themselves into secessionist ones, for example those in the North East, Punjab and Kashmir. Secondly, apart from the secessionist movements, India faced a plethora of non secessionist ethnic movements too. However, irrespective of the nature of these movements they undermined the unity and morale of the country, stunted its development and claimed countless innocent lives. How Ethnicity poses to be a serious social security problem in India can be best understood in the words of Urmila Phadnis and Rajat Ganguly :

*“The demand for recognition as ‘nations’ on the basis of ethnic- self determination has symbolized revolt against the state and its power structure. The intra- regional and trans- regional dimensions of such movements have diffused the boundaries of ‘statehood’ and ‘neighbourhood’ on the one hand, and underscored the role of extra- regional forces and factors on the other. Furthermore, the region is also interspersed with groups which, though ethnically distinctive, have not been politically assertive on ethnic terms.”*⁵⁰

Ethnicity as a Social Security threat factor has been analysed with the help of a case study of North East India, which have been a pertinent problem throughout the 90s till the beginning of the Century in India

Definition of ethnicity: Ethnicity is a response to injustice, grievances, stresses, frustration, discontentment, maladministration, corruption, at high places, and misgovernance when a small minority feel deprived from access to the bases of power etc. Charles Kegley observed in this context that, “in the industrialized world, terrorism often occurs where minority groups feel deprived of the political freedoms and privileges enjoyed by the majority.”⁵¹

An ethnic group that uses cultural symbols like religion or language or central symbols like territory or colour, can be regarded as a 'subjectively self-conscious community' which determines the inclusion and exclusion into a particular group on the basis of various criteria, like matters of descent, birth, and a sense of kinship, and adopts various rules for the same, like the tacit adaptation of the rules of endogamy and exogamy. Apart from subjective self-consciousness the status and recognition on the basis of membership of a superior group or that of a group at least equal to other groups also acts as a determinant for Ethnicity or ethnic identity.⁵²

Some of these ethnic groups in an attempt to change their socio-economic status or to acquire various civil rights and educational opportunities might get involved in the interest group politics of the region. Moreover, these groups also can transform themselves to secessionist groups and pose to be a security threat when: i they demand control over the public system of education, ii. Demand control over the public system of education, or iii. Demand control over a piece of territory within the country, iv. or even demand a country of their own with full sovereignty. In the fourth case the ethnic group reflects the aspirations for the acquisition of national status and recognition. So far as the ethnic group is successful in fulfilling any of the above-mentioned criteria either within the state in which it belongs or within its own state, that ethnic group is said to have become a nationality or a nation.⁵³

The Researcher will thus take up the case study of the ethnic crisis of North East India where identity crisis and ethnicity has culminated in ethnic upsurges, thus resulting in serious Social security threats within the country.

Case study of North East India: The North East region comprises of eight states- Sikkim, Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland and Tripura. It remains the 'hottest trouble spots in South Asia' as the region reels under the vicious cycle of a range of insurgent movements, militant violence, ethnic strife and internal displacement. There are a wide number of insurgent groups which operate in the region with different demands ranging from autonomy to secession.

Thus, Terrorism in the North East can actually be termed as “Ethnic upsurges often leading to secessionist movement with terror tactics’⁵⁴ which can mostly be attributed to a combination of peculiar historical, political and economic realities.

Causes for the emergence of The North East Ethnic Problem:

It is a known fact that all the movements in the North East are a struggle arising out of identity Crisis and a resultant demographic transformation caused by immigration. This sentiment was further aggravated by the dual role played by the educated middle class and the vernacular print media, who together created a ‘we’ and ‘they’ mentality.

The North East problem dates back to the time of the British policy of Divide and Rule which led to the alienation of the peripheral ethnic groups at different points of time. Even in the post- independence period the policy of excessive centralization of political and economic power adopted by the ruling class fostered economic discontent among the original inhabitants of the area. This was further aggravated by deliberate symbol manipulation of the regional and national elite. Thus, the region even till today suffers from widespread conflicts in Assam, Manipur, Nagaland and Tripura.

Manipur: being the homeland of diverse ethnic groups is plagued by struggles of the diverse ethnic groups residing in the state remains the most disturbed state in the region due to the struggles of pertaining to separate homelands. Since these insurgent outfits remain divided on ethnic lines with competing demands have further aggravated the problem.

Naga’s demand for Nagalim (Greater Nagaland in the Naga Majority areas affecting four districts of Manipur, namely Ukhrul, Senapati, Tamenglong and Chandel districts

has created tensions amongst the Manipuris, primarily between the Nagas, Meitis and Kukis.

Tripura is the only state in India's north- East, which has transformed in recent history from tribal to non- tribal state and has its roots of instability in demographics. There are ample proliferation of terrorist factions in the state like NLFT (National Liberation Front of Assam) and ATTF (All Tripura Tribal Front) are still active in the Northern Tripura adjoining lower Cachar region of southern Assam and Mizoram, which have led the Governor of Tripura to declare certain areas as "Disturbed Areas" under the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act, 1958 as amended in 1972. While two districts of Arunachal Pradesh, Tirap and Changlang witnesses overflow of Naga and ULFA insurgents from Nagaland and upper Assam.

The state of *Meghalaya* is also reeling under the activities of the various terrorist outfits in the region, as they have resorted to arms on the pretext of protecting the rights of the ' indigenous people' against encroachment by outsiders and creation of separate homelands for the native tribes.

Mizoram remains free from major militant violence ever since the Political Resolution of the insurgency in the state in 1986 except some minor infliction caused by the Bru militants.

Eruption of the Kamtapur Liberation Organization (KLO) in the Siliguri corridor area of the north- east region in the western part of Assam is also posing a big threat to the region as well in India. Unlike Jharkhand where the settled migrants (sadans) got associated with the movement, the Kamtapur Movement has targeted the Bengalee refugees who have emerged as the Bhumiputras. The group under the leadership of Tushar Das alias Jibon Singha is demanding a separate state of Kamtapur for the Koch- Rajbongshi community comprising of the six districts of West Bengal- Cooch Bihar, Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri, North and South Dinajpur and Malda along with the four contiguous districts of Assam- Kokrajhar, Bongaigaon, Goalpara and Dhubri. The topographical position of the area, which is bordered by Bhutan, Bangladesh, and the ULFA- infested zones of Assam, poses to be a big security threat for India, as the

organization is linked with ULFA and is using the sensitive corridor of Siliguri Corridor as a transit point to cross over to Bhutan and then into Bangladesh, thus providing an opportunity to the ULFA to strengthen its network. ⁵⁵

However, the inherent weakness of the movement lies in the fact that the demands have not been tagged with the deprivation – development issues. Although Cooch Bihar and other North Bengal districts present a valid case for a deprivation –based movement, Jalpaiguri remained at a low medium level and Darjeeling at a high medium level on the Human Development Index in 1991. Thus the Kamtapur ethnicity and language demand could not be tagged with derivational factors. Moreover, the Rajbansi community based movement could not extend its support base due to as the movement revolves around a language people in some pockets and which has not yet developed properly. Thus the movement has not been able to gather momentum and spread across five districts of North Bengal. Ethicizing language may be a legitimate issue, but to gain the support of more social groups and to form a broad coalition, the Kamtapur protagonists have to improvise symbols involving both regional and developmental issues. ⁵⁶

Considered as the mother of all the North- Eastern states, Assam is in turmoil due to massive influx of immigrants both from the Indian mainland and Bangladesh. This has led to the emergence of a number of insurgent groups backed by the neighbouring foreign countries hostile to India. There are about 34 insurgent groups with the United Liberation Front of Asom (ULFA) being the main player.

The Politics of Identity in Assam: The emergence of the Politics of Identity in Assam can be traced to the formation of various socio- cultural organizations, like Bodo Sahitya Sabha, Mising Bane Kband etc. This identity consciousness was further sharpened by the Medium Movement, 1972 and the Assam Movement 1979- 85. ⁵⁷ In effect, the politics of identity has become a living phenomenon in Assam, and is responsible for the repeated ethnic movements, like the Assam Movement followed by the Boroland Movement, which triggered massive political unrest and insecurity in the region.

Boroland Movement: The Movement in the first flush of enthusiasm of a mass movement cried for 'Divide Assam Fifty- Fifty'. It aimed at securing an independent Boroland, north of Brahmaputra River. However, the Government refused to grant the forest areas and villages bordering the international boundaries. The BRSF does not accept the Bodo Accord and is still committed to carrying on armed struggle for securing the right to self- determination of the Bodos. A situation of grave uncertainty has enveloped the region as The National Democratic Front of Boroland (NDFB) of the Bodo tribe, with the aim of securing an independent Boroland, North of the Brahmaputra River has resulted in violence in the state on 20th December, 2000. The Bodo outfits remains active in the districts of Kokrajhar, Bongaigaon, Nalbari, Barpeta, Kamrup, Darrang and Dhemaji of Assam. ⁵⁸ Violence again erupted in 2008 in the districts of Udalgiri and Darrang leading to 70 deaths and 100,000 displaced people. This was again followed by recurrence of violence in the 2012 in the districts of Kokrajhar, Chirang, Dhubri etc. which resulted in 114 casualties and 450,000 victims of displacement. ⁵⁹

ULFA: Similar to the Boros, the ULFA leaders also repudiated the goal of Assamese independence and instead articulated a commitment to the goal of the Assamese Swadhikar (Self- Determination). ULFA protested against the 'illegal immigration' of "foreigners" into Assam, primarily from Bangladesh, and to much lesser extent from Nepal as well. Although ULFA did not share the immediate goals of the Assam Movement, the emergence of the ULFA was based on the same theme in the ideology of the Assamese sub nationalism in the 1980s- 'the unity of all Indigenous northeasterners', a common concept in a region characterized by heavy immigration. ⁶⁰

The ULFA emerged to be a serious security threat for India, especially when ULFA signed a Memorandum of Understanding with the NSCN (National Security Council of Nagaland), The United Liberation Front of Manipur (UNLMF) and some Burmese organizations. According to Indian military intelligence, the objective of these organizations was to establish an independent state comprising of the northeastern states of India and northwestern Burma. With this objective in mind the organizations

led to a massive political turmoil for six years, which came to an end with the signing of The Assam Accord.

The present Scenario: A Growing Democracy Deficit: Although, elections have been held in Assam every five years, the killings and the reference to the killings of innocent civilians by death squads- family members of ULFA leaders being killed as acts of vengeance or as a way of trying to force their kins to change their ways reveal that the law and order situation in the state has come to a stand- still. ⁶¹ Military operations against the ULFA by the Indian Army began in 1990 and continue into the present. On 5 December 2009, the chairman and the deputy commander-in-chief of ULFA was taken into Indian custody. In 2011, there was a major crackdown on the ULFA in Bangladesh which greatly assisted the government of India in bringing ULFA leaders to talks. In January 2010, ULFA softened its stance and dropped demands for independence as a condition for talks with the Government of India.⁶² On 3 September 2011, a tripartite agreement for Suspension of Operations (SoO) against ULFA was signed between the Indian government, the Assam government and the ULFA. As of March 25th, 2013 there were 12 militant outfits who were in talks with the central and the state Government were NDFB's progressive faction, ULFA- PTF, KLNLF, BCF etc. The BTF and ULFBV are the two groups who have already surrendered while settlements have been reached by the Central and the State Governments with the UPDS and 2 factions of DHD. ⁶³

The threat posed by the militants in Assam is significantly lower today, but, arguably, in terms of the quality of India's democracy, as experienced by the citizens of Assam, things have not turned any better. Moreover, six insurgent groups are still active in Assam like ULFA- I- present at Goalpara and Tinsukia Districts. NDFB- IKS is active in the entire BTC belt, Sonitpur District and the neighboring Arunachal Pradesh, while KPLT is active along the Karbi Anglong District and the KLO operates in the Golakganjin Dhubri District and in the North Bengal areas. Thus, Chief Minister Tarun Gogoi stated in the Chief Minister's Conference in 2013 that a coordinated action from Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland and some parts of Meghalaya to curb their activities. Another area of concern is the information from highly placed sources,

according to which as many as 51 militant hideouts of North East India's militant formations still exist in the Bangladeshi soil.⁶⁴

The impact of ethnicity in terms of security threat in India is thus manifold; it results in Human Rights abuse and large scale displacement within the country which have been discussed below.

1. **Human Rights Abuse- Violence against Women and Children:**

The other conflict - torn states of North East India also reveal an alarming picture of human rights abuse. Women and children especially have been vulnerable to the consequences of the ethnic conflict in the North East. Violence and acts of terror perpetrated against women are now institutionalized strategies adopted by warring factions in the North East in India and elsewhere. The children not only bear the brunt of the human cost but also become victims of the special horror of recruitment as child soldiers. Poverty has driven the children of poor households into the ranks of armed groups. For example one of the direct impact of these conflicts could be felt in;

- a) *Nagaland* in the form of Internal displacement, which forces many victims of these conflicts to flee into the jungles, The resultant loss of cultural ethos of the home and village life creates a sense of loss of identity. Violence and conflicts leave in its trail harsh struggle for existence for its victims. Children, many time, become rebels without a cause. Poverty, starvation and lack of subsequent financial and medical aid by the Government results in diseases like beriberi, diarrhea, hypoproteinemia, water – borne diseases like typhoid, swelling of the joints and vitamin deficiencies.
- b) *Tripura* has also experienced serious internal displacement and dislocation of people especially women and children. These were the large –scale burning of houses and other dwelling units, at high points of these conflicts, have resulted in dislocation of people, especially women and children. Children have been put in make- shift camps for long periods, which adversely affected their

schooling, food security, health and so on. Bad hygiene facilities have turned the camps into breeding places of Cerebral Malaria. The prevailing armed – conflict situation prevents access to medical care. ⁶⁵

1. ***Violence- Induced Displacement:*** Displacement of population due to ethnic clash causes more havoc to the population than the displacement due to the developmental activities. As in the former case, people have to move for life without prior notice, whereas in the later case, people are well notified before they are to move. Such displacement causes multifaceted damage not only to the victims, but also hinders development in at least four ways: 1. By increasing pressure on urban infrastructure and services. 2. Undermining economic growth, 3. Increasing risk of conflict and 4. Leading to worse health, educational and social indicators among migrants themselves. The following table gives an account of the approximate number of internally displaced persons in the various states of India and the major causes for such displacements at a glance:

Table-6. Major incidences of Conflict- induced displacements in India in the Twenty First Century at a glance

<i>State</i>	<i>No. of persons displaced</i>	<i>Major Cause</i>
Jammu and Kashmir	Atleast 250,000 Kashmiri Pandits	Muslim Separatists and Fundamentalist threats and attacks on Kashmiri Pandits.
Assam	212,000	Violence in 2007 against migrant labourers and ethnic clashes in 2008.
Chhattisgarh	114,000	Naxalites conflict in 2007
Orissa	20,000- 50,000	Communal violence in Kandhamal, between Hindu and Christian in 2008.
Routa in Udalgri District	50,000	Communal violence between Bodos and immigrant Muslim settlers when AASU organized a state- wide campaign to evict illegal migrants in 2008. **
Gujrat	Over 21,000 Muslims	Communal riots between Hindus and Muslims
Arunachal Pradesh	Atleast 3000 Chakmas	Conflict between tribals and the Chakmas
West Bengal	1,500 *	In 2007, acquisition of land in Singur for an automobile project leading to protests and conflicts among people threatened by displacement.
	37,000	Bodo – Santhal conflict 2004
Manipur- Nagaland	50,000 Nagas	After June 2001, a ceasefire between the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NCSN) and the Indian Government led to protests and a new wave of displacement.

Source: Anupam Hazra, *Indians in Need of Rehabilitation*, (South Asia Politics, Vol. 98 , No. 3, July 2009, P. 34). Also Available on line at [www. Internal – displacement. Org](http://www.Internal-displacement.Org).

* Economic and Political Weekly (EPW), 12 July 2008.

** Available at

Maoist Insurgency: a Potent Security Threat in India:

As stated above, although the main reason for the North east militancy is the assertion of ethnic identity, one of the underlying factor that can bring all cases of militancy and terrorism against the state under one common banner is economic deprivation.

The Indian Government, plagued by terrorist activities from various quarters, ranging from its neighbour, Pakistan's Cross- border terrorism to the rise of international Jihadi Movements, has perplexed India so much, that it has overlooked the problem of Maoist insurgency, which has acquired formidable strength in India. Estimates reveal that above 6,000 people have perished in the Naxalite insurgency in the last 20 years. The Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh has decided to place the Maoist movement's threat to Indian security at the forefront of public and official debate. (1st internet Art) referring to the problem with great concern in 2006, as "The single biggest internal security challenge ever faced by our country." ⁶⁶

Areas Affected by Maoist Insurgency:

The apprehensions of the Prime Minister can be understood by taking a look at the large number of Districts it has spread its tentacles. The Naxalites today, operate in 60 districts in India, mainly in the states of Orissa (15 affected districts), Jharkhand (14 affected districts), Bihar (seven affected districts), Andhra Pradesh, Chhattisgarh (ten affected districts), Madhya Pradesh (8 affected districts), Maharashtra (2 affected districts) and West Bengal (1 affected district). In West Bengal areas west of Howrah are affected by the insurgency. Especially, the Jangalmahal and the Lalgah, areas are some off the worst affected by anti-state violence by Maoist groups. ⁶⁷

Causes for the rise of The Maoists:

The history of the Maoist insurgency can be traced to the state's failure to enforce the Fifth and Ninth Schedules of the Constitution we gave to ourselves in 1950. The Fifth Schedule had stipulated that the state Governors would administer the Tribal areas by

appointing Tribes Advisory Councils. The Ninth Schedule dealt with the equitable distribution of cultivable land by enacting land ceiling laws and restricting ownership of cultivable land to specific limits and taking out the surplus land and distributing it among the landless labourers. The honest fact is that the Indian state has lacked the political will to implement these schedules. In the bargain we have invited the armed Maoist insurgency on ourselves.

Although formed to serve the cause of the exploited tribals, it is surprising that no tribals occupy any senior or even middle or lower level leadership positions in the Maoist political structure or military organizations and there is evidence of criminalization in terms of Rs 1,500 crore extortion economies.⁶⁸

Impact of Maoist Insurgency: Rise of Salwa Judum and violation of Human Rights:

Chhattisgarh being the epicentre of the conflict (2007, it has been alleged by the BBC that the militia group Salwa Judum was constituted in response to Naxalite activities. The allegation was however, rejected by the state. It has come under fire from pro-Maoist activist groups for "atrocities and abuse against women", [38] employing child soldiers and looting and destruction of property. For example, the rape and murder of Kursam Lakhi and Sukki Modiyam of the village of Pedda Korma, raped and killed by the forces of the Salway Judum militia and their police counterparts on February 6, 2005⁶⁹ is a case to the point. However, these allegations were rejected by a fact finding commission of the National Human Rights Commission of India (NHRC), appointed by the Supreme Court of India, who determined that the Salwa Judum was a spontaneous reaction by tribals against Maoist atrocities perpetrated against them.

Salwa Judum poses as a security threat not only through violation of Human Rights but, also by serving as an inspiration for the formation of similar paramilitary groups have emerged in Andhra Pradesh during the last decade. Some of these groups are Fear Vikas, Green Tigers, Nalladandu, Red Tigers, Tirumala Tigers, Palnadu Tigers, Kakatiya Cobras, Narsa Cobras, Nallamalla Nallatrachu (Cobras) and Kranthi Sena.

Civil liberties activists were murdered by the Nayeem gang in 1998 and 2000. Similarly, in Bihar, the Ranvir Sena, a caste-supremacist paramilitary of the upper-caste landlords and proscribed terrorist organisation by the Indian government, has been known to kill Dalit civilians in retaliation for Naxalite activity forces have backed militias and classes who have been ruthless in perpetrating what Manmohan Singh admitted were grave acts of 'social and economic abuse'.⁷⁰

Post 2000 scenario: An escalated Activities of Maoist rebels:

Since the year 2002, India experienced intensified attacks, launched by the Peoples' War Group (PWG), on police officers, land and business owners in response to a July ban imposed on the group by the Andhra Pradesh government. The government responded by tightening security, allegedly ordering attacks on suspected PWG members by state police and the "Green Tigers". In the ensuing encounters an estimated 140 people were killed in fighting between the PWG and government forces throughout the year. According to government reports, 482 people have died during the conflict that year. The conflict in Arunachal Pradesh intensified and assumed the form of sporadic low intensity conflict between the PWG and the Government forces till 2007. It was in the month of November in the same year the state of West Bengal occupied the Centre stage when reports emerged regarding the anti-SEZ (Special Economic Zone) movements such as the Bhoomi Uchched Pratirodh Committee in Nandigram in West Bengal. It arose after the land appropriation and human displacement following the SEZ Act of 2005, the suffering victims of the conflict have joined forces with the Naxalites since February to protect themselves from police atrocities. The police found weapons belonging to Maoists near Nandigram during this period shows the possibilities of armed rebellion against the state or further violence against the police forces. The worst victims were the civilians were forced to choose between joining the Maoist insurgents or supporting the Salwa Judum and faced coercion from both sides. According to news reports, this conflict resulted in 650 deaths during 2007; of these 240 were civilians, 218 security personnel and 192 militants.⁷¹

Civilians were most affected in the ongoing fighting between Maoist rebels and government security forces. Of the 16 states touched by this conflict, Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand were the most affected. One positive note for Chhattisgarh was that fatalities, although still high, were significantly down from 2007. South Asia Terrorism Portal's fatality count across the six states that saw the majority of the fighting (Bihar, Orissa, Jharkhand, Maharashtra, Chhattisgarh, and Andhra Pradesh) was 794. This included 399 civilians, 221 security force personnel and 174 insurgents.⁷² The following gives an account number of deaths and injuries inflicted upon the civilians in recent times:

There were more than 40,000 displaced people in 2006. According to the Institute of Peace and Conflict studies, Naxal groups have recruited children in different capacities and exposed them to injury and death. However the same accusation has been levelled at the state-sponsored Salwa Judum anti-Maoist group, and Special Police officers (SPOs) assisting the government security forces.⁷³ According to the BBC, more than 6,000 people have died during the rebels' 20-year fight between 1990 and 2010.⁷⁴

Seeking for a Solution: Development and Upliftment of the Aggrieved People:

In February 2009, the Indian Central government announced a new nationwide initiative, to be called the "Integrated Action Plan" (IAP) for broad, co-ordinated operations aimed at dealing with the Naxalite problem in all affected states, namely (Karnataka, Chhattisgarh, Orissa, Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Jharkhand, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, and West Bengal). Importantly, this plan included funding for grass-roots economic development projects in Naxalite affected areas, as well as increased special police funding for better containment and reduction of Naxalite influence in these areas. The Government efforts have been effective to certain extent as Karnataka has been removed from the list of naxal affected states in 2010, out of approximately 180 districts in ten states of India where Naxals have been active in 2009 after the first full year of implementation of the national IAP program.⁷⁵

In December 2011, the national government reported that the number of Naxalite related deaths and injuries nationwide had gone down by nearly 50% from 2010 levels. ⁷⁶ The Government has disbursed a hefty amount of Rs. 20708.00 for two consecutive years (2013- 14 to 2014- 15) under the SRE Scheme, for the development of the said areas. ⁷⁷ This has also been successful as revealed by the number of surrendered Naxals within the period 2012-2015, which has been illustrated in the Table below:

Table:7. Number of Surrendered Naxals within the Period 2012 to 15th Feb. 2015.

Year	2012	2013	2014	2015(till 15th Feb)
No. of Surrendered Naxals	445	282	676	83

Source: Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India, Unstarred Question No. 144, Annexure II (As available at mhal.nic.in/par2013/par2015-pdfs/ as downloaded on 24.11.2015.)

An estimate of the total number of casualties among civilians, security forces and Naxal militants within the period 2012-2015 ,also shows a descending trend, but, it still continues to be a social security threat factor for the country.

Table:8. Total incidents of naxal related violence, civilians killed, security forces killed, Naxals killed and Naxals arrested for the period between 2012 to 15th Feb. 2015.

Year	Incidents	Civilians Killed	Security Forces Killed	Naxals Killed	Naxals Arrested
2012	1415	301	114	74	1901
2013	1136	282	115	100	1397
2014	1091	222	87	63	1696
2015	197	27	8	6	135

(till 15 th Feb.)					
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Source: Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India, starred Question No. 144, Annexre I, (As available at mhal.nic.in/par2013/par2015-pdfs/ as downloaded on 24.11.2015.)

Other important social security threat factor that has its roots in economic stagnation is Communalism and Caste problem in India. Communalism can be regard as an appendage of Hindu Fundamentalism whose emergence can also be traced to economic backwardness of a particular section of the society. So before we move on to discuss the caste and the communal problem prevailing in the country, let us very briefly analyse the causes for the emergence of Hindu Fundamentalism in the Indian society.

Emergence of Hindu Fundamentalism: The emergence of ‘Hindu Fundamentalism’ is a relatively new phenomenon, which arose mainly due to the vacuum created by the erosion of democratic institutions, especially of the party system, dominated by the Congress with no secular alternative in sight, and the failure of the state to move forward with the development process. Some political parties and politicians have mobilized a certain section of the people, by presenting to them an incredible case that in India the majority community of the Hindus has remained backward, illiterate and underdeveloped while the minorities (Muslims, Christians and Sikhs) have been ‘pampered’. Under this pretext, thus the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), The Rashtriya Sawamsevak Sangh- cadre- based organization, and the religious formation that insists on a fundamentalist interpretation of Hinduism, The Viswa Hindu Parishad(World Hindu Conference) and thus urged and instigated the masses to unite under one unifying ideology. The peace and tranquility of the country was again destroyed when these organizations ‘mobilsed’ the Hindus, particularly the youths and the women, for the construction of the ‘Ram Mandir’ at Ayodhya through a series of ‘rath yatras’ and ‘kar sevas’ leading to the destruction of the Babri Masjid, the sixteenth Century mosque, allegedly built by Babar, at Ayodhya on December 6, 1992, with the Congress Government’s inaction. Most independent and objective scholars have found this particular interpretation of Hindus and Hinduism a gross distortion of both the spiritual and the social realities of India and of Hindu religious tradition as well.

Rajni Kothatri thus explained the situation as, ‘Semitisation of Hinduism, modeling it along the lines of Islam or Christianity or Judaism, with one common doctrine, one book, a common clergy and common church or Masjid or temple.’⁷⁸ One of the most dangerous impacts of fundamentalism is communalism.

Class and Communalism in India:

In order to find the main reason behind the rise of Communalism in India, Bipan Chandra’s quotation can be referred to. ‘Basically, communalism was one of the byproducts of colonialism, of the colonial character of the Indian economy, of colonial underdevelopment and, in recent years, of the failure and the incapacity of capitalism to develop the economy and the society. Colonialism provided the social structure which produced communalism and in which it could grow... This was particularly true of the impact of colonialism on the middle classes, which were, in particular, torn by fears, jealousies and frustration.’⁷⁹

According to Rajni Kothari, a composite division of the Indian society is taking place, which she has referred to in many of her writings and analyses, characterized as the division between ‘two Indias.’⁸⁰ According to which India’s’ development and democracy have led to a kind of division between those with access to power, privileges, resources, and positions and the rest who are left out of the dominant techno- economic model around which the modern State is sought to be steered. These are the poor, the untouchables, the tribals, the backward classes, the lower castes, and also large sections of the religious minorities, including women.

However, it is not necessary that all of them have to be in the same economic strata at the lower end of the poverty line. For example, the atrocities committed on women, cut across classes and yet there is a sort of gender divide which is becoming part of the larger scenario of the ‘two Indias’.

In the case of Muslims, certain middle class Muslims also become victims of communal frenzy and the mass of the poor. Yet there is no doubt that State the policies, that have built an elite structure based on certain classes that dominate the

country, do affect the minorities of the ethnic and religious kind. For example, a riot or a series of atrocities against the Dalits, or against the Tribals, might soon develop into an anti- Muslim or anti- Sikh riot. In parts of Kerala and Tamil Nadu, an anti-Christian kind of virus has taken roots. The Hindu chauvinist psychology that is emerging in India, largely located in North India, Gujarat and Maharashtra, these targets happen to cut across the Dalits, the tribals, the Muslims and the other religious minorities. It would seem that as if the victims were "... all part of the same mass of people who are 'undermining the unity of the country', who happen to be responsible for the unmanageable diversity that the system has to deal with, and who are standing in the way of the country moving ahead as a homogeneous, powerful, strong and technologically advanced State. " That is at least how the point of view of the dominant classes is emerging which then gets reflected in the behaviour of the system.⁸¹

COMMUNALISM: (*Definition*)

Nationalism and communalism have been the most important factors at the root of the major crisis in the twentieth century Indian politics. Nationalism has been the aspiration and communalism the disease; and both in their own ways have shaped Indian politics. According to Bipan Chandra, "the concept of communalism is based on the belief that religious distinction is the most important and fundamental distinction, and this distinction overrides all their distinctions. Since Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs are different religious entities; their social, economic, cultural and political interests are also dissimilar and divergent. As such, the loss of one religious group is the gain of another group and vice versa. If a particular community seeks to better its social and economic situation, it is doing at the expense of other." ⁸²

The Rise of Hindu Communalism:

As stated earlier, In India, the minorities have been 'pampered' due to our conception of secularism based on the vision of a multi- ethnic, multi- national and plural society, resulting in the backwardness and underdevelopment of the Hindus. Thus the modernized Hindus want to create a synthetic majority.

Communalism in India made its major appearance, in the pre-Independence era, in 1886, with the formation of two communal streams – the Muslim League (based on Islam) and the Hindu Mahasabha and the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (based on Hinduism). Over the years, these two streams have constantly tried to fan the communal passions of their followers, be it in the Shah Banoo case or the perennial dispute with regard to the Babri Masjid in Ayodhya. The fact that communalism has emerged as the festering sore in the Indian body politic⁸³, especially in the the new millennium can be understood from the following table.

Table:9. Communal Violence in India in the Twenty First Century. (2000- 2014)

Sl. No.	Name of the Incident	Year	No . of Casualties
1.	Chittisinghpura massacre	2000	35 sikhs killed
2.	Godhra Train Burning	2002	58 Hindus killed
3.	Gujarat violence	2002	900-2000 dead, mostly Muslims
4.	Kaluchak massacre	2002	31 Hindus killed
5.	Marad massacre	2002	14 Hindu deaths
6.	Kherlanji massacre	2006	lynching of four Dalits
7.	Aligarh Riots	2006	5 People were killed
8.	Indore Riots	2008	7 people were killed out of which 6 were Muslims.
9.	Religious violence in Orissa	2007-2009	Christians mostly targetted
10.	Dhule riots	2008	4 people were left dead as Hindu and Muslim communities clashed. The incident left over 200 people injured that included 113 policemen.
11.	Deganga riots	2010	24 people were hurt and several houses and properties got destroyed when clashes broke out between Hindu and Muslim communities in the Basirhat sub-division of North 24 Parganas, about 150 km from Kolkata.
12.	Bharatpur riots**	2011	Clashes broke between Gujjars and Meo Muslims in Bharatpur Rajasthan. Eight people were killed and 23 were injured.
13.	Assam riots**	2012	77 people were reported to have been killed. Around, 79,000 people from about 500 villages had to take shelter in 128 relief camps. The riots took place between Bodo community and Bengali speaking Muslims of the region.
14.	Muzzafarnagar riots**	2013	The riot took place between Hindu Jats and Muslims 62 deaths of which 42 victims were Muslims and 20 Hindus.

15.	Meerut Riots***	2014	3 killed and 50 injured
16.	Saharanpur Riots***	2014	3 killed and 33injured

Source: As available at www.dnaindia.com/india/reports/-6-worst-communal-riots-under-upa-government-1984678, as downloaded on 24.11.2015

The communal problem has become so acute in India that no political leader or party dares to contest the election without manoeuvring a combination of caste and religious groups in the constituencies, which was aptly reflected in the Ayodhya issue in the 1990s. Communalism leads to communal riots which involve immense violence leading to loss of life and property, atrocities on women and children etc. A study of Gujrat carnage at the very onset of the new millennium bears testimony to the fact.

