BLOCK 2
CONTEMPORARY GLOBAL ISSUES

UNIT 7 GLOBAL POLITICS AND ENVIRONMENT*

Structure

7.0 OBJECTIVES

In this Unit you will be reading about global politics and environment. After reading this Unit, you would understand :

- The key challenges to environment protection;

- The steps taken globally and locally to mitigate the crisis;

- The initiatives taken up by the developed and developing countries towards sustainable future; and

- The remedial measures each of us should follow to lessen the crisis.

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Among the challenges that the world faced post-Cold War era are related not to political or social security as was expected but a formidable range of environmental challenges. Till then, it was assumed that the world is safe in terms of environmental protection; it is even possible that no nation had ever thought that the environmental issues would predominantly occupy more space than any other. No threats were perceived in spite of the environmental laws that came up in the 1970s and later. A major issue of the post-Cold War era pertained

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mostly to political issues and the onset of the free market economic policies all over the world; and how globalisation came to dominate the then discourses all over. Therefore, the issues related to environment did not seem to hold much attention until one of the landmark and pioneering reports on the global environmental crisis came up in 1992. The world woke up to this unexpected challenge and started devising ways and means to counter its ill-effects. This period marked a significant departure from the previous approaches and towards working for a sustainable development for the future generations. This unit explains some of the essential features so that the reader would understand the issue of environmental crisis.

7.2 ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND ENVIRONMENTAL CHALLENGES

The first half o the 20th century was dominated by two world wars followed by the Cold War. During this period, economic development came to occupy a prime position wherein all the nations were devising measures as to how to develop economically and how the developing countries could be helped to meet to the levels of their prosperous counterparts. Development or economic development became the motto, means and the end of this paradigm. The nations, both developed and developing, hence became partners in development and signed global and regional trade agreements so as to achieve their aims. Development did not mean just the basic parameters; it meant the choice of people, freedom to choose and capacity to grow. It should be a step towards limitless growth and prosperity of individuals; this was the dominant view offered by the proponents of development. In the process of assessing and designing this capacity to grow, all the nations were roped in to become partners of this so called fruitful exercise. Some of the countries have even opened up their economies and coincidentally that was the time when the natural environment too came to draw the attention of the world.

This process of economic facilitation was widely known as globalisation that aimed at exchanging the political, economic, social, cultural and all possible matters by the nations with one another. Development models were primarily from the West irrespective of the fact that many nations had no capacity or resources to become like them. Further, there was also a failure of global economic system which was mainly unequal in more than one way, making the rich richer and the poor poorer. There were international financial institutions, General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, and other economic measures that proved antithetical to the developing countries. Economic development and prosperity turned out to be a mirage for most of these. The lure of this model of development made them lose many a precious resource in their respective nations.

As noted economist Amiya Bagchi observes, "Globalisation, in its proper sense, is the sense of ordinary human beings experiencing and being enriched by influences emanating from all over the world, is coterminous with human history; people of all continents or regions becoming aware of one another, and trading objects and commodities, plants and techniques with one another". The existing phase of globalisation is different in the sense free trade and free markets have become high up factors. Excessive industrialism has brought the world economy spiralling towards recession and deteriorated working conditions. The world is rapidly heading towards unemployed growth, as distribution of growth rates and

employment has not been able to address the question of rising redundancy and scarcity. It seemed as if the world is heading nowhere, especially with the developing countries trying to find ways to get out of the deep crisis they plunged themselves into in the hope of achieving growth and prosperity.

A rise in political consciousness regarding the developments and loss of resources was soon realized by one and all and there was an increasing demand to address these issues globally and work out remedial measures. The Stockholm Declaration of 1972 to which India also assured its compliance have all of a sudden become important issues to address. The rapid depletion of resources, rupture of ozone layer, vanishing forests, drying rivers, animals and plants becoming endangered have all become serious issues. Perhaps it was the first time the world woke up to this stark reality and braced itself towards taking damage-control measures. The contemporary environmental crisis is thus the outcome of humankind's exploitation of the restricted resources of the earth. With the threat of environmental collapse imminent in the face, mankind has finally come to realise that the earth has been left with scarce resources. The crisis poses a challenge to search for an alternative path of survival for the current massive population and to create a system for the future in which the human species will live in harmony with the ecosystem. The global involvement was the beginning of a serious attempt towards restoring some of the scarce resources we have lost.

Check Your Progress Exercise 1

Note: i)   Use the space given below for your answer.

ii)   See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.

1)   Define the concept of economic development. Is it true that it led to environmental degradation?

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7.3   ENVIRONMENTAL CONSERVATION AND THE UNITED NATIONS

The United Nations Conference on Human Environment was convened in 1972 with many apprehensions by the participating countries. Nevertheless, it sought to address the issues that were in front of them through collective method. The Stockholm Conference was held from 5th to 16th June, 1972 attended by about 1200 delegates from 114 countries. It is to be noted that it was attended by two heads of nations, that is, Olaf Palme of Sweden and Smt Indira Gandhi of India. The declaration at the conference was a non-binding document of 26 principles which noted the shared interests of the nations – both the developed and the developing – in conserving the resources. Most importantly, it declared through Principle 21 that asserts that a state's sovereign rights over its resources; it sought to extract a global commitment to protect resources and balance economic development with that of environment. Though the Conference did not meet up

to the expectations of all and seemed incoherent in many ways, it did initiate the addressing of concerns by the nations all over the world. One important outcome of the meeting was the establishment of the United Nations Environment Programme that delegated major role to the United Nations in conducting international environment meetings and development of a related law. It may be noted that in India too, Mrs Gandhi brought many a law relating to the environment in general. The decision to stop tree-felling for commercial purposes was a direct initiative following the Chipko Movement in the State of Uttarakhand in the early 1970s by the women.

The developments in the post-Stockholm meet were more of a lip service with no comprehensive action plan. But the developments were quite positive in some cases like the agreements on dumping, species, pollution etc. The 1972 London Dumping Convention, International Convention for the prevention of Pollution from Ships 1973, Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species, 1973, the Vienna Convention for the Protection of the Ozone Layer 1985, convention on the Control of Transboundary Movements of Hazardous Wastes and their Disposal 1989, were quite a few. In 1983, the UN General Assembly established an independent commission to 'propose long-term environmental strategies for achieving sustainable development to the year 2000 and beyond'. The World Commission on Environment and Development or more popularly known as the Brundtland Commission was formed with the prime minister of Norway Gro Harlem Brundtland as its chairperson and 23 expert members from 22 countries were chosen as part of the Commission to draw measures for environmental protection. The final report of the Commission known as 'Our Common Future' was tabled in 1987. Meanwhile many countries started working towards conserving their resources and identified the grave environmental concerns faced by them and came up with comprehensive agreements and collectively pledged to safeguard their interests. After a series of resolutions on environment, the UN General Assembly decided to convene a major global meet on the issue. It paved way to the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) also known as Rio Summit (taking the name of the place where it was conducted) or the Earth Summit (taking the name as to the concerns of the planet earth).

The Rio Summit decided to work on the strategies to halt rapid environmental deterioration and increase the participation of nations in safeguarding resources and also promote sustainable development in all countries. The UNCED Convention on this was held from 3rd to 14th June, 1992 in Rio de Janeiro in Brazil. The convention saw an unprecedented participation from various nations. It includes 178 national delegates, over 1400 officially accredited NGOs and a number of journalists. The Conference agreements – the Rio Declaration, Agenda 21 and the Statement of Forest principles were formally adopted in the final days of the convention. The UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and the convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) were some of the landmark outcomes. It was also decided that a review convention would take place within five years to look to the implementation of the recommendations pertaining to Agenda 21.

The Rio Declaration, with its 27 Principles, is a landmark achievement in the history of mankind for the protection of natural environment. It not only elicited positive response from the participating nations but also included NGOs, youth and various indigenous communities as part of its implementation members. As

Lorraine Elliott observed, 'the Declaration and its principles are shaped by and reinforce the imperatives of state sovereignty rather than global stewardship. The Declaration exemplifies the difficulties of reconciling environment and development in the concept and practice of sustainable development' (p.19).

Agenda 21, a non-binding agreement, with 40 chapters, sets out an extensive plan of action for implementing the principles of the Declaration. Its principles include combating poverty, consumption patterns, human health and settlement, land resources, deforestation, desertification, drought, sustainable agriculture, biodiversity, oceans, fresh water resources, water management and similar issues. It includes as its partner members who could implement the principles youth, women, NGOs and extend them various facilities in the process like necessary funding, transfer of technology, institutional arrangements and capacity-building.

The Agenda was further taken by the General Assembly in its Special Session in New York. It was meant as a review meeting as well as a ground for further discussion on the issues that would have become significant in a matter of five years. This further led to the Kyoto meeting in the same year to finalise negotiations for a legally-binding agreement that could be signed by all the members. There were differing tunes in this meet and many targets were set on emissions to be implemented by individual countries. It was a summit meeting with no concrete plans.

The World Summit on Sustainable Development was held in Johannesburg from 26th August to 4th September, 2002. The meeting sought commitment from the members to comply to international agreements that are in the interest of mankind. Many issues remained unresolved and the lack of political will was quite apparent. It ended up in more rhetoric and less commitments on the part of the nations.

Check Your Progress Exercise 2

Note: i)   Use the space given below for your answer.

ii)   See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.

1)   Write a summary of the efforts undertaken by the United Nations in the conservation of environment.

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7.4   GLOBAL INSTITUTIONS FOR ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION

Efforts have been undertaken at the global level to ensure better environmental management and project implementation. While the aims and objectives have been drafted ambitiously to meet the goals, in reality, the efforts needed much better cohesion and coordination. Some of the agencies that have been set up under the auspices of the UN have done commendable job in addressing many issues.

7.4.1   The United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP)

The UNEP emerged as an outcome of the Stockholm Conference in 1972. The prime objective of this is to monitor, coordinate and initiate activities as decided in the Conference. Its job is also to assess the global environment changes from time to time and promote better environment management activities. It has collaborated widely with governmental and non-governmental agencies and sponsors meets that discuss the environment issues. Some of the crucial issues addressed by the UNEP include biodiversity, ozone depletion, desertification, toxic waste management and disposal, taking care of endangered species and habitat. It is to be noted that the developing countries were initially skeptical about the UNEP and felt that the establishment of such a body would only increase their financial burdens and commitments. The secretariat of the UNEP works under the guidance of the Executive Director; the Governing Council reports to the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) and through it to the General Assembly. Unfortunately, the UNEP does not have executive powers. It facilitates multilateral agreements related to environment and the Global Environment outlook is published under its direction. It faces severe budget constraints as the nations do not contribute as much as they are supposed to. For the implementation of provisions as put forward by the Agenda 21, only 75 out of 179 UN member states contributed to its fund. Among all the international organizations that work towards environmental protection and betterment, the UNEP is meagerly funded, has less support and not given clearer mandates to follow. It is primarily the lack of political will that led to the non-efficient functioning of the UNEP.

7.4.2   The Commission on Sustainable Development (CSD)

In the scenario following the Rio Summit, many nations felt that the UNEP be strengthened so as to meet the goals of environmental conservation. Others felt that a new organization may be set up and delegated with the responsibility with a clear mandate and better funding. The ensuing result was the establishment of the CSD so that the revitalizing of the programme may be efficiently monitored. The job of the CSD is to examine and monitor the implementation of the UNCED programme. Further, it is delegated with the responsibility of review of financial funding for the conservation efforts and also provides necessary transfer of technology as may be required by the nation states. Like the UNEP, it has no executive powers to enforce the efforts. It works thematically, taking up certain issues at a time rather than clubbing many issues so as to avoid any confusion. As Elliott points out, some of the issues touched upon by the CSD include poverty eradication, production and consumption, and protection of the natural resource base remain the overarching themes for each of these cycles, the first of which focuses more specifically on water, sanitation and human settlements. The work of the Commission more or less resembles the UNEP as this too faced similar challenges. Despite the commitments by the nations in the Johannesburg Declaration, necessary progress has not been made till now. Yet again, the lack of political will led to the promises of Rio being thoroughly ignored and many a session wasted. Since it also lacks implementation authority, the CSD continues to follow in the footsteps of its predecessor, the UNEP.

7.4.3   The Global Environment Facility (GEF)

The GEF, established by the World Bank, UNDP and UNEP, in November 1990 aims to finance projects and training programmes for innovations that protect

the global environment-through investment, technical assistance and to some extent, research (El-Ashry, 1993). The main functions include all of the three agencies. While the UNDP focuses on technical assistance and project preparation, the UNEP provides the secretarial support for the projects taken up. The World Bank ensures that the core fund of the GEF remains of use in the investment of the projects. The projects are mostly at the international level as the funding of the local projects remains largely in the hands of the nation states. Yet again, the developed countries perceive the GEF as an agency that takes commitments from them for funding while the developing nations feel much reluctant about their commitments. They want that the GEF be restructured to accommodate the concerns of the developing countries in a better way. They believe that it works as per the dictates of the World Bank and hence the insistence on its transparency.

7.4.4 Need for Reforms

• The UN itself is perceived as a non-responsive organization especially to the concerns of the developing countries. This needs to be carefully worked upon and mistrust removed.

• Lack of effective coordination marred many an attempt to bring consensus among the nation states. Efforts have to be stepped up for the same.

• The UNCED did receive suggestions on the renewal of some of its institutions. The objective is to strengthen the UN capacity in the environment and sustainable development.

• One of the reports regarding the work of the agency points out at the institutional fragmentation and lack of coherence which seriously needs to be discussed and acted upon.

• Two matters that really need to be worked upon include the strengthening of the UNEP which is one of the oldest and reputed agencies that could effectively undertake the task of environmental management, monitoring and project implementation. Better coordination among the agencies would do well to ensure that the international organizations are really serious in addressing the issues of the planet earth.

Check Your Progress Exercise 3

Note: i)   Use the space given below for your answer.

ii)   See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.

1) What are the global institutions that are taking a lead in the protection of environment?