The Gujarat Carnage: The violent scenario in Gujarat during 1987-2002, involving communal polarization between the Hindus and the Muslims, prepared the ground for the carnage of 2002 (Sheth, 2002) The eight- member Concerned Citizens Tribunal on Gujarat (CCTG, 2002) led by Justice V. R Krishna Iyer, former Supreme Court Judge, noted that the intensity and the brutality with which of the riot suggested that it could not have happened without Government support. It was not merely a communal riot, but genocide. Twenty of Gujarat's 26 districts were engulfed in a well- organized armed mob attacks on Muslims between 28th February and 2nd March 2002, and continued till mid- March. Nowhere were the mobs less than 2,000 or 3,000 and often they were more than 5,000 in number. The fact that the mobs were armed with lethal weapons and the chillingly similar manner of arson indicated a carefully laid out plan of action. The main features of the violence in Gujarat were: (1) Selective targeting of Muslims. (2) Brutality and the bestiality of the attack. (3) Unprecedented scale and the degree of the violence (4). Military precision and the planning behind the attacks. (5). Loot and destruction of property on an unprecedented scale. (6) Use of hate speech and hate writings. (7) Massive sexual violence against women and girls and attacks on children. (8) Colossal economic destruction. (9) Religious and cultural desecration on a massive scale. (10) Large scale preparations for the violence. (11)

State complicity. (12) Serious violations of rules and regulations by the Police and their active connivance and participation in the violence, etc.⁸⁴

The table above shows that communalism has continued to be a major social security threat in India in the Twenty First Century. An analysis of the last three years data regarding incidents of communal violence reveal that such violence has witnessed a 17% rise in 2015, with 751 incidents recorded across the country as against 644 in 2014. Though 2015 saw a rise in communal violence compared to 2014, it was lower than the 823 incidents, 133 deaths and 2,269 injured reported in 2013, largely on account of the Muzzafarnagar Riots.⁸⁵

States which saw the maximum communal incidents were UP (155), Karnataka (105), Maharashtra (105), MP (92), Bihar (71), Rajasthan (65) and Gujarat (55). While UP and Karnataka are ruled by SP and Congress, respectively, four of the states — MP, Maharashtra, Rajasthan and Gujarat — are ruled by BJP. A year-on-year comparison, however, showed that while incidents in MP saw a sharp increase from 56 in 2014 to 92 last year, they declined in both Rajasthan and Gujarat. What was alarming was the fact that the newest state of Telangana 10 such incidents in 2015. However, a positive factor revealed from the data is the fact that of the 35 States/UTs of India, only eight (8) states, namely, Bihar, Gujarat, Karnataka, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh contributed for close to 85% of all the communal incidents in the country. Among the other states, only Andhra Pradesh, Jharkhand, Tamil Nadu, Telangana & West Bengal reported incidents in double digit in one or all of these five years. There are certain states which did not report a single communal incident in these five years. These states include Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Sikkim & Tripura. All these states are from the North East.⁸⁶

Caste Politics:

The dominating presence of caste in modern Indian society and politics has resulted in caste complexities, leading to antagonisms and conflicts. The intensity and pattern of its influence vary according to historically determined socio- economic conditions of

different regions. According to M.N. Srinivas, “The essence of caste is the arrangement of hereditary groups in a hierarchy.” The other prevailing features of caste include restriction on food, drink, and smoking, distinction in custom, dress and speech, pollution, ritual and other privileges and disabilities, caste organization and caste mobility.⁸⁷

Defining Caste: Caste and class are viewed as the most significant dimensions of social stratification. Caste is not simply a system of inequality, a system consisting pre- eminently of ‘ideas and values’ determining that inequality. The notions of pure and impure are not just ‘ opposites’, but as relative phenomena on a continuum they have signified the caste system more than other criteria in the past though their significance has rapidly declined paving way for a further increase of structural bases of status and power. ⁹¹Organic linkages between different castes were characterized by division of labour and remunerative dividends with provisions for grievance redressals. The role played by values and norms also cannot be underestimated in the organism structure of relations. The concept of caste has undergone a change from what it was before 1947. Today the caste- class nexus has undergone a considerable change and yet there exists a close tie between the two.

Emergence of Caste system: The inherent connection between the two lie in the emergence of the caste system, which can be traced back to the class – based division of society. Dominated by Brahminism, it created a four pronged vertically hierarchical ‘varnaashram’. The caste system with its barbarous inequalities, penalties and disabilities, particularly towards the Harijans, is the natural offspring of the ‘varnashram dharma’.⁸⁸

What started as the Varna division, proliferated into the system of castes in the course of development of an exploitative society. It was due to the pioneering efforts of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, that the Preamble based on the principles of justice, liberty, equality and fraternity and incorporated definitive provisions to tried to help preferentially those who have been oppressed throughout the course of history. For example, Article 15, 16, 17, 29(2), provides for the prohibition of discrimination on grounds of religion, race etc., and provides for equality of opportunity in matters of public

employment and abolishes untouchability. Article 330 and 332 provides for the reservation of seats for Scheduled Castes and Tribes in the House of People and Legislative Assemblies of the State respectively.

Dalits' Upliftment after Independence: Thus, the miracle of the Constitution and the increasing political pressure has enabled the Dalits to crack open the rocky shell of high castes' power grip over the government machinery. The election of K.R. Narayanan, a Dalit as the President of the nation, and later the election of Mayawati twice as the Chief Minister of the Uttar Pradesh and plethora of Dalits elected to cabinets of all federal and the state governments, is evidence of more than symbolic change.

Though the progress has been positive, the growth of share of Dalits in state employment remains slow due to old prejudices, bribery, despotism and corruption, which work together or individually against the fulfillment of quotas reserved for Dalits.

Rising caste solidarity: Politics of Reservation: The problems relating to caste and religion in India have become so acute that no political leader or party dare to contest the election without maneuvering a combination of caste and religious groups in the constituencies. Moreover, evidence can be sited from the behavior of the various political parties, that they organize their support on the basis of caste identities. However, some commentators argue that the consequences of interaction between caste and politics are just the reverse of what is usually stated. To Rajni Kothari, it is usually not politics that is caste – ridden, but rather, it is caste that gets politicized. To Kothari, therefore, the allegation of casteism in politics is no more and no less than *politicization of caste*. Politicians usually mobilize their grouping and identities in order to organize their own power, which results in caste tensions. This was witnessed in Mandal Riots that broke out in the 1990s when the former Prime Minister, Mr. V.P. Singh tried to implement the recommendations of the said commission, by which the total number of reserved seats for SCs and STs would have gone upto 49.5% in Government jobs and educational institutions. This was viewed as an attempt to create

a permanent division in the society on caste lines and created a caste war like situation in the country. Presently there are 120 reserved parliamentary constituencies including 79 for Scheduled castes and 41 for Scheduled tribes in the country.⁸⁹

Violence against SCs and STs: The ‘Scheduled Castes’ (dalits) constitute the largest single social group in India, with about 17% (167 million) of the total population. The exclusion and deprivation of the dalits is associated with the institution of caste and the practice of untouchability aggravated by market forces and weak state policies of ‘inclusion’. The scheduled Tribes constitute about 8 per cent (80 million) of the Indian population. They are perhaps worse off than the dalits in terms of ‘exclusion’ and deprivation. The basis of the adivasis’ exclusion is not caste but ‘ethnicity’. These two social groups, accounting for about a quarter of the Indian population (250) million, are the prime victims of violence in society.⁹⁰

It is noteworthy that the total number of atrocities against the SCs and the STs , which stood at 15,416 and 3,945, respectively, in 1986., as brought out in the 28th Report of the Commissioner for the SCs and the STs (1988) had shot up to 27,944 and 4,644, respectively, in 1997 and remained at an annual average of 25, 587 and 4,285, respectively, during 1997-2001, as brought out in the latest report of the National Commission for the SCs and the STs (2004).⁹¹ A study by Human Rights Watch (HRW), 1999, in the states Bihar, Tamil Nadu and Maharashtra brought specific instances of state failure to check social violence by not implementing existing laws to eliminate manual scavenging, the ‘devadasi’ system and the bonded labourer system. Cases came to light which indicated police atrocities against the dalits. Atrocities perpetrated by the police machinery have been listed below: 1. Custodial torture and killings. 2. Criminalisation of social activism. 3. Killings by ‘encounter.’ 4. Interaction by the rural power structure in inflicting the violence. 5. Raids on dalit colonies. 6. Inflicting violence as a pressure tactic. 7. Inflicting violence as a method

to quell the ordinary democratic protests of dalits. 8. Collective penalization for individual transgression. 9. Criminalisation of communities.⁹²

Apart from the prevailing violence Rajni Kothari revealed her apprehensions regarding the emergence of a dangerous tendency in several states in India, where castes have acquired a communal shape.

According to Rajni Kothari, "... the principal divide in India is no longer between the 'haves' and the have-nots', which can be characterised by a variety of indicators, the most persistent of which has been the poverty line. However, I think this is increasingly losing its potency as an explanatory variable because it does not take these other factors into account. The other divide that the people have been analyzing for a long time... has been of the ethnic, communal and the caste variety- between the dominant castes and communities on the one hand and the lower castes, the backward castes and the *dalits* on the other."⁹³

She further goes on to discuss certain circumstances when caste identities also begin to take on communal forms. In certain areas a particular dominant caste or even a linguistic group, faced by the challenge from the lower classes, takes on a chauvinistic character, like the one in Maharashtra where the chauvinism of a dominant caste like the Marathas becomes an important factor in the growth of communalism. Maratha politics, permeated by factionalism of all kinds, has of late adopted an anti-Dalit, anti-Muslim, anti-lower caste form. It is a short step from this to think of the Marathas as the guardians of Hinduism. The same tendency is at work in Andhra Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Haryana and Gujarat. This is a very significant shift from a pattern of domination based on faction-based alliances between castes to one based on a more exclusive view of caste domination. With this, caste takes on a communal character, which is a dangerous tendency, responsible for violence of various kinds, and undermining the development and unity of the country.⁹⁴

Another dangerous social manifestation of the caste system is the practice of Honour Killing .

Honour Killing: Is a practice of adopting coercive acts ranging from emotional, physical, and sexual abuse on the young men and women for marrying against their family's approval. These marriages usually take between i. high caste girl and low caste boy or vice versa, ii. Marriage within the same gotra has proved to be a great security threat for the same. The family, sometimes alone, and often in association with other relatives/friends, and/or a certain body of persons like the 'caste' or 'khap' or community based panchayats, is instrumental in committing these killings and crimes.

Honour killings have been reported in northern regions of India, mainly in the Indian states of Punjab (where 34 honor killings were reported in the state between 2008 and 2010: 10 in 2008, 20 in 2009, and four in 2010), Haryana, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, as a result of people marrying without their family's acceptance, and sometimes for marrying outside their caste or religion.⁹⁵ Following the famous Manoj Bali Case, the Haryana Court awarded death sentences to all the five accused with charges of double murder and although in 2011, the Supreme Court wanted illegal Khap Panchayats that encourage Honour Killings and other institutionalized atrocities to be stamped out ruthlessly, honour killings have continued as a practice not only in the rural areas, but also in the urban areas of various states, like Punjab, Haryana etc. Studies reveal that between the period 2005- 2012, atleast hundred cases of honour killings have taken place in the state of Punjab, mostly in the Jaat dominated areas of Malwa and Majha regions. The data further divulged that in 88% of the cases of Honour Killings the victims are girls, mostly in the age group of 15- 19 years (40%) and 20- 25 years (60%). Age variables of the boys in these cases are 15- 19 years (40%), 26- 30 years (14%) and 31- 35 years (7%).⁹⁶ The above study reveals that this practice proves to be a serious social security threat for the younger generation, who forms the backbone of the society. Apart from the state of Punjab, the Bhavna Yadav Death Case in 2014 in North Dwarka region of Delhi, where the victim was killed by her own parents for marrying against their will, while the gruesome murder of a Dalit man for marrying an upper caste girl of the Thevar family, by the members of the Thevar family in a town in Tamil Nadu in March 2016,⁹⁷ Honour Killing continues to be practiced across the entire country even till today.

Regionalism:

Regionalism has always stood in the path of India's unity and development since independence. The ongoing upheaval in West Bengal for a separate state of Gorkhland and the terrorist activities in Assam for a separate state of Bodoland reveal the seriousness of the situation. The following table, in a nutshell shows the demands for separate state so far in India:

Table:10. Demands for separate states so far in India.

Vidharba from Maharashtra	Gorkhland from West Bengal
Harit Pradesh from Uttar Pradesh	Mithilasnchal from Bihar
Bundelkhand from Madhya Pradesh	Coorg from Bihar
Purvanchal from UP.	Saurashtra from Gujrat
Mahacosal from Orissa	Bhojpur from UP and Bihar.
Bodoland from Assam	Full statehood for Delhi
	Full statehood for Puducherry.

Source: Asian Age, 11th December 2009.

The uproar regarding the demand for a separate state of Telangana (to be carved out from Andhra Pradesh) in the year followed by the resignation of 20 Ministers in Andhra Pradesh is a proof regarding how the political parties, in order to stay in power have exploited the divisions on regional lines. Similarly, the BJP led Government carved out new states of Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh and Uttarakhand from the existing states of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh on the pretext that smaller states were likely to witness better developments. However, there are little statistical evidence to show that they have outperformed their parent states in social indicators since their creation According to the

National Family Health Survey conducted in 1998 – 99 and 2005- 06 reveal that infant mortality rate and the frequency of children who die before 5years have worryingly increased in Jharkhand and Uttarakhand since their creation. Uttarakhand's sex ratio has dropped from 1041to 996 even as Uttar Pradesh has improved its gender ratio in the same period. ⁹⁸ The following table takes a look at how the new states have performed on humans indices compared to their parent states.

TABLE:11. HOW THE TEAR- AWAY TRIO AND THE PARENTS HAVE FARED

Indicator	Jharkhand	Bihar	Chhattisgarh	MP	Uttarakhand	
UP	98-05-99	98-05-99	98-05-99	98-05-99	98-05-99	
	06	06	06	06	06	
Sex Ratio (No.of women per 1000 men)	938 1022	953 1083	1011 1015	941 961	1041 996	944 987
Infant mortality rate(No. of children who die before age 1 year per 1000 births)	54.3 68.7	78 61.7	80.9 70.8	86.1 69.5	37.8 41.9	86.7 72.7
Under- 5 mortality	78.3 93	112.4 84.8	122.7 90.3	137.6 95.2	56.4 56.8	122.5 96.4
Electricity access (%)	23.6 40.2	18.2 27.7	58.4 71.4	68.1 71.4	52.4 80	36.6 42.8
Sanitation Access(%)	15.2 22.5	16.8 26.8	145.9 19.1	22.2 27	38.2 56.8	26.7 33.3
Fertility Rate(No. of children per woman between 15 and 49 years)	2.76 3.31	3.7 4	2.79 2.62	3.4 3.1	2.6 2.6	4.1 3.8
Anaemia	82.4	81.3	87.7	71.3	77.4	73.8

in children aged 6- 35 months(%0	78.2	87.4	80.9	82.6	69.2	85
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Source: National Family Health Survey: NHFS 2. (The Telegraph, 13 December 2009)

Thus the time has come when we should take a lesson from the old saying “United we Stand and divided we fall” Division of the country on regional and communal lines will not help us to develop but will push our country backward in the abyss of underdevelopment, poverty and chaos.

Thus, it can be seen that the problems of Ethnicity, Communalism, Caste and Regionalism can come under one common banner when one analyses the underlying cause, i.e. economic deprivation. The crime against women and children also has the same causality. Their lack of financial independence can be traced to the ancient Hindu writings like the Manu Smriti and the faulty interpretation of Hindu Shastras. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar held that the pitiable condition of the women was a direct manifestation of the caste system.⁹⁹ Crimes against women and children can take various forms which have been discussed below:

Crime against Women and Children:

Trafficking of women and children:

Trafficking of humans involves moving men, women, and children from one place to another and placing them in conditions of forced labour. The practice includes forced sex work, domestic servitude, unsafe agricultural labour etc. This global violation of human rights occurs within countries and across borders, regions, and continents. Trafficking has been defined by the UN General Assembly statement of 1994 as: “The illicit and clandestine movements of persons across national borders, largely from developing countries and some countries with economies in transition, with the end goal of forcing women and girl children into sexually or economically oppressive and exploitative situations for profit of recruiters, traffickers, and crime syndicates as well as other illegal activities related to trafficking, such as forced domestic labour,

false marriages, clandestine employment and false adoption.”¹⁰⁰ The UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children, 2000, defines trafficking as: “The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of a threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability, or of giving or receiving payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person for the purpose of exploitation.”¹⁰¹

South Asia is witnessing an alarming trend of increasingly younger girls being trafficked into the sex trade; the average age of girls trafficked from Nepal into India has fallen over the past decade from 14-16 years to 10-14 years. In Mumbai and other Indian cities, girl children as young as eight or nine are sold at auctions . Over 2500 teenaged girls disappeared from Bengal in 2009, apparently because of rampant trafficking, the state police have declared, in a stunning disclosure after Jahura Bibi, a resident of Kakdwip moved the court., in pursuing the disappearance of her step-daughter, Tahira Khatun, on April 15th 2009.¹⁰² The multiple vulnerabilities to trafficking and HIV/AIDS faced by women and girl children in the region are further reinforced by socially sanctioned forms of violence, and skewed gender and power relations. These take various forms--rape, trafficking, commercial sexual exploitation, dowry-related violence, female infanticide, domestic violence and violence in conflict situations.

Dowry Deaths and Domestic Violence:

According to the latest study conducted by the National Crime Record Bureau (NCRB), west Bengal ranks fifth when it comes to dowry deaths. States like Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Utttar Pradesh being a little ahead of Bengal in this case. In case of other crimes including culpable homicide, dacoity, robbery, riots and arson against women West Bengal ranks third in the country. In case of spousal violence West Bengal ranks second, with Andhra Pradesh leading the chart. About once every five minutes an incidence of domestic violence is reported in India, under its legal definition of “cruelty by husband or his relatives”. “Around 70% of women

in India are victims of Domestic violence”, according to Renuka Chaowdhury, the erstwhile Minister of State for Women and Child Development. ¹⁰³

Violence against Women:

Case Study of Uttar Pradesh: Uttar Pradesh has always topped the list when it comes to violence against women. Recently vulnerability of women and minor became more eminent with the Lakhimpur Kheri case, in which a 14- year old minor was allegedly raped and murdered in Lakhimpur Kheri and her body was found hanging inside Nighasan Police station premises on 10th June 2011. Although eleven police personnel were suspended after the incident, and the High Court ordered a CBI probe into the case, Uttar Pradesh was again rocked by several cases of brutal assault on women, which were registered within a short span of two days (19th – 21st June 2011). The increase in the barbaric acts could be understood from the slackness of the then Mayawati Government regarding the issue and the opposition’s selfish motives, who have just exploited the prevailing situation to intensify its attacks on the said Government.

The fact that crime against women are taking place with increasing rapidity can be understood from the Luke warm reaction of the National Commission of Child Protection Rights regarding a case as barbaric as the Kannauj incident, where a 14-year old Dalit- girl suffered 80% damage in the left eye, when she was stabbed in the eyes allegedly by two youths, Dilip and Niranjan Yadav, when she resisted a rape attempt by them. The said commission just promised to take suo motu cognizance of the case and just to write to the state authorities seeking a report on the matter. ¹⁰⁴

Case Study of West Bengal: Mr. Biswanath Chowdhury, State Women, Child Development and Social Welfare Minister said quoting from a report, booklet released by the State Women and Child Development and Social Welfare Department that West Bengal ranked seventh in the country among states that forced girls into underage marriage. Among districts, the prevalence of child marriage was the highest

in Murshidabad (61.4%). Next in the list was Birbhum where 58.3% of the girls were forced to marry at childhood. In some bordering states like Malda, Cooch Bihar, the rate of child marriage was high because of the high rate of cross-border trafficking. However, the rise in child marriage can be accounted from the figures stating that only eight cases against child marriage were lodged in West Bengal in 2006, under the Prohibition of Child Marriage Act.

According to a recent report published by National Family Health Survey, the rate of sexual abuse on women was the highest in the state. The survey revealed that 21% in West Bengal face sexual violence, the figure being three times higher than the national average.¹⁰⁵

Case Study of Kerala: Crimes connected to alcoholism, mobile phone abuse and dowry appear to be on the increase in Kerala as they constitute a vast majority of cases coming before the State Women's Commission. Nearly 80% of the cases coming up before the commission are related to liquor, dowry issues and mobile phone crimes, Miss Justice D Sreedevi, Chairperson of Kerala Women's Commission said. The KWC has received 25,761 complaints since 2007, of which 23,245 had so far been settled. "Besides liquor and drug which were a main source of domestic problems, emotional immaturity and financial dependence also contribute to the plight of women," she said.¹⁰⁶

Nirbhaya Murder: The atrocity and the violence against women in this country came to limelight on the night of December 16th, 2012, when a physiotherapy intern, Jyoti Singh, Popularly known as Nirbhaya was ruthlessly gangraped by six men in a moving bus. She later succumbed to her wounds on 29th December 2012. The country wide protests on the death of Nirbhaya forced the authorities to take the following steps:

1. In December a report which indicated that failures on the part of the government and police were the root cause behind crimes against women.

2. In 2013, the Criminal Law (Amendment) Ordinance, 2013 was promulgated by President Pranab Mukherjee, several new laws were passed, and six new fast-track courts were created to hear rape cases. Critics argue that the legal system remains slow to hear and prosecute rape cases, but most agree that the case has resulted in a tremendous increase in the public discussion of crimes against women and statistics show that there has been an improvement in the number of women willing to file a crime report.¹⁰⁷

But, inspite of the measures taken a study of the incidences of rape and murder cases especially the kidnapping of a company employee from the outskirts of Delhi, followed by violent torture, rape and murder in a field of Rewari, Haryana, on 9th February, 2013 draws our attention to the following loopholes: First, the Police Apathy who allegedly took three days to arrest suspects and secondly, the delayed actions of the Fast Track Courts¹⁰⁸ shows that the half hearted attempts of the Government have not been able to meet up with this serious security threat.

Sexual Harassment at Workplace:

The Supreme Court defined Sexual Harassment in Vishaka Guidelines in Vishaka vs. the State of Rajasthan Sexual Harassment. Sexual harassment includes such unwelcome sexually determined behavior (whether sexual or by implication) as:

a. Physical Contact and advances, b. a demand or request for sexual favours, c. sexually coloured remarks, d. showing pornography, e. Any other unwelcome physical, verbal or non- verbal conduct of sexual nature.

When any of these acts are committed in circumstances where the victim has a reasonable apprehension that it is in relation to the victim's employment or work, irrespective of the fact that whether she is drawing a salary or rendering honorarium or voluntary service, whether in Government, Public or Private enterprise, such conduct can be humiliating and may constitute a health and safety problem. Sexual harassment need not involve physical contact. Any act that creates a hostile work environment- be it by virtue of cracking lewd jokes, verbal abuse, circulating lewd rumours etc. counts as sexual harassment.

Sexual Harassment has been one of the central concerns of women's movement in India since the 1980s. Matters came to prominence with the rape of state government employee Bhanwari Devi, by the feudal lords of the community, as she tried to prevent child marriage as a part of the Women Development Programme. The case brought to the attention of the Supreme Court "the absence of domestic law occupying the field, to formulate effective measures to check the evil of sexual harassment of working women at work places." In 1997, the Supreme Court passed a landmark judgment in the same case, laying down procedural guidelines for use in India in cases of sexual harassment at work places, and was superseded in 2013 by The Sexual Harassment of Women at Workplace (Prevention, Prohibition and Redressal) Act 2013.¹⁰⁹

Child Abuse:

Children are the 'wealth of the nation' as a healthy child makes significant contribution towards a Nation in the form of a full grown, healthy adult. Thus, the wellbeing of children are an important duty of a state, and any security threat towards children are indirectly, a threat towards the concerned Nation. Today children face myriads of social security threats in various forms, which have been recounted below: Children are the most susceptible to abuse, exploitation, torture and molestation as they are innocent and can be easily allured. Many a times they fail to understand that they are being exploited and can be coaxed into silence by the perpetrator of the crime. Violence against children can take place anywhere, ranging from home, neighbourhood to school. Most of the time the abuser is a known person, ranging from loved family members, teacher or a neighbour.

Various forms of child abuse range from *sexual abuse, molestation, kidnappings and murder*, which have been can be witnessed in the Nithari murder case where 17 children, boys and girls, aged between 5 to 16 were raped and murdered and buried at the bungalow in Noida by Pandher and his domestic help Koli. The rape of a seven year old girl in a Government run school in Delhi on March 2013, or the gruesome

Guriya (Aged 5 years) Rape Case in the Gandhinagar area in Delhi on April 2013 etc. shows that perhaps the country is doing very little for her children. ¹¹⁰

Human trafficking : is one of the causes of child abuse. According to data collected 50% of human trafficking victims all over the world are children. An estimated 27 million adults and 13 million children worldwide are falling victims of human trafficking. The very fact that the average age group of victims of trafficking have fallen from 14- 16 years to 10- 14 years, reveals that child abuse has become more acute due to Human Trafficking. The tragic tale of the two year old baby Falak , who was brought to the AIIMS Trauma Centre , related a sordid tale of exploitation, which led to the arrest of 13 people accused of human trafficking. It was learnt that Falak's mother was tricked into a second marriage by two women, Lakshmi and Kanti Choudhry, (arrested later) who promised to take care of her three children. But the children were passed from one person to another till the police traced the five year old brother from a vendor's house in West Delhi's Uttam Nagar, while her sister Sanobar was traced by Delhi police from Muzaffarpur in Bihar. The union of the mother and the children proved to be short lived as baby Falak succumbed to her injuries on 15th March 2012. ¹¹¹

Child labour: One of the worse manifestations of child labour is child abuse. Children are kept at home as domestic help, in hotels and street side stalls for odd jobs. They can be easily exploited to do greater amount of jobs for a meager sum of money, as they are innocent and vulnerable. The major occupations engaging child labour are Pan, Bidi and Cigarette making, construction sites, domestic workers and spinning and weaving.

The 2001 Census found an increase in the number of Child Labourers from 11.28million in 1991to 12.66million in 2001.

In view of the rampant use of children in hazardous tasks The Cabinet of India approved of the amendments to the Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act, 1986, renaming it as the Child and Adolescent Labour (Prohibition) Act on 28th August 2012. ¹¹²

Female Foeticide:

The practice of selective abortions of female foetus is not only a rampant problem among the uneducated rural, but is also a common practice among the rich educated rural people. The following data provided by Smitha Verma in her article, 'Where Have All The Girls Gone?' in The Telegraph, dated 19th June, 2011 revealed that the conditional sex- ratio (the sex of second – born children when the first child is a girl) dropped most for the richest 20 per cent from 850 girls per 1,000 boys in 1991 to 750 girls in 2005. The ratio fell from 880 to just over 700 girls per 1,000 boys among the educated. The article further recorded a startling figure of 7.1 million fewer girls than boys aged 0-6 years, as opposed to 6 million fewer girls in 2001. Between 2001 and 2011, 72 percent of India's districts showed a steeper decline in the child sex ratio. Forty nine per cent showed a steeper decline than the national average of 1.4 per cent. Let us now discuss state wise status of the child- sex ratio.

Case Study of Punjab, Jammu & Kashmir, Nagaland and Manipur:

According to the 2011 census, the Child- Sex Ratio has shown a decline in 431 districts, but has increased in 149 districts- in a large swathe covering 4 districts in Himachal Pradesh, 16 districts of Punjab, Chandigarh and 15 districts of Haryana – 36 districts in all – the ratio has increased. Despite the improvement Haryana districts still continues to have the lowest child- sex ratio in the country In Punjab, the religious and political mobilizations against sex selective abortions might have played an important role in increasing the child sex ratio. A district- by – district study of the sex- ratio trends in India derived from comparing results from 2011 and 2001 census reveals a rather grim situation in the states like Jammu and Kashmir and Nagaland, long seen as a bastion of gender equity. There is a sharp decline in the Child- sex – ratio in Jammu and Kashmir from 941 to 859, Nagaland from 964 to 944 and Manipur from 957 to 934.¹¹³ The following Table shows the Child- Sex Ratio in some of the states of India.

Table 12: The Best and the Worst Ten Districts in Child- Sex Ratio in India

WORST DISTRICTS			BEST DISTRICTS		
District	CSR	Change since '01	District	CSR	Change since '01
1. Pulwama (J& K)	836	-173	1. Kapurthala (Punjab)	872	87
2. Badgam (J&k)	832	-170	2. Fatehgarh Sahib (Punjab)	843	77
3. Kupwara (J&k)	854	-167	3. Shahid Bhagat Singh Nagar (Punjab)	879	70
4. Anantnag (J&k)	831	-130	4. Bathinda (Punjab)	854	69
5. North District (Sikkim)	897	-98	5. Jalandhar (Punjab)	874	68
6. Bid (Maharashtra)	801	-93	6. Salem (TN)	917	66
7. Pithoragarh (Uttarakhand)	812	-90	7. Patiala (Punjab)	835	62
8. Baramula (J&k)	866	-83	8. Rupnagar (Punjab)	866	59
9. Srinagar (J&k)	869	-82	9. Tawang (Arunachal Pradesh)	1,005	57
10. Mon (Nagaland)	900	-73	10. Sangrur (Punjab)	835	55

Source: The Times of India, Kolkata, Friday, June 3, 2011.

Case Study of Haryana: Haryana's Behran has the lowest child – sex ratio in the country with 378 girls per 1,000 boys, while that of Jhajjar district is 774 girls for 1,000 boys. Similarly the sex- ratio of Chhara stood at 830 girls for 1,000 boys in the year 2001 and the figures of 2011 census are being tabulated, but experts believe that situations might worsen in the years to come in these places.

According to the 2011 census, for every 5 lakh men, there are about 4.4lakh women in Jajjhar. Thus lack of partners is a cause of concern in these villages. Thus, brides

are imported into Haryana from places as far as Orissa, Assam, Tripura, West Bengal and even Kerala, for a meager sum of Rs. 20,000 to Rs. 50, 000. The plight of these women are understood from the observations of Rishi Kant, founder of Shakti Vahini, Delhi- based NGO which rescues women trafficked from West Bengal and Assam., who observed that these women are being used as commodities. ¹¹⁴

Case study of West Bengal: The West Bengal Commission for Women has found more than 100 medical establishments in Kolkata and an equal number of city based medical practitioners, if not more are responsible for sex- selective abortions aided by sex determination of foetus, which is considered illegal in this country. It seems that the affluent among the city's residents are opting more for the SD- influenced termination of pregnancy. The Women's Commission compiled the report after surveying 1006 women across Kolkata who were interviewed 12- 15 months after their expected date of delivery. The commission reported that 163 women of 1006 women "may have" undergone sex selective abortion, and put the "probable proportion" of sex selective abortion at "around 16 percent". The figures indicate quite clearly that the sex determination and sex selective abortions have been taking place in KMC areas without much deterrence. According to the report, almost two-third of the women (64%) came from affluent households and only 14% from poor households. The commission inferred through the report that women from relatively affluent families would be in a position to have greater access to sex determination of foetuses. ¹¹⁵

Case Study of Maharashtra: Beed district of Maharashtra has a dubious distinction of having the lowest child sex ratio in Maharashtra with 801 girls per 1000 boys, while the state's average stands at 883. According to the report of the media, nine female fetuses were found in a drain in the beginning of the month of June created quite a stir, which prompted the Chief Minister of the state, Mr. Prithviraj Chavan to issue orders to the Health Minister of the state, Mr. Suresh Shetty to visit Beed with a delegation comprising of senior Congress leader Mrs. Rajnitai Patil. According to her reports, the provisions of Pre- conception and Post- natal Diagnostic Techniques Act are being overlooked. It is interesting to note that doctors have devised ingenious

ways to convey the sex of the child. "... on the prescription, they write *jai Matadi* if it is a female and *Shri Ganesh* if it is a male," Mrs. Patil claimed. Such barbaric acts can only be stopped when common people will realize how female foeticide is having serious consequences on society. ¹¹⁶

Due to Female Foeticide, between 40 and 45 million girls and women are missing from the Indian population. In some parts of the country, the sex ratio of girls to boys has dropped to less than 800/1000. The United Nations has expressed serious concern about the situation. Skewed sex ratio, women trafficking, increase in rape and assault and population decline are the serious challenges in front of the Indian society as the consequence of female foeticide.

Remedy: Taking into consideration the serious consequences of Female foeticide on society, the Union Health Ministry amended the Pre Natal Diagnostic Techniques (PNDT) on 2ND June 2011, to enforce the stringent measures. From 4th June onwards all unregistered ultrasound machines and scanners that can detect the sex of an unborn child would be seized and the "service provider" would both be liable to fine of Rs. 10,000 and would face a maximum three- year jail- term. Recurrence of the crime would tantamount to a fine of Rs. 50,000 along with a five year imprisonment. ¹¹⁷

Corruption and Criminalization of Politics:

We belong to the land of Gandhiji for whom truth and non- violence were the fundamental principles of existence. Our nation's motto is Satyameva Jayate. The Vedic dictum, Satyamvadhaharmam charah.' can also be remembered in this regard. Therefore at the level of lip service Indians are all for truth and honesty. Our Government believes that truth will prevail and all our religions advocate that we should tell the truth. But the reality is that India is one of the most corrupt countries of the world.

Definition:

Corruption has been defined by the World Bank as the “Use of public office for private profit.” The word ‘corruption’ is generally defined in the context of specific normative standards. Thus according to the Santhanam committee, the term includes all “improper or selfish exercise of power and influence attached to a public office or to a special position one occupies in public life.”

India is being repeatedly mentioned, year after year, as among the most corrupt nations of the world. It is interesting, if not shocking, that corruption, for many politicians is not at all an issue. Moreover the bewildering judgment of the Supreme Court in Narasimha Rao Case (*PV Narasimha Rao v State*, AIR 1998,) has held corruption legal at the source of power. In the mentioned case, the court held that those who voted could not be prosecuted for bribe taking, that on the contrary those who gave bribe and those who did not vote could be prosecuted. ¹¹⁸

Corruption has also surreptitiously intruded into the judiciary making the judges often vulnerable to corrupt practices. There were as many as 34 judges including one in the Supreme Court of India, implicated by the UP Police for their involvement of illegal withdrawals from pension funds. Further Kolkata High Court judge Soumitra Sen was accused of misappropriating Rs. 24 lakh before his appointment as a Judge. It thus appears quite clear that that the Prevention of Corruption Acts, 1947 and 1988 have not shown their effectiveness in preventing spread of corruption even in the Judiciary. ¹¹⁹

According to Rajni Kothari, “The transformation of an organic polity into a mechanical electoral system has been resulted in an even more alarming trend- the criminalization of the modern State.” ¹²⁰ The same threat perceptions were echoed in the words of one of our former Prime Minister, Narasimha Rao, who stated, “... we are witnesses to “criminalization of politics” and “politicization of crime”. Our Constitution “lies shattered”. In large parts of the country, Marx is at last getting vindicated (!): State is really withering away. There are no signs of any functioning governmental institutions. The entire administrative machinery is in shambles. ¹²¹

It would be wrong to say that corruption is a recent development in the arena of Indian politics. Corruption raised its ugly head immediately after independence, with the assumption of power by the Congress at the Union and at State levels, personal ambitions, in- group rivalries, caste, communal, regional and linguistic pulls within the Congress organization began to grow much faster than any actual differences of ideology. Gandhiji was pained at the reports of increasing corruption in some parts of the country.

In recent years the politician- criminal nexus has become too apparent, mainly due to the electoral processes. No political party can function and no election today can be fought without ton- loads of money. The only sources for party funds are :(i) businessmen and industrialists who give money as an investment in the hope of governmental favours,(ii) international tradesmen who offer huge commissions in big deals for armaments, aeroplanes and the like and (iii) smugglers. Thus very often the businessmen, the smugglers of arms and narcotics, the fundamentalists, the mafia dons, the party politicians, the casteists and even the terrorists happened to be the same gang members wearing different caps to suit different roles! For example, after the General Elections to the Legislative Assembly in one of the larger States of the Union, it was reported that more than 800 candidates had had a criminal record and that as many as over hundred or nearly one- fourth of those actually elected as M.L.A.s and several of those appointed Ministers had enjoyed criminal records.¹²²

In Bihar during the 2005 elections there were 358 candidates who had criminal cases pending against them. Out of these candidates, 213 were involved in cases of murder, attempt to murder, kidnapping, robbery, extortion or similar crimes. In the country today, 40- 45 per cent of elected representatives have criminal records. The recent involvement of DMK MP, Ms. Kanimozhi and Kalaignar TV MD Mr. Sharad Kumar in the 2G Spectrum Scam Case reveals how criminalization of politics has acquired dangerous proportions.¹²³

Commonwealth Games have brought enormous global shame upon the country, due to mismanagement and lack of proper facilities provided to the participants. This was mainly caused by corruption among the concerned government agencies and

Ministers.¹²⁴ Moreover, the evils of corruption was further brought to light when the Government's simmering differences with the Anna Hazare civil society group burst into the open regarding the Lokpal Bill, which provides for a strong institutional arrangement for tackling corruption in the high places.¹²⁵ The two parties appeared to have reached a point of no return with Anna Hazare threatening to go on hunger strike from 16th August alleging 'backtracking' on the Lokpal Bill and the Government saying that it cannot allow the creation of a "parallel" structure.¹²⁶ The Government's uneasiness on black money that has lingered as an issue since the 2009 election, was also revealed with Yoga Guru, Baba Ramdev's fast from 1st June 2011, demanding expeditious action to bring black money.¹²⁷ During the Lokpal Bill joint drafting committee's meetings, home minister Mr. P. Chidambaram had stated that though corruption at lower level is also required to be tackled, "it is corruption at high places which is disturbing", so Lokpal should confine its ambit to corruption in high places. But the Anna Hazare – led civil society group argues that corruption starts from below, and demanded that all government employees be brought under the purview of the Lokpal. A 2008 national corruption study focused on Below Poverty Line (BPL) households, which covered 22,728 randomly selected BPL households across the country, has revealed that the total bribe paid by the poor in one year on 11 basic services was Rs. 8,830 Million. It estimated that the poorest households paid Rs. 2,148 million to police as bribe. * Union law Minister M. Veerappa Moily made a very forceful point when he said, "Before we reach a stage where 60 per cent of elected representatives have criminal records, we have to bring reforms." The fact that Elections have become the biggest source of corruption in the country is revealed when one takes into account the embarrassingly high amount of money spent in the 2008 Assembly Elections in Nagaland.

An election- watch NGO calculated that approximately Rs 250 crore was spent by candidates cutting across party lines. This is preposterous when one considers that Nagaland has no internal resources and the Centre has to regularly underwrite the debts incurred by the state!

It is this inability to stop law – breakers from becoming law- makers that has resulted in such trust- deficit in politicians and the whole political system in India. Thus, the goal of election has been so blatantly subverted to serve the interests of the elected and not those who elect them, making democracy unsafe. ¹²⁸

*(... commissioned by the anti- corruption watchdog Transparency International India, the 11 services covered in the study included: Public Distribution system, (PDS) hospitals, school, education, electricity, water supply, etc., See The Statesman,P. 1, 4th July, 2011

This was again proved in the 2014 elections, it was found that at the parliamentary level, 34% of MPs elected in 2014 face ongoing criminal cases and 21% stand accused of serious crimes. In 2004, the corresponding shares stood at 24 and 12%, respectively, which shows that corruption has emerged as a series social problem which has serious implications for both protecting the rule of law and ensuring access to justice.

The various scams like the 2012 Coal Mining Controversy, or the 2013 Vodafone Tax Scam involving Rs. 11,000 crore tax dispute, which also names Union Minister Kapil Sibal shows the close nexus between politics and corruption. The Saradha Group Chit Fund Scam which led to many suicides across the state of West Bengal ¹²⁹ proves how corruption and criminalization of politics poses to be a serious social security threat for the country, thus endangering the lives of innocent citizens.

Researcher in conclusion made the following observations:

- i. Economic security threats are interlinked, i.e., one economic problem leads to the other resulting in a chain reaction. It might also have a ‘spillover effect’ causing security problems in other sector. For example, economic security threats like poverty and unemployment might be manifested in the youth in the form of frustration, which might find expression through various forms of social violence, like ethnic strifes or violence against women and children

.Thus, the first part of the Second Chapter deals with economic insecurities. Since economic insecurities have a direct bearing upon social security threat factors, the second part deals with the social security issues.

- ii. The Researcher found, in the course of her study that various scholars have viewed social security problems from various perspectives, like Barry Buzan, who, laid emphasis on identity crisis as the main social security threat factor, especially in the Third World countries. Indian society constituting a complex ethnic mosaic with myriads of ethnic minorities is no exception to this.
- iii. Apart from the existence of varieties of ethnic groups, economic disparity is another reason, which leads to identity Crisis. The researcher, in this context, felt that India's inability to subsume ethnic identity to national identity was one of the main reasons for the rising number of ethnic strifes in India. Secondly, the Government's insensitive modes of pursuing the goals of development and modernization, by preventing the retention of the ethno-cultural identities by various subordinate ethnic groups, have led to various ethno- nationalist and social movements within its territorial boundaries.

The Researcher took up the Ethnic problem of the North Eastern region as a case study. It was found that unemployment among the indigenous youths, caused by their more educated Bengali counterparts, who occupied the the 'white collar' posts, was one of the main reasons for the Assam ethnic crisis. The study of the underlying cause of the Maoist insurgency also revealed economic disparity to be the determining factor. Thus, the researcher felt that economic factors acted as a catalyst to most of the minority- majority conflicts. Ethnic violence leads to large scale social violence and human rights violation and internal displacement. The displaced people in turn results in identity crisis among the actual, existing inhabitants of the place where they have taken refuge, leading to ethnic clashes. Thus, the entire process moves in a vicious cycle.

- iv. The minority- majority conflict manifested itself in the Indian society in various forms of violence, ranging from ethnic strife to communal riots and caste problem and the underlying cause behind all of them, have been economic deprivation at some point of time.
- v. Another determining factor for many economic and social insecurities are social mores, customs, cultures and superstition. For example, violence against women and children owes its origin to the custom of Patriarchy. The prevailing caste war and the practice of honour killing, is an appendage of the caste system which has its roots in the ancient custom of Purusasukta and the hierarchical caste system comprising of the Brahmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Sudras.

Thus, the Researcher analyzing the various causes prescribed a double- pronged antidote consisting of two steps, namely 1. Controlling the cause and 2. Curbing the effect, which has been elaborated in the concluding chapter.

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This definition follows Akzin, *State and Nation*, is not including independence, statehood or sovereignty in the definition of the nation. However, According to Paul Brass in his book *Ethnicity and Nationalism*, New Delhi, Sage Publications, 1991, p. 37, "... such definitions prepare the way for the confusion of the concept of the nation with that of the state from

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CHAPTER-III

Cross- Border Terrorism and Migration as a Social Security Threat to India.

Introduction:

Barry Buzan has identified the various security domains in his book *States, People and Fear* (1983). Societal security initially received far less attention than other areas such as economic and environmental security. Yet the realities of the nature of conflict in the particularly in Europe and Africa raised societal concerns to the fore front of the international security agenda. Societal Security has been defined by Buzan as “the sustainability, within conditions for evolution, of traditional patterns of language, culture and religious and national identity and custom.”¹

In the contemporary International system it is only rarely that state and societal boundaries are identical. Even countries like Japan and Italy, which are unusually homogeneous, have small national minorities. In the rest of the international system them more usual pattern is the existence of various minorities within states. This is one reason for taking societal security seriously. It provides a way of thinking about security issues when the referent object is not the state, but rather a people, whose

boundaries may cut across two or more states, or they may be fully contained within a particular country, but represents a minority of that state's population. ²

Society in contrast, is about identity, the way that communities think about and define themselves and the way the individuals identify themselves as members of a particular community. Societal insecurities emerges when communities of whatever kind define a development or a potentiality as a threat to their survival as a community. Ole Waever argues that a striking but largely unmarked change in the European security problematic after the end of the Cold War was "a change in forms of community as referents of the security discourse- away from the 'state' and towards 'nation'." ³

Buzan and Waever bring forward the concept of "societal" security in order to achieve a number of objectives, one of them being to provide purchase on a crucial part of the international agenda in the 1990s. State disintegration, civil wars and insurgencies of various kinds were the conflicts that characterized that decade and not the traditional state- to- state military conflict. In many cases what was being contested was not the control of a particular state's levers of power, but rather the identity of that state and the shape of its borders. The conflict was societal rather than state- centric and this type of security manifested itself in the Baltic Republics, the former Yugoslavia, Sri Lanka etc. Thus, this situation needed a more nuanced view of security that, which could explain how conflicts could arise within societies between majorities and minorities, between groups with different conceptions of what the cultural and historical icons of "the nation" should be, or the values that should underpin it, and whose arguments might be applicable across the borders of more than one state. ⁶

Thus, it can be seen that the contemporary world is witnessing an increasing assertion of rights and privileges on the basis of religion, ethnicity and nationality that have threatened the security of the nation- state, which makes it essential to give a fresh look at the concepts of ethnicity, nationality, statehood and more importantly Terrorism.

In this context it has been increasingly argued that “globalization” of the world economy and the changing nature of international security, has acted as a catalyst to this process.⁷ Thus the states in many cases become a vulnerable prey to the consequences emerging out of the activities and decisions of other states and non-state actors.

India is also not insulated from the above situation. India’s Social Security has been put to stake many a times owing to civil war, ethnic strife, insurgencies etc. within the country as well as by the same occurrences in the neighbouring countries. India has been a victim of terrorist attacks launched by other states like the assassination of the former Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi by Tamil Militants in the 1990s as a revenge for an alleged anti- Tamil policies adopted in Sri Lanka like, sending of IPKF and the 1997 Indo- Sri Lankan Accord. The worldwide emergence of religious fundamentalism and Islamic Jihad has proved to be a major security threat for India, in the form of repeated terrorist attacks in the country by various terrorist organizations like the Indian Mujahedeen and Lashkar- e- Taiba. Moreover, India has been a victim of state- sponsored Terrorism, allegedly by its neighbouring country, Pakistan in the form of Narco Terrorism and smuggling of small arms which has dangerous social ramifications.

India is plagued by various kinds of Terrorism within the country too, like the North East Separatist movements, the Caste wars those erupt frequently in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh etc. These factors will be dealt by the Researcher in the next Chapter.

Secondly, migration of Refugees from other states can be cited as another example where state security is affected due to decisions and policies of other states. Surrounded by seven states namely, Pakistan, China, Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Myanmar, India has been plagued by the influx of Refugees from these countries. For example, the Sinhala- Tamil conflict in Sri Lanka resulted in large scale migration of Tamil refugees to India or the Chakmas of Bangladesh and the Rohingyas from Myanmar has questioned India’s social security now and again.

Security and Terrorism: The Inherent Link between the Two:

It may be worth mentioning here, that ‘terrorism’ and ‘security’ are relative concepts. What one group regards as terrorism may be construed as an instrument of foreign policy

or a fight for liberation by others. As it is said, one man’s terrorist is another man’s freedom fighter. The issue of Kashmir Terrorism can be cited as an example for both the second and the third reason for terrorism. The militancy in Jammu and Kashmir, which has manifested itself as terror attacks in other parts of India, by groups claiming to be waging war of independence on behalf of Kashmir. Groups backed by Pakistan support the secession of the state to Pakistan. Others are separatist movements, asking for an independent Kashmiri state.

Terrorism in India is not peculiar to any specific religious, class, caste or regional identity; rather it manifests itself in groups as diverse as the LeT, the ULFA, Khalistan commando force, LTTE and the Al Qaeda. Though they are similar in their mode of operation, i.e., hostility towards the state and the belligerence with which they protect their ideology, they do not share any common faith or belief. Thus, the Researcher will only deal with those organizations and movements that have been declared ‘Terrorist’ by the Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India. From the government’s list of terrorist organizations ⁸ the terrorist organizations operable in India can be categorized into seven generic groups: 1. Militant and separatist movements in India’s North East India. 2. Islamist Militancy. 3. Cross border terrorists. 4. Tamil Separatists. 5. The movement of Khalistan. 6. Militant Communism or the Naxalites and. 7. The Al Qaeda, which falls under its own category of global Jihad. ⁹

Defining Terrorism: Terrorism implies a state of terror, panic and fear psychosis created by terrorists in order to force, coerce and blackmail the authorities using violent methods to accept their demands. Thus terrorism implies intense fear caused for the purpose of coercing or subduing. Different agencies or organizations attempt to define terrorism. Between 1936 and 1981, 108 different definitions emerged and there have been many more since then. The Encyclopedia of Social Sciences defines

terrorism as a term used to describe the method or theory whereby an organized group or party seeks to achieve its avowed aim through the systematic use of violence. Terrorism implies striking terror in the hearts of those against whom it is applied.¹⁰

Mr. Brian Jenkins, an acknowledged authority on terrorism argues that terrorism is: “The threat or violence, individual acts of violence, or a campaign of violence, designed primarily to instill fear- to terrorize... Terrorism is violence for effect, fear is the intended effect.”¹¹

In the same way, Mr. J.B. Wolf posits that: In a similar vein, Mr. J.B. Wolf posits that:

“...the terrorists’ strategic intent is to destroy the confidence of a particular minority and its government by causing it to act outside the law... to bring about the moral alienation of the masses from the government until its isolation has become total and irreversible...to make life unbearable for a democratic government as long as terrorist demands remain unsatisfied.” Wolf’s definition relates primarily to the use of coercive powers by a government against a particular section of the society with which terrorists may try to identify or incite to disobedience or rebellion, which then may be extolled as a legitimate resistance. In such instances the terrorists’ goal- “to register a calculated impact on a targeted population and on other groups for the purpose of altering the political balance in favour of the terrorists’¹²and discrediting the authorities is realized.

In the present day terrorism is seen as the resort to violence for political ends by unauthorized non- governmental actors in breach of accepted codes of behaviour regarding the expression of dissatisfaction with, dissent from or opposition to the pursuit of political goals by the legitimate government authorities of the state- whom they regard as unresponsive to the needs pf certain groups of people. Moreover, terrorism- even indigenous terrorism- transcends national boundaries in its exercise, effects, ramifications and prosecution. Many terrorist groups have international links and the problem of combating terrorism has become international rather being confined to national organizational level only.¹³

International terrorism can be defined as:

“The threat or use of violence for political purposes when (1) such action is intended to influence the attitude and behaviour of a target group wider than its immediate victims and (2) its ramifications transcend national boundaries (as the result, for examples of the nationality or foreign ties of its perpetrators, its locale, the identity of its institutional or human victims, its declared objectives, or the mechanics of its resolutions).”¹⁴

Kinds of Terrorism:

Wilkinson outlines three broad types of terrorism: (i) Revolutionary Terrorism- which is aimed at political revolutions (ii) Sub- Revolutionary Terrorism- has political motives other than revolution and (iii) Repressive Terrorism- aims at restraining certain groups, individuals or forms of behaviour deemed to be undesirable.¹⁵

Other studies, however, point to five distinct forms of terrorism. For example: (i) State sponsored, Which is usually employed by a weak state, (ii) Faction Sponsored Terrorism is a common international manifestation that emerges as part of insurgency or a separatist movement, (iii) Crime related Terrorism uses violence as a means of spreading terror, with money replacing political power as the prime motivation , (iv) Narco Terrorism is a recent term in the terror lexicon, which implies the use of drugs – for- money play, and (v) Issue Motivated Terrorism is inspired by issues like ban on nuclear weapons, environment protection, land disputes etc. almost similar to the “ Earth First” Movement in the United States that has attacked the land developers, industrial installations and the like.¹⁶

Revolutionary and Repressive Terrorism: The state’s inability to provide quality government, and its failure to establish socio- economic quality etc. results in a sense of deprivation among the people thus leading to terrorism. Hence the state is always at the receiving end of terrorist violence. However, it is not logical to trace the origin of terrorism in the popular sense of deprivation. It is the terrorists who in order to

challenge the monolithic structure of the state, have used the theory of relative deprivation as an excuse to encourage secessionist movements within the state. Hence it can be said that the state's failure to use the nation building process has given birth to terrorism though in the embryonic stage. E.g. the terrorist activities of Kashmir the militant activities of the ULFAs in Assam and the Maoist insurgency can all be regarded as Revolutionary Terrorism. However, apprehending to lose its exclusive prerogative to exercise power, the state often employs coercive methods, without probing into the root cause,¹⁷ thus acting as the perpetrator of terror, which is known as repressive terrorism. This attitude of the Government aggravates the problem of Terrorism further.

State Terrorism and State- Sponsored Terrorism: Depending upon who is terrorizing whom, Terrorism may be classified into State- Sponsored Terrorism and Terrorism against the State. The idea of state terrorism or terrorism against the state has been discussed before. The repressive acts Hitler, Mussolini and Stalin flashes in one's memory, the moment one talks of State- Sponsored Terrorism. The planned killing of Palestinian people by Israeli Armed forces is also an example of State- Sponsored Terrorism. The case may be further extended to include terrorism by a stronger state against a weaker state, and terrorism by a group of weaker states against stronger state. The stronger states may use the weapon of terrorism to overawe the weaker states, or compel them to be subservient to its own interest.¹⁸ Pakistan ever since independence has put pressure on India to give up Kashmir through infiltration of terrorists into India is a case to the point. Pakistan's ISI Agents have nurtured and funded various terrorist organizations against India and have encouraged narco terrorism and trafficking of small arms in to India which have been discussed in detail later in this Chapter.

Causes of Terrorism:

Terrorism has risen as a global challenge in the Twenty First Century and in an attempt to address this problem the scholars and the policy – makers have gone beyond the traditional security problem to find out the factors that sustain the network

of terror across international borders. The reasons can be elucidated better if one has an idea about the background in which the Islamist Terrorism or 'Jihad' arose.

Tracing the Background of the emergence of Islamist Terrorism and 'Jihad':

The seeds of modern day terrorism were sown with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 and the response of the Western powers thereto. The CIA recognized early that the use of religion could be a potent force against communism. The idea of Jihad or the Holy War against the Russian invaders of 1979 was carefully planned by the CIA with support from Afghanistan. In 1989, the Soviet invaders retreated after facing a defeat. But, with the passage of time, tribal conflicts erupted in Afghanistan, owing to the alliance among the Americans and the Islamist forces against the Russians therein. The people of Afghanistan, who were already ravaged by the drugs, poverty and horrific war injuries from fighting and exploitation while working in the landmines, then spear-headed the 'Holy Wars' against the Western powers. A new programme of training of militants was thus adopted not only in Afghanistan, but also in Algeria, Egypt and other States. This was financed by the private fortunes of men like, Osama- Bin Laden, Islamic Banks and Charities and the huge proceeds of the drug trade, which flourished during and after the Afghanistan War. All these culminated in 9/11, and ultimately led to 26/11¹⁹ in India.

India has been a victim of terrorism partly organized and mounted from neighbouring countries (Pakistan like LET, Jaish- e- Mohammed and partly engineered by domestic forces like SIMI and ULFA. Most of the time, the young terrorists have been recruited from backward communities, which serve as the hot- beds for poverty and skewed religious beliefs. These factors have been discussed in detail below:

1. Ignorance and Poverty: The Causal Chain: It is widely held that practical way to combat the challenge of Terrorism should not only focus on traditional national security issues but should also seek to address the political and socio- economic causes of terrorism. Such an approach would not only reduce the incidences of Terrorism but it is hoped that it would also prevent society from producing agents

of terror in future. The Former US President, George W. Bush though initially skeptical about the relation between terror and poverty, remarked in 2002, “We fight against poverty and hopelessness and lack of education and failed Governments that too often allow conditions that terrorists can seize and try to turn to their advantage.”²⁰ Contrary to the above remarks the contemporary empirical studies by scholars, such as Alan B Krueger, Maleckova and Claude Berrebi, felt that, “Any connection between poverty, education and terrorism is indirect, complicated and probably quite weak. He rather suggested that Terrorism could be more accurately viewed as a response to political conditions and long-standing feelings of indignity and frustration that have little to do with economics.”²¹

2. Discrimination of an Ethnic Minority: The direct cause of Terrorism is the existence of concrete grievances among identifiable sub- groups of a larger population, such as the discrimination of an ethnic minority by a majority group. It is a response to injustice, grievances, stresses, frustration, discontentment, maladministration, corruption, at high places, and misgovernance when a small minority feel deprived from access to the bases of power etc. The North East militancy is a glaring example of the above reason which has jeopardized the social security of India. The problem of ethnicity has been dealt with in the next Chapter has been dealt in detail in the next Chapter.

3. Youth and Terrorism: lure for adventurism: The 26/11 Mumbai Terror attacks followed by the arrest of the lone terrorist Ajmal Qasab, have raised concern over young adults joining terror networks in India’s backyard, although the problem persisted in the country’s North and North East regions for decades. Even globally, this problem exists and has proved to be acute in regions like Afghanistan, The Philippines, The Middle east and Malaysia and certain African nations , like Sudan, Algeria and Swaziland. Although the main causes for this problem has been identified as poverty, ignorance, indoctrination, a feeling of revenge etc. However, a closer look into the Ahmedabad Terror Bombings shows that 9 out of 22 Indian Mujahideens arrested were software engineers. One was an

MBBS doctor, another a mechanical Engineer and the rest Graduates and Undergraduates. ²²Moreover none had a past history of crime. Thus, lure for adventurism may be one of the causes for which the youths undertake terrorist attacks.

4. Psychological factors: Psychologists, criminologists and neurologists say that a few traits which appear to be disproportionately prevalent among the terrorists are low self- esteem, a predilection for risk- taking and peer or family pressure. Such people tend to be attracted towards the terrorist organizations because of the charisma of the leader and the feeling of identity which the group provides. One also cannot rule out the material well- being promised by these organizations, which have vast material resources at their command like the Al Qaeda, who are funded by the entire Arab World, which also act as a motivating factor in cementing individual loyalty to a terrorist group.

Apart from this, the terrorists are guided by fanaticism inspired by religious, sectarian and nationalist convictions, which enables them to indulge in wanton killing for the fulfillment of their objective i.e, to gain maximum exposure to their cause.

The Holy War or the Jihad against USA and its sympathizers is deeply rooted in a strong feeling of hatred based on what the 'Jihadists' perceive to be wrongs committed as a legacy of the Cold War Era and the economic stability of the West. However, a closer investigation of the motives that trigger this hatred towards the West bring to the fore the fact that most of it was based on inaccurate interpretations of Islam and the Prophet's pronouncements. This strong negative feeling against USA found expressions through the perpetration of one of the most heinous crimes of terrorism ever committed, through the 11th September attacks on the World Trade Centre.

Another very interesting facet in the psychological dimension of terrorism was noticed in the case of the very recent lone terrorist, Ajmal Kasab, who showed no signs of remorse when captured in the 26/11 terrorist attack on Mumbai. Moreover,

victims of violence, cruelty, terror fear and poverty might later turn out to be a terrorist. Thus no child is a born terrorist. Rather a combination of all the above complexes begets a terrorist.²³

The increasing number of terror crimes, in India as well as other countries of the world, has posed a serious challenge for the Governments of the concerned states, who have undertaken multiple measures like eradication of poverty, resolution of conflicts, ending of foreign occupations etc. But, along with these measures the governments should also try to understand the psyche of the terrorists to prevent any catastrophic attacks from taking place.

5. *Religious Indoctrination:* Apart from the police highhandedness and the coercive measures, ideological brainwashing undertaken by the militants and religious fundamentalism may be yet another factor which motivate the youths to join the extremist ranks. Thus the process of ideological indoctrination plays an important role in the making of a terrorist. In this context mention may be made of the two cross-cutting aspects of terror communication. This have immense impact on terror activity chain and the functioning of it relates to the task of aiming the decision-makers or more generally, the powers that be as well as specific segments of people, rather than immediate victims who are manipulated as senders of message. The inward aspect relates to influencing the cadres through rigorous acts of inspiration, intoxication and indoctrination. Normalization is a process of construction of the 'idealized conducts and the acts of terror organizations and their dissemination as 'natural' emerges through rigorous brain washing, and also if necessary, through coercion. The discursive strategies combine to psychologically initiate a terrorist to dedicate her/ himself to the 'Greater Cause'. Thus we find women, teenagers and highly educated and skilled individuals motivated and dedicated to serve the unlawful acts of violence and the cause espoused by the terrorist organizations, without much regard for self-interest. This process is witnessed in extreme form of fundamentalism.

Adopted by Osama- Bin Laden and his closest associates this is often described as *Jihadism*. Al- Qaeda (the organization led by Osama Bin Laden) is shaped by that belief that Islam is being degraded and humiliated by Western values with particular disgust reserved for those Arab countries, such as Saudi Arabia and Egypt, which are close allies of USA. The central goal of the Al - Qaeda is to expel Americans from Muslim lands and dismantle pro- US Middle East governments, which has no roots in mainstream Islam. Sometimes, even institutions of Islamic education advocate extremist views which are also inconsistent with that of mainstream Islam. Scholars agree that a large proportion of the Madrassas, especially in South Asia preach intolerance and religious extremism.²⁴

The various religious fundamentalist groups resorting to terrorist activities in India also take the help of these methods of indoctrination, to inspire the unemployed and disillusioned youths and even women, from a particular religious community to perform terrorist activities, in the name of Jihad'. In this context it must be mentioned that globalization has modernized the communication equipment, thus enabling the terrorists to communicate with each other. This may be as simple as placing a long – distance telephone call, or it may include the use of sophisticated electronic communication devices such as those used by government intelligence agencies. In this context it will be apt to explore the rise of radical Islam in India which has made the attacks of the religious fundamentalists more pronounced.

Religious Fundamentalism:

Fundamentalism is a matter of faith in the fundamental propositions of any ideological system to the extent that pushed to dogmatic limits it may exclude all other considerations for legitimizing human activity. Since religion serves the role of an ideology in the process of consciousness formation, it sometimes become captive in the hands of the fundamentalists who direct thought and action in accordance with the premises that seem to be ‘ fundamental’ and as such unchangeable in their perceptions. This often leads to group integration towards realizing a pluralistic goal as opposed to and sometimes destructive of any universalistic interest.²⁵

Samuel P. Huntington writes, "Fundamental movements, in particular, are a way of coping with the experience of chaos, the loss of identity, meaning and secure social structures created by the rapid introduction of modern social and political patterns, secularism, scientific culture and economic development. "The fundamentalist movements", as Huntington observes, "... Are, however, the surface waves of the much broader and more fundamental religious tide that is giving a different cast to human life at the end of the twentieth century. The renewal of religion throughout the world far transcends the activities of fundamental extremists."²⁶

Religious fundamentalism speaks of traditional scriptures as the sole source for justifying all religious or even social practices for the adherents of a particular religion and subsequently gives birth to an ideology around which it could ask the adherents to rally even fanatically against all forces of modernity. It gives birth to a 'particularized trust' that "tends to be attached to the kinds of group identities that are solidified against outsiders, which in turn increases factions and decreases changes that conflict can be negotiated by democratic means."²⁷ Religious fundamentalism thus creates cultural identities separate from the mainstream of the society. It may draw on cultural traits of an earlier historical phase, but assumes specific forms, sometimes 'terrorism' and sometimes 'communal'. In religion-motivated terrorism, violence is primarily the sacred duty in direct response to some theological imperative. Religion, in this case serves as the major source of legitimizing large-scale violence and the terrorists become inspired by the ideas of the other world. Communalism, on the other hand, may be identified "as that ideology which emphasizes as the social, political and economic unit the group of adherents of each religion, and emphasizes the distinction, even the antagonism, between such groups; the words 'adherent' and 'religion' being taken in the most literal sense." Such ideology in raising and making the communal issue supreme, confuses if, not suppresses every other issue- political, social, economic and even religious- and on the basis of a 'particularized trust' indulges in violence to terminate others'. Whatever be the forms, religious fundamentalism impinge upon altering the situation in a specific way that excludes democratic participation of other groups in the

decision making process. Consequently religious fundamentalism challenges the legitimacy of a democratic society.²⁸

The Rise of Radical Islam:

The onslaughts of religious Fundamentalism in India have become more pronounced with the emergence of Radical Islam, which started as an enclave in Saudi Arabia in the 7th century. Radical Islam made its first forays into India in the middle and early mid centuries, and co-existed with all religions of India. However, this co-existence was viewed as a contamination of Islam. Shah Waliullah struck an abiding blow for radical Islam. Two generations later, Walliullah's followers founded the Deoband seminary of theology, which was the first mujahid enterprise in the country. The Taliban of Afghanistan is the product of the Deoband thinking which evolved in Pakistan after partition. Osama bin Laden gave radicals another push by crafting The International Islamic Front in 1998. SIMI in the present day is the practitioner of Walliullah's mantra. Al Qaeda and five Extremist organizations from Pakistan, like Lashkar- e- Taiba, Harkat- ul- Mujahideen and Hizbul –e –Jihad-e Islami, became the founding members of the front, and targeted the Christians and the Jews. Its ideology emphasized that a Muslim's first loyalty was his creed, not his nation, any means of violence could be employed including weapons of mass destructions to achieve political and other aims. As a result many Muslim groups, in many parts of the world started thinking on identical lines, leading to an upsurge in fundamentalism worldwide and of terror. Later the list of enemies was expanded to include Hindus i.e. India.²⁹

India has been plagued for a long time by terrorist activities by the Islamic Fundamentalists, which reached its helm in the 26/11 Mumbai terror attacks, when 10 highly trained militants, apparently from Pakistan, swept ashore and laid siege to Mumbai for 60 hours, leaving 165 people dead and a nation stunned. Due to this terror attack, India's relations with Pakistan, which had been improving at the time, have been set back for years. Pakistan, however, on 26th November 2009, charged seven men including the alleged master- mind, Zaki- ur Rehman Lakhvi, said to be the operational commander of the Lashkar- e- Taiba, (or army of Righteousness),

which is believed to be behind the attacks. Others charged include Hamid Amin Sadiq, who worked on raising funds. The sole surviving militant, Ajmal Kasav's trial is still going on. Yet, India says that the militant infrastructure in Pakistan remains in place and that the key figures linked to the terror attacks are free to go about with their business.³⁰

Although numerous changes have been introduced locally in the aftermath of 26/11, Mumbai still remains ill-prepared to combat any terror attacks. The then India's Home Affairs Minister, P. Chidambaram said, "My assessment of the vulnerability is it has remained the same since 26/11. It has not diminished nor has it enhanced."³¹ It is not only the Indian government that seems to prevent the terror strikes. Israel, the U.S. forces in Iraq and Afghanistan Governments in UK have failed miserably to prevent terror strikes. Every government has the responsibility to provide security to its citizens. But police and military are mere symptom reliefs. Ultimately the solution lies in addressing the root political and economic causes.