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7.5   ISSUES OF CONCERN

Conservation of the natural environment has always been one of the most neglected issues yesterday and today too. In spite of charting out planned strategies and policies to combat the negative effects of environmental degradation, we, as human beings have a greater responsibility towards our nature. It is necessary to safeguard ecological components like air, water, land resources. Nature, on its own, has always given the mankind aplenty. It's the man's greed that resulted in the degradation. The environmental degradation is thus man-made impending disaster. The actions of mankind, their negligence, consumption patterns, excessive use of resources and increasing pollution levels have all contributed to this scenario. 'Ecological components – land, water, forests, atmosphere, habitat and resources have been threatened due to the growing prosperity of human society and its developmental actions'. Some of the areas are suffering from scarcity, droughts and floods and removal of forest cover. There are all kinds of industrial pollutions, increasing levels of industrial wastes, alarming air pollution levels, burning of fossil fuels, high concentrations of nitric and sulphuric acid levels, industrial waste emissions and lack of waste disposal mechanisms have all led to increasing pollution levels. Some of the issues that were widely discussed in various international meetings on environment are given as below:

Ozone Layer Depletion

The depletion of the ozone layer and the consequent ill-effects of ultraviolet rays affecting the balance of nature have been widely discussed at all the international meetings. The 1985 Vienna Convention and the Montreal Protocol of 1987 on the protection of the ozone layer are the most important agreements in this context. As a result, the ozone depleting chemicals all around the world have been banned and a special fund has been created to take necessary action by both the developed and developing countries.

Climate Change

One of the agreements that was signed by the nations in 1992 during the Rio Summit was the Framework Convention on the Climate Change. Under the GEF, funding has also been made available to assist the developing countries in combating this issue. The Kyoto Protocol is a landmark treaty in this context as it sets targets and timelines to constantly work on the issues related to climate change. The emission of toxic gases is the main issue that has been posing major threat to most of the countries experiencing high levels of pollution.

Deforestation

The felling of trees at unprecedented levels and the gradual disappearance of forest areas poses major threat to conservation efforts. The Rio Summit discussed the deforestation issue and charted few non-binding principles to be followed by the nation states regarding forest conservation. The onus rests mainly on the countries, whether they sign binding or non-binding agreements, to prevent felling of trees of protect forest areas. The conservation of forest areas would naturally include the protection of the unique flora and fauna and also the wildlife of the nations. Local bodies and non-governmental organizations can do a lot to protect forest regions.

Desertification

Following the Earth Summit, an international agreement on the Desertification was signed by the nation states in 1994 known as the Convention to Combat Desertification. This also requires the participating nations to chalk out their action plans as to how to comply with this agreement. The nations were also given the option of drawing from the development aid related to desertification issues.

Conservation of Biodiversity

Biodiversity conservation includes a wide range of issues like protection of wildlife, forests, flora and fauna, endangered species and so on. For any country, the conservation of biodiversity is a necessary step if the balance is to be maintained in the natural environment. Loss of biodiversity is the loss of life for all beings. The Convention on Biological Diversity was signed at the Rio Summit in 1992. The Global Environment Facility also extends support through funding to the nation states. The wildlife and habitat protection are major concerns of the world today.

Freshwater Resources

The drying up of rivers due to increased heat is a major concern today. Further, it has been increasingly noticed that the tapping of rain water and other natural water resources is crucial to human and habitat survival. One of the major issues that dominate the urban life is the lack of water resources. The increasing population and the movement of rural population to urban areas have been putting enormous pressure on the resources and access to water is definitely a major issue. Watershed management and protection of international waterways are extremely important today. Though the Convention on the Non-Navigable uses of International Watercourses has been discussed, it could not end up in an international agreement due to commitment issues on the part of the nation states.

Protection of Marine Resources

One of the most important issues relating to marine resource conservation is that of protecting the life of water creatures. The UN Convention on the law of Seas categorically spells out the rules and regulations regarding this aspect. The increasing levels of ocean and sea water pollution, excessive fishing and whaling are some crucial issues. The disappearing coral reefs along the coastal areas of different nations are a cause of concern. Protection of marine resources is as important as protection of animal habitat and other living species on earth. The nations that have massive coastal areas should initiate major steps towards marine resource conservation.

The above issues and the initiatives that have been taken to address them are commendable. In a way, it was a great initiative on the part of the national governments and international organizations to address these concerns and make efforts to combat them collectively. The lack of political will and less enthusiastic response to binding agreements acts as a dampener but the very initiatives speak much of the willingness on the part of at least few concerned nations. 'The Global agenda emerged and moved forward thanks primarily to a relatively small international leadership community in science, government, the United Nations

and civil society. They took available opportunities to put forward-indeed, they created such opportunities-so that governments had little choice but to respond' (James Gustave Speth).

7.6   RIGHT TO ENVIRONMENTAL SECURITY

Efforts are often undertaken by the nation states to secure the life of their citizens. What does this security mean? Is it against physical threats? From theft and burglary? Or are these issues rising from socio-cultural aspects of life? Are they pertaining to job security? It is a sum of all these and much more. The above issues of security are often discussed and action taken upon. But what about environmental security? Who is going to ensure us and the future generations a safe and sound natural environment? Who is going to take up the initiative to ensure a clean environment free of pollution? Whose responsibility is this? These are some pertinent questions.

Environmental Security — Environmental security aims to protect people from the short and long-term ravages of nature, man-made threats to nature, and deterioration of the natural environment. In developing countries, lack of access to clean water resources is one of the greatest environmental threats. Global warming is also a serious issue which has been threatening the balance in weather conditions across the world.

The Right to a Clean Environment requires an assurance of healthy human habitat, clean water, air, and soil that are free from toxins or hazards that threaten human health. Under the right to a healthy environment, everyone is entitled to live in a healthy environment and to have access to basic public services. The States have an obligation to ensure the protection, preservation and improvement of the environment. The States are also required to adopt necessary measures to implement these objectives. However, the efforts towards this end are often constrained by the lack of resources, primarily financial and particularly in developing countries. Principle 1 of the Stockholm Declaration contains the "fundamental right (for man) to freedom, equality, and adequate conditions of life, in an environment of quality that permits a life of dignity and well-being". According to the Principle 7 of the Stockholm Declaration, the states are required to take steps to prevent pollution of the environment by substances, which affect human health.

The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights affirm that every human being has the "inherent right to life" and the right of everyone "to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health" through "the improvement of all aspects of environmental and industrial hygiene".

In India, the right to a clean environment does not have a direct reference anywhere in the Part III, the Fundamental Rights of the Constitution though it was enumerated in the Part IV, Directive Principles of the State Policy. There have been efforts by the Indian Judiciary to define this aspect by reinterpreting certain rights to include environmental protection. It has stated that the right to life includes the right to live in a healthy environment, a pollution-free environment, and an environment in which ecological balance is protected by the state. The Constitution (Forty Second Amendment) Act 1976 explicitly incorporated environmental protection and improvement as part of State policy through the

insertion of Article 48A. Article 51A (g) imposed a similar responsibility on every citizen "to protect and improve the natural environment including forests, lakes, rivers, and wildlife and to have compassion for all living creatures." The right to life, under Article 21 of the Constitution, has been interpreted as the right to survive as a species, quality of life, the right to live with dignity and the right to livelihood. The Supreme Court recognised several unarticulated liberties that were implied by Article 21. It is by this second method that the Supreme Court interpreted the right to life and personal liberty to include the right to the environment. (Justice Y.K.Sabharwal, Human Rights and the Environment",

http://supremecourtofindia.nic.in/new_links/humanrights.htm).

Check Your Progress Exercise 4

Note: i)   Use the space given below for your answer.

ii)   See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.

1)   Write a brief note on environmental security.

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7.7   PARIS CLIMATE AGREEMENT

As many as 195 countries met in Paris in December 2015. The occasion was the 21st Conference of Parties (COP21) under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change's (UNFCCC). After a two-week long deliberation, participating countries arrived at a consensus. The landmark consensus was on three points: (i) climate change is driven by human activity; (ii) it is a threat to environment and the mankind; and (iii) global action is immediately required. Importantly, the Paris agreement also created a framework for all countries to make emissions reduction commitments. The Paris Climate Agreement is important for the following reasons:

i)   Human-generated emissions cause global warming

Three gases viz. carbon dioxide, nitrous oxide, and methane collect in the atmosphere and prevent heat to radiate from earth's surface into the space, creating what is called the greenhouse gas effect. According to the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), the leading international scientific body studying the subject, the concentration of these heat-trapping gases has increased to levels unheard of before. There are many sources of the concentration of greenhouse gases: burning of fossil fuels is the principal reason. Deforestation and forest degradation also add heavily to global carbon emissions.

ii)   Rising temperature is a threat to environment and mankind

IPCC stated that the Earth is reaching a tipping point. Hotter temperatures—both on land and at sea—alter global weather patterns and change how and

where precipitation falls. Those shifting patterns exacerbate dangerous and deadly drought, heat waves, floods, wildfires, and storms, including hurricanes. They also melt ice caps, glaciers, and layers of permafrost, which can lead to rising sea levels and coastal erosion.

Rise in temperatures and extreme weather events imperil health and safety of humans and all living beings. For example, extreme heat contributes directly to cardiovascular deaths and respiratory diseases. In the Indian city of Ahmadabad, for example, more than 1,300 excess deaths were recorded during a heat wave in May 2010. High temperatures also reduce air quality by creating more smog, pollen, and other air-borne allergens—all of which can trigger asthma, which afflicts 235 million people around the world. Many low-lying nations and poor developing countries which don't have resources to adapt to climate change would be worst affected. Maldives, an Indian Ocean island nation, may not survive the rising sea level. In 2008, its president announced plans to purchase land elsewhere to relocate the population should sea levels rise making the islands uninhabitable.

iii) Global warming can be mitigated only with global action.

Need of the hour is collective global action. Climate change can be limited only by reducing greenhouse gas emissions. Any rise in global temperatures of more than 2 degree Celsius would be an unacceptable risk—potentially resulting in mass extinctions, more severe droughts and hurricanes, and a watery Arctic. Hence, Paris Agreement sets the ultimate goal of capping global warming rise this century to 1.5 degrees Celsius.

7.7.1 Targets under the Paris Climate Agreement

The framework for global climate action contained in the 32-page document has three main parts: (i) mitigation of adaptation to climate change; (ii) the transparent reporting and strengthening of climate goals; and (iii) support for developing nations. A brief description of the three elements follows:

i) Limit global temperature rise by reducing greenhouse gas emissions

In an effort to "significantly reduce the risks and impacts of climate change," the accord calls for limiting the global average temperature rise in this century to well below 2 degrees Celsius, while pursuing efforts to limit the temperature rise to 1.5 degrees. It also asks countries to work to achieve a levelling-off of global greenhouse gas emissions as soon as possible and to become carbon neutral no later than the second half of this century. To achieve these objectives, 186 countries —responsible for more than 90 percent of global emissions—submitted their national carbon reduction targets. These targets outline each country's commitments for curbing emissions (including through the preservation of carbon sinks) through 2025 or 2030, including both economy-wide carbon-cutting goals and the individual commitments of some 2,250 cities and 2,025 companies.

There are no specific requirements about how or how much countries should cut emissions; but there are high political expectations especially from the developed economy emitters. As a result, national plans vary greatly in scope and ambition, largely reflecting a country's capabilities, its level of development and its contribution to emission overtime. For example, India

set its target of cutting emissions intensity by 33 to 35 per cent below 2005 levels and generating 40 per cent of its electricity from non-fossil-fuel sources by 2030.

ii) Provide a framework for transparency, accountability, and the achievement of more ambitious targets.

The Paris Agreement includes a series of mandatory measures for the monitoring, verification, and public reporting of progress toward a country's emissions-reduction targets. The transparency rules also provide for support in capacity building to nations that lack the requisite ability. Among other requirements, countries must report their greenhouse gas inventories and progress relative to their targets, allowing outside experts to evaluate their success. Countries are also expected to revisit their pledges by 2020 and put forward new targets every five years. Meanwhile, developed countries also have to estimate how much financial assistance they shall allocate to developing nations to help them reduce emissions and adapt to the impacts of climate change. These transparency and accountability provisions are in the nature of peer group monitoring and pressure to meet the targets expeditiously.

iii) Mobilize support for climate change mitigation and adaptation in developing nations.

Many developing countries and small island nations have contributed the least to climate change but they could suffer the most from its consequences. The Paris Agreement includes a plan for developed countries and others to continue to provide financial resources to help developing countries mitigate and increase resilience to climate change. The 2009 Copenhagen Accord had provided for financial commitment for developing nations to $100 billion a year by 2020. The Paris Agreement established the expectation that the world would set a higher annual goal by 2025 to build on the $100 billion target for 2020 and would put mechanisms in place to achieve that scaling up.

While developed nations are not legally bound to contribute a specific amount to the mitigation and adaptation efforts of developing countries, they are encouraged to provide financial support and are required to report on the financing they supply or will mobilize.

7.7.2 Working of the Paris Climate Agreement

For the agreement to take effect, it was necessary to have at least 55 nations who represented at least 55 per cent of global emission to be on board. This happened on 5 October 5 2016, and the agreement went into force 30 days later on 4 November 2016. At present, 197 countries—every nation on earth, with the last signatory being the war-torn Syria—have adopted the Paris Agreement. Of those, 179 including the US accorded the formal approval to the agreement. The only major emitting countries that have yet to formally join the agreement are Russia, Turkey, and Iran.

The Paris Agreement aims to cap the global temperature rise at 1.5 degrees Celsius in this century. Studies however show that the pledges individual countries have made are not enough to limit the temperature rise to 1.5 degree Celsius. Rather,

the targets countries have laid out could limit future temperature rise between 2.7 and 3.7 degrees Celsius. Moreover, the way many countries are performing they are already way behind their Paris commitments. Hopefully, over time, countries will boost up their efforts in emission levels.