Thus, the militant Islamist movements are waging violence against the state and its civilian in India as in many parts of the world. After three high profile attacks the Indian Mujahedeen has emerged as an important face of terror. The LeT's (Lashkar-e-Taiba) attack on Taj Bengal in Mumbai reveals that India's biggest threat to security lies in cross border terrorism. A closer understanding of their method of operation has been elucidated.

The main objective of these attacks is to ensure maximum damage, and thus the attacks are launched by the terrorists keeping in mind two factors:

1. *Target*: The terrorists target busy public places, are marked by huge congregation of people, like a market place, temple, railway station etc. The people in such places are pre-occupied with some work like shopping or worshipping, perhaps enjoying his dinner in a restaurant, or viewing a movie or a performance in a relaxed mood. No one can ever apprehend that a deadly attack can be launched in such a place, thus, leaving the victims absolutely clueless. Thus, in such a situation death and injury

multiplies, as it can lead to a stampede or suffocation, as was witnessed in the Benaras Temple Blast.

2. Methods of Attack: The terrorist organizations always surprise the people with different forms of attack, ranging from planting of bombs (which has always been a common practice), but with the advent of globalization, bombs now can be operated with the help of remote control-these are referred to as 'Smart Bomb'. This enables precision attack at the right time, to ensure maximum damage. The LeT's method of attack has usually been to target innocent civilians, through the planting of bombs in

crowded public places, Fidayeen or suicide attacks and armed individuals carrying out shootings, like in Bangalore. Moreover, a case study of the Mumbai Attack of 2008 in Taj Bengal by LeT shows the cumulative applications of all the methods. Two or three forms of attack are employed in this case, through *fidayeen* or suicide attacks, ranging from bomb blasts, holding of hostages in the hotel rooms and even direct shooting. Kidnapping of important officials and hijacking of aircrafts like the hijacking of the aircraft IC 21 in December 1999 is another case to the point, which shows that terrorists can adopt desperate and innovative means to attain their goals.

Aftermath of the Terrorist Attacks: The aim of the terrorist attack is to generate fear and cause maximum destruction, as it becomes synonymous to war (which has been mentioned earlier). Thus, like war the impact of the terrorist attacks is also multi-dimensional. Terrorist attacks not only claim huge toll of life and destruction of public property, but result in orphaned children, helpless and hapless homes. Many a times these families are bereft of any earning members, resulting in poverty and social deprivation, which ultimately leads to social pathology- factors that might prove to be the harbinger of another terrorist, or a criminal, thus endangering the security of the nation. Thus, social insecurity (death and poverty) and social pathology* (crime) leads to terrorism which in turn again results in untold loss of life and property. Therefore, social insecurity, social pathology and terrorism move in a vicious cycle.

Terrorism in India is often termed as 'Low Intensity War', ³² which has claimed more lives than all armed state conflict in the history of India, including the lives of two Prime Ministers. Among the most prominent faces of Terrorism in India, and in our present context, in many parts of the world, the Islamist militant movements are waging constant violence against the state and civilians.

Very little is known about the terrorist infrastructure in India, especially the different faces of violence against the state, particularly in the most high profile attacks in the Metropolitans, over the past few years.

* The inherent link between Social Pathology and Terrorism lies in the fact that where people having grievances due to poverty, lack of political participation and opportunity, or belonging to an ethnic minority and facing injustice, lose trust on their rulers and tend to opt for the terrorist groups that provide them with better hope.

Moreover, the very fact that terrorism has become more faceless in India every day, is adding on to the vulnerability of not only the civilians, but the civil society at large. Moreover, Terrorism has attained new dimensions with the advent of globalization.

Terrorism and Globalization:

Terrorism and Globalization share at least one thing in common- both are complex phenomena open to subjective interpretation, and are inherently linked- Terrorism has attained new dimensions with the advent of Globalization. The latter has provided the various terrorist organizations with opportunities to operate as a well- integrated mechanism through advanced communication and transportation system.

His phenomenon has far-reaching implications on India. Kashmir, as already discussed above, has always been known as the hot-spot of Terrorism in India, wherein, Pakistan-sponsored, ISI-supported, Islamic Terrorist outfits operate. These outfits are highly coordinated and networked with their Middle-East counterparts, who seem to be the spearhead of global terrorist operations. The operations of global terrorism, outsourced to the South Asian region seem to posit a real threat to India's security. Again, threat looms large in India's 'volatile North-East Corridor (discussed before), where the possibilities of formation of linkages between the insurgent groups, like ULFA, Bodo, NDFB etc. and the Islamic terror outfits, using advanced communication technologies to outride geographical obstacles. Thus, Globalization has resulted in the transcendence of terrorism from international to global dimensions. The various dimensions of Globalization that have contributed to the same have been summed below:

1. Communication and Terrorism:

Information Super Highway of Network Technologies: Terror communication, is an extremely aggressive form of communication, seeks to manipulate the power of ISh to the maximum possible extent.³³ The global information order, more specifically its chief instrument, the Information Super highway (ISh) serves as the 'harbour' in which communication takes place. The ISI and its broader framework, the Global Information Order (GIO) has acquired a global character through transnational routes which by themselves undermine the primacy accorded to the states and the nations. The most distinguishing feature of the GIO is the compression of 'space and Distance' and the End of Geography'. The term Network Technologies, as Rand Corporation Study explains, refers to command, control, communication, computer, intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance technologies in military parlance, as well as the consumer oriented technologies that can often provide the functionality needed for terrorist operations.³⁴ These network technologies can include connectivity technologies (e.g., laptop computers), personal electronic devices (e.g., personal; digital assistants and cell phones), IT services and internet access, video recordings among others. This was evident in the Mumbai terrorist attack, where the terrorist

launched a well planned operation with the help of advanced mobile phones known as Smart Phones. CCTVs were installed within the hotel prior to the attack, which were linked to webcams through which the young Fidayeens were directed regarding their next course of action.

Terrorism and Media: Another aspect of Terror Communication comprises of the Media, which serves both a negative and a positive purpose. Its positive impact definitely lies in the fast dissemination of information about any occurrences in any part of the globe. However, this advantage turns into a disadvantage for the human race, as maximum media coverage also serves as an advantage for the terrorists by fulfilling the three aims of a terrorist attack: i. to gain attention ii. Recognition and iii. To obtain certain degree of legitimacy and respect. Thus, the terrorist attacks are determined on the basis of the terrorist of the opportunity they will garner to be member of the “Triangle of Political Communication”³⁵ Access to the media brings terrorists closer to a democratic society’s decision – making process, which greatly increases the chances of a political decision that will favour the interest of their group. The T.V. News Bulletins are focused mainly on what is known as “visual culture.”³⁶The attention that a given news event receives is directly proportional to the amount of audio- visual material available for it. As result the terrorists attack those places which will attract the attention of the media. The example of the 9/11 Twin Tower attacks is case to the point.

From the vantage point of the media, information and the news about terror activities constitute dramatic material with ‘excellent market potential’ in terms of the consumption by the consumers- cum- audience. The horrific 26/11 event in Mumbai and the relentless endeavour by the electronic media to capture every moment of the attack in the minutest of details, including that of Ajmal Kasav , the lone survivor - led to the formation and the articulation of critical public opinion against the ‘onslaught of the mainstream media.’³⁷

Terrorism may not succeed in destroying our civilization, but media and communication- the effects of globalization are crippling our ability to defend it.

What the world desperately needs today is a responsible media and reporters brave enough to tell the truth.

The following Table gives an estimate of terrorist activities and the number of casualties since the 1990s, which reveals how terrorism has proved to be a serious security threat in India.

Table- 1
Brief Account of the Terrorist Attacks since 2006 to 2011.

Sl. No.	Date and Place of Attack	Number of Deaths	Accused Terrorist Organisations
1.	11 th July, 2006. (Mumbai)	209	Lashkar- i- Taiba.
2.	13 th May, 2008.	80	Indian- Mujahideen,Harkat- ul –

	(Jaipur)		Jihad- al- Islaami.
3.	25 th July, 2008. (Bangaluru)	2	Laskar- i – Taiba, SIMI.
4.	26 th July, 2008. (Ahmedabad)	56	Indian Mujahideen, Harkat- ul- Jihad- al Islaami.
5.	13th Sept, 2008. (Delhi)	30	Indian Mujahideen.
6.	27th September, 2008. (Mumbai)	3	Terrorist organisations of Bangladesh
7.	30 th October, 2008 (Assam)	81	Harkat- ul- Jihad- al- Islaami, ULFA, National Liberation Front of Bodoland
8.	13 th July, 2011. (Mumbai)	26	Indian Mujahideen

Source: Anandabazar Patrika, 23rd February, 2013.

The frequency of attacks in the year 2013 and 2014 reveals that various terrorist activities in India have emerged as a serious security threat for India, resulting in immense loss of life and property. The following table giving a list of the terrorist attacks from January to mid 2015 reveals the seriousness of the situation.

Here is a list of all 15 attacks taken place since January 2013 till July 2015:

- February 21, 2013 – Hyderabad bomb blasts, 16 dead and 119 injured
- March 13, 2013 – Attack in Srinaga, J&K – 7 dead and 10 injured

- April 17, 2013 – Bomb blast outside state BJP office in Bengaluru – 16 injured
- May 25, 2013 – Naxal attack in Darbha valley of Chhattisgarh – 28 dead and 32 injured
- June 24, 2013 – Terror attack in Srinagar, J&K – 8 dead and 19 injured
- July 7, 2013, Maoist attack in Dhumka – 5 dead
- July 7, 2013 – Bomb blast at Bodh Gaya in Bihar – 5 injured
- October 27, 2013 – Bomb blast at Narendra Modi’s rally – 5 dead and 66 injured
- April 25, 2014 – Blasts in Jharkhand – 8 dead, 5 injured
- April 28, 2014 – Blasts in Budgam of J&K – 18 injured
- May 1, 2014 – Bomb explodes in a train at Chennai – One dead and 14 injured
- May 12, 2014 – Bomb blasts at Gadchiroli – 7 dead and 2 injured
- December 28, 2014 – Bomb blasts at Church Street in Bengaluru – 1 dead and 5 injured
- July 27, 2015 – Terror attack on a police station in Gurdaspur district of Punjab

Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/list_of_terrorist_incidents_in_India,
as downloaded on 2.1.2016.

Cyber terrorism:

The extraordinary expansion of the cyberspace has come to the aid of cyber terrorism. Today the technology widely used by the terror organizations and networks in one way or the other are nurtured by the ISh. One can sight the instances of the WIFI network, GPS, CDMA, Skype manifestations in this connection. Omens can site different kinds of acts like hactivism or more intense cybotage- which are being resorted to by the terrorists of the information era with lot of success.

After 9/11, it has become a trend for the militant outfits to avail cyber assistance to achieve extremist missions. The 9/11 attack saw typical execution of cyber-attacks by al Qaeda against the U.S. Government, which not only carried threat messages , but also defaced many messages to “ disrupt the communications”³⁸

In India, Cyber Terrorism has emerged as a new concept. A probe against the 2008 serial blasts in cities like Ahmedabad, Delhi, Jaipur and Bangalore found considerable evidences of Cyber- Terrorism. The 2008 Mumbai attack, popularly known as 26/11 and 2010 blast in the Holy City of Varanasi also carried trails of Cyber- Terrorism. Ironically these attacks involved Muslim Jihadists like Indian Mujahedeen. However, all these incidences point out to the two main aspects of Cyber Terrorism: i. Gathering of information. ii. Spreading of terrorism through communication leading to disruption of national peace.

Government efforts to curb Cyber Terrorism: The Information Technology Act:

After 26/11, the Indian Government has brought into effect a set of proposed amendments to the Information Technology Act 2000 (which was amended in 2008) which has specific provisions for combating Cyber Terrorism.³⁹

State-Sponsored Terrorism: Globalization and Cross Border Terrorism with

Reference to the Kashmir Issue: The other important face of terrorism in India is that of the Huji or Harkat- ul -Jihad Islami, an organization that has operating from Bangladesh. Many insurgent movements in the North East seek other nations for refuge etc. However, the linkages of terrorism in India with the terrorist network in Pakistan remain as much a matter of concern as ever. The issue of terrorism or militancy in Jammu and Kashmir as well as in other parts of India by groups claiming to be waging a war on behalf of Kashmir is rooted in a very regional, international issue. This militancy is believed to be sponsored by the state and intelligence agencies of Pakistan. Who support the secession of the state to Pakistan. Apart from this there are separatist movements within Jammu and Kashmir asking for an independent Kashmiri state. The Hezb- ul- Mujahedeen and Jaish-e- Muhammad are the two most prominent faces of this form of terror. The Lashkasr- e Taiba, which has been held responsible for the attacks in Mumbai in 2008, is an organization based in Pakistan and a part of terrorism being waged from across the border. The group has taken responsibility for the attacks in Delhi and the Indian Institute of Science in Bangalore. Operatives of the LeT have been apprehended in cities as deep within the country as Hyderabad, Mumbai and Chennai. The method of attack has usually been to target

innocent civilians through the planting of bombs in crowded places, fidayeen or suicide attacks and armed individuals carrying out shootings, like in Bangalore. ⁴⁰

In this context, it may be mentioned that from the 1980s, some Middle Eastern countries like Iran, Iraq, Libya and Syria had become actively involved in sponsoring terrorism against the USA. This led many an analyst to interpret terrorism in the perspective of Samuel P Huntington's "Clash of Civilizations" thesis. Use of terrorism as a tool of statecraft by the small and weak nations against powerful countries with the objective of bringing about a change in their perceptions and policies, etc. to suit the convenience of the perpetrator countries started gaining momentum. Terrorists were sponsored by rogue regimes like, Libya-supported Irish Republican Army (IRA), Arab terrorist groups, Iran-supported Hezbollah against Israel, Iraq-supported Hamas against Israel, and Pakistan-supported terrorist outfits against India. ⁴¹ Worldwide linkages among terrorist outfits, especially Islamic-based, often served to bolster the firepower of terrorist groups operating in the Kashmir valley, under the aegis of Pakistani moral and material support.

Most of the changes in the modus operandi and profile of the terrorists took place during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Contemporary terrorist organizations have assumed a transnational character which has necessarily brought forth to them several advantages like, global networking with potential allies, arms suppliers, and other terrorist groups, as also the generation of transnational support. They are getting easy access to Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMDs)-nuclear, chemical and biological weapons- and taking advantage of the global revolution in information and communications technology, they are increasing their destructive potential manifold. The transnational support structures disseminate propaganda and lobby with governments, inter-governmental and non-governmental organizations. They network with dispersed segments of the diaspora and migrant communities, raise funds to hire expertise and train members, procure weapons and dual technologies and manage or charter ships both to support personnel and supplies to the theatres of conflict. One of the most violent and horrendous dimensions of transnational terrorism using modern systems, non-conventional weapons and having transnational linkages was seen on

11th September 2001. The single act has brought a conceptual change in the terrorism warfare theory where 'Idea Terrorism' has been used. Radical changes have taken place in the ways in which terrorist acts have been committed against the USA without using conventional terrorist tactics and weapons, but causing huge destruction of life and property, sending ripples across many an American mind and reducing the then newly installed National Missile Defense(NMD) mechanism to a mere laughing stock. One of the most perceptible things that happened was the change in the American way of thinking. Such a catastrophic event generated unprecedented ramifications and response patterns worldwide as America embarked on a drive against global terrorism, elevating it to the status of a global problem and tried to present before the world that it was a global problem requiring global solutions. Terrorism, from the beginning of the 21st century, thus has had acquired prominent status in contemporary world affairs and assumed the stature of a full-blown 'Frankenstein Monster'.⁴²

Bio-Chemical and Nuclear Terrorism and Their Possible Ramifications for India:

The New Terrorism has been characterized by public acts of massive destruction aimed at creating widespread fear. It emerged in the 1980s from more traditional forms of political conflict in the Middle East. By the mid-1990s religion-based terrorism aimed at the general population as well as at symbols of government power exploded throughout the world. Activists from virtually every religious tradition was involved; not only Islamic suicide bombers in the Middle East but also Christian militants in the United States, Jewish assassins in Israel, a terrorist Buddhist Sect in Japan and radical Sikhs and Hindus in India.²⁸ This 'new' religion-based terrorism was further complimented by the development and adaptation of an even newer aspect of chemical and biological terrorism, which are considered as weapons of mass destruction because of their bio specificity. They are often called 'poor man's nuke / nuclear weapons'.⁴³

Apart from biological and chemical terrorism, nuclear terrorism remains the biggest nightmare for many people. Fears about nuclear terrorism have a long history. It is now 30 years since Brian Jenkins wrote the seminal "Will Terrorists Go Nuclear?"

which effectively launched the study of terrorism with weapons of mass destruction.⁴⁴ Today, the threat of nuclear terrorism has been subsumed by greater concerns over the use of chemical and biological weapons by terrorists. This is in part because nuclear terrorism is usually defined by the detonation of a nuclear-yield device, which in turn supposes that terrorists have the ability to steal an intact nuclear weapons or build a crude nuclear-yield device, both extremely difficult tasks. Yet it remains a real concern, as do two other types of action that should also be considered nuclear terrorism: attacks on nuclear reactors, and the dispersal of radiological materials. Both are more likely than the detonation of a nuclear-yield weapon, although they also would have significantly lesser consequences.

Another major source of concern, especially in the United States, is terrorist targeting of nuclear reactors. If the terrorists were able to damage severely the containment system of a nuclear reactor, especially in the early stages of an attack, it would greatly increase their chances of achieving an off-site radiological dispersal. Smaller quantity of radiological material could also be used as a terrorist weapon, as low-grade nuclear material could also have considerable utility as the basis for a radiological terrorist device. The technical feasibility of radiological terrorism makes it by far the most likely form of nuclear weapon.⁴⁵ Since India has acquired nuclear weapons possibilities of such an attack also exists for India.

Nuclear terrorism, as a means of causing mass casualties, remains less likely than biochemical terrorism, chiefly due to technical hurdles yet, use of radiological weapons, does pose a plausible threat because of the ready availability of a range of suitable materials and its potential impact in generating terror.

The hot-spot of terrorism in India seem to be Kashmir, wherein Pak-sponsored, ISI-supported Islamic terrorist outfits are highly coordinated and networked with their Middle-East –Afghan counterparts who seem to be the spearhead of global terrorist operations. The operations of global terrorism, outsourced to the South Asian region, seem to posit a real threat to India's security. Again, in India's 'volatile North-Eastern corridor', ULFA, Bodo, NDFB, etc. militants are active. Therein, threat looms large

concerning the possibility of formation of linkages between these insurgent groups and the Islamic terror outfits--using advanced communications technology to out-ride geographical obstacles.

Manifestations of Global Terrorism in India: The new face that global terrorism seems to have acquired in a globalised context, gives vent to the already hidden notion of a broader case of social deprivation, political and economic exploitation suffered by the less developed countries, and to be more focused, the Muslim minorities living in various Third World countries, at the hands of the rich, developed, industrialized., mostly western countries and the mostly non- Islamic population inhabiting them. The increasingly newer and changing tactics and methodologies of global terrorist networks- the New Terrorism with “Jihad” as their ideological rationale, seems to be an exercise of their right to self- determination, and an attempt to break the shackles of exploitation spearheaded by the USA.

In the attacks on Mumbai, an interesting facet of shifting ideology came to light. The terrorists attacked institutions of international significance, as well as targeted nationals of some other countries. From eye- witness accounts, one even hears of American and Israeli tourists being singled out to be killed. This attack thus signifies the internationalization of ideology. This network of terrorism also extends into all the peripheral activities associated with the carrying out of attacks, particularly the acquisition of resources to finance them. Illegal money- laundering and its sources and channels constitute a part of the jigsaw.

The underground economy and financial system may also use trade channels to conduct covert transactions. Thus we see that globalization have resulted in cross-border linkages of terror in India which are limited not only to Pakistan but to various parts of the world as well. ⁴⁶

In most instances, support to terrorist activities being covert, the states have to resort to other means to raise the requisite financial support; most often the states sponsoring terrorism / insurgency/ armed resistance in neighbouring states permit the groups to mobilize finance through drug trafficking. Pakistan is a classic example of regional

instability led to drug trafficking in the state. US Reports reveal that ISI have a hand in Narco Terrorism in J&K and NWFP Region of India. It reveals that Pakistan has been nurturing a large number of ethnic communities of the Federally Administered Tribal Agencies (FATA) for smuggling narcotics and weapons to India through the unconventional border routes. They smuggle arms and explosives and impart training to the youths of the valley for joining the military outfits. And this way Pakistan has been able to patronize terrorism in Kashmir and Punjab. In this case narco – terrorism becomes” state – sponsored”, in which the sponsoring states find it easy to create instability in the neighbouring states. The sponsoring states besides providing drugs also provide safe havens and the much needed drug routes.⁴⁷ Let us now discuss how drug trafficking or Narco – Terrorism pose to be security threat in India.

Drug trafficking or Narco Terrorism in India:

The Canadian and the UNDP Human security schemes have identified scores of direct and indirect threats, in which the problem of drug has been categorized as the direct threat to human rights. The problem of drug India is facing today is three fold:

- a. Its illegal production, b. Illegal trafficking and c. Drug abuse. Before analyzing this problem we must have some idea about the types of drugs, which are the flooding the international market and the areas in which they are being produced.

Traditionally, the main products of the international drug trafficker are the three classic drugs derived from the forces of nature: a. Cannabis derived from the Cannabis plant, also includes hashish derived from the plant’s resins-; b. Cocaine from the Coca plant; and c. heroin from the Opium plant –. d. In recent years “psychotropics” commonly referred to as synthetic drugs have hit the world market, widely in Europe, the United States, Japan, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia.⁴⁸

The world’s Heroin supply comes from two regions:

1. South west Asia’s Golden Crescent comprising of Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iran,

2. South East Asia's Golden Triangle. - comprising Myanmar, Thailand and Laos.

India's main insecurity lies in its geographical location- India is sandwiched between two major sources of supply of illicit drugs- the Golden Crescent and the Golden Triangle. Thus India serves as a major transit state for drugs. Inside India, The Poppy is cultivated legally in UP and MP. Drugs smuggled from Pakistan to Bombay are shipped or sent by air to the US and Europe. From Bombay another route is by land, where it reaches the Tamil Nadu Coast, mainly Tutocorin from where it is shipped to Colombo and further west. Besides drug is also smuggled from Myanmar inside South Asia. Mainly they reach Cox Bazaar from where they are shipped to the West. The second major route is through the North – eastern states of India to either Kathmandu or Delhi from where they are smuggled to the West. ⁴⁹

State sponsored Terrorism: The main cause for Narco Terrorism: In most instances, support to terrorist activities being covert, the states have to resort to other means to raise the requisite financial support; most often the states sponsoring terrorism / insurgency/ armed resistance in neighbouring states permit the groups to mobilize finance through drug trafficking. Pakistan is a classic example of regional instability led to drug trafficking in the state. US Reports reveal that ISI have a hand in Narco Terrorism in J&K and NWFP Region of India. It reveals that Pakistan has been nurturing a large number of ethnic communities of the Federally Administered Tribal Agencies (FATA) for smuggling narcotics and weapons to India through the unconventional border routes. They smuggle arms and explosives and impart training to the youths of the valley for joining the military outfits. And this way Pakistan has been able to patronize terrorism in Kashmir and Punjab.

Let us now analyse how drug trafficking is hampering/ affecting the security of India which comes from three interrelated sections:

- a. ***Drug cultivation and trafficking within the state:*** Despite the enactment of stringent acts such as the NDPS, drug trade and smuggling continues to rise unabated in India. For example, the drug industry has evolved into a source of

income in Himachal Pradesh involving cultivation, local trade and trafficking at the international level. For example, in the year 2000 around 170kg of charas was seized in a period of 11 months in Kullu District.⁵⁰

- b. ***Drug trafficking through the state:*** in which the traffickers use the state as a transit route, which have been discussed before. In this case drugs also flood the Indian market and there is easy availability of drugs in the country, which leads to drug abuse within the country.
- c. ***Drug abuse within:*** Economic insecurity in the form of unemployment among the Indian youths makes them take resort to drugs.

Consequence of Drug Abuse in India:

An estimated 7.5 crore Indians are drug addicts and the number is going up significantly, spreading to semi-urban and backward areas, according to official figures. The National Survey, the Ministry sources said, also indicates the prevalence of drug abuse among 371 women out of the sample size of 4,648 persons, which is eight per cent. It is estimated that there are about 6.25 crore alcoholics, 90 lakh Cannabis and 2.5 lakhs opiates and nearly 10 lakh illicit drug users in the country, in the year 2006. The report also said that, while Buprenorphine, propoxyphene and heroin were commonly injected drugs, sharing of needles among IDUs is common and on an average with three partners per person.⁵¹ Recent studies reveal an alarming increase in Marijuana intake among college students which has tripled in the past two Decades, whereas Cocaine use has also increased in the last two years.

Table: 2. The consumption of Marijuana and Cocaine Among College Going Students

Drug: Marijuana		Drug: Cocaine	
Year	Percentage of Victims	Year	Percentage of Victims
1995	3.7%	2013	2.7%
2005	4.0%	2014	4.4%

2015	4.6%	2015	4.3%
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Source: Data provided by National Institute on Drug Abuse, as available at https://www.drug_alcohol_use_in_College_age_adults_in_2014, as downloaded on 25.11.2015.

Drug Trafficking affects the Social security of the State in the following ways:

1. ***Drug Abuse:*** The serious consequences of drug abuse have been discussed above. But, apart from this Drug addiction leads to further adverse effects: a. it affects the physical health of the individuals. B. It ruins the economic structure of the victim's family, which has further implications for the economic structure of the society. C. The male addicts indulge in crime from petty to major ones to pay for their drugs.
2. ***Organized Crime:*** Drug trafficking results in organized crimes which links drug trafficking with corruption, money laundering, narco terrorism etc.
3. ***Corruption:*** the drug money is used to bribe the police and other drug enforcement agencies so that they do not conduct raids.
4. ***Violence:*** Drug trafficking also results in violence which assumes two forms: one between the various drug organizations and second, between the drug organizations and the Government. Drugs become a source to gain more weapons, where the terrorist movement in a state is given drugs by the neighbouring states. In this case narco – terrorism becomes” state – sponsored”, in which the sponsoring states find it easy to create instability in the neighbouring states. The sponsoring states besides providing drugs also provide safe havens and the much needed drug routes.⁵²

Drug Trafficking and the Environmental Security of the State:

According to Hector Moreno, “The war against illegal drugs would be completely justified on environmental grounds alone.” First the poppy growers clear the land in

the mountains, “leaving no plants that will hold soil during rains”, and leading to landslides in certain cases. The poppy and The Coca growers do not allow any other plants to grow near the poppy and the coca plants, so that ha narcotic pants can produce their maximum, which in turn affects other legal occupations such as coffee growing and banana plantations. The drug cultivators use chemicals to convert coca leaves and poppy into cocaine and heroin, the washes of which are dumped into the nearest river, which is detrimental for the aquatic species living there.⁵³

Drug abuse is not only a problem arising out of the availability and supply side of such intoxicating drinks and drugs but has a great deal to do with the social conditions which create the demand for or the need for consumption of such substances. “The vulnerability of modern society plays a catalytic role in promoting the consumption and abuse of narcotic and psychotropic drugs”, officials said adding that findings of studies and surveys indicate the relationship of drug abuse with the socio-economic conditions or the social dynamics of the population.⁵⁴

Proliferation of light weapons:

"The human cost of the proliferation of small arms is enormous. It destroys cultures and lives, it exacerbate and intensifies conflicts. It kills and injures!" says Binalakshmi Nepram, a member of Control Arms Foundation of India.⁵⁵ The proliferation of these light weapons has also destroyed the composite culture of Kashmir. Their continuing presence refuses to heal relationships between two communities of Pandits and Muslims.

Guns and grenades, in fact entered Kashmir far back in late fifties and early sixties. Since the late eighties and in the nineties, not only have the number of weapons proliferated incredibly Along with the terrorist groups.⁵⁶ The nexus is getting bigger day by day by initiating women and children into this system. For example, women are appointed as couriers and messengers, while it is believed that young children as old as 13-14 years are being exploited to throw grenades and trained to use arms.

Clearly, access to lethal weapons such as assault rifles can transform what would otherwise have been a minor and containable incident into a full-scale massacre. Chatinghpura when 35 Sikhs were killed on March 20th in 1999 and recently in 2003 the Nadimarg massacre are traumatizing events for both communities. Massive influx of sophisticated weaponry from across the border and in possession of terrorist groups includes AK rifles, pistols, revolvers and guns like Sniper, Pika, RPG, INSAS, SLR, LMG, UMG, SMG, MMG besides grenades, detonators and IEDs.⁵⁷ The seriousness of the situation can be understood from the statement given by the Supreme Commander Hizbul Mujahideen (HM) Syed Salahudin, in an interview to Outlook (June 13, 2005), where he reportedly stated, “We are also capable of manufacturing small weapons” and “we have re-established our training camps inside India controlled J and K.” There have been instances when police pickets have been attacked and arms –ammunition taken away by terrorists.⁵⁸ These simple pistols, rifles and machine guns in turn, have transformed the Kashmir conflict into a more lethal one endangering Human Security, governance and Human Rights. Moreover the terrorists keep on improvising on the weapons to make them more deadly and innocent civilians have been the victim of these arms. If we account only civilian deaths, 5808 have been killed by militants and those who have died during cross firing or while trying to maintain law and order have been 606.⁵⁹

In fact the lethality of small arms and how dangerous they can be is evidently clear from the December 13, 2002 Parliament attack when armies of two nations-India and Pakistan were almost on the verge of a nuclear war, crumbling co-operative security in South Asia. The presence of arms in fact poses a serious threat to the ongoing political peace process. Added to this the number of arms used by the military, paramilitary and police and the arms in circulation by terrorist groups, we have a fairly grim picture of the extent of militarisation of Kashmir. It is a sinister structural war going on putting sustainable peace in peril.⁶⁰

The impact of the proliferation of light weapons is felt through increase in the number of terrorist attacks which is not only limited within Jammu and Kashmir, but also throughout the length and breadth of the country. The Maoist attack in Dhumka (2013), bomb blast at Narendra Modi’s rally in 2013 injuring 66 and killing 5, the

bomb blast at Bangaluru in 2014 etc. shows that the increase in the number of smuggled weapons in the country from neighbouring countries is helping the various terrorist groups within the country as well as across the border to launch deadly terrorist attacks in India.

Using Globalization in Combating the Menace of Global Terrorism:

The new face that global terrorism seems to have acquired in a globalized context, gives vent to the already hidden notion of a broader case of social exclusion, social deprivation, political and economic exploitation suffered by the less developed countries and to be more focused, the Muslim minorities living in various Third World countries, at the hands of the rich, developed, industrialized mostly western countries and the mostly non-Islamic population inhabiting them. Globalization has catered largely to the benefit of a few while leading to the exploitation of the rest – mostly weaker sections. The increasingly newer and changing tactics and methodologies of global terrorism networks – the new terrorism – with ‘jihad’ as their ideological rationale, seems to be an exercise of their right to self-determination, an attempt to eliminate the injustice being meted out to them in this anarchical world order dominated by a global oligarchy of powerful states, an effort to break the shackles of exploitation spearheaded by the USA in the name of spreading liberal democracy and free market economy throughout the world and globalization of capitalism.

If the march of American imperialism throughout the world, the recent destruction of Iraq, deeming it as a rogue state can be justified as a process of legitimate exercise of the right of self-determination and preservation of national interest, then the ‘new terrorists’ can also justify their actions in terms of jihad. As the USA and its Western allies have used globalisation forces to spread the tentacles of capitalism throughout the world, the ‘new terrorists’ can be justified in using the ‘fruits’ of globalization, in their own way and devising ultra-modern techniques of global terrorist operations.

Counter terrorism operations may be an option to check the march of new terrorism in a globalized world. But, it can only be effective if global injustice, inequality and

exploitation be removed – if the developed countries also realize that their hegemonistic ambitions and designs do also terrorize the underdeveloped countries and their populations.