US formally entered the agreement through an executive action of President Barrack Obama. The agreement did not impose any new obligations on US; besides, there are any numbers of domestic laws, passed by the Congress, to cut carbon pollution. US formally joined the agreement in September 2016. During the election campaign for US presidency in 2016, the Republican Party's candidate Donald Trump had declared that if elected he would take the US out of the Paris agreement's commitments. A 'climate denier', candidate Trump had described climate change as a "hoax" perpetuated by China. Post-victory, President Trump announced US withdrawal from the agreement. However, US withdrawal will take at least three years. Under the provisions of the Paris agreement, the process for withdrawing requires that the agreement be in force for three years before any country could formally announce its intention to drop out. Then it has to wait a year before actually leaving the pact. This means the earliest the United States could officially exit is 4 November 2020—a day after the US presidential election. Experts are of the view that even a formal withdrawal would not necessarily be permanent. A future president could rejoin on one month's notice. Meanwhile, US representatives continue to participate in UN climate negotiations so as to take the Paris process further. There is large support at the popular level; and movements and initiatives at state and local government levels are on to deepen and accelerate action. Each of these efforts is focused on keeping the United States working toward the goals of the Paris Agreement despite the decision of President Trump to take the country of the agreement.

7.7.3 Global Politics and Diplomacy of Climate Change

The Paris Agreement is the culmination of decades of international efforts to combat climate change. The Rio Earth Summit of 1992 had adopted a series of environmental agreements, including the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), which remains in effect today. An international treaty, UNFCC aimed to prevent dangerous human interference with earth's climate systems over the long term. It did not set limits on greenhouse gas emissions for individual countries; and also, it did not provided for enforcement mechanisms. Instead, it established a framework for international negotiations of future agreements, or protocols, so as to set binding emissions targets. Ever since 1992, participating countries meet annually at a Conference of the Parties (COP) to assess their progress and continue talks on how best to tackle climate change.

The Kyoto Protocol, a landmark environmental treaty, was adopted in 1997 at the COP3 in Japan. The importance of the Kyoto Protocol is that for first time nations agreed to legally mandated, country-specific emissions reduction targets. The Protocol, which came into effect only in 2005, set binding emissions reduction targets for developed countries only, on the premise that they were responsible for most of the Earth's high levels of greenhouse gas emissions. The US signed but did not ratify the agreement. US President George W. Bush said the agreement would hurt American economy since developing countries such as China and India were not included. Thus with three major economies not in it, Kyoto Protocol achieved only very modest emission targets.

The Kyoto Protocol's initial commitment period extended to 2012; and then was extended to 2020 at the COP18 in Doha, Qatar. Several developed nations had withdrawn from their Kyoto commitments. Nevertheless, an important decision had been taken at the COP17 in Durban in 2011. It was agreed at Durban to have a new, comprehensive climate treaty by 2015 that would require all big emitters not included in the Kyoto Protocol—such as China, India, and the United States—to reduce their greenhouse gas emissions. The pledge taken at Durban led to the conclusion of the Paris Climate Agreement, 2015. The Paris Agreement would replace the Kyoto Protocol by 2020.

There are some notable differences between the Kyoto Protocol and the Paris Climate Agreement. (i) Kyoto Protocol established legally binding emissions reduction targets, as well as penalties for noncompliance, for developed nations only. The Paris Agreement requires that all countries—rich, poor, developed, and developing—do their part and slash greenhouse gas emissions.

(ii) There is greater flexibility provided in the Paris Agreement: for one, the agreement does not mention the level of commitments nations should make. Nations can voluntarily set their own emissions targets, which are called nationally determined contributions (NDCs). Further, countries incur no penalties either for falling short of their proposed targets. What the Paris Agreement does require, however, is the monitoring, reporting, and reassessing of individual and collective country targets over time in an effort to move the world closer to the broader objectives of the deal. And the agreement sets forth a requirement for countries to announce their next round of targets every five years—unlike the Kyoto Protocol which, though desired but, did not provide for periodic enhancement of targeted goals.

Check Your Progress Exercise 5

Note: i)   Use the space given below for your answer.

ii)   See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.

1)   What is Paris Climate Agreement? Explain its main targets.

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7.8   INDIA AND THE PARIS CLIMATE COMMITMENTS

India had set for itself three commitments targets under the Paris Climate Agreement. It is likely to achieve two of the three commitments ahead of the 2030 deadline. The three commitments under the Paris Agreement are: (i) the greenhouse gas emission intensity of its GDP will be reduced by 33-35% below 2005 levels by 2030. (ii) Forty per cent of India's power would come from non-fossil fuel sources. (iii) India will create an additional 'carbon sink' of 2.5 to 3 billion tonnes of CO_2 equivalent through additional forest and tree cover by 2030.

In a report submitted to the UNFCCC in December 2018, it was stated that India is on its way to achieve the target for emission intensity of the economy and share of non-fossil fuel-based power capacity well before the deadline of 2030. However, the progress towards achieving the third goal viz. increasing forest cover in order to create an additional carbon sink is lagging.

The reports stated that emission intensity of India's GDP came down by 21% below 2005 levels by 2014 recording slightly more than 2% annual average improvement in emission intensity. India accounts for only 7% of global emission. In per capita terms, its emissions are still very low, at only 2.5 tCO2e per person as of 2014.

By March 2018, 35% of its capacity was based on non-fossil fuels such as renewables, hydroelectricity and nuclear. India in fact is going beyond its commitments by raising the ratio of renewables in its energy basket.

India's aggressive policy on renewable energy is primarily driven by its domestic incentives to keep its greenhouse gas emissions in check. The most important is that India's air pollution levels have become a domestic crisis. According to US experts, air pollution caused roughly 1.24 million deaths in India in 2017 alone. The World Health Organization (WHO) estimates that 11 of the 12 cities with the highest levels of particulate matter pollution in the world are in India.

Secondly, focus on renewables is also because of large needs of households for energy. Over 30 million homes are still without electricity; and it is a government commitment to ensure reliable energy access for all its citizens.

Finally, India stands to benefit economically from being a leader in the solar energy industry. A mix of policy incentives and technological innovations has reduced the cost of renewable energy by about 50 per cent within two years, 2017-18. It has its own competitive advantage in the area, and will achieve greater energy security in the process. India is a large developing country that is still industrializing, but increasingly doing so in sustainable manner. India has set for itself ambitious targets to use renewable as source of energy: to install 100 gigawatts (GW) of solar energy, 60 GW of wind power, and an additional 15 GW of biomass and small hydro by the year 2022, creating an estimated 330,000 new jobs in the process. India's solar energy capacity increased eightfold from 2014 to 2018 (2.63 GW to 22 GW), and its wind power capacity increased from 21 GW to 34 GW over the same period. This brings its total renewable energy capacity to 70 GW. The country aims to reach the target of 227 GW of renewable capacity by 2022. In parallel, India had also shut down about 25% of its coal-based power plants by the first half of 2018.

India's approach to climate change and Paris commitments are guided by principles and provisions of UNFCCC and Paris Agreement particularly the principles of Equity and Common But Differentiated Responsibilities and Respective Capability (CBPR-RC). India is committed to implement the Paris agreement fully in a collective manner. It is, however, important to ensure that the actions of developing countries are supported by sustained and adequate means of implementation including finance, capacity building and technological support by developed countries, as agreed under the Paris Climate agreement. The principle of common but differentiated responsibility means that while climate change is a common responsibility, those who polluted more and developed their economies have the historic responsibility to do more in mitigating climate change.

Check Your Progress Exercise 6

Note: i)   Use the space given below for your answer.

ii)   See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.

1)   Write a note on India's climate commitments and its progress in attaining those commitments.

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7.9   LET US SUM UP

Issues of environmental governance are much hard to handle. It is especially so when there is a collective discussion and action. The contemporary world is living in a complete paradoxical situation. On the one hand, there are national compulsions to provide the best of life and living standards to the citizens. On the other hand, there are obligations that require a state to ensure that the natural habitat remains intact. Caught in a dilemma, most of the nations, especially the developing nations, are heading more towards disasters. The unchecked development patterns are often at loggerheads with the resource management. What to opt for and what has to be left out is a major concern. The 21st century saw many a challenge but many an opportunity to resolve them. As Elliott points out, there are calls for new global order for environmental care, new planetary paradigm, environmental revolution and so on. This involves a stronger recognition of ecological responsibility, environmental stewardship and an emphasis on human security.

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UNIT 8   CHALLENGES TO PROLIFERATION OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION*

Structure

8.0   OBJECTIVES

In this Unit you will be reading about proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction. After going through the Unit you should be able to:

- Describe and analyse the nature and types of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMDs);

- Understand and analyse various treaties and institutions that are there to enforce control and prohibition of the proliferation of the WMDs; and

- The legal and political challenges in the path of preventing proliferation of such weapons

8.1   INTRODUCTION

The international community considers the deliberate use of chemical, biological, radiological, or nuclear devices as exceptionally repugnant. Since the nuclear bombing of the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki during II World War, the international community has realized the catastrophic impact of the use of such weapons. The fear of these weapons is so profound that it spawned, on one hand, an entirely new concept of conflict and conflict management in the form of deterrence. On the other hand, it also led to the establishment of a robust international architecture of laws, treaties, agreements, and norms designed to ban the use and proliferation of such weapons. Despite these efforts, there is concern across the international community about the spread and limited use of

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WMD. Fear of use of such weapons is still lurking as the international non-proliferation efforts have not been able to completely fulfill their objectives. Therefore, it becomes important to focus on analyzing the challenges to proliferation of variety of WMDs.

8.2 WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION (WMDS)

WMD is a term used to describe a weapon with the capacity to indiscriminately kill a large numbers of living beings. It includes nuclear, biological, chemical and radiological weapons which are increasingly becoming threat to international peace and stability.

WMD can be defined as a weapon with the capacity to inflict death and destruction on such a massive scale and so indiscriminately that its very presence in the hands of a hostile power can be considered a grievous threat. Modern weapons of mass destruction are nuclear, biological, or chemical weapons. (Britannica Encyclopedia).

According to United Nations Regional Centre for Peace and Disarmament in Asia and the Pacific (UNRCPD), "WMDs constitute a class of weaponry with the potential to, in a single moment, kill millions of civilians, jeopardize the natural environment, and fundamentally alter the world and the lives of future generations through their catastrophic effects" (Weapons of Mass Destruction, http://unrcpd.org/wmd/).

According to the US Federal Bureau of Investigation, "WMD refers to materials, weapons, or devices that are intended to cause (or are capable of causing) death or serious bodily injury to a significant number of people through release, dissemination, or impact of toxic or poisonous chemicals or precursors, a disease organism, or radiation or radioactivity, including (but not limited to) biological devices, chemical devices, improvised nuclear devices, radiological dispersion devices, and radiological exposure devices" (https://www.fbi.gov/investigate/wmd)

The term '*weapon of mass destruction' has* been in use since at least 1937, when it was used to describe massed formations of bomber aircrafts. It was used in reference to the mass destruction of Guernica, Spain by aerial bombardment. Later the dropping of the atomic bombs on Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, killing thousands of people, showed the disastrous effects such weapons can have for the humanity. The arms race during the Cold War resulted in the US, the Soviet Union, and other major powers building up enormous stockpiles containing tens of thousands of nuclear bombs, missile warheads and others. At the same time both superpowers also acquired stockpiles of chemical and biological weapons - the two other principal types of modern WMDs. In fact, the military and diplomatic standoff of that era was sometimes described as a "balance of terror." In the post Cold War period major concern around all WMDs has been proliferation, that is, the potential for lesser powers, "rogue states," or international terrorist groups to acquire the means to produce and deliver such weapons. The phrase entered popular usage in relation to the US led invasion of Iraq in 2003.

Generally speaking there are three major types of WMDs:

8.2.1 Biological Weapons

Biological weapons contain natural toxins or infectious agents such as bacteria, viruses, or fungi; sprayed or burst over populated areas, they might cause limited but severe outbreaks of such deadly diseases as anthrax, pneumonic plague, or smallpox. Biological WMDs were first used in the US in 1763 when British officers planned to distribute blankets with smallpox. Biological weapons have not been used in modern war since the Japanese spread plague-infected lice in areas of China during World War II.

Biological weapons are complex systems that disseminate disease-causing organisms or toxins to harm or kill humans, animals or plants. They generally consist of two parts – a weaponized agent and a delivery mechanism. In addition to strategic or tactical military applications, biological weapons can be used for political assassinations, the infection of livestock or agricultural produce to cause food shortages and economic loss, the creation of environmental catastrophes, and the introduction of widespread illness, fear and mistrust among the public.

Almost any disease-causing organism (such as bacteria, viruses, fungi, prions or rickettsiae) or toxin (poisons derived from animals, plants or microorganisms, or similar substances produced synthetically) can be used in biological weapons. The agents can be enhanced from their natural state to make them more suitable for mass production, storage, and dissemination as weapons. Historical biological weapons programmes have included efforts to produce: aflatoxin, anthrax, botulinum toxin, foot-and-mouth disease, glanders, plague, rice blast, ricin, smallpox and tularaemia among others.

Biological weapon delivery systems can take a variety of forms. Past programmes have constructed missiles, bombs, hand grenades and rockets to deliver biological weapons. A number of programmes also designed spray-tanks to be fitted to aircraft, cars, trucks, and boats. There have also been documented efforts to develop delivery devices for assassinations or sabotage operations, including a variety of sprays, brushes, and injection systems as well as means for contaminating food and clothing.

In addition to concerns that biological weapons could be developed or used by states, recent technological advances increase the likelihood that these weapons could be acquired or produced by non-state actors, including individuals and terrorist organizations. The 20th century saw the use of biological weapons by individuals and groups committing criminal acts or targeted assassinations, biological warfare conducted by states, and the accidental release of pathogens from laboratories. In practice, if a suspicious disease event occur, it is difficult to determine if it was caused by nature, an accident, or an act of biological warfare or terrorism. Consequently, the response to a biological event, whether natural, accidental or deliberate, should be multi-disciplinary, multi-sectoral, and above all, coordinated. As such, the BWC relies primarily on a network approach based on coordination with international, regional, and nongovernmental organizations and initiatives as well as other nonproliferation regimes in order to address the interconnected nature of biological threats in a holistic manner. Such an approach ensures that resources are used optimally to provide benefits for many. In this sense, for example, building capacities across sectors to monitor disease would not only strengthen the ability to detect and respond to a biological attack, but it

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would provide states with the capacity to track and mitigate naturally occurring disease thus vastly improving public health worldwide.