Complete globalization may succeed only after the gap between DC and LDCs is substantially reduced and the fruits of globalization are distributed equitably across the globe. As a further step towards this, the risk of war between countries need to be minimized, by empowering a world body like the United Nations as more of an effective guardian of peace. A culture of peace needs to be practiced on a global level. A multicultural world society with a ‘world government’ institution like the UN as the guardian of peace, can effectively attempt to eliminate the cultural, religious, ethnic, socio-economic and political differences throughout the contemporary world and thereby the primary causality behind global terrorism. This utopian vision – utopian it may seem under the circumstances, prevailing in the contemporary world order needs to be translated into a picture of reality and a vision for the future, for the world to be a better place for humanity to live in.

Migration:

In the Copenhagen school model Migration has been defined as societal security threat from two dimensions: First, due to the fact that society is “overrun” or “diluted” by influxes of another group of people. Secondly, the identity of the first being altered by a significant change in the composition of the population. But this insight also suggests how the securitization of the societal questions may be seen as a negative effort of broadening the security agenda into new sectors, and as a development that is in conflict with the commitment to the enhancement of individual and group security. Buzan, Waever and De Wilde however, are of the opinion that migration is a threat to the society rather than to the state, because it threatens the self-identity of the existing population. The magnitude or the seriousness of the threat the migrants pose, in this regard depends various factors like i the scale of the immigration, ii the adaptive capacity of the society and iii the way in which the society’s identity is constructed ⁶¹ In this regard Arnold Wolfer’s distinction between subjective and objective security threats can also be taken into account.

A migration may prove to be important for the receiving country, when the alternative values and behaviours of the migrating population dramatically affect the culture of the receiving country. Thus, the perception of the migrants as a threat to cultural identity is closely linked to the definition of the host community. Population may fear a change in their ethnic, religious and cultural composition, while Governments might fear a rise in xenophobia in the country and an increase in the size and population of the racist political parties. Apprehending such dangerous possibilities the Government would invariably try to impose restrictions on immigration.

Migration becomes a security threat in the political sphere, when the issue, even if it is on too small a scale to meaningfully affect the character of the existing population, are successfully securitized by politicians to raise such fears in order to promote their own political agenda. The security threat of migration is thus a matter of perception in which the exaggeration or calming of fears is very important. When immigration is politicized in this way it may generate security threats in a number of directions. The political and economic effects of migration are a possible source of insecurity to the state as well as society to the extent that they generate instabilities by overloading the capacity of the Government to cope with resulting problems. The degree of instability and insecurity generated will depend on 'The capacity of the social, economic, political and administrative institutions to integrate large numbers of immigrants, and the resistance of some immigrant families to assimilation.'⁶²

On the other hand, the presence of migrants can also prove financially beneficial for the host country in terms of cheap labour and skills provided by them, but they also prove to have a detrimental effect on the on the concerned country's health and housing systems, and result in scarcity of jobs. But, there is no sense of existential threat to a community or a culture in this conception. It is the addition of the cultural dimension and threat to identity that transforms the issue into one of societal insecurity, in which the scale of the perceived crisis might be much greater than the actual impact of such cultural subversions.

Migration and State Security: An Indian Perspective:

The 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, known simply as the Refugee Convention, which codified a very precise definition of "refugee":

(1) According to Article 1 of the 1951 Refugee Convention, a refugee is someone who, "owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality." ⁶³

The plight of refugees in India generally depends upon the extent of protection they receive from either the Indian Government or the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). The only treaty regime having near universal effect pertaining to refugees is the 1951 Refugee Convention and its 1967 Protocol on the Status of Refugees which is the magna carta of refugee law.⁶⁴ Since India has not yet ratified or acceded to this regime its legal obligation to protect refugees is traced mainly in customary international law. An examination of this aspect raises the basic question of relation and effect of international law with the Indian municipal law.

The juridical basis of the international obligations to protect refugees, namely, non-refoulement including non-rejection at the frontier, non-return, non-expulsion or non-extradition and the minimum standard of treatment are traced in international conventions and customary law.

Below is brief definition of the three primary categories followed by a description of the living conditions faced by each refugee category:

- I. Refugees who receive full protection according to standards set by the Government of India; - The Tamils who fled to India in several waves and the Jumma from the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh.
- II. Refugees whose presence in Indian territory is acknowledged only by UNHCR and are protected under the principle of non-refoulement; these include about 20,800 Category II refugees comprised of Afghan, Iranian, Somali, Sudanese and Burmese refugees as of 1 January 1996

- III. Refugees who have entered India and have assimilated into their communities. Their presence is not acknowledged by either the Indian Government or UNHCR. This category includes Chin refugees from the Chin State of Burma, Nagas from Burma, Rakhain refugees from Arakan State in Burma, and ethnic Nepalese of Bhutanese nationality. The largest among these Refugees groups is the Chins, numbering about 40,000.⁶⁵

Political upheaval occurring in unstable countries bordering India often forced citizens to seek refuge in India. South Asian refugees who have fled to India face serious problems in their daily lives. From forcible repatriation to starvation, refugees find themselves on the edge, clawing for mere survival. India has provided shelter to these refugees for centuries for both geopolitical and socioeconomic reasons. Through the case studies of some of these refugees let us try to find out how these refugees in India pose to be a double- edged sword for the Government, putting at stake their own security as well as the security of the people of India.

I. The Refugees of Chittagong Hill Tracts from Bangladesh:

The entire region of Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT), Arakan and the North Eastern parts of India (especially Mizoram and Tripura) has turned to be one of the most active refugee – generating areas of the world, due to the various separatist upsurges it has witnessed in the past. The repercussion of this ‘silent but persisting’ ethnic war in this forgotten corner of South Asia considerably left its impact on India’s North East.

Since the CHT conflict started in 1975, the indigenous hill people of CHT crossed the international border and took refuge on the Indian soil to escape the racial and the genocidal atrocities of the hostile Bangladesh military regime. They came to India in three waves, the first being in 1981, when about 18000 refugees came to Tripura Secondly, in 1984, when about 17000 of hill people fled into the remote forest and 4,000 crossed the international border and took shelter in Mizoram and thirdly in 1986 again, when about 80,000of the indigenous hill men from CHT crossed the international border and took shelter in the Tripura state of India. However, all of

them were repatriated phase by phase as per the conditions of peace accords signed between the Parbatya Chattagram Jana Samhati Samiti (JSS) and the Government of Bangladesh on 2nd December 1997.⁶⁶ Although the state claimed that the Accord had played a successful role in the return of some 65,000 refugees, who fled their homes in CHT and had taken shelter in Tripura in 1986, the returnee refugees in the CHT, in the post- repatriation period have a different story to tell about insecurity, poverty and massive human rights violation. Many of them have not yet returned to their villages, forcibly occupied by the Bengali settlers. There were reports of controversy over the issue of rehabilitation of the repatriated refugees and the internally displaced persons. Another vital point of the accord is demilitarization of the region. As per the Government Reports, only 500 camps have been withdrawn till May 2000.⁶⁷ The presence of the military forces in the region has deepened the sense of insecurity among the indigenous people and has created a space of direct and indirect involvement of military forces thereby, hampering the establishment of a democratic process. The indigenous movement of CHT experienced a split over the decision of signing of the accord. A section of the young supporters among the students and the women's front in the bush war days have been demanding for 'full autonomy' under the banner of a new party- The United People's Democratic Front. Against this backdrop, it can be apprehended that there can be escalation of conflict, which would only lengthen the chain of displacements, further bloodshed and immense human sufferings

II *The Ethnic Nepalese of Bhutanese Nationality- A Resultant Stalemate in Refugee Crisis in India:*

Bhutan and Nepal, the two small yet strategically important neighbours, situated in India's North Eastern region have been a constant source of problem, where the issue of Refugee is concerned.

In Bhutan, the Nepali migrant settlers, known as the Lhotsampas have been the victims of 'state terrorism'. The oppression of the Nepali settlers by the Bhutanese

state has forced many of them to take refuge in India and Nepal. The mass influx of the Bhutanese refugees into India, particularly in Assam and West Bengal, started in 1990. Their plight attracted the attention of the entire world, when they crossed over to Nepal and started living in Jhapa under compelling circumstances. With regard to the number of Bhutanese refugees, there has been an alarming increase. In India the number of these Bhutanese refugees varies from about 10,000 to 15,000, who are living scattered in the Indian states of West Bengal, Assam and Arunachal Pradesh.⁶⁸ The Government of India does not officially recognize any the presence of this category of refugees and have tried in every possible way to curb their formal entry into India. An official presence of the refugees becomes a very important political issue. The Government of India has no clear picture regarding their status in Nepal in the event of repatriation. Although Nepal and Bhutan has criticized the apathetic attitude of the Indian Government regarding this issue, one must understand that India is in a dilemma due to various compulsions.⁶⁹

First as per the Indo Bhutan Treaty of 1949 India has no right to interfere in the internal affairs of Bhutan. In return Bhutan has agreed to be guided by the advice of the Government of India with regard to its external relations. India fears that any instability in Nepal and Bhutan, the two buffer states will have a direct impact on the security of India vis- a – vis China as this country is viewed as a potential threat to the security of India, and plays a dominating role in determining the Indian policy towards the Himalayan states. Thus India has restricted herself from reacting to any major internal developments in these two countries.

Secondly, India is not sure whether the Bhutanese refugees would serve the Indian interest in the Himalayan region or in the sub- continent, if the pro- democratic forces in Nepal succeed in establishing constitutional democracy in Nepal. Thus India thinks that it is safer to maintain friendly relations with the present political leadership, rather than rendering covert support for the establishment of a new one.

On the other hand the possibility of a new security threat looms large for India. The presence of refugees in a democratic polity often becomes a subject of political exploitation, as they can be easily mobilized by little sympathy and with great

publicity, which hardly benefits them. India is no exception to this phenomenon too, with regard to the issue of the Bhutanese refugees. Time and again attempts have been made to mobilize them under the Gorkha umbrella with little result. India is not unaware of these extremist Gorkha organizations in the Himalayan region, whose main aim is the establishment of 'Greater Nepal' comprising of the Gorkha Majority areas of the Himalayan region, including Kalimpong, Darjeeling areas of West Bengal and the Sikkim state of India. India might be placed in a more uncomfortable position with regard to the pro- democracy movements in view of two possibilities:

First, these frustrated and neglected groups of homeless and hapless Bhutanese refugees might exert their right of self-determination. In their quest for autonomy they might integrate themselves with the gorkhas, thus strengthening the movement for Gorkhaland against the Indian Government.

Secondly, they might either join hands with the terrorist outfits operating in the outskirts of Assam and West Bengal like ULFAs, Bodos and the Maoists and might put pressure on the Indian Government for the recognition of their own rights and later, perhaps a separate homeland of their own. Under these circumstances India's apprehensions of the formation of 'Greater Nepal' might turn into a reality.

Thus, it can be understood that the problem of the Bhutanese refugees in Southern Bhutan has hampered the Nepal- Bhutan relation which has far reaching consequences even on the security of India. Moreover, this issue has forced the Royal Government of Bhutan to follow a cautious foreign policy with India at the same time. Thus this issue has generated a feeling of distrust and insecurity in the entire region.

Moreover, the economic repercussions of the same have been witnessed in the North East, especially in Assam, where migration has resulted in identity crisis leading to ethnic violence in the region.⁷⁰

III. *The Arakanese Refugee Flows from Myanmar to India:*

Historical Background: Myanmar, India's neighbour bordering the North Eastern region is a military ruled totalitarian country, has forced out many ethnic groups, which had settled down in the country at some point of history. The Reangs and the Rohingya Muslims have thus been coerced out of Myanmar by the military junta, who has sought refuge in India and Bangladesh. However, with the inception of military rule in Myanmar in 1988 a fresh inflow of refugees was witnessed in the adjoining North East states of India. These refugees from Myanmar either belong to the Chin or the Arakanese community. They took refuge in small groups in Manipur and Mizoram and did not seek Indian citizenship. Like the Chakmas they also came in waves, the first occurring in April 1993, and are presently occupying a place newly named as the Kaki village on the banks of the upper Kaladan River inside India. The next wave of Arakanese refugee influx occurred on 15th December 1993. This was followed by an occasional refugee influx in mid- 1994 when over 20 families from the villages of Northern Arakan fled to India. And settled in a place named Takpoche roa at the upper Kalak Choung River in India, only 2 miles away from the Bhutan border.⁷¹

Indian Response to the Plight of the Arakanese Refugees in India: Although the Arakanese refugees did not demand for citizenship in India, they formed an organization named, Committee for Arakanese Refugee Relief and Welfare (CARRW), with its head office in New Delhi. The Executive Committee members comprised of the Arakanese political exiles in India, refugee camp representatives and MPs and ministers from NCGUB (National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma). This organization made several appeals to the Government of India and the Government of Mizoram as well as UNHCR and the International and the Indian Red Cross for urgent help to meet the needs of the Arakanese refugees. A demonstration at Jantar Mantar in New Delhi on 13th June 1995 marked the first organized movement, where they highlighted the plight of the Arakanese people who were already harassed by the Burmese army. However, the UNHCR bypassed the responsibility on grounds that it was an issue concerned with the Home Ministry of India. Thus, these distressed people submitted a memorandum to the Government of India on 13th August, 1995, followed by similar appeals in 1996-97 when fresh turmoil in the border region

resulted in more influx of refugees. Although the Home Ministry expressed willingness to give permission to supply food to the camp refugees, the Foreign Ministry did not support the decision on diplomatic grounds.

The Government's response in this regard is not only that of apathy like the refugees of Bhutan, but at times the Government has made life difficult for these migrants by arresting and even deporting these people. Since India is not a party to the 1951 UN Refugee Convention, India can treat unauthorized migrants as 'illegal immigrants'. India thus, has tried to wash off its hands of the entire matter by half-heartedly issuing the 'Protection Certificates' through the UNHCR. However, this minor benefit also does not trickle down to these wretched people in the border areas, and are restricted to some of the influential refugee leaders within the country, who are often arrested.⁷²

Recently, the Arakanese, also known as the Rohingyas, the Muslim asylum seekers from Burma (Myanmar) came to the limelight when they settled in the posh area of Vasant Bihar in New Delhi in April 2012. They lived in deplorable conditions without the basic amenities like water and sanitation. The UNHCR admitted that they were unable to maintain a group of 700 people (along with women and children) in a place like Vasant Bihar in New Delhi with extremes of weather conditions. Naina Bose on behalf of the UNHCR stated that India has not signed any legal conventions and thus it was not obligatory for India to treat all refugee groups in the same manner. She also said, "For us the core issue remains protection, how best can we protect these people? So by registering them as asylum seekers we believe that we are fulfilling our core mandate of protection. By giving them asylum seeker cards they will not be arbitrarily deported or sent back." She also informed that the UNHCR has registered 1,800 Rohingyas as asylum seekers in India. Thousands of them have fled to Bangladesh where they face similar neglect from the Government.⁷³

Unlike the Afghan refugees from the North or the Sri Lankan Tamils from the South, Rohingyas have no cultural or historical ties to India. So while the National Government mandated health care and education to all, the Rohingyas are often turned away by providers because they have no one to champion their cause.⁷⁴

In the absence of a charismatic leader the prospect of any significant improvement in their cause seems to be very bleak until countries like the U.S.A. or the E.U. and all take it up.’ As the ‘First World’ countries like, the United States and Australia have started relaxing their sanctions on Burma, as a reward for progress towards democratic reforms. The Human Rights issue, including the plight of these refugees has taken a back seat for the entire international community, who has just promised to raise the issue.

Introspection into India’s Insensitive Response: India’s unwillingness to get involved in the Rohingya Refugee Crisis can be well understood through a closer analysis of the recent developments in the Indo Burma relations. The Indian Government in an attempt to deal with the insurgent groups operating in India’s North East region from its bases in Burma reportedly offered to supply varieties of military hardware such as, tanks aircraft etc. to Burma. The Kaladan Multi Modal Transport Project has been set up in the area to facilitate anti- insurgency operations. In April 2007, it was reported that Indian and the Myanmar Security Forces were ‘conducting joint military operations along the 1,643 km Indo – Myanmar border to neutralize insurgent groups.’ In July 2010, Than Shwe and Manmohan Singh agreed upon a strategy of increased security cooperation and a strengthened collective effort to fight the insurgents and to combat terrorism along the border of the two countries. Another interesting point of this strategy is that the military equipment donated by India for the crackdown of insurgents can also be used by the Burmese military against the ethnic civilians of Burma. It is noteworthy to mention in this regard that India has never supported the International Arms Embargo on Burma.⁷⁵

Back in the dirty camps at Delhi, the Rohingyas may clamour for recognition of their citizenship in Burma, but there is little hope for these people to return to their homeland. Caught in an array of diplomatic moves between various countries their future seems darker in view of the possibilities of them being labeled as ‘Stateless People’ by the Government of the country which they once called their ‘Motherland’.

Possibilities of Larger Security Threats for India: In an attempt to

IV. The Tamil Refugees of Sri Lanka:

Who are they?

Sri Lankan Tamil people, or Ceylon Tamils also known as Eelam Tamils in Tamil, are a section of Tamil people who are natives of the South Asia island state of Sri Lanka. Most modern Sri Lankan Tamils claim descent from residents of Jaffna Kingdom, a former kingdom in the north of the island and Vannimai chieftaincies from the east. They constitute a majority in the Northern Province, live in significant numbers in the Eastern Province, and are in the minority throughout the rest of the country. Although Sri Lankan Tamils are culturally and linguistically distinct, genetic studies indicate that they are closely related to other ethnic groups in the island. The Sri Lankan Tamils are mostly Hindus with a significant Christian population.⁷⁶

Why did they come? A Brief Historical Background:

The migration of the Tamil refugees from Sri Lanka into India can be explained as the spill-over effect of ethno-secessionist movement in Sri Lanka. The discriminatory attitude and the ensuing genocide and violence perpetrated on the Tamil minorities, since 1980s have resulted in a mass exodus of Tamil refugees into India, which occurred in four waves.

'The first wave Period' can be earmarked from 24 July 1983, after Black July, to the 29 July 1987 up until the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord, 134,053 Sri Lankan Tamils arrived in India. The first repatriation took place after the signing of the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord in 1987 and between 24 December 1987 and 31 August 1989, 25,585 refugees and non-camp Sri Lankan nationals returned to Sri Lanka.

The second wave began with the start of Eelam War II after 25 August 1989, where 122,000 Sri Lankan Tamils came to Tamil Nadu. On 20 January 1992, after the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi 54,188 refugees were voluntarily repatriated to Sri Lanka, until March 1995.

The third wave of refugees flow started with the commencement of the Eelam War III in April 1995. By 12 April 2002, nearly 23,356 refugees had come to Tamil Nadu. The flow of refugees had stopped in 2002 because of the cease fire agreement.⁷⁷

The Conditions of the Refugees in India: Sri Lankan Tamils in India number in the hundreds of thousands, mostly in the state of Tamil Nadu, the closest state to Sri Lanka and the easiest to get to. There is also a considerable amount in the state of Kerala with around 700 refugee families.[1][8] There are also a number of Sri Lankan Tamils in the eastern regions of Orissa, Karnataka and Pondicherry. The highest number of Sri Lankan Tamil families living in KK Nagar, Thuvakudi in Trichirapalli, Neelankarai, Valasaravakkam in Chennai, Nagercoil in Kanniyakumari, R.S puram, Valparai in Coimbatore.⁷⁸

There are nearly 80,000 refugees 132 camps in Tamil Nadu and one in Orissa. All refugee camps are registered. This entitles them to government assistance-cash, shelter, health facilities, clothing and provision of essential items, unlike the Rohingya Refugees. The concern of the Indian Government towards these refugees is perhaps due to similar linguistic affiliations. The refugees from Sri Lanka have been the recipients of one of the most advanced systems of education in the world, although the privilege has been withdrawn since 1991. However, the support rendered by the Indian Government is restricted to the basic amenities of life. With regard to Freedom of Movement strict restrictions have been imposed on them and are treated with some degree of suspicion by the government. This is in view of the fact that refugees are always a source of security threat for the host country, which was proved by the ruthless assassination of the former Indian Prime minister Rajiv Gandhi in 1991 by a suspected member of the LTTE. After this incidence some refugee camps were moved away from coastal areas to isolated interior regions of Tamil Nadu state so as to prevent contact amongst the refugees belonging to different camps. These stateless people thus can never earn their due respect in a host country and are treated as third class citizens. As India has not signed the international convention for refugees, the plight of the Sri Lankan refugees in India is not brought to the scrutiny of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees and no other major human rights

organization has taken note of the suffering of the Tamils languishing in the “special camps” in India.⁸¹

Recent Developments: India’s interference in the civil war of Sri Lanka by sending the IPKF, and getting involved in a direct combat with the LTTE was a wrong diplomatic move on India’s part, which had long drawn consequences for the same. India has earned the discontent of the Sri- Lankan masses and a rift has occurred between the two countries. The vacuum thus created in the Indo- Sri Lankan relation was filled in by China, through military assistance to the latter. This enabled the Sri Lankan Government to achieve military success against the LTTE. In view of China’s utter disregard for Human Rights, which has been witnessed in many occasions, it can be well understood that in case of Sri Lanka it has no sympathy for the Tamil humanitarian crisis. Another alarming area of concern is the development of the Sino- Pak strategic relation in the region. Moreover, U.S.A. and Russia’s continuous effort to retain their respective influence in the region poses to be a serious security threat for India. Thus, in order to retain its status of a rising super- power in the Asian region, and to remain unchallenged in South Asia, the Indian attitude towards Sri Lanka has undergone a sea- change, seventeen years later. India has changed its interventionist policy by assuming a pressure role towards Sri Lanka. Based on this policy, India since May 1991, has assumed a new role of the supporter of the Sri Lankan state, rather than being a close ally of the Tamil militant groups. Thus, India reached out to the war- ravaged and displaced Tamil civilians of Sri Lanka with a generous helping hand.⁸³

India's Support to the Tamil Civilians and the Future Ahead: The end of the ethnic conflict was accompanied by the displacement of 300,000 Tamil civilians. New Delhi’s primary concern in recent months has naturally been about the rehabilitation of internally displaced Tamils. With an investment of \$110 million, India has provided emergency supplies of medicines, temporary housing and cement, and undertaken demining of Tamil habitats located in the battle zones. But this is necessarily only a beginning, in a larger package of assistance that New Delhi has to provide to the Tamil population in the war-affected parts of the Northern and Eastern

provinces of Sri Lanka. ⁸⁴ While the prospects of curbing human rights violations of innocent Tamils in Sri Lanka itself have been throttled with the non implementation of the provisions of the “Constitution of the Republic of Sri Lanka Amendment Bill” of August 3, 2000, due to domestic opposition, Tamil refugees in India (atleast 1, 20,000 in Number) continue to languish in dingy camps in Tamil Nadu, even in the Twenty First Century. ⁸⁶

Illegal Migrants from Bangladesh:

The security threats in India emanating from the infiltration of the illegal immigrants have two aspects: i Theoretical and ii Practical. The theoretical aspect apprehends the possibilities of the formation of ‘Greater Bangladesh’, which is an area of research for scholars. The practical aspect sees the manifestations of its consequences in the North East in the form of Anti-Foreigner Movement, leading to ethnic tensions and violence, which have been putting the state security and administration in a state of dilemma even till today.

The infiltration of illegal immigrants from Bangladesh is seen by many journalists and politicians as an attempt to expand the Bangladeshi hegemony in Northeastern India, including the states of Assam, West Bengal, Meghalaya and Tripura, as well as the Arakan Province of Burma (Myanmar), where there is a considerable population of Bengali Muslims. It was also alleged that United Liberation Front of Asom (ULFA) conspired with state of Bangladesh to secede four to five Muslim majority districts of Assam to form a Greater Bangladesh, though Bangladesh in the contrary arrested a number of ULFA leaders, including Ranju Chowdhury, Arabinda Rajkhowa and Anup Chetia, to support Indian action against militancy. ⁸⁷

In 2002, nine Islamic groups including Indian militant organizations Muslim United Liberation Tigers of Assam (MULTA), Muslim United Liberation Front of Assam (MULFA) and Muslim Volunteer Force (MVF), Pakistani militant organization Harkat-ul-Mujahideen (HUM), Myanmar groups Rohingya Solidarity Organization (RSO) and Arakan Ronhingya Islamic Front of Mynamar (ARIFM), and Harkat-ul-Jihad al-Islami, a pan-South Asian militant organization outlawed in Bangladesh with

leaders sentenced to death, formed a coalition that declared the formation Greater Bangladesh as one of their aims. Historically India has been accusing Bangladesh of supporting extremist organizations like ULFA and National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN), while Bangladesh accused India of supporting similar organizations like Swadhin Bangabhumi Andolan and United People's Democratic Front (UPDF).⁸⁸

Another insecurity that India faces today from these migrants is that there ever-increasing number is augmenting the already existing Indian population of crores, thus generating a pressure on the resources (ranging from food, water, land , raw materials etc.) Bangladeshis form the largest group of migrants in India.

The first BJP government came into power in 1998 and subsequently ordered the construction of the Indo-Bangladesh barrier to stop migrants and illegal trade along the border. It was planned to enhance the already existing barrier in Assam and to encircle West Bengal, Tripura and Mizoram as well. The other Indian state affected by this problem, West Bengal, remained mostly calm during this period. However Indian newspapers reported that "the state government has reports that illegal Bangladeshi migrants have trickled into parts of rural Bengal, including Nandi gram, [28] over the years, and settled down as sharecroppers with the help of local Left leaders. Though a majority of these immigrants became tillers, they lacked documents to prove the ownership of land."⁸⁹

At the turn of the 21st century, Indian political circles started to take a serious look at Bangladeshi illegal immigrants infiltrating into India, while the state of Bangladesh denied the existence of these immigrants while stripping them of their Bangladeshi citizenship.

According to Jyoti M. Pathania of South Asia Analysis Group the reasons for Bangladeshi immigration to India are: basic need theory i.e. food, shelter and clothing, economic dictates i.e. employment opportunity, better wages and comparatively better living conditions, demographic disproportion especially for minorities (Hindus) in this densely populated country having roughly a density of 780 per km² as against half that number on Indian side of the border, and being cheap

labor the Bangladeshis find easy acceptance as “domestic helps” in Indian homes, which keeps proliferating by ever increasing demand for domestic helps. The Centre for Women and Children Studies estimated in 1998 that 27,000 Bangladeshis have been forced into prostitution in India.⁹⁰

The Government of Bangladesh has denied India's claims on illegal immigration. After 2001 census the anxiety somewhat reduced when the growth rates were found to have returned to near normal level, particularly in West Bengal, thus negating the fear that there was an unabated influx of migrants. Lately, Bangladeshi illegal migrants have been moving to Kerala owing to the high wages for unskilled and semi-skilled laborers in the state. The Kerala police are reportedly finding it difficult to check the influx of these Bangladeshi illegal migrants. Kerala State Intelligence officials said they found that a large section of migrant laborers in the state claiming to be from West Bengal were actually from Bangladesh.⁹¹ The problem has also spread its tentacles in Mumbai, where according to Police sources 1, 308 migrants were arrested from Mumbai alone in 2012, after raids in Mumbai and the neighbouring Thane districts.¹⁴⁹ In another occasion Sanjay Shinde, the Deputy Commissioner of Police said that several other Bangladeshi nationals have been arrested from Dahisar, Jogeshwari, Byculla, Navi Mumbai and Byculla Rural.⁹²

A large part of the problem lies in the easy access to fake documents. The validity of the statement can be found from the accounts of the Deputy Commissioner of Police, SB- 1. In one of his raids directed against the illegal Bangladeshi migrants in Mumbai (in which 13 migrants were arrested), an Aadhar Card was recovered from one of them. On further interrogation the accused allegedly informed the Police that he procured the original documents for a payment of Rs. 2,500. The police suspect the involvement of a larger nexus of Indian nationals in the racket.⁹³ (While detailing this issue, the Indian Intelligence says that the touts who provide the migrants with fake documentation initially used to operate around borders, but now had spread their operations across the country. They further reported that the problem begins in Bangladesh where there is a network that has been set up by the agencies there. Local touts help these people gain safe entry into India. While their job ends there, there are

many within India who provides them with documents identifying them as legal residents of India. Many have even managed to get voter and ration cards. A nexus with local parties facilitates this process, IB sources claim. ⁹⁴

It is very clear from the records of the Intelligence Bureau that both the ISI and the DGFI had a specific role to play in the issue of illegal immigration. They initiated their campaign at Assam and have now moved in to other states as well. While in Assam they had a specific agenda of creating a Greater East Pakistan, today the issue has larger connotations. They (ISI and DGFI) are aware that large scale migration will cause a great deal of duress not only to security agencies, but there is bound to be conflict between the locals and these people as the latter would snatch their livelihood by offering to work for a very low price. ⁹⁵

Conclusion:

The Researcher would thus like to conclude that:

The activities, policies and decisions of other countries and non state actors also play the role of a catalyst in aggravating a security threat. Under this category the problem of Terrorism and Migration has been discussed in detail.

The various socio economic issues like poverty, unemployment, food security etc. discussed in Chapter II leads to the problem of Terrorism within the country. Moreover, corruption and criminalization of politics result in the problem of underdevelopment which is the underlying cause for various terrorist activities and insurgencies. Thus, due to the existing socio economic problems India have always been plagued by terrorist activities by the disgruntled youths and various social and religious groups etc. within the country. This problem has been further aggravated by the activities of neighbouring countries, like Pakistan and China, who are allegedly involved in helping and nurturing terrorist organizations within India. Smuggling of small arms endangers the social security of the country through accelerated terrorist activities within the country. i. loss of life and property within the country, ii.

Terrorist attacks have long term effects like trauma and loss of memory, maiming of limbs etc. iii. The family of the deceased is plunged into poverty and misery which will force members to take recourse to various crimes and might undertake terrorist activities, thus aggravating the social security problem of the country.

Drug trafficking is another evil ramification of terrorism which affects the physical and mental wellbeing of children and youths. Since it mostly affects the earning members of the family the concerned families again enter the vicious cycle poverty and unemployment which can again attract the vulnerable members towards various social crimes and terrorist activities.

Important international issues like globalization of world economy and the worldwide emergence of Islamic Jihad has also accelerated terrorist activities in India. One of the most serious consequence is that the youths are being mostly affected. First, the youths are allured by various reasons towards the terrorist groups and secondly, studies and data have revealed that large number of youths are losing their lives in these terrorist attacks. Youths form the backbone of a Nation and harm inflicted towards this section in any form means an irreparable harm towards the Nation.

Various social problems like corruption and criminalization of politics result in the problem of underdevelopment which is the underlying cause for various terrorist activities and insurgencies. The same cause has been noted by the researcher behind Kashmir insurgency, which has been exploited by the neighbouring countries, like Pakistan and China, who have allegedly funded and trained the terrorist organizations in Kashmir and in the North East respectively.

Secondly, Migration from the neighbouring countries have added on to our overpopulated country thus putting a pressure on our natural resources, thus adding on to the increased socio economic problems within the country. Studies in this Chapter points to the possibility of these refugees with same religious affiliations (in the case of Rohingya Muslim Refugees from Myanmar) joining hands with other Muslims terrorist organizations in launching deadly terrorist attacks in India. The possibilities

of terrorist activities by the Tamil refugees, against India especially in unison with various terrorist groups of Sri Lanka also cannot be ruled out.

Anyhow, while analyzing these security threats in detail, the researcher realized that underdevelopment is the most important underlying cause behind the above mentioned security threats. Thus, the Government has to be very sensitive and the three wings of the same have to be ever vigilant in tackling the situation. The researcher realized that apart from the active part played by the Judiciary and the responsible attitude of the State Legislature during policy formulations, the active participation of the civil society is also very important.

More recently, the capability of the judicial wing of the Government to act independently came to the lime light with the Supreme Court's decision regarding the death sentence of Ajmal Kasav (the lone surviving terrorist of the 26/11 Mumbai terror attack) and verdict of execution of Afzal Guru, convicted of a terrorist attack on the Indian Parliament in 2001, on 11th February 2013.

The Indian Legislature has also made positive contributions in safeguarding human security in India through up gradation of various laws like POTA (Prevention of Terrorism Act) 2002, was repealed on 14 December 2011 by section 1 of the Terrorism Prevention and Investigation Measures Act 2011. The Information Technology Act 2000, has also been amended in 2008. The initiative of the Indian Government after the terrorist attack of 26/11, to incorporate harsher punishments for the actors of cyber terrorism through the up gradation of Article 66F of the Information Technology Act of 2000, in 2011 is another case to the point.⁹⁶

In spite of the various positive moves by the Government, the two draconian laws, like the Disturbed Areas Act and the Armed Forces Special Powers Act, which became operable in the North East and in Jammu and Kashmir, are a blot on Democracy. These acts which enable the armed forces to conduct joint operations with the local police, does not help India's security but, rather it alienates the citizens there, who already feel that that the rest of India has no concern for them.⁹⁷

The researcher would thus, refer to the following lines, taken from a speech given by Dr. Satyabrata pal, the retired Honourable Ambassador of Pakistan to India, in his Speech in The Institute for Defence Studies & Analysis, at New Delhi, on December 13, 2011, which would sum up the state's role to deal with the political causes for the rise of security threats in India:

“...The violation of human rights threatens the security of the violated. If that takes place on a large scale, at a certain point the oppressed rise, posing a challenge to the State that sees it only then as a security threat, but a violent suppression of a movement driven by the denial of rights rarely succeeds; it leads on to more obvious violations of human rights, and to wider conflagrations. And if an armed threat is removed, but not the underlying human misery, the respite for the State is temporary. The security of a State can only be assured if all its residents feel secure...”⁹⁸

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CHAPTER- IV

ENVIRONMENTAL DISASTERS AS A MAJOR SECURITY THREAT IN INDIA

Defining Environmental Security:

Environmental security is a relatively new term in the current literature on security and external relations. But definition of environmental security has different shades. Organizations and groups differ in their perceptions of environmental security falling into issues related physical damage of the environment by military forces and international problems that can lead to political instability and regional conflict. For example, according to some military itself proves to be the violator of environmental security, by its very own function like, damage from tanks, erosion and pollution of soil, discharge of effluent into water system due to production of weapons degrades the environment. Others, however, concern themselves more with widespread ramifications of widespread environmental degradation, rather than military activities.¹ However, discourses on environmental security have resulted in workable definitions of the same. For example, environmental security has been defined as concerning “the maintenance of the local and planetary biosphere as the essential support system of which all other human enterprises depend.”² Thus, environmental degradation clearly falls within the scope of a security issue since it encompasses dangers no less grave in magnitude than those arising from military warfare and nuclear weapons.

Jessica Mathews brings out the significance of the role played by environmental security by pointing out that natural resources, demographic and environmental variables have a major impact upon economic permanence and therefore have the potential of creating political instability.³

R.K. Pachauri defines environmental security as, “the minimization of environmental damage and the promotion of sustainable development with a focus on transboundary dimensions.”⁴ Environmental stress in this context needs special mention. It is caused both by i. environmental resource scarcity (such as deforestation) . ii. Increased inequity of access to natural resources. Both these factors can spark conflict and

increase vulnerability to disaster in unison to other social, economic and political factors.⁵

Like the economic sector, the environmental sector potentially falls clearly within the broader security agenda but still there are arguments about whether the environment should be seen as a security issue. It probably received attention since the 1960s, followed by a period of intense academic and popular interest in the processes of environmental degradation, which occur at three levels- i.Global, ii. Regional and iii Local. Environmental degradation at the global level gets manifested at the local and the regional level. Thus, environment as a policy issue was adopted on the international agenda. Although it has received importance internationally for a long time, the U. N. Conference held in Stockholm in 1972 was a milestone in this direction. The event led to process in the construction of a number of environmental institutions, and the steady expansion of the security agenda. The states increasingly began to realize the need for international monitoring of environmental standards.⁶ Ever since then, the journey from Stockholm to Copenhagen via Rio de Jeniro and Johannesburg, national and international concerns about environmental degradation and environmental security have steadily grown. Apart from this, the problems of population growth, environmental degradation and resource depletion has been increasingly recognized as having a symbolic link between environmental and national security. In this Chapter therefore, the major environmental security issues have been discussed, the causal factor behind all environmental problems being the growth of population all over the world at an alarming rate , the footsteps of which have also been felt in India.

The Types of Environmental Pollution as a Security Threat in India:

The three major types of pollution which is a major cause of concern for India as well as other countries of the world are:

- I. Air Pollution
- II. Water Pollution
- III Noise Pollution.

Technological advances without total disregard for the environment which surrounds and sustains us and helps in the preservation of an ecologically balanced society have seriously affected the quality of air, water and land. Air pollution due to various gases has its adverse effect in a long time period and relates to serious global changes. But, before we move on to discuss in detail about the various types of pollution, its causes and consequences in India let us first define Pollution.

Defining Pollution:

The term Pollution is derived from the Latin word “pollutionem”, which means to defile or to make dirty. Pollution may be defined as the contamination of the earth’s environment with materials that interfere with human health, quality of life, or the natural functioning of ecosystems (living organisms and their physical surroundings.)

National Research Council Committee on Pollution defined the same as, “an undesirable change in the physical, chemical or biological characteristics of our air, land and water that may or will harmfully affect human life or that of other desirable species, our industrial process, living conditions and cultural assets or that may or will waste or deteriorate our material sources.”⁷

Pollution exists in many forms and affects many different aspects of Earth’s environment. Point source pollution comes from specified, localized and identifiable sources, such as sewage pipelines or industrial smokestacks. Non- Point Source pollution comes from dispersed or uncontained sources, such as contaminated water run- off from urban areas or automobile emissions.

Types of Pollution: 1. Air Pollution, 2. Water Pollution, 3. Soil contamination, 4. Radioactive Contamination, 5. Noise Pollution, 6. Light Pollution, 7. Visual Pollution.
8

In this Chapter we will be dealing with the three types of Pollution: Air Pollution, Water Pollution and Noise Pollution.

Air Pollution is the release of chemicals and particulates into the atmosphere. It can be defined as any atmospheric condition in which certain substances are present in

such concentrations that they can produce undesirable effects on man and his environment.⁹

Air Pollutants:

The variety of matter emitted into the atmosphere by natural and anthropogenic sources are so diverse that it is difficult to classify the air pollutants clearly. However, they can be divided into two categories as:

- i. Primary Pollutants- which are emitted directly from the sources. For example, the particulate matters such as ash, smoke, dust, fumes, mist and spray. This category of Pollutants also includes Sulphur dioxide, Hydrogen Sulphide, Nitric Oxide, Ammonia, Carbon Monoxide, Carbon Dioxide, Hydrogen Fluoride, Aromatic Hydrocarbons Radioactive compounds etc.
- ii. The secondary Pollutants are those that are formed in the atmosphere by chemical interactions among primary pollutants and normal atmospheric constituents. Pollutants such as Sulphur Trioxide, Nitrogen dioxide, PAN (Peroxyacetyl Nitrate), Ozone, Aldehydes, Ketones and various Sulphate and Nitrate Salts are included in this category. The substances which cause air pollution include gases (Sulphur Dioxide, Nitrogen Oxides, Carbon Monoxide, Hydrocarbons etc), particulate matter (smoke, dust, fumes, Aerosols etc.) Radioactive materials and many others. Most of these substances are naturally present in the atmosphere in low (background) concentrations and are considered to be harmless. Thus, a particular substance is considered as an air pollutant only when its concentration is relatively high compared with the background value and causes of its adverse effects on humans, animals, plants, or property.

Of the large number of Primary Pollutants emitted in the atmosphere , only a few present in sufficient concentrations, like Sulphur Oxides, Oxides of Nitrogen, Carbon Monoxide and Hydrocarbons. Carbon Dioxide is generally not considered an air

pollutant but, because of its increased global background concentration, its influence on global climatic pattern is of great concern.¹⁰

Regarding the extent of air pollution, the Carbon Dioxide content claims to be, about almost entirely since the industrial revolution, and mainly within the last 50 years as the direct consequences of man's direct activities.

Causes of Air Pollution in India:

In 2010, India's Central Pollution Control Board had presented the report according to which 180 cities in India had particulate matter 6 times more than the permissible limit. Set by the WHO, biomass burning, fuel adulteration, vehicles etc. are a few of the major causes of air pollution in India. According to the same report, India is the seventh most environmentally unsafe country in the world.¹¹

Burning of Fossil Fuels is the main contributory factor for the increased content of Carbon Dioxide in the atmosphere. Burning of fuel wood and Biomass fuels is one of the causes of the Asian Brown Cloud which has resulted in the delay of Monsoon in India. Records also reveal that the above pollutant has reduced the growth of rice harvest in India. Moreover, India is the third largest coal producer and at the top as far as CO₂ emission is considered.¹²

Adulterated Fuels: used by many autorickshaws and taxis to lower down the price. But, this is done at the cost of the environment as the adulterated fuel emits unsafe pollutants thus polluting the environment.

Vehicles: Forty different types of pollutants are found in the engine Exhaust (Diesel and Gas) while 70% of the pollution is caused by vehicles. Traffic at low speed, especially during congestion burn fuel ineffectually and emit four to eight times more air pollutants. Apart from this, deforestation in the tropical countries and changing of agricultural practices are the other factors which reduces the efficiency of Carbon Dioxide and its recycling, thus, acting as a secondary reason for the aggravation of the problem of CO₂ increase. Apart from the CO₂ level that have been increasing at the rate of 1.7% per year since 1965, atmospheric Nitrous Oxide (N₂O), Methane, Carbon Monoxide and other Hydro carbons are also increasing in the atmosphere.¹³

Air pollution, therefore can be said to have its adverse effects at two levels: First, Climate change at the Global level, which can be regarded to be a long term affect and secondly, at the local level, in the form of immediate catastrophic effects on the local environment because of extremely high toxicity of certain pollutants. Let us now discuss about the long term effects of air pollution and the manifestation of the same on the Indian sub- continent.

Consequences of Air Pollution: Air pollution manifests itself in two ways: i. Long term effect and ii. Immediate effect:

- i. The immediate impact can be witnessed in the form of human deaths and various forms of diseases in human beings.

According to the report of the CSE published in the Times of India (14.2.2013) as many as 90 cities have critical levels of PM10 and of this 26 cities have the most critical levels of PM10, which exceed the standard by more than three times. Gwalior, West Singbhum, Ghaziabad, and Delhi, which are the top five critically, polluted cities. The PM10 monitoring network has doubled between the periods 2005- 2010. It has increased from 96 to 180 cities. During this period the low level of pollution has fallen from 10 to 12 and the number of critically polluted countries has increased from 49 to 89.

Human Deaths: The World Health Organisation (WHO) estimates that 4.6 million people die each year from causes which can be directly attributed to air pollution. Many of these mortalities are related to indoor air pollution. Reports reveal that worldwide air pollution related deaths supercede deaths related top automobile accidents. Globally, air pollution-related deaths **h**ave increased by 300 per cent since 2000. ¹⁴ According to CSE's inaugural State of India's Health Report which says that in 2010, about 620,000 premature deaths occurred in India from air pollution.

Disease Causing Factor: Like China, India also faces an unprecedented public health crisis due to air pollution, as revealed by the Centre for Science and Environment's Analysis Government data and the Global Burden of Disease Report's data on India.

Air pollution is the seventh leading cause behind the loss of about 18 million healthy years of life in India due to illness. It comes after indoor air pollution, tobacco smoking, high Blood Pressure, childhood underweight, low nutritional status and consumption of Alcohol. “Close to half of cities are reeling under severe particulate pollutants while newer pollutants like Nitrogen Oxides, Ozone and air toxics are worsening the public health challenge.” CSE estimate says. This has proved to be true when we consider the data provided by.... which shows that 30% of the children in Bangalore suffer from -Asthma due to air pollution. The fact that the city is has been named as the Asthma Capital of India reveals the seriousness of the situation.¹⁵

ii. Indoor Air Pollution:

The pollution in our own houses can be as severe as industrial pollution. The reason for the severity of Indoor Air Pollution is mainly due to the fact that the space involved is smaller and the roof and the walls inhibit the circulation of fresh air, thus not allowing the polluted air to dissipate. Smoking by inhabitants causes harm in two ways: First, direct harm caused to the smoker’s lungs. Secondly, Indirectly harm caused to the other inhabitants as ‘Passive Smoker’. Cooking in heaters emit Carbon Monoxide, while cooking in unvented heat stoves produce Hydrocarbons and the soot increases the risk of respiratory illness. Gas appliances including furnaces and cloth driers gas stoves using ‘Coal Gas’ produce major pollutants like NO₂, CO₂, CO. Furnitures ,even walls and ceilings and even new can contribute to inhouse pollution! The pieces of furniture, wqalls and insulations, which include plywood or particle board can emit (“off gas”) formaldehyde. Plastics in shower curtains, furniture, cars etc. frequently include polyvinyl chloride, which may give off gas –trapped vinyl chloride monomer. Vinyl chloride causes liver cancer at occupational levels of exposure. Lastly, household products such as Aerosol spray cans can also cause respiratory problems.¹⁶

Six major categories of ill health can be attributed to indoor exposures.

- i. Acute respiratory infections (ARI) in children.
- ii. Adverse pregnancy outcomes for women exposed to indoor pollution during pregnancy.

- iii. Lung cancer.
- iv. Disease of the eyes.
- vi. Increase in the severity of the coronary artery disease.

According to the reports of the World Health Organization, the National burden of disease due to indoor air pollution from solid fuel use which was first assessed for the year 2002 and then updated in the year 2004 reveals the country- by –country estimates of deaths total deaths and disability-adjusted life years (DALYs) due to indoor air pollution, country-by-country estimates are also available for deaths due to acute lower respiratory infections (ALRI) among children as well as chronic obstructive pulmonary disease (COPD) and lung cancer among adults. The reports show the dismal picture of India being included among the 10 countries (Afghanistan, Angola, Bangladesh, China, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ethiopia, India, Indonesia, Nigeria, and Pakistan) where more than 1.5 million deaths a year occur due to indoor air pollution. ¹⁷

The long term effect:

Climate change refers to statistically significant variation in either the mean state of the climate or in its variability, persisting for an extended period (typically decades or longer). Climate change may occur due to natural internal processes or external forcing, or due to persistent anthropogenic changes in the composition of the atmosphere or in land use.) Climate change means the change in climate over time, either due to some natural calamity or due to some human activity. It means that climate change is a disruption in the normal running of the climatic conditions which is unnatural. (The World Health organization (WHO) estimates that climate change directly or indirectly causes about 77,000 deaths annually in Asia and the Pacific. Maximum impact of climate change or global warming will be seen in developing countries like India. Global warming is just the beginning but its impact is going to intensify in the coming years. Climate change occurs due to two reasons: 1. Natural calamity 2. Anthropogenic activity. The main anthropogenic activity that is contributing heavily in global warming is excessive industrialization, as it causes

heavy emission of Green House Gases in the atmosphere.)¹⁸ This brings us to the question what Green House Gases are.

i. Green House Gases: What are they?

In recent times, the problem of Green House Gases has assumed dangerous proportions. Green House Gases like Carbon Dioxide, Methane, Nitrous Oxide, Water Vapour, Ozone etc., plays a significant role, by re-emitting some of their heat to the earth's surface. In the absence of these gases most of the heat energy would have escaped, which would have resulted in the lowering of the temperature of the earth to about -18 °C, as a result of which sustenance of life on earth would have been impossible. However, excessive industrialization and limitless exploitation of resources has increased the concentration of GHGs beyond their natural limits. The atmospheric concentrations of Carbon Di Oxide, Methane and Nitrous Oxide have grown by about 31%, 151% and 17% respectively between 1750 and 2000 (according to the reports of the IPCC 2001). These gases keep the earth some 33 °C, i.e., 60 °F warmer than would otherwise be. Excessive concentration of these GHGs causes the earth to become warmer thus resulting in Global Warming.¹⁹

The Different Types of Green House Gases:

The various greenhouse gases affect the climate system differently. To evaluate the GHG concentration in the atmosphere in relation to temperature change, it is important to consider all greenhouse gases, i.e. the long-living GHGs under the Kyoto Protocol, those under the Montreal Protocol (direct and indirect), as well as ozone, water vapour and aerosols.

- (1) GHG included in the Kyoto Protocol are: carbon dioxide (CO₂), methane (CH₄), nitrous oxide (N₂O), and three fluorinated gasses (HFC, PFC, SF₆).
- (2) GHGs in the Montreal Protocol include three other groups of fluorinated gases: CFCs, HCFCs and CH₃CCl₃.

- (3) In addition, GHGs exist that are not included in global treaties, here called non- protocol gases (NPG), including stratospheric and tropospheric ozone (O₃), aerosols such as black carbon, and water vapour.

Excluding water vapour, ozone and aerosols, the total concentration of the remaining, long-lived GHGs has increased from 278 in pre-industrial times to 466 ppm CO₂ equivalents in 2010. This is about 188 ppm higher than pre-industrial levels. That this concentration is higher than when all gases are considered is caused by the overall cooling effect of aerosols - although certain aerosols act in an opposite manner by enhancing the warming of the atmosphere. Overall, aerosols are compensating for around 45% of the current warming induced by the Kyoto and Montreal GHGs. Aerosols have a relatively short lifetime in the atmosphere. The Montreal Protocol gases contributed as a group about 10% to the current warming. The concentrations of these gases have peaked around the end of the last millennium and have now started to decline due to natural removal processes²⁰

The global average concentrations of various greenhouse gases in the atmosphere have reached the highest levels ever recorded, and concentrations are increasing. A comparative study of the concentration of these gases in the atmosphere in 2010 vis-a-vis 2015 reveals the increase. The combustion of fossil fuels from human activities and land-use changes are largely responsible for this increase. The comparison shows that the concentration of all GHGs, including cooling aerosols that are relevant in the context of the 2°C temperature target, reached a value of 403 ppm CO₂ equivalents in 2010, exceeding the 400 ppm for first time.²¹ The Reports of the IPCC (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change), 2013, on the other hand, showed the rise in GHG in recent times. The Report also makes human activities responsible for the rise in GHG concentration as in 2010. This also poses to be an environmental security threat for India.

1. Carbon dioxide- the concentrations have increased substantially since the beginning of the industrial era. From an annual average of 280 ppm in the late 1700s it rose to a level of 389 ppm by 2010, and further increased to 391 ppm

in 2011. ²² The level further rose to 401 ppm as measured at Mauna Loa in 2015, which is a 43 percent increase, which can be attributed to human activities.

2. Methane- The concentration of methane in the atmosphere has more than doubled since preindustrial times, reaching approximately 1,800 ppb in recent years, (2014 and 2015). This increase is predominantly due to agriculture and fossil fuel use.
3. Other Halogenated Gases: Over the past 800,000 years, concentrations of nitrous oxide in the atmosphere rarely exceeded 280 ppb. Levels have risen since the 1920s, however, reaching a new high of 328 ppb in 2015. This increase is primarily due to agriculture activities. Concentrations of many of the halogenated gases, which were essentially zero a few decades ago have increased rapidly as they have been incorporated into industrial products and processes. Some of these chemicals have been or are currently being phased out of use because they are ozone-depleting substances, meaning they also cause harm to the Earth's protective ozone layer. As a result, concentrations of many major ozone-depleting gases have begun to stabilize or decline .Concentrations of other halogenated gases have continued to rise, however, especially where the gases have emerged as substitutes for ozone-depleting chemicals.
4. Ozone: the total amount of ozone in the atmosphere decreased by about 3 percent between 1979 and 2014. All of the decrease happened in the stratosphere, with most of the decrease occurring between 1979 and 1994. Changes in stratospheric ozone reflect the effect of ozone-depleting substances. These chemicals have been released into the air for many years, but recently, international efforts have reduced emissions and phased out their use. Globally, the amount of ozone in the troposphere increased by about 3 percent between 1979 and 2014. ²³

Green House Gases and its impact in India:

- i. *Climate Change:* the climate around us is changing due to rapid increase in population, and urbanization and industrialization which contributes to air pollution. Many common air pollutants also act as climate-changing gases which affect our health and the environment. Climate change includes dangerous consequences like Global Warming and Ozone layer depletion which have proved to pose as a serious Environmental Security Threat for many countries as well as India. Apart from the above mentioned factors the global macroclimate as an environmental natural resource is also differentially distributed between the North and the South, which has further aggravated the problems of climate change. The greatest challenge for India in the future is to ensure a win- win scenario in the ensuing climate change mitigation policies between the developed and the developing countries which will be dealt with shortly, let us first take a look at the natural resources which are differentially distributed between the North and the South.²⁴

First, India is situated in the Southern hemisphere of the globe, and like all countries situated in this part has a tropical climate. The high heat and humidity characteristic of the tropical climate has an adverse effect on the health and efficiency of the people, which in turn, has an impact on the economic development of the respective countries living in the low latitudes.

The people inhabiting the Northern hemisphere, constituting the minority of the world's population, enjoys the temperate climate. This prevailing climatic conditions has a general favourable effect on the health, and work capacity of the people. It has been observed by Prof. Jayantanuj Bandhopadhyay that "... This global microclimatic dichotomy has been a major natural cause of the spectacular techno economic gap which has developed between the North and the South since the Industrial Revolution." ²⁵

Now let us analyse in detail how the difference in the global microclimate between the North and the South poses to be a security threat for India.

Impact of Temperature Rise: The climate of the tropical countries characterized by very high temperature could have aggravated even by a small increase in atmospheric temperature as it may exceed the limits of human tolerance leading to the failure of homeotherma and homeostasia. This high environmental temperature have thus, badly hit the Tropics in various ways, and India having a typical tropical climate is no exception to this.

First, heat stress disorders quite common in the tropics have increased alarmingly. The large number of tropical diseases related to high heat and high humidity, which are absent in the temperate zone, have also been on the rise. Moreover, the Ozone Layer depletion has resulted in an increase the incidences of Carcinoma or Skin Cancer. It has also resulted in various genetic and other physical disorders and diseases including eye, brain, liver, kidney diseases, and can also adversely affect the endocrine, nervous, respiratory and possibly even the Immune system. Therefore, human health and work capacity which are already slow in the Tropics are likely to deteriorate further. This in turn will lead to dangerous economic, cultural and political consequences.²⁶

Secondly, temperature rise in the tropics has led to depletion of the water resources and, disturbance of the water balance and further soil degradation and an extension of the drought conditions, not only in the arid and the semi- arid zone but also in the moist tropics. The adverse effects of the tropical climate have impacted upon the already low agricultural output leading to food crisis, which would bring in its trail a host of other socio- economic crisis like strifes and conflicts over water and land etc. It has already been predicted that in the coming decade most of the inter community as well as inter - state wars and conflicts will be over land and water. One of the main causes of these strifes would be the migration of environmental Refugees from one country to another.²⁷

Environmental Refugees: The Green House Effect which is resulting in the melting of glaciers that are precious reservoirs of clean water, is also projected to cause floods and droughts, reduce the area of arable land, adversely impact fish and food stocks,

erode coast line as sea level rises and trigger large movement of populations to safer areas, results in Environmental Refugees and Migrants.

Who are they? Environmental migrant refers to people who are forced to migrate from or flee their home region due to sudden or long-term changes to their local environment which compromise their well being or secure livelihood, such changes are held to include increased droughts, desertification, sea level rise, and disruption of seasonal weather patterns such as monsoons. Environmental migrants may flee to or migrate to another country or they may migrate internally within their own country. However, the term 'environmental migrant' is used somewhat interchangeably with a range of similar terms, such as 'environmental refugee', 'climate refugee', 'climate migrant', although the distinction between these terms is contested. Despite problems in formulating a uniform and clear-cut definition of 'environmental migration', such a concept has increased as an issue of concern in the 2000s as policy-makers, environmental and social scientists attempt to conceptualise the potential societal ramifications of climate change and general environmental degradation. The term Environmental; Refugee was first popularized by Lester Brown (1970) and in 1985 by El- Hinnawi in the UNEP Report.²⁸ The UN Refugee Convention 1951 only defines the term Refugee and thus the Environmental Refugees cannot be protected by the U.N Convention under this category. However, a definition of the term 'Environmental Migrants' was suggested to denote migration due to environmental and non environmental factors working together.

Causes leading to Environmental Migarnts/ Refugees: Long term environmental degradation, short term incidents, or development projects are mainly identified as reasons that can lead to displacement.

According to the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, more than 42 million people were displaced in Asia and the Pacific during 2010 and 2011, more than twice the population of Sri Lanka. This figure includes those displaced by storms, floods, and heat and cold waves. Still others were displaced drought and sea-level rise. Most of those compelled to leave their homes eventually returned when conditions

improved, but an undetermined number became migrants, usually within their country, but also across national borders.²⁹

One other problem in addressing the issue arises because at times it's difficult to differentiate between environmental refugees and those impelled by economic problems. Environmental Refugees should also be taken seriously because what may begin as a solely environmental problem may have far reaching repercussions and generates social, political and economic problems. It therefore has the potential to lead to conflict and violence.

Security Threats Emerging from Environmental Migrants and Refugees in India: Climate Refugees could face hostility from local residents and this could lead to conflict. Large scale migration and competition for resources could become a serious security challenge. A US military advisor board's study released in 2007 warned that climate change is a serious national security threat and would lead to instability in geopolitics. The UK's new security strategy includes climate change as a threat alongside terrorism and other risks.

India too needs to recognize that the face of future terrorism is climate change, and that adapting to its impact is as urgent and important as instituting measures to prevent it from happening. Leading climatologist and social scientists have warned that climate change will force a whopping 125 million people – 75 million Bangladeshis and 50 million Indians – to migrate to various parts of India by the turn of this Century. In Bangladesh and India and Pakistan, nearly 130 million people live in the low elevation coastal zone (LECZ) of less than 10 metres above the sea level. Of them, 75 million Bangladeshis will become Climate Refugees as much of the country will disappear under water. While migration will affect West Bengal the worst, Tamil Nadu and Maharashtra will face displacement of 10- 12 million people each. Kolkata, Kochi and Panjim face inundation, increasing migrant pressure on Delhi, Bangalore, Ahmedabad, Pune and Hyderabad.^{86 30}

India has to brace itself against the problem of environmental refugees which is surging at an alarming rate. According to experts such as Dr Hefin Jones, from

Cardiff University., in the next 50 years, Bangladesh would produce about 15 million environmental refugees, and china will witness 30 million of them. India which is expected to give rise to 30 million of such refugees, would undoubtedly reel under the issue of influx from its neighbours. The experts believe that these refugees will be triggered by the rise in sea level, erosion and effects on soil fertility due to climate change. According to the 2007 Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change Report (IPCC), by 2050 the estimated rise in the Bangla coastal areas would be one metre, and by 2100, it would be around two metres. The sea would thereby submerge most of the Ganga-Brahmaputra delta which is a home to around 120 million inhabitants.³¹

Thirdly, The Ozone layer depletion: the high UV-B Radiation received by the Tropical countries may be a major natural cause of the relative backwardness of the tropical agriculture, which can be witnessed in the form of small size of the plants, greater growth of weeds, smaller size and lower in chlorophyll content of the leaves and lower crop yields. The Ozone layer depletion and increase in UV-B Radiation also reduces crop production, deteriorate the quality of crops and adversely affect the growth of forest. It has also been proved that an increase in UV-B Radiation reduces plant size and crop yields.³²

The Global Environmental Regime and India's Security Threats:

It can be understood that the climate change predicted by the international scientific community will aggravate the already existing socioeconomic security threats of the Third World countries, as well as for India in the form of deepening of the mass poverty, increase in their political instability, and an overall reduction in their economic, political and strategic capability in international relations. The prevailing global environmental problems will widen the North South techno economic gap and will weaken the external security of the Third World countries, both individually and collectively. Thus, it was imperative for India as well as for all the third world countries to form a new order to protect and improve the earth's environment, based on collective international action transcending state boundaries, on several fronts.

The effort in this direction was taken at Rio de Janeiro in 1992 under the Framework Convention on Climatic Change, as a product of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development held at, popularly known as the Earth Summit to control the emission of the Carbon Dioxide and other heat trapping gases like Methane and Nitrous Oxide. However this was ratified by only 167 states. The Kyoto Protocol was a follow – up of the former and sought to impose binding limits on the emission of these gases, particularly CO₂, on a slightly graduated scale for different regions and countries. The ultimate objective was to stabilize the final emission levels at an acceptable level. But this agreement has been frustrated by the non compliance of both the developed and the developing states. Thus, it has been seen that the conflict of national and regional interests have stood in the way for creating a collective human action on a global scale. The overriding national economic interest again proved to be a major impediment when USA, The Greatest Single Polluter of the planetary environment withdrew from the Kyoto Protocol on April 2001, showing its non compliance to set any limits to its heat trapping emissions.

The insecurity of the Third world countries lies in the fact that the international action designed to safeguard planetary environment has been largely unsuccessful due to anarchical structure of the international system. The global regulatory authority as well as an enforceable international law on the subject plays an important role on the equitable distribution of costs and benefits among states, regions and peoples are absent. As a result the Third world states are facing a double threat, i.e. the environment hazards as well being a part of the international action to safeguard the environment. The third world countries have been asked to restrain their industrialization in the name of “Sustainable Development” or some other pretext related to the environment. It is impossible for the Developing countries to curb their industrialization which will in turn hamper their economic development and thus, perpetuating their political and economic dependency. It is therefore impossible for them to reduce their consumption of fossil fuels including coal and gas, until and unless alternative energy sources will be made available which will be both abundant and economical.

Moreover, the cost of new technology needed to prevent environmental pollution and degradation, as well as the remedial engineering, technical, scientific, economic, medical and other measures for controlling the effects of the rise in sea level, widespread droughts and floods, spread of diseases, etc. cannot be meted out by the third world countries, already suffering from myriads of socio economic problems.

The high cost and the relative non availability of the non CFC technology has compelled the developing states to continue CFC use at a high rate. China, India, Brazil and Mexico are emitting increasing amount of CFC into the atmosphere. The Montreal Protocol tried to come up with a solution in this area by the creation of the Multilateral Fund by the developed states with the objective of meeting the high costs of the non – CFC technology in the developing states. The Multilateral Fund, which was developed by the Developed States with the purpose of providing necessary assistance to carry on with conversion projects in Developing States through financial and technical collaboration. The G7 States are historically responsible for endangering the global environment and thus, such conversion projects must be subsidized by them. But the scheme brought to light the actual picture of dominance and dependency between the North and South prevalent in the existing economic structure. Since the requisite capital, equipment, technology and training were generally provided by the G7 States through their own transnational corporations on a credit basis out of the Multilateral Fund the same catered more towards the economic interests of the G7 States than those of the recipient developing states.³³

Now let us explore the areas of threat emanating from North South divide centering around global warming.

Global Warming and North South Divide: Areas of Threat for India: Global warming and climate change have serious repercussions on international relations because states have started to blame one another over the issue of industrial and transport emissions, while the advanced Northern states accuse the less – developed countries of the South of poor safety measures in the industrial plants, which they think cause huge emission, sharing of natural resources, and displacement and

migration of people due to ecological disorders. The industrially developed nations have been emitting CO₂ far more than the developing countries but the data shows that even developing nations have also started emitting large amount of CO₂ as they follow the fossil fuel - intensive economic growth model set out by the rich countries. Indian Planning Commission Deputy Chairman Montek S. Ahluwalia said in 2007, that if the emission by US and Europe together, is 15 tonnes per capita then by 2050, it would be obligatory for them to reduce it upto 3 tonnes per capita. Even if India reduces 20 per cent of the emission by 2050, the figure would come down to 0.8 %, which would still be far lesser than that of the developed countries.³⁴ So if we look at per capita emissions of CO₂, the differences between the developed and the developing countries which are apparent from the data provided in the Table below:

Table 2.
Comparisons of Per Capite Emissions of USA and South Asia.

Country	Per Capita Emissions (tc)	Per capita emissions (tc)
	1990	1996
U.S.A.	5.18	5.37
Bangladesh	0.04	0.05
Bhutan	0.02	0.04
India	0.22	0.29
Maldives	0.19	0.31
Nepal	0.01	0.02
Pakistan	0.16	0.18

Note: tc: tones of carbon.

Source: Mukhopadhyaya kakoli (2003)

India's Position on Climate Change :

India's position on Climate Change constitutes a debatable issue in the international politics today. India represents the developing – world argument, and thus, views the issue of climate change from the developmental framework and welfare system. The crux of India's position on Climate Change consists of the notion that it must be

allowed to pollute on a “per capita emission” line.³⁵ India is not a climate change denier but it does view the issue of governing the climate change from its own perspective. Thus India’s position on Climate Change immediately shifts the responsibility to developed countries to drastically cut emissions if the world is to meet the target of keeping global warming within the generally agreed “safe limit” of two degrees Celsius.³⁶

India has three positions that determine its negotiation towards the current framework, which are the three positions are self contradictory to India’s societal and economic aspirations/ are a major hurdle to overcoming India’s Social and Economic Security Threats.

First, India faces the primary socio- economic challenge in the form of Poverty, which requires India to undertake a sustained economic growth of 8 to 10 % per annum. Using the cheapest and easily available forms of energy, which is largely Carbon-based is one of the solutions to this. India thus, views climate change from the perspective of development and energy security. India’s position in any global agreement on cut back on Carbon emission is determined within this context.