8.2.2 Chemical Weapons

Chemical WMDs go back as early as 1000 BC, when the Chinese used arsenic smoke. They were used extensively during the two world wars. Types of chemical weapons include blister agents, blood agents, choking hazard agents, nerve agents, tear gas, vomiting agents and psychiatric compounds. These work by either making contact to the skin or through consumption. Such weapons basically consisted of well known commercial chemicals put into standard munitions such as grenades and artillery shells. The modern use of chemical weapons began with World War I, when both sides to the conflict used poisonous gas to inflict agonizing suffering and to cause significant battlefield casualties. Chlorine gas (a choking agent) and mustard gas (a blistering agent) were fired in artillery shells against entrenched troops during both World War I early in the 20th century and the Iran-Iraq War (1980–88) toward the end of the century. Compared to biological, chemical weapon's effect is immediate. Nevertheless, a chemical attack would have to have a very sophisticated delivery system in order to have a significant effect.

As a result of public outrage, the Geneva Protocol, prohibiting the use of chemical weapons in warfare, was signed in 1925. However, the Protocol had a number of significant shortcomings, including the fact that it did not prohibit the development, production or stockpiling of chemical weapons. Also problematic was the fact that many States that ratified the Protocol reserved the right to use prohibited weapons against States that were not party to the Protocol or as retaliation if chemical weapons were used against them.

Poisonous gasses were used during World War II in Nazi concentration camps and in Asia. The Cold War period saw significant development, manufacture and stockpiling of chemical weapons. By the 1970s-80s, an estimated 25 States were developing chemical weapons capabilities. But since the end of World War II, chemical weapons have reportedly been used in only a few cases, notably by Iraq in the 1980s against Iran.

After 12 years of negotiations, the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC) was adopted by the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva on 3 September 1992. The CWC allows for the stringent verification of compliance by State Parties. The CWC entered into force on 29 April 1997 and the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW) was formally established as a permanent implementing agency.

8.2.3 Nuclear Weapons

Of the three types of WMDs, nuclear weapons represent the greatest threat. Nuclear weapons are the most dangerous weapons on earth. It can destroy a whole city, potentially killing millions, and jeopardizing the natural environment and lives of future generations through its long-term catastrophic effects. Although nuclear weapons have only been used twice in warfare – in the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945 – about 14,500 reportedly remain in our world today and there have been over 2,000 nuclear tests conducted to date. Disarmament is the best protection against such dangers, but achieving this goal

has been a tremendously difficult challenge. Immediate effect of such weapons results in causing large scale destruction of life and property. In the long run, radiation-induced diseases particularly cancers will affect many, often over twenty years later.

Check Your Progress Exercise 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.

2) What is a Weapon of Mass Destruction? Briefly describe the biological and chemical weapons as WMDs.

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8.3 INTERNATIONAL NON-PROLIFERATION REGIME

The international community has been working to attain the goal of nuclear disarmament and proliferation of WMD. The United Nations has sought to eliminate all categories of WMDs since its establishment, and the First Committee of the General Assembly 1946 has from the beginning been mandated to deal with disarmament, global challenges and threats to peace that affect the international community. Other UN bodies have also been negotiating the elimination of WMDs include the Conference on Disarmament along with its predecessors, and the Disarmament Commission. A number of multilateral treaties exist to outlaw several classes of WMDs. These include the Biological Weapons Convention (BWC) and the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC). Multilateral treaties targeting the proliferation, testing and progress on the disarmament of nuclear weapons include the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT), Partial Test Ban Treaty (PTBT), and the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty. However despite these treaties and conventions WMDS still continue to exist, posing a threat to international peace and security. Of particular concern have been nuclear weapons. Efforts to curb the spread of nuclear material and technology began only a short time after the world was introduced to the destructive potential of atomic weaponry. Some of the significant international treaties to attain the objective of nuclear disarmament include the following.

Table 8.1: Treaties and Conventions to Prevent Proliferation of WMD's

Chemical	Nuclear	Biological
Chemical Weapons Convention	Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons	Biological Weapon Convention
Geneva Protocol	Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material	Geneva Protocol

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Hague Convention	Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty	
Strasbourg Agreement	Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty	
Treaty of Versailles	Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty	
Washington Naval Treaty	Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty	
	Outer Space Treaty	
	Statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency	
	Seabed Arms Control Treaty	

8.3.1 Partial Test Ban Treaty (PTBT)

In 1954, India made the first proposal calling for an agreement to ban nuclear weapons tests. In 1958, the United States, the Soviet Union, and the United Kingdom began a Conference on the Discontinuance of Nuclear Tests in Geneva, aimed at reaching agreement on an effectively controlled test ban. However, the sides could not reach an agreement on the issue of verification procedures. On 5 August 1963, the Partial Test Ban Treaty (PTBT) — also known as the Limited Test Ban Treaty (LTBT), was signed in Moscow by the United States, the Soviet Union, and the United Kingdom. The Treaty requires Parties to prohibit, prevent, and abstain from carrying out nuclear weapons tests or any other nuclear explosions in the atmosphere, in outer space, under water, or in any other environment if such explosions cause radioactive debris to be present outside the territorial limits of the State that conducts an explosion, to refrain from causing, encouraging, or in any way participating in, the carrying out of any nuclear weapon test explosion, or any other nuclear explosion, anywhere which would take place in any of the above-described environments. With the signing of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) in September 1996, the PTBT became redundant. However, should a PTBT party withdraw from the CTBT, or not sign the CTBT, it would still be bound by the provisions of the PTBT.

8.3.2 Fissile Material Cut-Off Treaty (FMCT)

FMCT is a proposed international agreement that would prohibit the production of the two main components of nuclear weapons: highly-enriched uranium (HEU) and plutonium. Discussions on this subject have taken place at the UN Conference on Disarmament (CD) - a body of 65 member nations established as the sole multilateral negotiating forum on disarmament. The CD operates by consensus and is often stagnant, impeding progress on an FMCT. Those nations that joined the nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT) as non-weapon states are already prohibited from producing or acquiring fissile material for weapons. An FMCT would provide new restrictions for the five recognized nuclear weapon states (NWS – United States, Russia, United Kingdom, France, and China), and for the four nations that are not NPT members (Israel, India, Pakistan, and North Korea). However, the treaty has not been negotiated yet.

According to the International Panel on Fissile Material's (IPFM) 2015 Global Fissile Material Report, Roughly 99% of the HEU stock is owned by nuclear weapon states, and Russia and the United States have the largest stocks. India, Pakistan, and North Korea are believed to have ongoing production operations for HEU. About 88% of plutonium is held by states with nuclear weapons that are NPT signatories, and most of the remaining 12% is held by Japan, which has over 47 tons of plutonium. Though the five NWS no longer produce weapons-grade plutonium, production continues in India, Israel, North Korea and Pakistan.

8.3.3 The Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)

The NPT is a landmark international treaty in the path of seeking global nuclear disarmament, with objective to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons and weapons technology, to promote cooperation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy and to further the goal of achieving nuclear disarmament and general and complete disarmament. The Treaty represents the only binding commitment in a multilateral treaty to the goal of disarmament by the nuclear-weapon States. The NPT was signed on 1 July 1968, by the US, Britain, Soviet Union and 59 other nations. The final draft of the NPT was signed by the countries in 1968 as "conclusion of an agreement on the prevention of wider dissemination of nuclear weapons" considering a danger of a nuclear war, and "consequent need to make every effort to avert the danger of such a war…" (https://www.un.org/disarmament/wmd/nuclear/npt/text).

The treaty entered into force in 1970. More countries have ratified the NPT than any other arms limitation and disarmament agreement. A total of 191 States have joined the Treaty, including the five nuclear-weapon States have signed it. On 11 May 1995, the Treaty was extended indefinitely. The Treaty is regarded as the cornerstone of the global nuclear non-proliferation regime and an essential foundation for the pursuit of nuclear disarmament.

To further the goal of non-proliferation and as a confidence-building measure between States parties, the Treaty establishes a safeguards system under the responsibility of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). Article III of the treaty states that any non-nuclear weapon state party to the treaty should accept the safeguards as negotiated in a separate agreement concluded with International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to fulfill its obligation with a view to preventing diversion of nuclear energy from peaceful uses to nuclear weapons. Further the "procedures for the safeguards required by this Article shall be followed with respect to source or special fissionable material whether it is being produced, processed or used in any principal nuclear facility or is outside any such facility. All peaceful nuclear activities "within the territory of such State, under its jurisdiction, or carried out under its control anywhere" will be covered by safeguards (https://www.un.org/disarmament/wmd/nuclear/npt/text).

Article VI of the treaty, lays down "pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race and to nuclear disarmament, and on a treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control". The treaty further explains that each state Party to the Treaty undertakes not to provide: "(a) source or special fissionable material, or (b) equipment or material especially designed or prepared for the processing, use or production of special fissionable material, to any non-nuclear-weapon state for peaceful purposes, unless the source or special fissionable

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material shall be subject to the safeguards required by this Article" (https://
www.un.org/disarmament/wmd/nuclear/npt/text). Along with these provisions
Article IV of the Treaty, maintains that the provisions shall be implemented
without hampering the economic or technological development of the Parties or
international co-operation in the field of peaceful nuclear activities, including
the international exchange of nuclear material and equipment for the processing,
use or production of nuclear material for peaceful.

The provisions of the Treaty, particularly article VIII, envisage a review of the
operation of the Treaty every five years, a provision which was reaffirmed by the
States parties at the 1995 NPT Review and Extension Conference. The 2015
Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty, ended without the adoption of a
consensus substantive outcome. After a successful 2010 Review Conference at
which States parties agreed to a final document which included conclusions and
recommendations for follow-on actions, including the implementation of the 1995
Resolution on the Middle East, the 2015 outcome constitutes a setback for the
strengthened review process instituted to ensure accountability with respect to
activities under the three pillars of the Treaty as part of the package in support of
the indefinite extension of the Treaty in 1995. The preparatory process for the
2020 Review Conference is currently underway.

8.3.4 Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT)

The CBT is the treaty banning all the nuclear explosions – everywhere and by
everyone. The Conference on Disarmament (CD) began its substantive
negotiations on a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty in January 1994 within
the framework of an Ad-hoc Committee established for that purpose. Although
the CD had long been involved with the issue of a test ban, only in 1982 did it
establish a subsidiary body on the item. After more than two years of intensive
negotiations a final draft treaty was presented to the CD in June 1996. The treaty
required states to eliminate nuclear weapons within a time-bound framework.
The Treaty was opened for signature in September 1996. Till date the treaty has
been signed by 185 countries and out of that 168 have ratified it. Out of 44 states
mentioned in Annex 2 of the treaty who had nuclear facilities and were involved
in negotiating the treaty, China, Egypt, Iran, Israel and the United States have
signed but not ratified the Treaty. India, North Korea and Pakistan have not signed
it. India, for its part, stated that it could not go along with a consensus on the
draft text and its transmittal to the United Nations General Assembly. The main
reasons for such a decision, as India pointed out, were related to its strong
misgivings about the provision for the entry-into-force of the treaty, which it
considered unprecedented in multilateral practice and running contrary to
customary international law, and the failure of the treaty to include a commitment,
by the nuclear-weapon states.

Check Your Progress Exercise 2

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.

1) Describe and discuss the NPT.

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8.4 CHALLENGES AND THE ROAD AHEAD

The WMDs proliferation challenge is not a new phenomenon. Concerns about WMDs production and proliferation date back at least to 1925, when the Geneva Protocol was negotiated to respond to the use of poison gas during I World War. Over the years, the threat to international security posed by WMDs has steadily become more complex. Events in recent past illustrate the terror impact and destabilizing effects of such weapons like the use of chemical weapons in the Iran-Iraq war; the sarin gas attack in the Tokyo subway; Iraqi Scud missile attacks during the Gulf War; North Korean and Iranian missile nuclear weapon tests (Holum,1999).

The idea of Non-proliferation involves prevention, detection, disruption, investigation and prosecution of transfers that contribute to WMD programmes. To succeed in combating WMD proliferation, we must apply all elements of national and international power – diplomatic, economic, intelligence and law enforcement. However, all regimes and mechanisms to prevent proliferation depend on effective implementation. The international mechanisms devised for preventing proliferation and production of such weapons leave a lot of room for ambiguity and often lack when it comes to implementation of such mechanisms. For example NPT designate IAEA as the competent authority to verify non-nuclear weapons state's compliance with its safeguards obligations with a view to prevent the use of nuclear energy from peaceful use to nuclear weapons and other explosive devices. But there is no set provision as to how this has to be ensured. These are contained in a separate bilateral comprehensive safeguard agreement with IAEA. It gives authority to IAEA to work out a conclusion about the competence and correctness of state's declaration of its nuclear material inventory and fuel cycle facilities. A number of verification related implementation issues remain unclear as to in what circumstance IAEA has a right to R&D of nuclear weapon related activities.

The NPT has in fact suffered major blows. Since 1991, uranium enrichment, plutonium separation, and other possibly weapons-related activities that Iraq, North Korea, and Iran hid from IAEA inspectors have been discovered. Iraq's weapons programme was started after the 1991 Persian Gulf War. North Korea's weapons programme later came to be known through intelligence, IAEA inspections, and North Korea's own admissions. Moreover, that North Korea and Iran both obtained enrichment technology from Pakistan suggests dangers to the NPT regime from non-parties that are not bound by the treaty's prohibition against assisting non-nuclear-weapon states in acquiring nuclear weapons (Bunn, 2003).