Secondly, the second broad position is on the issue of adaptation and mitigation. As already mentioned above that the impact of climate change will affect the tropical countries and India being situated in this region will also be exposed to these vulnerabilities. Adaptation is a counter- approach to the developed countries’ mitigation-

centric solutions to climate change and questions the developed countries’ approaches of finding solutions from their perspective. The adaptation strategy is excessively based on a fear of carbon, and denies the fact that humankind has always adapted itself to climate change. Although India treats the problem of Climate change as its major concern the same has not emerged as paranoia and the same is regarded as a political situation and not so much as a scientific argument. India regards mitigation and adaptation as a “collaborative action at the global level both through mitigation and adaptation in accordance with the common and differentiated responsibilities of

the different countries”, reveals India’s faith in the UNFCCC as the agency for carrying out negotiations.³⁷

Thirdly, India does not view climate change as a pertinent ‘threat’ to the extent that it does not consider military response as the only viable solution to the problem. India’s attitude towards the same was reflected in the UN Debate of 17th April 2007, through its criticisms of the catastrophic scenarios posited by the Stern Report and articulated a more “immediate and a quantifiable threat from possible conflicts arising out of inadequate resources for development and poverty eradication as well as competition for energy.”³⁸ Climate change is certainly an area of concern for India but she gives priority to development and thus is more worried about freer and fairer trade particularly of agricultural products and correcting the distorted trade practices of other environmental powerful countries. On the hand, India also did not support the Security Council’s eligibility to take up the issue of climate change. So for India, linking climate change with security is far fetched and needlessly alarmist, instead an effective climate regime with equitable burden sharing will be helpful for India to tackle the adverse impacts of climate change. Apart from Climate Change there are other environmental issues which appear as ‘Security Threats’ for India.

- ii. **Water Pollution:** Water is a vital natural resource which is essential for a multiplicity of purposes. Its many uses include drinking and other domestic uses, industrial cooling, power generation, agriculture (irrigation), transportation and waste disposal. In the chemical process industry, water is used as a reaction medium, a solvent, a scrubbing medium, and a heat transfer agent. As a source of life for man, plants and other forms of life it cannot be replaced.

Inspite of its **irreversible** role, water for centuries has been used as a dumping ground for human sewage and industrial wastes. Added to them are the materials which are leached out and transported from land by water percolating through the soil and running off its surface to aquatic ecosystems. Thus, the term water pollution refers to “*Water contamination by a variety of chemical substances eutrophication caused by several nutrients and fertilizers.*”³⁹ U.S Department of Health education and Welfare

defines water as “The adding to water of any substance, or the changing of water’s physical and chemical characteristics in any way which interferes with its use of legitimate purposes.”⁴⁰

The sources and the types of major water pollution have been given below:

Table 3 Sources and Types of Major Water Pollution.

Sl. No.	Source	Types of Pollutants
1.	Agriculture	Fertilizers (Principally Nitrogen and Phosphorous), animal wastes and sediments.
2.	Industry	Synthetic organic chemicals including (PCBs) and dioxin, toxic inorganic chemicals, including heavy metals, radioactive materials, heat discharge.
3.	Mining, Municipalities and residences	Acids, chlorides, heavy metals, Nutrients, organic materials, heavy metals, toxic chemicals, chlorides, sewage.

Source: Source: R.P Singh and Zubairul Islam, Environmental Studies, op. cit., p. 204

The Different Types of Water Pollution: A Major Security Threat for India:

- i. ***Agricultural Water Pollution:*** Agricultural wastes such as fertilizers, pesticides, soil additives and animal wastes that are washed off from the land to the aquatic system through irrigation, rainfall and leaching contaminate water and cause various diseases. This category of water pollutants forms the major contaminator as India is an agricultural based country and uses 16 kg/ha of fertilizers on an average. Although the amount is very small when compared to the average use of fertilizers all over the world, which amounts to 54 kg/ha. However an increased amount of pesticides has been observed in tantamounting to 9.7 Mt. in 1994-95 compared to 2.8 Mt. in 1975-76 in India.⁴¹ The non- biodegradable fertilizers are more in demand, which enter the food chain, accumulate on- target organisms and increase in animal tissue to

alarming concentrations. They may enter into the drinking water supplies too. The alarming factor is revealed from recent studies of the United State Department of Food (USDA). These studies reveal the presence of ranked pesticide contamination on 48 popular fruits and vegetables, based on an analysis of more than 34,000 samples taken by the USDA in 2015. Popular fruits and vegetables like apples, peaches, strawberries, grapes, spinach, cucumbers, celery etc. are contaminated with pesticides which cannot be washed or peeled off., thus resulting in wide range of health problems like cancer, developmental problems, lower IQ in children etc. ⁴²

- ii. ***Solid Waste Pollution:*** Other solid waste Pollution like garbage (Comprising of decomposable wastes from households, food, canning, freezing etc.), rubbish (which are all non- decomposable wastes, garden wastes, cloth etc.), sewage sludge and other miscellaneous materials like chemicals, paints etc. lead to water pollution when they are dumped in the rivers and the oceans.

The glaring example of this type of pollution was witnessed in 1994, when 800 truckloads of coastal pollution were washed in to the Juhu Beach in a single night. The report of the National Environmental Engineering Research Institute (Nagpur, India) has categorized the coastline of Mumbai Sea up to 5 kms, as one of the most polluted coastline where 1,800 million litres of city's discharges is dumped everyday. ⁴³

- iii. ***Industrial Water Pollution:*** Pollution mainly caused by the discharge of industrial effluents into the water body is known as industrial pollution. These effluents consist of a wide variety of inorganic and organic substances such as oils, greases, plastics, plasticizers, methyl wastes, suspended solids, phenols, pesticides, heavy metals and acids. Major industries of the country are located on or near the coastline or riversides. The Environmental Security threat of India looms large as most of the Indian rivers and the fresh water streams, which are mostly used as a major source for drinking water and for irrigation purposes, have been seriously polluted by industrial waste. ⁴⁴The following

table shows some of the Indian rivers and their major sources of pollution.

Table 4: Some Indian Rivers and their Major Sources of Pollution

	Name of the River	Sources of Pollution
1.	Kali at Meerut (UP)	Sugar mills, distilleries, paint, soap, rayon, silk, yarn, tin and glycerin industries.
2.	Jamuna near Delhi	DDT factory sewage, Indraprastha Power Station, Delhi.
3.	Ganga at Kanpur	Jute, chemical, metal and surgical industries; tanneries, textile mills and great bulk of domestic sewage of highly organic nature.
4.	Gomti near Lucknow (UP)	Paper and pulp mills; sewage.
5.	Dajora in Bareilly (UP)	Synthetic rubber factories.
6.	Damodar between Bokaro and Panchet	Fertilizers, fly ash from steel mills, suspended coal particles from washeries, and thermal power station.
7.	Hooghly near Calcutta	Power station; paper pulp, jute, textiles, chemical, paint, varnishes, metal, steel, hydrogenated vegetable oils, rayon, soap, match, shellac and polythene industries and sewage.
8.	Sonne at Dalmianagar (Bihar)	Cement, pulp and paper mills.
9.	Bhadra (Karnataka)	Pulp, paper and steel industries.
10.	Cooum, Adyar and Buckingham Canal (Madras)	Domestic sewage, automobile workshops.
11.	Cauvery (Tamil Nadu)	Sewage, tanneries, distilleries, paper and rayon mills
12.	Gadavari	Paper mills
13.	Siwan (Bihar)	Paper, sulphur, cement, sugar mills.
14.	Kulu (between Bombay and Kalyan)	Chemical factories, Rayon mills and tanneries, Sugar industries.
15.	Suwao (in Balampur)	Sugar industries.

Source: SVS Rana, Environmental Pollution: Health and Toxicology, op. cit., P. 4

Effects of Water Pollution and its impact on India:

The five main kinds of physical and chemical effects of pollutants are i. addition of poisonous substances ii. Addition of suspended solids, iii. Addition of suspended salts,

iv. Addition of non- toxic salts, v. Water deoxygenation and vi. Heating of water.

The effects of water pollution are not only devastating to humans but also to animals, fish and birds, which again indirectly affect human beings as they jeopardize the food chain. Moreover polluted water can spread many serious water borne diseases as Cholera, Typhoid, Dysentery etc. and it results in various social security problems in different states of India which have been illustrated later.

iii. Noise Pollution and its Consequences in India:

Noise Pollution or Noise Disturbance is the disturbing or the excessive noise that may harm the activity or balance of human or animal life. One of the main reasons for noise pollution in the urban areas is the rise in population, which has risen to 31.8 % in the last decade. Mumbai has been found to be noisiest city in 2013 and 2014, the next in line being Lucknow, Hyderabad. The audible limit has been set at.....decibels, noises above which leads to headache, lack of concentration etc. In extreme cases it leads to deafness. ⁴⁵

Population Growth:

Population Growth is the change in population over time. It can also be quantified as the change in the number of individuals in the population per unit time. According to the estimates of the United States Census Bureau, the World Population hit 6.5 billion (6, 500, 000, 000) on February 25, 2005. The United Nations Population Fund designated October 12, 1999 as the approximate day on which world population reached six billion.

According to world Population Prospects: The 2015 Revision released by the Economic and Social Affairs/ Population Division, by 2050, the population of the six of the ten largest countries like China , United State, Nigeria, Pakistan etc.

According to the Reports released by the State of World Population, August 2016, the world population was estimated at 7.4 billion. The United Nations estimates that it will further increase to 11.2 billion in the year 2100. The report further reveals that India ranks second in terms of population in 2015, which was 1, 311 billion, which will increase to 1, 309, 2900 as of December 16, 2016. ⁴⁶

Consequences of Population Growth: According to the 2011 Census Report of India, released on 31 March, 2011, the population of India was recorded at 1, 210, 854, 977. The seriousness of the population explosion in India can be understood if we take into account India's population in 2001, which was at 1028.74. Compared to the 2011 Census Report it can be estimated that India added 181.5 million to its population since 2001, slightly lower than the population of Brazil. India, with 2.4% of the world's surface area, accounts for 17.5% of its population. The alarming increase in population growth has many consequences which occur in a chain reaction one after another. A large population puts pressure on the resources of the country and also on its political and economic structures. ⁴⁷

First food shortage is a dangerous consequence which will result in many social problems like poverty, deprivation and mal nourishment. Theft burglary and rise in petty crimes and in extreme cases, riots, civil wars and migration might occur. The problem of Food Shortage has been dealt with under Economic Security threat in Chapter III.

One of the rising problems that every developing country faces today is the rise in urban population, which is growing phenomenally due to migration of the people from the rural to the urban areas. Apart from Migration from one country to another (already been discussed in Chapter II) Internal migrations also take place, which are of two types: from one region or a particular state to another region or state. For example, the greater influx of Bihari landless and marginalised people to Western

India. Similarly people migrate from other areas of the country which are mostly rainfed or have high densities of population, like Konkan, Khandesh, northern Karnataka and eastern Uttar Pradesh.⁴⁸

Thus, urban centres would turn out to be “mini India” s in the near future. Problems tantamount in the regions where migration takes place, as they are already plagued by local problems like unemployment, food shortage, shortage of land etc. Paucity of jobs and other scarce opportunities may lead to a situation where the concept of “Sons of the Soil” may take an ugly turn leading to identity crisis. Violence may erupt in the form of ethnic clashes leading to violation of Human Rights. The communal frenzy which was afflicted with violence on communal lines in February 2002 in the urban areas in Gujarat shows how frustration among urban, unemployed youths can have serious consequences. Moreover, the coexistence of the poor population, who are the actual inhabitants of the region with the “rich outsiders”, may lead to class divide and violence. The above factors thus, result in urban insurgencies, terrorism and militancy.⁴⁹

Increase in the number of Cities: It has been studied in the earlier chapters that shortage of food, rainfall etc. results in an increased influx of rural population in the urban areas. Most of the cities were not prepared and planned to receive the growing population. This has resulted in a haphazard growth of the cities. As these cities cannot accommodate the rising population, many people live in the slums under unhygienic conditions. This harbours various diseases like Malaria and Dengue etc. The outbreak of Dengue which reached dangerous proportions in Kolkata and its adjoining areas is a case to the point.

Problems of Mega Cities: Among the Million plus UAs/Cities, there are three very large UAs with more than 10 million persons in the country, known as Mega Cities. These are Greater Mumbai UA (18.4 million), Delhi UA (16.3 million) and Kolkata UA (14.1million). The largest UA in the country is Greater Mumbai UA followed by Delhi UA. Kolkata UA which held the second rank in Census 2001 has been replaced by Delhi UA. The growth in population in the Mega Cities has slowed down

considerably during the last decade. Greater Mumbai UA, which had witnessed 30.47% growth in population during 1991-2001, has recorded 12.05% during 2001-2011. Similarly Delhi UA (from 52.24% to 26.69% in 2001-2011) and Kolkata UA (from 19.60% to 6.87% in 2001-2011) have also slowed down considerably.⁵⁰

Moreover, the density of population in congested cities makes them more disaster prone.

- i. **Food Shortage:** The first major problem the state with a huge population faces is that of underdevelopment, food shortage and poverty. Food Shortage is a problem not related to food production, but it is closely linked to poverty, economic stagnation, the social, political and economic structures leading to food shortage, arable land use and of course population growth. The problem of food security has been dealt with under the section of Economic Security Threat in Chapter III. The inherent link between population increase and climate change and food is being witnessed recently in the form of threat to fish in India. 47 out of 68 species of fish, which forms the staple diet of the Eastern India, is under threat, according to an assessment by the Central Marine Fisheries Research Institute (CMFRI). Overall, 69% of the 68 fish species were found to be vulnerable to climate change and overfishing. Apart from Bengal's favourite Hilsa, they include Bombay duck, sharks, macarel, catfish, various shrimps pomfret etc.⁵¹

Water Availability:

The worst crisis arising out of growth in population is the scarcity in water supply. The rapid growth of population and its growing needs has resulted in the per capita availability of fresh water, which has declined sharply from 3,000 cubic metres to 1,123 cubic metres over the past 50 years in India, the global average is 6,000 cubic metres. As water demand is expected to rise in future. Reports reveal that the demand for water which was 634 cubic metres in 2000 is estimated to rise to 1,093 cubic metres by 2025 and to 1,447 cubic metres by 2050. Thus, a demand -supply mismatch is inevitable, which is apprehended to be more severe in urban areas, where a demand of 135 liters per capita daily (ipcd) is more than three times than the rural

demand of 40 ipcd. Already, Delhi and Chennai are fed with supply lines stretching hundreds of kilometres. According to projections by the UN, India's urban population is expected to rise to 50% of the total population by 2050. This would mean 840 million people in the most water-starved parts of the country compared to 320 million today. The issue of inequity in water availability has already proved to be fertile ground for several inter-state and intra-state disputes, and unless mitigating steps are taken now, these conflicts would only escalate.⁵²

Water Crisis: Other areas of Concern:

Global Warming and its Consequences leading to Water Scarcity: According to reports, it is estimated that water availability on per capita cubic metre basis is estimated to decline from 2150 at present to 1860 in 2030 in case of China, from 1730 to 1240 in case of India.⁵³ This is due to Global Warming which might have a cataclysmic effect in the form of meltdown of glaciers. The effect will be felt at the end of the Twenty First Century itself as the loss of Himalayan Glaciers would mean a loss to the water regime of the Indus Plains.

Local Ecological Changes Leading to Water Scarcity: Moreover, Global Warming has resulted in some local ecological changes which also responsible to the water crisis in those areas. For example, shift in local weather in Kumaon/Almora has resulted in a delay/ shift in the local monsoons resulting in water crisis in the region. In Shimla (Himachal Pradesh) less snowfall with prolonged cold wave have been reported while in Gangtok (Sikkim) , the summers are hotter and the winters are shorter with less rainfall.⁵⁴

Increase in Water Requirements Due to Increase in Energy Generation: it is estimated that by 2050, energy generation is set to assume a much larger proportion of water usage. This has again pushed India towards another security threat- lack of large quantities of water to cater to the highly water- intensive thermal power plants, which account for maximum water usage among all industrial applications.

To counter this impending threat India needs to make a judicious use of two sources of fresh water- first, surface water, secondly, ground water. However, these sources are also endangered due to global warming, pollution and construction of dams which have been described below:

- i. Surface Water: the main source of surface water is the river. The river system of India can be classified into four groups:
 - a) Himalayan Rivers: which are the main sources of water. These perennial river systems of India are fed by the melt water from snow cover, glaciers and perma frost regions. It is estimated that roughly 50,000 sq. km of glaciers feed into the world's largest water drainage system of the Indus, Brahmaputra and the Ganges. According to the reports of the Intergovernmental Panel of Climate Change in 2001, the contribution of snow to the run off of major rivers in the eastern Himalayan Rivers is about 10% and more than 60% in the Western Himalayas.⁵⁵ However, according to some studies, the glaciers will be seriously affected by global warming by 2350. Although other estimates suggest that it will take 600-700 years for Himalayan glaciers to deplete, a few centuries is a short period of time for the huge glaciers that have fed rivers for thousands of years. This problem looms as an immediate security threat as some impact will be felt by the middle of the Twenty First Century. It is feared that important rivers like the Yellow River in China and the Ganges in India (with its tributaries) are expected to lose between 15% to 30% water due to glacier depletion, thus turning into seasonal rivers.⁵⁶

The other sources of surface water like, ii. Rivers of the Deccan Plateau, iii. Coastal Rivers and iv. Rivers of the inland drainage system are mostly rain- fed and assure non perennial in nature, as rainfall is mainly erratic and ill- distributed throughout India. There are four climatic regions based on the rainfall.

Practically the whole of Assam and the neighbouring areas , The Western Ghats and the adjoining coastal strips, and parts of the Himalayas receive very heavy rainfall with more than 2000 mm of annual rainfall. Thus, The Western Ghats receive heavier rainfall than the **Eastern Ghats, and several major rivers, most notably the**

Krishna and the Godavari. The Deccan Rivers are perennially dependent upon regular rainfall for their complete strength to manifest. But the Deccan region receives little rainfall and so the rivers are seasonal.

The areas of Rajasthan, Kutch and High Ladakh Plateau of the state of Jammu and Kashmir extending west of Gilgit are the areas of low precipitation receiving an annual rainfall between 100 and 500mm. Thus the rivers are fewer in number and drain in to salt lakes or get lost in the sand. Rivers like the Chambal and its tributary constitute an important source of sustenance and livelihood for the regions although many rivers have dried up like Hakra, which is a dried channel now in Pakistan,⁵⁷ while India is blessed with some of the largest river systems India faces and is in danger to face further water crisis in the near future due to two reasons.

First, the relentless utilization of river water through the construction of dams, which have robbed some rivers of their usual water flow, while diverting the course of others. The use of surface water is also affected by dams. Although India ranks third with over 5,000 dams, lagging behind only China and U.S.A., construction of dams have facilitated irrigation and generation of electricity in this country, the dams are adversely affecting the quality of water in this country,. As discussed in the earlier chapters dams have an adverse socio- economic impact on the country, resulting in large number displacements which bring manifold consequences in its trail.

With over 5,000 dams, India is behind only China and US on this count. While facilitating irrigation and electricity generation, the dams are adversely affecting water quality in the country. The irrigation benefits accruing from dams are largely illusory and far less than what is expected when they are planned,” said Tushar Shah, a water expert and senior fellow at IWMI. “Eventually, dams turn out very unattractive from a socio-economic perspective.”⁵⁸

Several scientific studies, including one by the United Nations Environment Programme in 2001, emphasize that dams have two main adverse effects on rivers. First, dams alter the chemical content and temperature of water. Water stored by dams has a temperature distinctly different from the rest of the river, and being stagnant, picks up unwanted things such as sand, besides encouraging algal bloom. Second, dams reduce the natural quantity of water flowing through downstream areas.

Secondly, only a little over one-third of the total water potential of Indian rivers can be used, i.e, of the total potential of nearly 1,900 billion cubic metres (bcm) in India, only about 700 bcm can be utilized. This is because only a significant part of this water is rendered unavailable for use due to natural circumstances. For example, Brahmaputra has the highest total water potential of all rivers in India, but only about 4% of this can be successfully used because the mountainous terrain through which it flows makes further extraction impossible. Moreover, not more than 30% of the water can only be used, once the water is allowed to flow in the riverine system. Riverine reservoirs can only hold upto 20% of the riverflow. Thus, the rest of the water has to be released during floods via large spillways to save the dams, leading to floods.⁵⁹

Pollution of surface water by industrial wastes is another factor which adds on to the existing water crisis. This makes it necessary to rely on the second source of water, which is the Ground water source, the optimum utilization of which also has myriads of problems.

- ii. Groundwater: As much as 55% of India's total water supply comes from groundwater resources, which is also a cause of concern. Unbridled exploitation by farmers has led groundwater levels to plummet dangerously across large swathes of the countryside. Groundwater is critical to India's water security. According to the Indian Ground Water Board the most important cause of water consumption after water required for drinking and washing purposes is irrigation, of which over 60% comes from groundwater, takes up over 80% of total water usage in India. Besides, nearly 30% of urban water supply and 70% of rural water supply comes from groundwater. There are many advantages of ground water which are listed below:

First, it is accessible to large number of users.

Secondly, it is less capital intensive and does not depend upon capital mega- water projects.

Thirdly, it is high in microbiological quality when compared to river water.

Fourthly, it is the best insurance against drought⁶⁰

However, over- extraction of this resource in certain areas, water logging and salination due to inadequate drainage in other areas, and pollution due to agricultural, industrial and human activity and pollution of ground water, especially by harmful metals like Arsenic and Mercury are an area of major concern for some of the areas in India today.

Over-exploitation of ground water is another concern. In 2000, the Outlook reported that the CGWA indicated that the exploitation of ground water accounts for 70% - 80% of the value of the farm produce was attributed to irrigation. The ground water utilization was 98% in Punjab and 80% in Haryana. The total utilization rate in the six districts of Punjab (Kapurthala, Jalandhar, Sasngrur, Patiala, Ludhiana and Amritsar) and the three satets of Haryana (Kurukshetra, Karnal and Mohendragarh) is 100% which means, that it outstrips the recharging rate. ⁶¹ Presently, there are over 20 m wells pumping water with free power supply, provided by the Government. This has been depleting ground water, while encouraging wastage of water in many states. As a result, the water table in the country is dipping every year by 0.4 m. ⁶²

Arsenic Pollution:

High levels of arsenic above the permissible levels of 50 parts per billion (ppb) are found in the alluvial plains of Ganges covering six districts of West Bengal. In a survey made from 1987 to 1996, Arsenic have been found in the ground water above maximum permissible limits (0.5 mg/l) as recommended by WHO in seven districts of West Bengal , namely, Malda Murshidabad, Bardhaman, Nadia, Hooghly, 24-Parganas (North and South). According to the estimates of School of Environmental Studies, Jadavpur University, more than 1.0 million people are drinking Arsenic contaminated water and more than 2, 00,000 people have Arsenic skin lesions. ⁶³

Presence of heavy metals in groundwater is found in 40 districts from 13 states, viz., Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Punjab, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, and five blocks of Delhi. Contamination in Uttar Pradesh has taken a serious turn recently as Arsenic Contamination has taken in its folds 30 districts of U.P. since 2014. ⁶⁴

Mercury Pollution in India: Mercury pollution manifests itself in the form of a chain reaction in which the polluted river water infects the people as well as the fish which is consumed by the people. For example, Chaliyar River in Kerala has been reported to contain high level of Mercury discharged from a nearby Rayon factory, which has contaminated the fish that forms the popular diet of the people of Kerala. Mercury poisoning is also evident in Orissa's Rushkulya River and in the thane Creek near Bombay. The Kalu River which flows through the industrial suburbs of Ambarnath and Ulhasnagar has been found to contain high levels of Mercury. ⁶⁵

Mercury is reported to cause impairment of brain functions, neurological disorders, retardation of growth in children, abortion and disruption of the endocrine system, whereas pesticides are toxic or carcinogenic. Generally, pesticides damage the liver and nervous system. Tumour formation in liver has also been reported.

Fluoride Contamination: The incidence of fluoride above permissible levels of 1.5ppm occur in 14 Indian states, namely, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Gujarat, Haryana, Karnataka, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa, Punjab, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal affecting a total of 69 districts, according to some estimates. Some other estimates find that 65 per cent of India's villages are exposed to fluoride risk.

The presence of fluoride in water cannot be detected without the help of water quality testing equipment. High fluoride content is often detected from such symptoms on human beings as yellowing of teeth, damaged joints and bone deformities, which occur from long years of exposure to fluoride containing water. Due to this reason, by the time the community realizes the "menace", a large section of the population is already affected. A recent survey by the International Water Management Institute (IWMI) in north Gujarat showed 42 per cent of the people covered in the sample survey (28,425) were affected; while 25.7 per cent were affected by dental fluorosis, 6.2 per cent were affected by muscular skeletal fluorosis and 10 per cent by both. ⁶⁶

Consequences of Scarcity of Water:

i. *Social Security Threats among the people :*

Depletion of the water sources both at the sources and at the underground level has many a consequences which has been reflected at the preliminary level in the form of hardship of the common man in their day to day sustenance of their life. A study conducted by the ICIMOD found out that just like in Nepal even in Almora, a neighbouring state of Uttarakhand, which is located at an elevation of 1600m it had not snowed for 3 to 4 years. Snow at such a medium elevation caters for the much needed water required for agriculture. Without snow along with delayed and erratic rainfall during the rainy season, and prolonged dry periods the people face an imminent water crisis. People do not enjoy the facility of piped water supply at homes; the women have to rely on public roadside taps and have to carry water from a spring outside the small town. Researchers of the Indo-German Environment Programme found that human activities in this fragile ecological zone in the hilly areas of Uttarakhand, human activities, including agriculture, cause extensive land degradation, which in turn, adversely affects water retention and recharge. The problem of water shortage, exacerbated by extreme weather events such as erratic rainfalls, cloudbursts, unpredictable temperatures etc. leads to detrimental effects on agriculture, forestry and even manufacturing.⁶⁷

ii. *Water Related Diseases, affecting Human Health:*

Human health is one of the most important factors for the economic development of a country. A healthy workforce requires a healthy environment which is determined which is determined by i. Clean air, ii. Clean water, iii. Recreation and iv. Wilderness. Pearce and Warford (1993) have recognized 'damage to human health' as the most important and the immediate consequence of environmental degradation in the developing world. He argued further that Diarrhoea is a common occurrence in many developing countries with three million to five million cases being recorded every year. Each case is estimated to result in loss of 3-5 working days, amounting to nine billion working days lost in a single year.⁶⁸ Thus, a major

environmental problem has a direct bearing on the economic security of the country.

Table: 3. Burden of Water Related Disease in India. (in million of DALYs)*

Sl. No.	Disease	Female	Male	Total
1.	Diarrhoeal disease	14.39	13.64	28.03
2.	Intestinal Helminthes	1.0	1.06	2.06
3.	Trachoma	0.07	0.04	0.11
4.	Hepatitis	0.17	0.14	0.31
	Total	15.63	14.88	30.51

DALYs = disability adjusted life years

Source: SVS Rana, Environmental Pollution: Health and Toxicology, P. 48

Scarcity of water also has an impact in the social sphere, putting at stake the unity and integrity of the country leading inter and intra state conflicts which has been discussed below:

iii. ***Interstate Conflicts:***

Another fall out of water as a security issue is the question of water wars, in its various manifestations. India's relations with her neighbours Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal and China have been affected now and again due to water, like sharing of river water, construction of dams etc. In security perceptions, memory of the World War II, when attacks on enemy dams were routine, remains vivid. Many in the anti- large dam lobby do mention the threat that the dams would pose in the Himalayas or elsewhere if targeted by the enemy and plead for an appreciation from the military perspective of dams being Vulnerable Areas that in the first place should not be built due to military reasons alone. Probably, for these reasons, the Three Gorges dam under construction on the Yangtse Kiang River in China is a popular counter- value target in the debate on nuclear theology, targeting and deterrence. ⁶⁹

Though some scholars, academics and journalists may not discuss water as a “security” issue at par with conventional military security, the issue is deeply ingrained as a security threat in South Asia. Thus,

Intra State Conflicts:

The water may become a major source of conflict within a nation, which is reflected in India where many inter- state disputes over sharing of river waters have led to tensed situations. Article 262 of the Inter State Water Dispute Act, 1956, of the Constitution provides for Parliamentary legislation for adjudication of interstate water disputes, and for barring the jurisdiction of the Courts. The states are expected to sort out the disputes through Tribunals. There are at present five water disputes. The four disputes are over the sharing of river water between the states of the Indian Union, while the other one is regarding the ecology of the river and the people it displaces (Narmada). The disputed rivers are:

- a. River Ravi and Beas Dispute among Haryana, Punjab and Rajasthan.
- b. River Cauvery Dispute among Karnataka, Tamil Nadu and Kerala.
- c. River Krishna Dispute among Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka.
- d. River Godavari Dispute among Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa.
- e. Narmada River Dispute among Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat and Rajasthan.⁷⁰

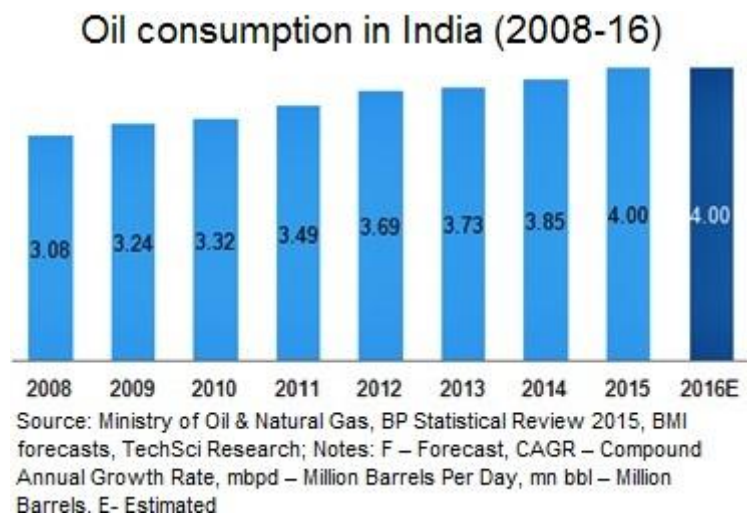
The absence of rational water policies have led to the relentless exploitation of groundwater resources. Politicians looking to please the large farm vote-bank have provided massive subsidies on equipment and electricity required to mine groundwater. The Report of the 2012 study by the International Water Management Institute (IWMI) reveals that the most powerful factor, behind the faster growth of groundwater irrigation in India than elsewhere, is the regime of flat rate tariff and power subsidies that India has introduced since the beginning of Green Revolution.⁷¹

The lack of sufficient water supply makes it essential for India to explore prospects of renewable resources especially for thermal power plants as they are highly water intensive. Apart from this, pressure on other energy sources like Petroleum, Liquid

Energy Crisis:

Oil has been a key element of the growing economy. Since 1845 oil production has increased from virtually nothing to 86 million barrels/ day (IEA 2010). By 2004 India was among one of the energy hungry countries whose demand for oil led to an increase in the overall demand for oil all over the world. According to estimates provided by the U.S. Energy Information Administration, the amount of Petroleum consumed in 2011 in thousand barrels (1000bbl) per day and in 1000cubic metres per day India's consumption was recorded at 3, 292.2 bbl / day or 523.4m³ / day as against a population of 1198 millions. This can be compared to other big and booming economies of the world like USA where the consumption in 1000 bbl/ day or, 994.6 1000m³ / day as against a population of 314 millions, while that of China was 9, 790.0 1000 bbl/day as against a population of 1198 millions. The area of concern for India is not only the rising population but the amount of national production, recorded at 0.26 (while that of USA 0.51 and that of China is 0.41).⁷²

India's threat lies in the fact that India's oil demand is expected to grow at a CAGR of 3.6 per cent during the year 2008 – 16 is expected to 4.0 mbpd by 2016, which is expected to rise to 458 Million Tonnes of Oil Equivalent (MTOE) by 2040. With rising income levels, demand for automobiles is also estimated to increase. Rapid economic growth is leading to greater outputs, which in turn is increasing the demand of oil for production and transportation. The expected strong growth in demand, India's dependency on oil, imports is likely to increase.⁷³



The demand for energy also at the same time will be more than double by 2040 as economy will grow to more than five times its current size, as stated by Mr Dharmendra Pradhan, Minister of State for Petroleum and Natural Gas.

Water also has another function, i.e., power generation. Water Crisis draws our attention therefore towards an eminent ecological problem- Energy Crisis.