There has also been criticisms against these treaties of having different terms and condition for nuclear weapon and non-nuclear weapon states. NPT which is the treaty having maximum number of signatories, that bans all members except Britain, China, France, Russia, and the United States from having nuclear weapons and commits those five states to eventually eliminating their atomic arsenals. India has been particularly critical of NPT and has not signed on the ground of treaty being discriminatory in nature. India has termed NPT as a flawed treaty which creates a divide between nuclear 'haves' and 'haves not', where it does not requires the nuclear weapon states to give up their weapons while banning the possession of such weapons for non-nuclear weapon states. Similar is the case with CTBT.

Longstanding weaknesses in the international non-proliferation regime now demand serious attention. The continuing challenges from North Korea and Iran, and the likely consequences of WMD terrorism, gaps in the policy and legal framework for non-proliferation pose an unacceptable risk. Very few states have domestic laws prohibiting proliferation; those laws that do exist are not reliably enforced. Therefore, the criminalization by all nations of proliferation and the enactment of strict export control laws are required. Political will and a matching legal and policy framework that provides the political backing, legal powers, and financial and personnel resources. Enforcement has to be embedded in a credible non-proliferation policy that cuts across all parts and levels of government. Diplomacy and dialogue and sanctions wherever required have been major tactics used to deal with proliferation challenges.

Despite the long standing efforts including treaties, conventions and agreements the proliferation of WMDs and their means of delivery continue to be a major threat to the international peace and security and one of the primary challenges of our times. Despite some progress, the non-proliferation regime continues to face extremely serious challenges. The international community is concerned about the relentless development of North Korea's nuclear and ballistic missile programmes which constitute a violation of Security Council's resolutions. Besides, North Korea and Pakistan had this clandestine nuclear-for-missile technology exchange. Such destabilizing actions represent a grave and deliberate challenge to the non-proliferation regime and international security. More dangerous are the probabilities of terrorists and other extremist elements getting access to such weapons. UN has been tirelessly working for establishment, maintenance, and adaptation of multilateral norms, guidelines, rules, and laws governing the behaviour of Member States.

Check Your Progress Exercise 3

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.

1) Identify the major challenges in achieving the goal of non-proliferation of WMDs.

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8.5 LET US SUM UP

United Nations record estimates show that some 19,000 nuclear weapons remain and no negotiations are underway to eliminate such weapons. This is significant decline from 1980s estimate of 75,000 nuclear weapons at the peak of the Cold War. Yet great challenges remain ahead for nuclear disarmament. It is crucial to delegitimize not just the use of WMDs, but the very existence of such weapons. The WMDs "taboo" must extend to possession, not just "risk of use", because disarmament offers the only absolute guarantee against use. A more

comprehensive and egalitarian regime is needed to be constructed in future to eliminate the danger of WMDs. However, most important is the political will required to achieve the objective of elimination of such weapons.

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**Challenges of the
Proliferation of Weapons of
Mass Destruction**

8.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress Exercise 1

1) Your answer should include following.

   - Definition WMDs and description of biological and chemicals weapons of mass destruction.

Check Your Progress Exercise 2

1) Your answer should include following.

   - Main provisions of NPT and

Check Your Progress Exercise 3

1) Your answer should include following.

   - Challenges as to why the goal of non-proliferation is proving difficult to achieve.

UNIT 9   NON-TRADITIONAL SECURITY THREATS*

Structure

9.0   OBJECTIVES

In this Unit, you will be studying about non-traditional security (NTS) threats. After going through the Unit, you will be able to:

- Understand the concept of non-traditional secuirty (NTS);

- Types of NTS threats in the contemporary global context; and

- Terrorism as the NTS threat and its various manifestations in India.

9.1   INTRODUCTION

Non-traditioinal security has a broadened definition of secuirty: it covers not only the secuirty of the state but also of the communities. As a perspective to study IR, NTS perspective highlights nature and sources of new types of threats to security. NTS threats always there but admittedly have exacerbated in the post-Cold War era for whatever be the reason – globalisation, new technologies of information and communication etc. Be that as it may, NTS threats are often transnational and cross-border in their potency and magnitude. They cannot obviously be met by a single sovereign state. NTS threats demand regional and even global resposne. This calls for a change in the behaviour of state and greater movement towards regional governance norms and mechanisms.

Terrorism is a non-traditional security threat that has afflicted India since its independence. The case study of India indicates that terrorism is an intractable issue. It is embedded in domesic poliltics, identity politics and demands for

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separation. State response in the form of counter terrorism (CT) and counter insurgency (COIN) measures have been ad hoc, inconsistent and often constrained by domestic political and electoral calculations.

9.2 NON-TRADITIONAL SECUIRTY: CONCEPT AND CONTENT

Traditional security is described and understood in geo-political terms: it is confined to relationship among sovereign states; and here, security deals with issues such as deterrence, the balance of power, alliance relationship, military capability, etc. Since the end of the Cold War and, more so, in the wake of the terrorist attacks of 9/11, the traditional understanding of security has increasingly been questioned in terms of how security should be explained, and by what kind of approach. The concept of Non-Traditional Security (NTS) has gained ground: it highlights aspects of security which until recently were not considered as secuirty threat. NTS as a theoretical perspective has also gained ground in the discipline of International Relations since it indicates new soures and forces of insecuirty and conflict.

Two important assumptions underly the NTS perspectives: (i) challengs such as terrorism, trafficking in arms, narcotics, human beings etc, illegal migration and envrionmental destruction in the past were generally not considered security threats. Their impact on security was at most indirect. Dominant theories of IR also therefore paid little attention to events of this nature. HHhH Since the end of Cold War in partiuclar, these non-traditional security threats have come to pose a direct threat to the security and well-being of the people and the state. Two points bear significance here: the non-traditional secuirty threats have every potential of tranforming into traditional security threats and lead to confict and war; and seconldy, the concept of security gets broadened to include now the security of state and community. It need to be mentioned here that the intensification of these threats could be linked in some cases to the processes of globalisation.

So, non-traditional secuirty threats are not new. Problems like ethnic conflict, migration and refugees, poverty, epitdemics were always there as part of human living within a sovereign state and across states. What however was not there are the new characteristics of the NTS threats: **scale, speed** to rise in a short span of time**, ability to transmit** at a quick pace, **interwoveness,** and, no less important, **inability of a sovereign state** to handle these threats single-handedly and within its territorial jurisdiction. This is the "new face" of an old phenomena (Cabellero-Anthony, 2010). In fact, some times, states are not even able to define these NTS threats properly; for instance, financial turmoil, internet hacking etc. Besides, the sheer **diversity** of threat is stupendous – ranging from pandemics to environmental disasters caused by relentless pursuits of development to surfacing of old ethnic and religious animosities.

Consequently, the concept of security had to expand beyond the traditional idea of military security, which essentially meant defending the borders of a sovereign state and legitimate use of force for the defence of national sovereignty and territory. Barry Buzan *et al.* (1998) captured the idea of a broadened security when he identified five segments of security: political, military, economic, societal, and environmental. In this idea of broadened security, Barry Buzan made two profound observations: one, changes which take place in the 'centre' (developed

countries) affect more profoundly the 'periphery' (the developing world); and, secondly, although all the five elements are interwoven, each highlights a particular dimension. Once closely interwoven, these elements pose grim threats to the security of both human beings and the sovereign state.

(ii) Non-traditional security threats simply cannot be met by sovereign states; they need multilateral cooperation and a coordinated action. In that sense, NTS calls for a change in the behaviour of the state. Two points bear significance here: one, the link between the NTS and regional governance is a core element of the NTS concept; and secondly, the NTS persepctive is found particularly more relevant to the needs of the Global South.. One of the unintended effects of the NTS threats is the affirmation of regional approaches to problem solving. There are calls for regional governance mechanisms and norms setting to tackle challenges like epidemics and pollution (Caballero-Anthony 2010:2). Apart, as Buzan stated, NTS threats affect more particularly the devleoping world.

In sum, the NTS concept is based on five assumptions: (a) the non-traditional challenges or threats could lead directly to conflict or war. (b) NTS threats cannot be met by a state; so state perspective is insufficient for dealing with NTS challenges. (c) Ensuring security is the responsbility of the state, the community and the individual. (d) NTS threats such as climate change or pandemics are transnational in nature and require non-military responses. (e) Because of the transnational character of these challenges, international cooperation is essential (Caballero-Anthony 2016:15).

No denying, NTS offers a new persepctive on security threats and ways of addressing them. Critics however point out some of its glaring weaknesses: for one, NTS perspective makes anything as security threat – hunger, poverty, disease and epidemics, violation of group rights, human and natural catastrophes. Critics often wonder whether there is a bottom line? Do we put anything and everything that seriously affects the states and the communities in the big basket of NTS threats? Secondly, this may mean 'securitization' of anything and everything – illegal migration, organized crime, climate. Thirdly, states remain sovereignty-centric. They tend to agree to a supranational arrangements only when the challenges are of a technical nature, are not pliticized and don't impinge the perceived national interests. Besdies, regions such Europe which have a long history of cooperation and regional governance mechanisms are more amenable than regions with a history of distrust and conflict such as South Asia to instituting regional governance mechanisms to meet NTS threats.

Check Your Progress Exercise 1

Note: i)   Use the space given below for your answer.

ii)   See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.

3)   Define non-traditional security threats. Explain why issues like epidemics, migration, drug trafficking etc. have become non-traditional security threats?

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9.3 POST-COLD WAR NON-TRADITIONAL SECURITY THREATS

Cold War and its ideological underpinnings of socialism and capitalism presented a simple binary choice. One had to choose between capitalism and socialism – if one could call it a choice. It was the era, as one eminent American strategic thinker had put it, of 'metamyth'. Everything was large and there was this misplaced belief that all things could be subjected to control. When the Cold War ended; with it also ended the belief in the supremacy of ideologies. Scholars talked of post-Cold War 'peace dividened' assuring an uninterrupted long peace.

Nothing of that sort happened. When the Cold War ended, many Cold War-related inter-state conflicts continued. Several of these conflicts, it was observed, were not ideological or political in nature. Rather, these conflicts were of ethnic, tribal or environmental in nature; and therefore contineud despite the end of ideological conflict between capitalist democracy and socialist authoritarianism . In fact, many of these conflicts resumed with a renewed vigour becoming more ruthless in terms of human casualties and engulfing many other ethnic and tribal identities.

Secondly, then there were conflicts which were new and mostly of intra-state dimension. These intra-state conflicts ran along the faultlines of ethnicity, tribe or religion etc. These intra-state wars were fought with unmentionable brutalities with no norms and no one ever being held accountable. Of the total 86 armed conflicts recorded in 1997, as many as 84 were of intra-state nature. The crisis in Rwanda was one such example in the 1990s which brought untold misery on the entire nation. It was noted that the outbreak of intra-state conflicts in the 1990s had high rates of human casualty; almost 90 per cent of those who perished in those conflicts were unarmed innocent civilians predominantly women and children. Worst, these conflicts were not fought by soldiers in uniform; and no international legal convention was observed by the various combatant groups. Eight out of ten casualties in modern conflicts and wars are civilians. More people die in small conflicts – often intra-state – than in big wars involving sovereign states. More casualties are on account of the use of small arms that are easily available and have remained beyond all conferences and conventions on disarmament. Approximately 500 million small weapons were in use in the 1990s.

The domestic-international interaction has also resulted into a relatively new actor – diaspora – entering the scene of international relations. Diasporas, until then a largely unknown entity in the study of intrnational relations, gained significant salience in the 1990s. Diasporas were wooed and began to get involved in the internal politics of the countries of their origin. They became the source of funding, arms supply, campaigning at international levels and as advocacy and lobby groups. Diasporas were involved in conflicts; sovereign governments also decided to use them to leverage with the governments of their 'host' societies. There was thus the debate whether diasporas are 'peacekeepers' or peace-wreckers'.

Thirdly, international system was beset with new challenges. Sovereign states, in principle, are the subjects of international system: they conclude relations and agreements with other sovereign states and legitimately exercise authority in their 'domestic jurisdiction'. They were not the generator of security for their citizens. End of the Cold War revealed new types of states – 'rogue' states and

'failed' or 'failing' states. Neither liberal nor socialist, these states were ruled by crass authoritarian, chauvinist-nationalist elites, often enjoying public support. Many of such states were found indulging in what came to be described in the 1990s as 'ethnic cleansing'. Large scale killing and uprooting of helpless civilian populations produced the phenomenon of refugees and internally displaced persons. While sovereign states took the refuge in these being internal matters falling within the 'domestic jurisdiction', such intra-state conflicts threatened the regional peace and stability. Further, these conflicts produced refugees seeking shelter anywhere; 'boat-people' remain one of the most serious and intractable problem of the last quarter of a century.

Fourthly, some of the threats emerged from globalisation. Economic globalisation has not been a uniform process; it has left both positive and negative consequences. Exploitation of natural resources and development projects, especially those related to extraction and hydropower etc., produced enormous environmental consequences which were felt beyond national borders. Many of these projects, it was realised, did not benefit the host countries; they served the interests of a tiny wealthy elite aligned with foreign financial interests.

Fifthly, there were other kind of threats which were equally damaging to the sovereignty and stability of the state. These include threats posed by trafficking in narcotics, human beings, arms and laundering of illicit money, environmental degradations etc. No denying, the global political and economic circumstances of the post-Cold War world demanded a re-definition of both the sovereignty and role of the state. It was clear that states are not immutable; they are also not that much sovereign nor were they the only actors in the international system. Myriad international organisations and international non-governmental actors; the inexorable process of deepening interdependence among sovereign states and growing globalisation of production, marketing and consumption all had raised issues related to the immutability claim of state sovereignty. As UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, commenting on NATO intervention in Kosovo and the UN-authorised mission in East Timor, had stated:

State sovereignty, in its most basic sense, is being redefined by the forces of globalisation and international cooperation.

The State is now widely understood to be the servant of its people, and not vice versa. At the same time, individual sovereignty — and by this I mean the human rights and fundamental freedoms of each and every individual as enshrined in our Charter — has been enhanced by a renewed consciousness of the right of every individual to control his or her own destiny. (United Nations 1999)

Check Your Progress Exercise 2

Note: i)   Use the space given below for your answer.

ii)   See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.

1)   Non-traditional security threats are calling for a redefinition of the sovereignty of state. Discuss.

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9.4 TERRORISM AS NON-TRADITIONAL SECUIRTY THREAT

There is no agreed definition of terrorism. Terrorism is a complex and controversial phenomenon. It also has a fairly long history of usage. Terrorism has been practiced by political organizations with both rightist and leftist objectives, by nationalistic and religious groups, by revolutionaries, and even by state institutions such as armies, intelligence services, and police. Transnational terrorism has also been practiced and promoted by one state against another for ideological or political reasons. Once the distinction between terrorism and other forms of political violence becomes blurred, it poses problems in conceptualizing it. Hence, the saying: "One man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter."

In the 20th century, the term 'terrorism' is used in a more focussed manner. It is often used to describe violence targeted directly or indirectly at governments with a view to influence policy or overthrow an existing government. While not easy to define neatly, nevertheless one can identify certain elements characteristic to terrorism.

The first core element of terrorism is to instill fear in the minds and hearts of the populace in general. According to *Encyclopedia Britannica*: "Terrorism involves the use or threat of violence and seeks to create fear, not just within the direct victims but among a wide audience."

The degree to which it relies on fear distinguishes terrorism from both a conventional war and guerrilla warfare. Conventional armed forces rely on the strength of their arms to gain victory; and in this pursuit they also indulge in propaganda and a psychological warfare against the enemy. Likewise, guerilla forces, though again use lots of propaganda, eventually aim at military victory over their adversary. In 20th century, guerilla warfare that brought victory was, for example, for the Viet Cong guerilla movement in Vietnam in the 1970s. To reiterate: "Terrorism proper is thus the systematic use of violence to generate fear, and thereby to achieve political goals, when direct military victory is not possible" (*Encyclopedia Britannica*). This has led some social scientists to describe guerrilla warfare as the "weapon of the weak" and terrorism as the "weapon of the weakest."

The second core element of terrorism is the shock value of a terrorist act. Terrorists normally resort to dramatic and high profile violent attacks to generate all round fear. Typical terrorist acts include hijacking, hostage taking, bombing high profile buildings and personalities, and suicide bombing. The targets are carefully chosen so as to enhance the surprise and shock value of the act. Terrorists want to create an image of themselves as being invincible and omnipresent. One can add few more dimensions here: terrorists operate secretively; their acts are clandestine; and terrorists could choose their victims randomly, say bombing a marketplace. They generally target persons and places which will bring them high publicity and create a disproportionate image of their prowess.

The third core element of terrorism is that the terrorist hope that "the sense of terror these acts engender will induce the population to pressure political leaders toward a specific political end" (*Encyclopedia Britannica*).

There is the fourth core element: victims of terrorist violence are invariably innocent civilians. The US government agrees that terrorism is premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets. In conflict situation, be it the armed forces or the guerillas groups, both abide by certain international legal norms; for instance, international law which prohibits intentionally targeting the unarmed civilian population. Terrorists have a disdain for observing any such norm; often it is the innocent citizen who are the target of their attacks. Hence, it is said: "One man's terrorist is everyone's terrorist". No matter how justifiable is the cause, wanton killing of civilians and destruction of infrastructure remain acts of terrorism.

Thus, there exists a degree of consensus on some of the key elements that constitute an act of terrorism. While that is so, whether or not an act is classified as terrorism remains highly subjective. Problem is the term terrorism is used to describe or not to describe varied types of political violence; hence the definitional ambiguity continues.

9.4.1 International Terrorism

Scholars have tried to identify various types of terrorism; again, it is not an easy task. The aims, members, beliefs, and resources of terrorist groups and the political contexts in which they operate are very diverse. In 20th century, many political movements, ranging from extreme right to extreme left, have used terrorism for their political ends. Terror has been used by one or both the sides in anti-colonial context, for instance in Algeria by the colonial French administration and the Algerian liberation movement; in disputes between different national groups over possession of a homeland for instance between the Palestinians and the Israelis; in conflicts between religious groups, say the Catholic and the Protestants in Ireland; and in internal conflicts between governments and the rebels for instance in El Salvador.

Modern technology such as automatic weapons, remote controlled explosive devices, air travel, information technology, have given terrorists lots of lethality and mobility to choose their targets. The potency of terrorism continues to increase and terrorism seems to have become a feature of modern political life. International community also fears that terrorsits might even lay their hands on weapons of mass destruction, including nuclear, biologicl and chemicals weapons. There have been incidens when terrorist groups have used chemical and biological weapons. Japanese cult AUM Shinrikyo released nerve gas into a Tokyo subway in 1995. After September 11, a number of letters contaminated with anthrax were delivered to political leaders and journalists in the United States, leading to several deaths.

Spread of messianic beliefs, desire to 'return' to an imagined 'golden' past, 'Us vs. Them' syndrome, diasporic solidairty and access to sources of funding are some of the factors in the rise and spread of terrorism. Sense of alienation, say as an outcome of globalisation, and long-held grienvances, real or imagined, are other reasons.

In the latter half of the 20th century, among the most prominent terrorist groups have been the the Red Army Faction, the Japanese Red Army, the Red Brigades, the Puerto Rican FALN, groups related to the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the Shining Path, and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). In

the 21st centuries some of the most extreme organizations that engaged in terrorism possessed a fundamentalist religious ideology (e.g., $amâs and al-Qaeda). Some groups, including the LTTE, $amâs and Taliban also resorted to suicide bombing to destroy an economic, military political or symbolic target. A brief discussion of these groups follows:

The Red Army Faction (RAF), also known as the Baader–Meinhof Group was a West German far-left militant organization founded in 1970. It was very active in the late 1970s but seems to have decided to dissolve itself in 1998. The West German government as well as most Western media and literature considered the Red Army Faction to be a terrorist organization. The Red Army Faction engaged in a series of bombings, assassinations, kidnappings, bank robberies and shoot-outs with police over the course of three decades. The group seems to revive itself. It was involved in bank dacoity in 2016; but the government described the incident as a criminal and not a terrorist act.

The Japanese Red Army (JRA) was a communist militant group founded in 1971. JRA's stated goals were to overthrow the Japanese government and the monarchy, as well as to start a world revolution. The group was also known as the Anti-Imperialist International Brigade (AIIB), the Holy War Brigade, and the Anti-War Democratic Front. Factions of the Japanese Red Army had close contacts with the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) in the 1970s.

The Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN) was a Puerto Rican underground paramilitary Marxist-Leninist organization that sought to liberate Puerto Rico from US control through an armed struggle. It had wanted to transform Puerto Rico into a socialist state. It carried out more than 130 bomb attacks in the United States between 1974 and 1983. Several of the FALN leaders and activists were arrested and convicted for committing robbery and for possession of firearms and explosives. In 1999, President Bill Clinton offered clemency to sixteen of the convicted militants under the condition that they renounce any kind of violent manifestation.

Shining Path (Sendero Luminoso) was a Peruvian revolutionary organization that endorsed Maoism and employed guerrilla tactics and violent terrorism. It was formed in the 1970; its leader Abimael Guzmán believed that the thoughts of Mao Zedong have a solution for Peru's rural poor and the indigenous populations. It thought that a prolonged military offensive alone will liberate Peru from the stranglehold of foreign capital and feudal landowning class. The group indulged in bombing, kidnapping and assassination in the 1980s and had developed strong bases to even attack in urban areas such as Lima city. Guzman was arrested in 1992 and sentenced to life imprisonment. The Shining Path did reorganize itself under Oscar Ramirez Durand who was also captured in 1999. In 2003 Peru's Truth and Reconciliation Committee issued a report stating that 37,800 of the estimated 70,000 deaths in Peru's 20-year insurgency conflict were caused by Shining Path.

In the late 20th century the United States suffered several acts of terrorist violence by Puerto Rican nationalists (such as the FALN), antiabortion groups, and foreign-based organizations. During the 1990s, the deadliest attack on US soil was the bombing of the World Trade Center in New York City in 1993 and the Oklahoma City bombing two years later, which killed 168 people. In addition, there were several major terrorist attacks on US government targets overseas, including

military bases in Saudi Arabia in 1996 and the US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998. In 2000, US naval ship, the USS Cole, was bombed in the Yemeni port of Aden.

9.4.2 US' Global War on Terrorism

On 11 September 2001, 19 terrorists hijacked four flights and crashed three of the aeroplanes – two in the twin towers of the World Trade Centre complex in New York and one in Washington, D.C.; the fourth plane fell in the fields in Pennsylvania. This was the deadliest attack on US soil and resulted in the death of as many as 2,977 people.

The Al Qaeda-led attacks prompted US president George W. Bush to declare the Global War on Terrorism (GWOT). The day after the attacks, Bush said: "Every nation in every region now has a decision to make," he declared in a national address. "Either you are with us or you are with the terrorists." Under the Operation Enduring Freedom, US and its allies began the aerial bombing of Afghanistan on 7 October 2001; ground war started on 19 October with US Special Forces targeting Kandhar. Several other nations– Britain, Turkey, Germany, Italy, The Netherlands, France and Poland and others – joined the military campaign to overthrow the Taliban regime and destroy Al Qaeda infrastructure in Afghanistan. Before the year end, rule of Taliban was over; and the US-backed Hamid Karzai has taken over as interim president in June 2002. On 2 May 2011, US Special Forces raided a safe hideout in Abbottabad, Pakistan and killed Al Qaeda supremo Osama bin Laden. US officially declared end to the war in Afghanistan as on 28 December 2014; and president Obama announced that some 10,800 US troop would remain in Afghanistan. However, the government headed by President Ashraf Ghani continued to reveal its grave weaknesses; Afghan security forces are not able to hold on to the country. The strength of US troops was raised by the President Donald Trump; more aerial and ground attacks all took place with a view to subdue the Taliban and make them talk peace with Ashraf Ghani government. However, the regrouped Taliban have made a successful return to insurgency and occupy nearly half of Afghan territory. In October 2018, US and Taliban leadership entered into a dialogue on withdrawal of 14,000 US troops and guarantees that Afghan soil will not be used for terrorist activities after US withdrawal. The elected government of president Ghani found itself isolated and marginalized.

US and coalition forces invaded Iraq on 19 March 2003 following intelligence report that Iraqi President Saddam Hussein was in possession of the weapons of mass destruction. By end of April, US had declared victory in Iraq. Saddam Hussein was captured from his hideout and was executed on 30 December 2006. On 30 August 2010, US president Barack Obama declared end to the US combat mission in Iraq.

In its scope, expenditure, and impact on international relations, the US' GWOT is compared with Cold War. It was promised to usher in a new phase in international relations and has had important consequences for security, human rights, international law, cooperation, and governance. The GWOT has had many dimensions: in its military dimension, it involved US-led multinational military campaigns in Afghanistan and Iraq, covert operations in Yemen and many other places; and military assistance and cooperation with friendly regimes. Its intelligence dimension was equally important: US reorganized and expanded its

intelligence agencies; new technologies were inducted to gather information so as to preempt and prevent terrorism; it cut off financial resources of the terrorists; and captured terrorist suspects and detained them in Guantanamo Bay without trial. In its diplomatic dimension, GWOT sought to build and maintain a global coalition with partner countries and a public diplomacy campaign to counter anti-American sentiments in the Muslim world. The domestic dimension of the GWOT led US administrations to pass new making laws such as the USA PATRIOT Act, to create new organizations such as the Department of Homeland Security and allowed executive and judicial restrictions on civil liberties besides enhancing control of the borders.

Critics however are of the view that GWOT has not achieved its mission: despite detaining thousands of terror suspects in Guantanamo and other places, terrorist incidents took place after 9/11. Many have criticized the GWOT for its violation of human rights as thousands were detained without trial for years; and torture became an accepted practice. Besides US used unmanned combat drones to kill lots of suspected enemies far away from Afghanistan and Iraq including some who were US citizens. Taliban regime was overthrown but 18 years after, US is now negotiating peace and military withdrawal with the same Taliban leadership. Al Qaeda was down but not out; its affiliates continued with their terrorism mission with bombings in Madrid, London and other places. Al Qaeda affiliates carried out terrorist bombings on 11March 2004, when four trains were bombed in Madrid resulting in the death of 191 people and injuries to more than 2000. On 7 July 2005, terrorist bombings on the London Underground and atop a double-decker bus killed 52 people and injured more than 700. The growth of Daesh (Islamic State of Iraq and Levant) and the continued wars in Iraq and Syria mean that neither the threat of terrorism has declined not anti-American sentiments in the Muslim world have disappeared. There are others who criticize GWOT on geostrategic grounds: they argue that the war on terror was a smokescreen for US to advance its expansionist geopolitical agenda – strong military presence in Afghanistan, Iraq and other countries; control of the important energy sources and routes; and to counter the strategic challenge posed by various regional powers.

In the case of Iraq, once the regime of Saddam Hussein was overthrown, US had no idea how to create peace and stability in Iraq. It had underestimated the difficulties of building a functioning government from scratch and did not know how to deal with the Sunni-Shia sectarian divide. Under US watch, Iraq sank into chaos and civil war; some 200,000 civilians are reported to have died during 2004-07 when infighting was at its peak in Iraq. It was under US watch that Daesh (ISIL) spread its tentacles in Iraq, Syria and beyond.

President Obama all of a sudden declared GWOT as over in 2013 stating that US would eschew a boundless, vaguely defined "global war on terrorism" in favour of more focused actions against specific hostile groups. He promised to end the wars both in Afghanistan and Iraq although at the end of his presidency in 2016 there were still US troops in both countries. Critics however find Obama's declaration to end the US' GWOT as rhetorical. There were important continuities with the policies of Bush administration. The Obama administration, for example, greatly expanded the campaign of targeted killings carried out with drones. Special operations forces were greatly expanded and increasingly deployed to conduct low-profile military interventions in countries outside of acknowledged war zones.