3. **Degradation of Land:**

Degradation of Land is mainly caused due to soil erosion. Two- thirds of soil erosion is due to water washing the top soil while wind erosion accounts for the remaining one third. With increased floods more soil erosion also takes place. The soil- making process is very slow as it takes 200 to 1000 years to form 2.5 centimeters of top soil under normal agricultural conditions.⁷⁵ With increased rainfall, as predicted due to climate change in the foreseeable future, it is apprehended that more soil erosion may occur due to adverse floods. Thus, the soil quality would further deteriorate and the food output may further decrease. Thus, a vicious cycle of degradation may set in. Forests help control soil erosion by slowing down water runoff and by letting the water percolate downwards, plays a vital role in the hydrological cycle. The increased Deforestation due to urbanization is likely to increase soil erosion and land degradation, which would in turn result in low crop yield thus endangering food security.

Other Natural Calamities:

Increased population rise leading to deforestation, increased air pollution and resultant Global Warming leads to 'climatic catastrophes' in various forms which claims heavy toll of life and property. India surrounded by water bodies on all three sides and being one of the most polluted countries of the world is vulnerable to the following natural calamities which have ravaged the country time and again in the Twenty First Century.

Cyclones: The word 'Cyclone' is derived from the Greek word 'cylos' meaning the coils of a snake. The very fact that the tropical storms in the Bay of Bengal and Arabian Sea appeared like the "coiled serpents of the sea" urged Henri Peddington to name these storms as "cyclone", reveals the susceptibility of India towards these storms.

Cyclones are intense low pressure areas from the centre of which pressure increases outwards. The amount of the pressure drop in the centre and the rate at which it increases gives the intensity of the cyclones and the strength of winds. ⁷⁶

Cyclones affect both the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea. These storms are rare in the Bay of Bengal from January to March although, isolated ones may be formed in the south Bay of Bengal and might move West- North- Westwards and hit Tamil Nadu and the coasts of Sri Lanka. In April and May, these storms form in the South and the adjoining Central Bay and move initially North West, North and then recurve to the Northeast striking the Arakan Coasts in April and Andhra- Orissa- West Bengal- Bangla Desh coasts in May. Most of the monsoon (June- September) storms develop in the Central and in the North Bay and move West- North- Westwards, which affect the Andhra- Orissa- West Bengal Coasts. Post monsoon (October- December) storms form mostly in the South and the Central Bay, recurve between 15° to 18°N, thus affecting the Tamil Nadu- Andhra Orissa- West Bengal- Bangla Desh Coasts. Most of the storms in the Arabian Sea move in West- North- Westerly direction towards Arabian Coasts in the month of May and in the Northerly direction

towards Gujrat Coast in the month of June. In the other months, they generally move North- West- North and then recurve North East affecting Gujrat Maharashtra Coasts. A few sometimes also move West- North –Westwards towards Arabian Coast. Pre and post -Monsoon storms in the Indian Seas lasts for about four days on an average, from the time of its formation till the time it enters land. (SVS Rana)⁷⁷

These cyclones are associated with high pressure gradients and consequent strong winds generating storm surges, resulting in abnormal rise in sea level near the coast. This is accompanied by strong winds damaging installations, dwellings, communication systems etc. The storms are accompanied and also followed by incessant rainfall, leading to submergence of low- lying areas causing loss of life and property. The following table gives an account of the devastating storms that struck the country in the Twenty Fist Century.

Table- 4: Cyclones which hit India in the Twenty First Century

Sl. No.	Name of the Cyclone	Year	State and Area	Fatalities
1	Cyclone Vardah	Dec. 2016	Tamil Nadu	24 approx.
2	Cyclone HudHud	Sept. 2014	Andhra Pradesh and Orissa	-
3.	Cyclone Mahasen	May 2013	Tamil Nadu	08
4.	Cyclone Nilam	Oct. 2012	Tamil Nadu	65
5.	Cyclone Thane	Dec. 2011	Tamil Nadu and Puducherry	47
6.	Cyclone Nisha	2008	Tamil Nadu	204 deaths

Source: Report of the National Disaster Mngement Authority, Government of India, 2014, derived from the site- [http:// www. ndma. gov. in](http://www.ndma.gov.in), downloaded on 27. 12. 2015

Floods: Floods and droughts are the result of the erratic and irregular rainfalls that India is subjected to. The flood prone area in India comprises 34 million hectares (mha) ⁷⁸(Another study places 40- 60 mha area in India as flood prone. ⁷⁹ The monsoon rain (80% of the total annual rain) that falls in the flood plains comprises the Ganga- Brahmaputra- Meghna Basin in the states of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, West Bengal and Assam. The nature of flooding today is like a sudden ferocity of water and prolonged stagnation. The main factors responsible for this are severely constrained or limited areas within which floods can now spread. Secondly, drainage congestion caused by roads, railways, urbanization and reclamation of flood cushion has been further compounded by the population pressure in vulnerable zones and by deforestation.

Secondly, multipurpose dams including flood control measures are limited in number. Only reservoirs in the Damodar Valley Corporation in the 1950s were built with the main purpose of flood control. ⁸⁰ But storing peak flood discharge needs empty reservoirs, while irrigation and electricity need the opposite. These conflicting demands has led to Dam Induced Floods. No Easy country specific solution is possible but, only a regional approach appears to have a lasting solution.

Apart from this floods can prove to be a man- made disaster. The floods in the Sutlej and Brahmaputra in 2000 are cases to the point. This disaster occurred as a result of the upstream activities in Tibet. On June 11th, 2000, the Siang (Brahmaputra River) or Tsangpo as it is known in Tibet, ravaged the country- side in Arunachal Pradesh. On August 1st, 2000, the Sutlej burst into Kinnuar devastating the country side. The media reported that the Indian Space Research Organisation, later in 2001, established the cause as a breach in the upstream rivers by the Chinese. ⁸¹ This incidence therefore brought to limelight that the river systems, if not monitored on time can prove to be of grave environmental concern.

Global Warming is yet another man made cause for the occurrence floods. Due to global warming 44 glacial lakes in Nepal and Bhutan are growing rapidly and would soon burst in a phenomenon called Glacial Lake outburst Floods (GLOFs). Many other reports state that the above mentioned devastation in the Himachal Pradesh in

2000 was attributed to GLOF and not to Chinese master plan as a weather weapon. ⁸² **(See Endnote)** The World Bank reported as early as in 2011 that the thinning and the retreat of glaciers in the Himalayas due to global warming has resulted in the formation of new Glacial Lakes and enlargement of the existing ones. ⁸³ In 2014 NDTV and ZEE News drew our attention to the formation of 109 glacial lakes in the Himachal Himalayas within a period of two years, thus endangering the state of Himachal Pradesh. Huge glaciers atop the Himalayas also pose to be a great security threat for the state of Sikkim. An analysis of the following table will show how frequently floods have occurred in the present Century and the number fatalities resulting from them, causing serious socio economic security threats among the people of the country.

Table 5: Devastating Floods in India in the Twenty First Century

Sl. No.	Name of the Flood	Year	State and Area	Fatalities
1.	Chennai Floods	2015	Chennai	
2.	Floods	Oct. 2014	Jammu and Kashmir	-
3.	Odisha Floods	Oct. 2013	Odisha	21
4.	Andhra Floods	Oct. 2013	Andhra Pradesh	53
5.	Floods/ Landslides	June 2013	Uttarakhand/ Himachal Pradesh	4, 094
6.	Uttarakhand Floods	Aug. – Sept. 2012	Uttarkashi, Rudraprayag and Bageshwar	52
7.	Assam Floods	July- Aug. 2012	Assam	-
8.	Odisha Floods	Sept. 2011	19 dists. Of Odisha	45
9.	Krishna Floods	2009	AndhraPradesh and Karnataka	300
10.	Kosi Floods	2008	North Bihar	257 deaths, 19, 323 livestocks perished,2,23,000 houses damaged, 3.3 million people affected.
11.	Maharashtra Floods	July 2005	Maharashtra	1094 deaths, 167 injured,54missing
12.	Kashmir Floods	2005	Mostly Pakistan, partially Kashmir.	1400 deaths (86,000 deaths in total)

Source: Report of the National Disaster Management Authority, Government of India, 2014, derived from the site- [http:// www. ndma. gov. in](http://www.ndma.gov.in), downloaded on 27. 12. 2015.

Natural Disasters:

Climatic Disasters which have a natural cause are more dangerous as there occurrences are unpredictable and mostly cannot be prevented. In this Chapter we will discuss in a nut shell the two natural disasters which have proved to be dangerous for India's security are: i. Droughts, ii. Earthquake, iii. Tsunami.

Drought: India began taking rainfall measurements since the 1840s, it was observed that the country has three-decade-long periods or epochs of alternating dry and wet monsoons. For example, during the dry epoch 1960-89, there were 10 monsoon drought years, but during 1930-59, India had only two drought monsoons. Met experts found this alternating nature of dry and wet tri-decadal phases to be associated with the cold phase of the Atlantic multi-decadal oscillation in sea surface temperature. Curiously, the 1990-2019 epoch was expected to be a wet one, going by the cycle of the ocean-atmosphere system of the earlier 150-year period. 2014 and 2015 were part of a three decade period, 1990-2019, which was supposed to have more good monsoons and very few bad monsoons. But while 1990 to 2000 saw no drought monsoons, the following two decades have seen five drought monsoons so far (2002, 2004, 2009, 2014 and 2015).

Using data from a network of 306 climatological rain gauge stations well distributed over India, scientists at IITM, Pune have derived an Indian summer monsoon rainfall series for the period 1871 to the current year, which shows that these dry periods or dry epochs see not only frequent drought monsoons, but also a high percentage of severe cyclones in the Bay of Bengal which would move upwards with disastrous impact in Bangladesh, Myanmar, and Odisha and West Bengal in India. Going by this natural cyclicality of the ocean-atmosphere system, the three decades from 2020 to 2049 are likely to have frequent disastrous droughts in the Indian summer monsoon and a large percentage of the severe cyclones of the Bay of Bengal are likely to have northward track, adversely affecting the coastal region of north Bay of Bengal.

Studies further reveals that the recent dry epoch of 1960-1989 had a cold upper tropospheric temperature anomaly over Central Asia and that this cold anomaly

region has also experienced a long-term cooling trend. There are apprehensions that the cooling trend over the Asian continent is likely to make it even more severe in its impact than 1960-89, thus, increasing the severity and the frequency of droughts expected during 2020-49. Although many associate drought with increasing deforestation and global warming, this environmental problem has been categorized under Natural Disasters. Irrespective of its cause this environmental problem has drastic consequences in the form of scarcity of food and water, deaths, migration etc.⁸⁴

i. Earthquakes: The Indian subcontinent has a history of earthquakes. The reason for the intensity and high frequency of earthquakes is the Indian plate driving into the Asian plate at a rate of 47mm/year. The following table shows the frequency of the occurrences of earthquakes in India.⁸⁵

Table- 6 . Destructive Earthquakes in India

Date	Location	M		I	Deaths	Total Damage	Injuries
3.1.2016	India, Myanmar, Bangladesh	6.7	M _w	VII	11	-	200
26.10.2015	Afghanistan, India, Pakistan	7.7	M _w	VII	399	-	2,536
12.5.2015	Nepal, India	7.3	M _w	VIII	218		3,500
25.4.2015	Nepal, India	7.8	M _w	IX	8,964	\$ 10 Billion	21,952
1.5.2013	Kashmir	5.7	M _w		3	\$9 Billion	90
18.9.2011	Gangtok, Sikkim	6.9	M _w	VII	>111	-	-
10.8.2009	Andaman Is.	7.5	M _w			Tsunami warning issued	
6.2.2008	West Bengal	4.3	M _b	-	1	Building damaged	50
6.11.2007	Gujarat	5.1	M _w	V	1	Building damaged	5
7.3.2006	Gujarat	5.5	M _w	VI		Building damaged	7
14.2.2006	Sikkim	5.3	M _w	V	2	Landslides	2
14.12.2005	Uttarakhand	5.1	M _w	VI	1	Building damaged	3
8.10.2005	Kashmir	7.6	M _w	VIII	86,000-87,351	2.8 million displaced	69,000-75,266
15.3.2005	Maharashtra	4.9	M _w	VII		Buildings damaged	45
26.12.2004	Off Northern Sumatra	9.1-9.3	M _w	IX	230,000-280,000	Destructive Tsunami	
13.9.2002	Andaman Is.	6.5	M _w		2	Destructive Tsunami	
26. 1. 2001	Gujarat	7.7	M _w	X	13, 805-20-023	Republic Day in India	166,800

Source: [https://en Wikipedia. Org./ wiki/ list_of_earthquakes_in_india](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/list_of_earthquakes_in_india).

ii. *Tsunami*: One of the devastating natural calamities unknown to India perhaps before the catastrophic tsunami of December 2004 is very destructive mainly due to its unpredictability. All earthquakes do not lead to a Tsunami and it is always not

essential that a Tsunami will be preceded by an earthquake. Any movement of the under water tectonic plates can lead to a Tsunami at any place at any time. India's first experience of Tsunami have been in the new Millennium, i.e., 24th December, 2004. India along with atleast 11 other countries of South and South East Asia, out of which Indonesia, Sri Lanka Maldives ,Thailand, along with India have been worst affected. The estimates of human casualties have been listed as: Deaths- 230,000, Missing- 45,752, Injured- 125,000 and displaced- 1,690,000, out of which Indian casualties have been estimated as below: Deaths- 18,045, Missing- 5,640, Displaced- 647, 599. ⁸⁶

On the basis of the studies made while working on the above chapter the Researcher made the following observations:

First, The Researcher made the observation that environmental degradation can be included under the parameter of security issues since it encompasses security threats, which are as harmful as military threats arising out of warfare and nuclear weapons.

Secondly, The Security threats under this sector can arise due to two factors: i. Natural ii. Man- made. Irrespective of their causes these security threats can occur suddenly. They are unpredictable and inevitable which makes them all the more dangerous.

Thirdly, climate of the countries located in the northern and southern hemispheres affected the economic status of these countries. Infact, the economic security threats indirectly emerge from the 'global microclimatic dichotomy' between the Northern and the Southern countries, since the Industrial Revolution. Thus climatic conditions have proved to be a natural cause for the North South divide Thus, the hot and humid climate have always been a disadvantage for the developing countries, in the form of low workoutput by workers. The various disease causing germs thrive in this atmosphere leading to various disease causing germs and insects, which again leads to loss of working hours tantamounting to economic loss. Thus, the Environmental Security problems are mutually complimentary to the security threats in the economic sector. Rather, the Researcher felt that the two forms a vicious circle which is

maintained, encouraged and aggravated by other factors like lack of infrastructure and Government initiative to mitigate, prevent or at least adopt safety measures to minimize loss of life and property which would in turn add upto the already existing economic threat factors..

Fourthly, Environmental security threats are linked to the military security threats in many ways:

- i. Environmental factors are used by a country to pressurise its enemy country. For example, the GLOF, i.e, the flood related to the glacial lake outbursts in 2000 in Himachal Pradesh was allegedly caused by china who used these glacial lakes of India to its disadvantage. .
- ii. Wars, or other activities related to war, like nuclear weapons test lead to immense environmental pollution.
- iii. Possession of natural resources has been a major ground of contention between regions within a state and between countries. Recently following the attack on the military base at Uri in north Kashmir, India decided to review the water sharing treaty of the Indus River and “exploit to the maximum” the waters of the Pakistani controlled rivers. It is rightly apprehended that Such actions in turn, will open up a hornet’s nest in the international arena as the unilateral abrogation of the treaty will not only violate IWT, but will also set a precedent to other countries to provide possible justification to undertake similar actions in the near future. ⁸⁷

Thus, the Researcher observes that cooperation and not conflict can reduce the possibility of the occurrence of these threats and minimising damage in case of its occurrence. Therefore the Researcher prescribed cooperation mechanism operable at four levels:

- i. Local: to mitigate the local problems of water pollution, spread of vector borne diseases like Dengue etc. by the civil society.

- ii. Regional: Cooperation of two or more regions to solve problems on a region to region basis, where Panchayats of as few villages can take the lead role in dealing with problems like Arsenic poisoning, problems of drought or deforestation.
- iii. State level: The Government of the states must cooperate to solve the long standing disputes over distribution of river water etc.
- iv. National Level: At the National level the Government needs to coordinate and encourage these cooperations, mitigate deadlocks especially in the case of water sharing treaties at the state level and provide financial assistance to these cooperative ventures to seek solution to these environmental problems.
- v. International Level: countries must unite together to work as a global unit to provide immediate assistance to the victims of any climatic catastrophes. Long term programs must be undertaken in the foerm of i. Future cooperation and assistance to countries which would ravaged by environmental diasaters. Ii. Promote financial, technical asnd administrative assistance for the promotion of research on various natural calamities and ways of preventing them etc.

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Conclusion

The concept of state security is a highly contested one. It is a very important factor which ensures the development of the state and its people. It has been observed that security has two aspects: First, a state needs to be secured externally, i.e., from external aggression from other states. The traditional theories of political realism voiced the state-centric notion of security. However, the second aspect of state security is the security of the state from within. The internal aspect of state-security encompasses multidimensional factors which are a pre-requisite to ensure the security of every individual residing in a state. These security factors, which arise from within the state are known as non-traditional security factors. The theories relating to this aspect of state security marks a digression from the traditional state-centric notion of security. In view of the growing importance of the internal aspect of state security in the New Millennium, an attempt has been made to analyse the internal security issues of the state in the Twenty First Century and the following observations have been made.

The post Cold War security thinking marked a shift from the state centric concept of security. For example Hedley Bull's explanation of the US- Soviet relationship from the point of ethno- centricism as the main focus of security thinking. Thus, he equated the national security studies with the security of the international system as a whole. Although glimpses of the rising importance of Non Traditional Security issues in determining the security agendas of the above mentioned states have been observed during this time, the economic factors were not considered as part of the security agenda until the 1990s, which marked the de- escalation of conflict between great powers. During this time, doubts were raised regarding the traditional notions of security based on military power of a state on grounds that it bred insecurity, by forcing states to embark upon an Arms Race for the sake of securing deterrence.

Though there was a general unanimity among the exponents of new security thinking to reject military security as the only basis of state security, they differed with regard to what the referent should be. For Deepeners, like Kaufman, Walter, Snyder etc. the referent was thought to be communities or groups. They argued that the various

communities constituted a nation and that the behavior of the members of the communities formed the crux of the national security agenda.

Ken Booth and Simon Dalby, on the other hand, argued that people should be the referent instead. In comparison to the above scholars, Barry Buzan was able to suggest a more or less all encompassing referent. Barry Buzan felt that security must be ensured at three levels: International System, State and the Individual.

The security of the individual gained priority as it formed the basis of the state and human collectivities. It has been found that since the security of the human collectivities was the focal point of Barry Buzan's concept of security, primacy of military security of the state took a back seat. Since human needs are embedded in an all encompassing socio- economic well-being of all the members of the state, or human collectivities, security in all the above mentioned sectors, as mentioned by Buzan, namely, social, economic and environmental sectors has become important. These sectors of security mainly dwell in the internal aspects of security, which can also be termed as the Non conventional Security issues of the state which are gaining importance in the Twenty First Century.

The thesis strives to analyse the nontraditional security issues or the internal aspects of state security in the Twenty First Century, which emerge as an area of concern for Indian policy makers. Under the larger spectrum of economic security factors the researcher included Poverty, Unemployment, Food Security Recession and Inflation as some of the important economic issues within the country which emerge as security threats due to its diverse consequences. The impact is largely felt in the social sector under which various internal security issues in the social sphere have been discussed.

Issues like Ethnic Strife and Violence, Communalism, Regionalism, Caste related problems like caste based violence, Politics of Reservation, Honour Killing, Violence against women and children, Female Foeticide, Corruption and Criminalization of politics are some of the issues discussed by the Researcher under social security threat factors.

The Fourth Chapter, deals with the issues related to environmental security, which has gained importance in the context of the growing population within the country, leading to pollution, Global warming, depletion of Ozone Layer etc.

At the International Level Buzan recognized the state and society as the referents of security. States are one of the primary actors in the international system and the societies therein determine the activities of the other states in the system. Many a times the internal security aspects of the state are affected by the activities of other states or the societies of the other states in the international system. For example, civil war, ethnic strifes or environmental disasters within a state may result in refugee inflow to other countries, thus, jeopardizing the internal security aspects of the receiving countries.

It has been further observed that unlike the other exponents of the New Security Thinking, Buzan did not totally reject military aspect of State Security and nor did he hail it as the soul factor of State Security. Rather he regarded it as one of the factors for the maintenance of the same. The study has tried to point out that the internal security aspects are essential to ensure a healthy life of the individuals, who were a member of the state or that of the human collectivities. The military aspect is thus required to secure the State, which is the guaranter of all the internal security aspects of the human beings who are a part of the human collectivities, constituting the societies within a state.

It was felt that Buzan's concept of security could be taken as a frame work in order to earmark and classify the nontraditional aspects of security. Although such concept of security came into prominence in the post Cold War scenario, the problems have reached dangerous proportions in the light of increased socio economic and environmental problems both at the national and at the international level in the new millennium. The Non Traditional Security issues have assumed importance in the security parameters of the state due to the threats or challenges it posed, which were studied by the Researcher leading to the following observations:

First, an analysis of the definition of Mely Caballero Anthony the non traditional security threats included challenges of non military sources such as i. climate change, ii. Cross-border environmental degradation and resource depletion, iv. Infectious diseases, v. natural disasters, vi. Irregular migration, vii. Food shortages, viii. People smuggling, ix. Drug trafficking, and x. other forms of transnational crime.

The above definitions of nontraditional security threats reveal that the domain of these security parameters is blurred and vague, as there are myriads of infectious diseases and natural disasters. Activities of nature cannot be predicted. With regard to “Natural Disasters” there are many natural disasters unknown to a country and that there are possibilities that these natural calamities might take a country by surprise. Lack of prior experience, leaves the country unequipped and vulnerable to these ‘unknown’ natural calamities. As a result of this the natural disasters can take the shape of ‘catastrophes’ leading to immense loss of life and property. For example The Great Tsunami of 2004, which lashed across the shores of India and South East Asia overtook India by shock and surprise as such a natural calamity is not common to India.

Transnational crimes have also been enlisted under Non traditional Security Threats, which also leave grounds for ambiguity as even here the country is left exposed and unarmed to the uncountable number of transnational crimes. Moreover, the Government is unaware of the methods or *modus operandi* of these criminals who operate across the border. For example, the demolition of the Twin Towers in USA, by the terrorists led by Bin Laden at the threshold of the new millennium brought to light the helplessness of the Sovereign states towards the nontraditional aspect of security threat arising out of criminal activities across the border. The trans national character of these criminal organizations and the benefits of globalization in the form of advanced technologies in communication and transportation have strengthened the hands of these criminals at the cost of the states.

Richard Ullman’s definition of the same also included all those security threats which arise from political and diplomatic conflicts which can prove harmful to the survival and development of the sovereign states. As these conflicts are mainly initiated by the

activities of individuals and since human behavior cannot be predicted, many a times the states are either unable to detect the possibility of the existence of these political and diplomatic conflicts or or predicting their occurrences, inside or outside the state boundaries.

The consequences of these security threats are more dangerous than the traditional aspects of security like war or any other form of external aggression as one security threat leads to another setting a vicious cycle. For example: economic deprivation and unemployment in a particular region can lead to ethnic movements which might degenerate into inter ethnic strifes at the local / regional level. The ensuing violence will result in human security problems in two ways:

i. *Short term* problem will manifest itself in the form of massive human rights violation in the form of ethnic cleansing of minorities, violence on women and children, immense loss of life and property.

ii. *Long Term* impact can be felt both at the regional and at the national level in the form of refugee crisis, secessionist movements against the state which may assume the form of terrorism. Thus, Economic deprivation and unemployment can start an entire process of human rights violation, resulting in human security problem at the regional and national level. The entire process ultimately culminates into underdevelopment and unemployment. Thus, the entire economic security threat factor moves in a vicious cycle and tantamount to greater socio- economic security problem.

In this context, the counter- nation state discourse within the nontraditional security paradigm can be referred which have disregarded the entire concept of state domination and control. In this attempt, thus scholars have equated sovereignty with emancipation, i.e., freedom of the individuals to do whatever they choose to. It can be understood that this freedom is definitely within the domains of the state, which enabled the Researcher to come to the conclusion that within this paradigm Human Security is more important than State Security. This necessitated the Researcher to further discuss the concept of Human Security.

Analysing the concept of Human Security in detail the Researcher made the following observations.

First, The Human Security concept contradicts the very notion of the realist paradigm of security. Human Security approach, unlike the Realist notion does not recognize the state as the sole provider and guarantor of security. On the contrary, the state many a times has been identified as the violator of safety and wellbeing of its own citizens. This activities of the state in turn gives rise to movements against the state authority in the form of secessionist movements, terrorist activities etc.

Secondly, while analyzing the views of the UNDP and the Canadian School of Human Security regarding the threats from which they sought to provide security to the individuals, it was found that the former laid stress on indirect violence while the later emphasized on direct violence operable both at the National/ Social level and at the Global / International level.

This necessitated a study of the direct and indirect threats by the Researcher. Analysis of the same brought the Researcher to the following conclusions:

First, Social security threats like torture and violence against women and children, genocide, dehumanisation and discrimination, drug addiction have been enlisted under direct security threats while, economic security threats and natural disasters have been included under indirect security threats.

Secondly, Studies revealed that lack of economic securities in the form of remunerative or sustained employment would have different impact depending on the economic conditions of the different countries. In the third world countries the above mentioned adverse economic condition would deprive an individual of his basic necessities of life, leading to poverty, deprivation in various forms, starvation and even death. For the individuals of the developed countries it would only result in psychological anxieties which would threaten his health and happiness. Thus, the state plays an important role in determining the extent to which an individual will be affected by these security threat factors.

Thirdly, with regard to environmental security threats population growth results in myriads of problems, mostly long term. These occur in a chain reaction, resulting in security threats in various sectors. For example, pressure on land and other natural resources, endangers food security, dispute over water etc. These problems especially loom large in the developing countries where scope for solution of these problems are limited.

Beyond these societal-level indirect threats, there exist indirect threats at the international/global level. These include global population growth, population movements (migration), global environmental degradation (e.g. ozone depletion, carbon emissions, global warming, rain forest depletion, acid rain, etc. which puts to stake the security of all the states or many states within a sub continent. For example, the generation environmental refugees are a major concern for all the states across the globe.

The Researcher in the first two chapters tried to show how socio economic problems threaten the security of the state and made the following observations:

First through further analysis it has been felt that there is hardly any line of demarcation between the social and economic security threats. The causes and effects of the domains of these two security threat factors have intermingled, thus the two have been dealt together as 'socio economic threats'.

Secondly, with regard to the causes for the emergence of India's economic security threat factors, India's long history of colonial exploitation along with the various social problems like corruption, criminalization of politics, lack of education etc. has tantamounted in India's inability to provide economic security to its citizens.'

Thirdly, the economic security threats are interlinked as one threat leads to another resulting in a chain reaction within the same sector. It might have a "Spill Over Effect" in another sector when the impact of one security threat factor is felt in the other sector. For example: The cumulative effect of unemployment, poverty and deprivation is frustration and psychological stress which is manifested in two ways: i.

Growing rate of suicide among youths. ii. Increase in crimes i.e, petty crimes, violence against women and children etc.

Fourthly, apart from the economic security threat factors which endanger social security in India, India's religious and cultural diversities, its various social mores, customs, and superstition have attributed to various social security threats. For example, India's caste system has its roots in the four tier Varnashram Dharma. The Varna division has manifested itself into two aspects of social security threat- i. Politics of reservation and ii. Formation of caste based armies in some places (like private armies in Bihar) which are used to terrorize the lower castes and to perpetrate atrocities on them.

Fifthly, Politicisation of such issues like caste and communalism by the leading political parties of our country to mobilize the vote bank in their favour have further aggravated the problem.

Sixthly, the contemporary world is facing various movements which are being fought on the basis of nationality, ethnicity and religion against the nation- state all over the world, which form the major source of social security threat for the nation- states. The security threats are manifested both externally and internally and India is not insulated from this problem. For example the ethnic problem of the North East leading to ethnic strifes in the Twenty First Century.

Externally, the states have in many cases been exposed to the consequences of religious and political activities and consequences of other states and non state actors. India in the same way has been a victim of terrorist attacks launched by other states. The worldwide emergence of religious fundamentalism and Islamic Jihad has led to repeated terrorist attacks in the country by various terrorist organizations like the Indian Mujahedeen and Lashkar- e- Taiba. Moreover, India has been a victim of state-sponsored Terrorism, allegedly by its neighbouring country, Pakistan in the form of Narco Terrorism and smuggling of small arms which has dangerous social ramifications. Moreover, the refugee inflow from other states due to political

upheavals in the neighbouring states has proved to be a social security threat factor for India.

The Researcher in the course of her studies, especially in the Fourth Chapter, observed that environmental security threats especially emerged due to two factors: i. Human activities like Population growth, Pollution etc. ii. Natural: Shifts in the tectonic plates which have led to frequent earthquakes, especially in the South Asian belt. This has led to a new security threat in the new millennium in the form of Tsunami.

On the basis of the observations the Researcher made the following prescriptions as remedies:

The Researcher recommended a two- pronged remedy: i. Curbing the cause and ii. Controlling the effect.

Curbing the cause: The main cause behind some of the internal security problems like caste and communalism can be attributed to the various age old mores and customs. On the contrary the rich cultural heritage of India based on religious tolerance, love for fellowmen irrespective of creed, class, caste, religion etc. have to be encouraged. This can be done through promotion of interstate cultural exchanges through the organization of cultural fairs etc.

It can be seen that the country is enmeshed in a web of security threats at the centre of which lies mainly the economic security threats. India's economic security threats can be attributed to its long history of colonial rule and economic exploitation. Thus, addressing the economic problems in the long run can prove to be a solution to many security threats. One of the solution of the multi faceted economic security threats is the generation of employment for youths in accordance to their qualification to cater to their 'rising expectations', failure of the fulfillment of which results in 'rising frustrations' which lead to many social problems.

In this context the Researcher would like to make a suggestion that generation of employment in the rural areas and imparting proper guidance in the same direction is essential to prevent urban to rural influx.

Controlling the Effect: The Researcher observed that the presence of diverse ethnic groups and India's inability to subsume the various ethnic identities to National identity is perhaps the main reason for the emergence of the ethnic problems leading to ethnic strifes and violence. Forceful assimilation of these people by the engagement of Police forces, would pave the path for stronger resentment and secessionist movements against the country in future. Thus India must try to generate confidence and patriotism among the masses. The authority has to look into the needs of the masses and the reasons for the outbreak of these ethnic upsurges. Thus, assuming the role of a 'sensitive and caring authority', striving for economic upliftment of the masses, preservation of their regional languages and culture can go a long way in building up a strong and united country. At the same time India has to deliver a strict message to the external forces who are trying to disrupt the integrity of the land by instigating the disgruntled youths of India to take up arms against their own Motherland.

ii. The authorities have to be sensitive to the plight of the displaced people, who have been forced to leave their homeland due to the construction of dams and industries, as a part of India's developmental projects. Sufficient rehabilitation in the form of disbursement of money and land, proper education for the optimum utilization of the money, psychological counseling and education and overall development of the region, especially in the areas of health and education are the measures that can be taken to control this effect.

iii. The Researcher felt that Human Security can be achieved on a region to region basis by the initiative of the individuals themselves. Thus, the role of the ever-vigilant civil society is very important. The civil society can unite to form community level groups, in ensuring the security of the women and children especially against trafficking. These community groups can work in close connivance with NGOs and local Police Stations and can work on the following areas:

i. Seeking and sharing of information about missing children and women.

ii. Tracing them with the help of other NGOs and Police forces of other localities, especially of the villages bordering the neighbouring countries.

iii. The rehabilitation of the victims of trafficking, rape and molestation through psychological counseling, counseling of the victims' family and educated members of the society for their easy assimilation within the society.

iv. Local clubs can look into the needs of the elderly people of the respective localities by organizing health camps, counseling sessions and providing with assistance from Police Stations when they are lonely.

The Researcher on the basis of her studies suggested the following prospects of research.

First, the problem faced by the vulnerable groups of society, i.e, women, children and the ealderly people, on a region to region basis and the ways in which they can be secured with the help of the civil society needs detailed analysis. The scope and area of their functioning, ways of rehabilitation of the victims of rape and molestation can form an important area of research.

Secondly, the ways in which the plight of the Project Affected People (PAPS) can be solved, methods of rehabilitation and overcoming of traumas of displacement can be taken up as important issues for future research.

Thirdly, generation of employment at the rural levels to prevent urban to rural migration can form another interesting area of research. Moreover, researches regarding generation of appropriate job avenues for the educated youths according to their qualification, the measures which can be adopted by the State and Local Governments, like proper counselling etc., to deal with the pressure at home and in society caused due to unemployment can prevent suicides and other social security threats within the society.

Fourthly, at the national level, the inter water disputes between states can be looked into. The areas of disputes can be analysed to seek cooperation in these fields as scarcity of water is a national problem which can be solved through united cooperation and not conflict.

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