And US security agencies continued to exercise the wide-ranging surveillance powers that they had accumulated during the Bush administration despite protests from civil liberties groups.

Check Your Progress Exercise 3

Note: i)   Use the space given below for your answer.

      ii)   See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.

1)   Define terrorism and explain its core elements.

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2)   Explain the US' GWOT.

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9.5   THREAT OF TERRORISM: CASE OF INDIA

What has been India's experience with terrorism? And how it has dealt with this non-traditional security threat? India's experience with terrorism is highly unusual in scale, scope, and complexity. Since its independence in 1947, India has faced an unusually large and diverse number of terrorist groups – home-grown, cross-border, and transnational. These groups come with very diverse ideological and geographical backgrounds. Scholars point out that political violence in India interacts and intersects in multiple ways with issues of identity and its assertion for separateness and autonomy. Ethnicity, caste and religion feed political violence and terrorism; at the same time, they also impact and shape state's CT response or lack of it. Besides, India has a number of, what is called, internal conflicts which manifest themselves in the form of insurgencies with terrorism as their principal feature. Groups which can be described as 'pure terrorist groups' are not so common. The overlap between insurgency and terrorism makes the task of studying terrorism as a security threat a complex exercise in the context of India. It is not easy to draw a line between terrorism, militancy and insurgency. Analysts also find India's CT and counter-insurgency (COIN) responses ad hoc, inconsistent and even contradictory.

In 2013, there were at least 66 terrorist groups in India. In 2015, India's Ministry of Home Affairs listed 39 banned groups. But the list did not include many groups which were active but were not banned. Then there were groups which were dormant for some time or were involved in some sort of a negotiation with authorities. Given the sheer number and diversity of these non-state actors, a brief and broad description follows:

9.5.1 Militancy and Separatism in Jammu and Kashmir

One of the most complex conflicts is on in the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir (J&K). The 'Kashmir issue' also has international dimensions. A separate identity and autonomy has been the core issue since the accession of J&K with the Indian Union. Different ethno-religious, separatist insurgent groups emerged in the 1990s carrying various agendas. The pro-independence secessionists led by the Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) launched an armed campaign against the Indian state in 1996. JKLF defined Kashmiri nationalism in fairly secular terms but did not hesitate to use the language of Islam to mobilize support. The separatist pro-independence movement was soon taken over by the pro-Pakistan Islamist groups like Hizbul Mujahideen who wanted the merger of J&K with Pakistan. They saw Kashmir as a matter of jihad against an apostate state. Pakistan launched its own proxy war with India and sponsored a number of cross-border Islamist groups with terrorism as their tool. There thus emerged the phenomenon of 'Islamist terrorism' in J&K. A third type of organization emerged in the aftermath of terrorist events of 9/11. Some of the Islamist groups working from across the border gravitated towards Al Qaeda and other international Islamist terrorist and militant groups. Pro-Pakistan groups active in J&K such as Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) and Jaish-e-Mohammad (JeM) became closer to Al Qaeda. Their expanded ideological horizon and global connections meant that the two organizations launched their terrorist attacks beyond J&K and in other parts of India. Be they local militant groups or cross-border groups working at the behest of the Pakistan state, or others with links with the international terrorist outfits, they all indulged in widespread terrorist acts in J&K and other parts of India. The international collaboration enabled LeT and JeM to evolve both in ideological and tactical terms. LeT carried out 26/11 terrorist attacks in Mumbai in 2008 far away form J&K and demonstrated its ability to use modern technology and target high profile buildings in India's business capital.

9.5.2 Islamist Terrorism

A fairly long history of communal riots and their marginalization and exclusion has facilitated radicalization of a section of Muslim community. The scale of radicalization and potential to carry out terrorist attacks is not clear, but seems to be limited. There were few home-grown jihadi groups in the 1980s which indulged in some criminal activities; they were assisted by Pakistan intelligence. The demolition of Babri Masjid in 1992 led to series of bombings in Mumbai in 1993 which were traced back to Pakistan-based Dawood Ibrahim and the Pakistani intelligence agencies. Besides, groups like the Students Islamic Movement of India (SIMI) emerged. More militant SIMI activists floated the Indian Mujahideen (IM).

Finally, some small footprints of Al Qaeda and Daesh have also been traced. These transnational jihadist groups see India as part of the Crusader-Zionist-Hindu conspiracy against the Muslim community. Reports have emerged that some Indian Muslims participated in the wars in Syria and Iraq under the banner of Daesh.

9.5.3 Insurgency in North-East India

Many insurgent movements in India exhinit elements of paramilitarism. Insurgent groups in the North-East states of India have been carrying out terrorist acts for

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a long time. The number of insurgent groups and their political agendas is very large and diverse; and this poses compelx secuirty challenges for the Indian state. Insurgency became more serious a threat since the 1980s. Of the various insurgencies, the longest and the most intractable perhaps has been the separatist Naga movement. Then there are insurgent movements in Mizoram, Tripura and Manipur. Political unrest and alienation is quite widespread in the North-East. Demand for separation and autonomy in the North-East has its roots in ethnic, tribal and religious identity. Large number of ethnic groups insists on their being separate and distinct from rest of India. Decades of government efforts to contain and manage the ethnic conflicts have not succeeded so far. On the contrary, incidents of pure terrorist attacks by the splinter insurgent groups have increased. Incidents of attacks on the police and security forces have increased in the last ten years or so. Any effort at peace dialogue does not bear results because there are too many splinter groups and factions. North-East states share international borders. Insurgent groups find safe havens in neighbouring countries viz. Bangladesh, Bhutan and Myanmar; and this complicates the task for Indian security forces. In short, security challenges in the North-East are heterogonous and intractable.

9.5.4 Khalistan Militancy in Punjab

The northern state of Punjab experienced Sikh militancy during 1978-1993 for the demand of a separate state of Khalistan. A group of armed militants emerged under the leadership of Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale enjoying considerable support in the Sikh community in Punjab and abroad. Pakistan had a hand in inflaming the insurgency. However, despite resort to acts of terrorism, the state continued to look at the Khalistani movement more as a law and order problem until 1984. The response of the Indian state came eventually in the form of Operation Blue Star which inflamed violence across the state of Punjab. This was followed by the assassination of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi by her Sikh bodyguards and outbreak of anti-Sikh riots in Delhi and several parts of India. Khalistani terrorism intensified after 1984. A decisive police action, called Operation Black Thunder, launched in 1988 brought an end to the Khalistan insurgency in India. There have been sporadic incidents of violence and terrorism thereafter. Soem pro-Khalistan elements remain active abroad within the Sikh diaspora. Like with the militant groups in J&K, media continues to report the support by the Pakistani intelligence agencies to these diasporic Khalistani elements.

9.5.5 Naxalite Movement

Should Naxalite movement be decalred a terrorist movement? There is no easy answer. Violence and terrorism indulged by Naxalite group is rooted in the rural and tribal distress and their sense of long exploitation and oppression by a heavy-handed state. Naxalite movement emerged in the 1970s in West Bengal among rural landless peasants who for generation faced the exploitation and oppression at the hands of the class of landlords. The movement drew inspiration from the writings of Mao Zedong and the 1949 revolution in China which had started from the rural areas. Thus, it is one movement that is based on class and not identity; and it seeks to bring out a new and just social order in place of the existing Indian state. The belief at official level is that development in the areas under Naxal influence shall resolve the problem of Naxalism. But neither development has taken place nor any serious CT action has been launched against

the Naxal violence. As a result, the movement continues to grow and is now spread over nearly 185 of the 602 total districts in India. Bihar, Jharkhand, Orissa, Andhra Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra are the most affected states. The movement has also marked its presence in urban areas among factory workers and section of the academia. In recent years, it has increasingly been targeting security personnel and civilian infrastructure for terrorist attacks and destruction. Economic liberalization has among other things also contributed to expansion of illegal mining, querying and deforestation; all these have contributed to further strengthening of the Naxal movement. Continued marginalization and exclusion of the tribals, the Dalits, the landless and other rural poor explain the longevity of the movement.

Check Your Progress Exercise 4

Note: i)   Use the space given below for your answer.

ii)   See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.

1)   Explain the many dimensions and shades of violent movements in India and their use of terrorism. Why the state response remains constrained?

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9.6   LET US SUM UP

Non-traditioinal security has a broadened definition of secuirty: it covers not only the seucirty of the state but also of the communities. As a perspective to study IR, NTS perspective highlights nature and sources of new types of threats to security. NTS threats always there but admittedly have exacerbated in the post-Cold War era. Be that as it may, NTS threats are often transnational and cross-border in their potency and magnitude. They cannot obviously be met by a single sovereign state. NTS threats demand regional and even global resposne. This calls for a change in the behaviour of state and greater movement towards regional governance norms and mechanisms.

NTS threats were always there; but they were not considered as secuirty threats. What really makes them signficant threats are now the scale, speed and ability to transmit fast of these threats.

Terrorism is a major non-traditional security threat. One reason why it is difficult to tackle it is that the threat remains elusive. Also, it is not easy to conceptualise terrorism. Analysts neverthelss have found some core elements in terrorism which distingusihes it from revolutonary movements and insurgencies. Terrorism works to build fear in the mind of the populace in general and deliberately seeks to target the innocent civilians. Lack of coordination among sovereign states and the fact that states continue to shift their position depending on what is in their national interest are factors as to why international terrorism continues to pose threat to international peace and security. A good case in this regard is the trajectory of American war on terrorism.

Terrorism is a non-traditional security threat that has afflicted India since its independence. The case study of India indicates that terrorism is an intractable issue. It is embeded in domesic poliltics, identity politics and demands for separation. State response in the form of counter terrorism (CT) and counter insurgency (COIN) measures have been ad hoc, inconsistent and often constrained by domestic political and electoral calculations.

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9.8   ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress Exercise 1

1)   Your answer should include following.

- A discussion of the meaning and content of non-traditional security threats.

Check Your Progress Exercise 2

1)   Your answer should include following.

- Changing dynamics of state sovereignty in the context of NTS threats.

Check Your Progress Exercise 3

1) Your answer should include following.

    • Identify the core elements of terrorism.

    • Discuss GWOT.

Check Your Progress Exercise 4

1) Your answer should include following.

    • Explain violent political movements and their use of terrorism.

UNIT 10   REFUGEES AND MIGRATION*

Structure

10.0   OBJECTIVES

After Studying this unit, you would be able to;

- explain various concepts associated with refugees and migrants;.

- analyse the positive and negative outcomes as well as potential solutions;

- understand the global trends in refugee movement and migration; and

- examine how India deals with refugees and migrants.

10.1   INTRODUCTION

Migration is a natural phenomenon; man has always migrated. Migration has played a significant role in the growth of human civilization. A fall-out of the emergence of Westphalian nation-states has been the demarcation of national boundaries and borders, thereby restricting the natural movement of people. More so, with the beginning of the 21st Century, the nation-state grapples with issues of migration and refugees at international, national and local levels.

This Unit would delve into the conceptual analysis of migration and refugees; merits and demerits of migration by examining international and regional perspectives on migration and refugees. Similar civilizational heritage along with porous borders have witnessed mass influxes in the history of South Asia which pose whole questions of refugees and migration that are unique. India, that occupies the chunk of South Asia, stands out from international conventions on refugees but hosts migrants and shelters refugees as a morally-driven commitment rooted in its civilizational ethos. No gainsaying, the importance of migration to economic prosperity, human development, and safety and security ensures that it will remain a top priority for the world for the foreseeable future.

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10.2 CONCEPTUAL ANALYSIS ON MIGRATION AND REFUGEES

Migration encompasses a variety of movements and situations involving all kinds of people and environments. Migration is entangled with geopolitics, trade and cultural exchanges; and provides opportunities for states, businesses and communities to benefit enormously. It improves people's lives in both the origin and destination countries and offers opportunities for a better life to millions worldwide. Majority of people migrate internationally for work, family reunion and study; many other people leave their homes and countries for other reasons such as conflict, persecution, disaster, environmental degradation and lack of human security and opportunity. While most international migration occurs legally, some of the greatest insecurities for migrants, and much of the public concern about immigration, is associated with irregular migration. Displaced populations such as refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs) comprise a relatively small percentage of all migrants; however, they often capture the action as they frequently find themselves in highly vulnerable situations in need of assistance.

There is no universal definition of migration or migrants that is accepted and officially binding at international level. The UN classifies **international migrants** into long-term and short-term or temporary migrants, as any person who changes his or her country of usual residence for at least 12 months for any reason that are documented or not, falls into the category of long-term migrants whereas short-term or temporary migrants are above 3 months but less than a year. International Organisation for Migration (IMO) provides a much broader definition of a migrant as "any person who is moving or has moved across an international border or within a State away from his/her habitual place of residence, regardless of the person's legal status; whether the movement is voluntary or involuntary; what the causes for the movement are; or what the length of the stay is" (IMO, 2018). However, some countries use different criteria to identify international migrants as well as use different data collection methodologies which hinder full comparability of national statistics on international migrants (World Migration Report, 2018). Migrants are a far broader category of people who leave their places of habitual residence to live elsewhere and this happens mostly within a country due to urbanization.

The term **'Refugee'** is derived from Latin word Tugere', which means to flee for safety. According to the 1951 Refugee Convention and the 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees, "refugee is a person who flee from his country of origin due to political or other forms of persecutions and is unable or unwilling to avail the protection of that country and thus loses his nationality." The African Union's 1969 Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa, states that a person fleeing external aggression, occupation, foreign domination, or serious disturbances of public order, is also a refugee. Cartagena Declaration of Central and South American governments in 1984 further included people fleeing threats to their lives, safety, or freedom due to generalised violence, foreign aggression, internal conflicts, and massive human rights violations.

Asylum-seekers are individuals who are seeking asylum but whose claims have not yet been finally decided on. Refugees often move within large mixed flows of migrants which might include people fleeing generalised violence, torture,

targeted persecution, as well as economic migrants, victims of trafficking, women and children at risk, and environmental displacees. Mass influx protection is more pressing than individualised procedures. Refugees and migrants are legally distinct as refugees are protected by international refugee law.

Diaspora refers to "individuals and members or networks, associations and communities, who have left their country of origin, but maintain links with their homelands. This concept covers more settled expatriate communities, migrant workers based abroad temporarily, expatriates with the nationality of the host country, dual nationals, and second-third generation migrants"(IOM, 2011). The term **transnational communities** may better describe the reality of contemporary migration experiences, where migrants may establish and maintain connections with people in their home communities or migrants in other countries. Indeed, IOM uses the terms *diaspora* and *transnational communities* interchangeably (IOM, 2017).

Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) are persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized State border (Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement, OCHA/UN, 1998). **Return migrants** are persons "… returning to his or her country of origin or habitual residence usually after spending at least one year in another country. This return may or may not be voluntary" (IOM, 2011).

Irregular migration occurs outside the regulatory norms of the sending, transit and receiving countries. It is entry, stay or work in a country without the necessary authorization or documents required under immigration regulations. There is, however, a tendency to restrict the use of the term **"illegal migration"** to cases of smuggling of migrants and trafficking in persons.

Mixed migration is both a new phenomenon and an old reality and treated differently in various countries. According to the International Organisation for Migration (IOM), "mixed flows concern irregular movements, frequently involving transit migration, where refugees, asylum-seekers, economic migrants and other migrants move without the requisite documentation, crossing borders and arriving at their destination in an unauthorized manner". For example, India refers to the phenomenon as mixed migration; for European policymakers, it is irregular migration; and in the United States, it is illegal immigration. There have been recent efforts in European policy debates to conceptualise mixed migration. Europe's current "migrant crisis", caused by the influx of Syrian asylum-seekers, has dramatically increased awareness of mixed migration.

The primary difference between a **Mass influx** and a **Mixed flow** is that the latter originates from many places whereas the former usually originates from a specific area. But mixed flows can originate from a single area too, and when that occurs in a time of conflict.

Non-refoulement is a principle of customary international law. It forbids the receiving country from returning the asylum seekers to a country in which they are likely to face persecution on grounds of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion. Countries have interpreted the

principle in their own different ways. Several European consider the duty of non-refoulement applied only to refugees already within their territories and not to those who had reached their frontiers and sought entry. The 1951 United Nations Convention relating to the Status of refugees, in Article 33(1), provide: "No Contracting State shall expel or return ("refouler") a refugee in any manner whatsoever to the frontiers of territories where his life or freedom would be threatened on account of his race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion." The principle of *non-refoulement* is the cornerstone of asylum and of international refugee law. Following from the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution, as set forth in Article 14 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, this principle reflects the commitment of the international community to ensure to all persons the enjoyment of human rights, including the rights to life, to freedom from torture or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment, and to liberty and security of person. The non-refoulement principle prohibits frontier rejections and entry refusals. The Organisation of African Union (OAU) Convention expressly prohibited refoulement at national frontiers. The European position began changing in the 1990s when scores of asylum seekers arrived at the borders of European nations fleeing the Balkan wars.

Check Your Progress Exercise 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.

1) Who is a refugee? Explain how a Refugee is different from Migrant and Diaspora?

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10.3 POLITICAL ECONOMY OF MIGRATION

Migration offers both positive outcomes and negative consequences from varying perspectives of the origin and destination countries. The impact of migration is felt first and foremost at the personal and family level. The wage differences and relative income gains from migration are largest for lower-skilled workers, whose international movements around the world are the most restricted. The increase in migrants' earnings naturally helps the welfare and human development of migrants' families, either directly if they are with the migrant in the host country, or indirectly through remittances.

Emigration can also reduce unemployment and underemployment leading to the reduction of poverty and foster broader economic and social development in origin countries in a variety of ways. Remittances are generally a less volatile and more reliable source of foreign currency than other capital flows in many developing countries (World Bank, 2016). In 2016, India, China, Philippines, Mexico and Pakistan were the top five remittance recipient countries, although

China and India were well above the rest, with total inward remittances exceeding USD 60 billion for each country. When remittances are viewed as a percentage of GDP, however, the top five countries are Kyrgyzstan (at 35.4%), followed by Nepal (29.7%), Liberia (29.6%), Haiti (27.8%) and Tonga (27.8%) in 2016. In 2016, remittance inflows to India amounted to USD 62.7 billion, the largest in the world; and in countries such as Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh, remittances exceeded 5 per cent of GDP in the same year (World Bank, 2017). Some of the countries are heavily dependent on remittances; they are described as 'remittance economies'.

Migration also results in the transfer of skills, knowledge and technology, and work culture that could have considerable positive impacts on productivity and economic growth of the home country. They are seen as a source of investment in the home country; home governments regularly woo migrants for investment. It is increasingly recognized that migrants can play a significant role in post-conflict reconstruction and recovery as well (Van Hear 2011).

There is widespread agreement that migration can also generate economic and other benefits for destination/ host countries. In countries such as Australia and Canada, immigration is encouraged so as to keep the locomotive of the economic growth working. In general, immigration adds workers to the economy, thus increasing the gross domestic product (GDP) of the host country. There are also a variety of ways in which migrants can have positive effects on labour productivity, if migrants are more skilled than national workers or if immigration has positive effects for innovation and skills agglomeration. Migrants are often more likely to be risk takers, and this quality has led to enormous contributions in many destination countries in areas such as technology, science, the arts and a range of other fields.

Immigration can have a positive effect on the labour market by increasing labour supply in sectors and occupations suffering from shortages of workers, as well as helping address mismatches in the job market. These positive labour market effects are not just evident in high-skilled sectors, but can also occur in lower-skilled occupations leading to additional employment opportunities for existing workers. Of course, immigration can also have adverse labour market effects on wages and employment of domestic workers, but studies show that such negative impacts tend to be quite small. Immigration of young workers can also ease pressures on pensions systems of high-income countries with rapidly ageing populations.

In Europe, there is growing alarmism that migration is accelerating a clash of civilizations. So Islamophobia is common concerns in many European countries as public consider that all migration from mainly Muslim countries should be stopped. Many European Countries overestimate the number of migrants and Muslims (Ipsos MORI, 2016). These negative perceptions towards migrants may lead to violence, harassment, threats and xenophobic attitude targeting asylum seekers and migrants creating challenges for governments to promote integration. There is also an apprehension that refugees can become a causal link between the onset and continuation of civil conflict. The presence of refugees and migrants has a wide range of social, cultural, environmental, and political effects on host communities. In rural areas, refugees can spark a competition for resources and aggravate social fault-lines. Friction between refugees and local communities always could trigger conflict when religiously-inspired nativism escalates anti-refugee rhetoric leading to ethno-religious conflict.

Global migrant stocks are extensive and global in scope but the database of migration flows only encompasses 45 countries. International migration flows are supposed to constitute both inflows and outflows but countries focus more on inflows. Australia and the United States count all cross-border movements but many countries only count entries and not departures. Migration flow data in some countries are derived from administrative events related to immigration status such as issuance, renewal, withdrawal of a residence permit. It is also difficult to classify migratory movements from non-migratory travels such as tourism or business. Tracking migratory movements also requires considerable resources, infrastructure and knowledge systems in the digitally globalised world but developing countries' ability to collect, administer, analyse and report data on mobility, migration and other areas is often limited. Finally, many countries' physical geographies pose tremendous challenges for collecting data on migration flows. Entry and border management is particularly challenging in countries constituted of archipelagic and isolated borders, and it is further complicated by regions having similar civilizational traditions that promote informal migration for work.

10.4 GLOBAL TRENDS IN MIGRATION AND REFUGEE MOVEMENT

There were around 258 million international migrants in the world in 2017, which equalls to 3.4 per cent of the total population (UN DESA, 2017). There is an increase in international migration over time both numerically and proportionally at a greater rate than had been anticipated. Of course, migration had shown the greatest volatility in the past. It is therefore difficult to project migration patterns with some accuracy (UN DESA, 2003). The post-Cold War era has also witnessed significant rise of the displaced population – both internal and across borders - due to civil and transnational conflicts that include violent extremism outside actual war zones. There were 40.3 million internally displaced persons (IDPs) worldwide in 2016 and 22.5 million refugees (IDMC, 2017; UNHRC, 2017). Adding further to the world's displaced population, more than half a million Rohingya refugees fled from Myanmar to Bangladesh since late August 2017.

Since 2015, migration has become a securitized agenda of governments and development partners, following its inclusion in the UN 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. In September 2016, governments adopted the New York Declaration, which calls for strengthening international cooperation on migration and forced displacement and for the development and adoption of global compacts on migration and on refugees. Both compacts published in 2018 call attention to the issue of socio-economic integration of migrants and refugees through self-employment and entrepreneurship. Both migrants and refugees can contribute positively to the development of both origin and destination countries provided that their skills, capabilities and entrepreneurial spirit are given sufficient support and recognition.

The global population of forcibly displaced people increased to 68.5 million in 2017 especially from the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Myanmar as well as continuing the Syrian crisis. The Syrian crisis continued to account for the largest forcibly displaced population globally. There were 12.6 million forcibly displaced Syrians in 2017, comprising around 6.3 million refugees, 146,700 asylum-seekers, and 6.2 million IDPs. Syrian refugees have found asylum in

125 countries throughout the world, with the majority being hosted by Turkey (3,424,200). At the end of 2017, the data from Turkey's Directorate General of Migration Management states that the Turkey continued to be the country hosting the world's largest number of refugees, with a 21 per cent increase in its refugee population, from 2.9 million at the beginning of the year to 3.5 million at the end (Turkey, 2018). UNHCR's Jordan Fact Sheets mentions that Jordan has the highest refugee-to-population ratio at 89 refugees per 1,000 persons. The country is home to more than 2.7 million registered refugees, of whom about 2 million are people of Palestinian descent who have lived in the country for decades (UNHCR, Jordan Fact Sheet, 2018). Uganda is one of the largest refugee-hosting countries in Africa, with about 1.2 million refugees and asylum seekers. The second-largest population of refugees in 2017 was from Afghanistan, whose refugee population grew by 5 per cent to 2.6 million people by end-2017. Afghan refugees were mostly living in Pakistan.

Despite the significant media coverage of refugee flows towards developed countries, developing regions host 84 per cent of the world's refugee population. In the context of mixed and complex migration flows where both refugees and migrants travel along similar routes, it is more difficult to distinguish between the two groups. The diversification of migrant populations, the routes migrants take, the places to which they move and the increasingly transnational character of migration have not only created challenges to the regulation and management of movement but have also created unique spaces for migrants to contribute to development in countries of origin, destination and even transit.

UNHCR estimates that, at the end of 2016, those under 18 years of age constituted roughly 51 per cent of the global refugee population. The proportion of women remained relatively stable, at between 47 and 49 per cent, over the same period. Consistent with broader global dynamics, refugees were increasingly based in urban settings, with 60 per cent of refugees located in urban areas at the end of 2016 (UNHCR, 2016 and 2017). Unaccompanied and separated children lodged an estimated 75,000 individual asylum applications in 70 countries in 2016 (UNHCR, 2017). Consistent with the overall global trends in asylum application submissions, Germany received more than half of all reported claims from unaccompanied and separated children.

Check Your Progress Exercise 3

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

     ii) See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.

1) What are the major positive and negative outcomes of migration?

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10.5 GEOGRAPHY OF MIGRATION

Migrations corridors are developed over time. They are shaped by geographic proximity, trade and economic factors, conflict and human insecurity, community and ethnic ties, as well as smuggling and trafficking. Many people who migrate across borders do so within their immediate region. People, therefore, tend to be displaced to safer locations nearby, whether that is within a country or across a border. The idea of regional arrangement for the protection of refugee has been gaining recognition since the absence of an effective international agency for the protection of refugees in different regions.

Some of the largest migration corridors involving African countries are between North African countries such as Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia to France, Spain and Italy, in part reflecting post-colonial connections. There are also significant labour migration corridors to Gulf states, Egypt to United Arab Emirates and Saudi Arabia. Most refugees and asylum seekers in Africa are hosted in neighbouring countries within the region. The main drivers of displacement include conflict and violence, which in some cases has exacerbated food insecurity issues. Large income disparities between the origin and destination countries, and the high levels of unemployment in North Africa, remain significant drivers of migration. (UNHCR.2017). Eastern Africa continues to experience considerable levels of outward labour mobility, driven by poverty, low wages and high unemployment (Manji, 2017). This is most evident in the number of low and semi-skilled East Africans moving to GCC states on temporary work contracts. The Gulf states' proximity to Eastern Africa, the employment opportunities they offer, as well as recent labour agreements between countries such as the United Arab Emirates and Kenya (Manji, 2017) and Saudi Arabia and Ethiopia, (GCAO, 2017) mean that labour migration to GCC countries is likely to rise. In addition to socio-economic factors, conflict and political instability remain important drivers of irregular migration to and from Eastern Africa.

In 2015, European to European migration was the second largest regional migration corridor in the world. A high degree of intra-regional migration is made possible by free movement arrangements, which enable citizens to cross internal borders without being subjected to border checks. The border-free Schengen Area, which comprises 22 EU member-states and 4 non-EU member countries, guarantees free movement to over 400 million citizens. However, free movement in Europe faces challenges; from the second half of 2015 several Schengen member-states have temporarily reintroduced border controls. There is also a degree of uncertainty following the June 2016 EU membership referendum in the United Kingdom about future migration settings arising from "Brexit" negotiations. In addition, the population of non-European migrants in Europe reached over 35 million in 2015 mostly from Asia, Africa, and Latin America and the Caribbean countries.

Mexico remains the largest emigration country in the Latin American-Caribbean region. Most Mexican emigrants live in the United States, which continues to be the largest country-to-country migration corridor in the entire world. Many other Central American countries such as El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras also have large migrant populations in the United States, as do South American countries such as Colombia, Ecuador, Brazil and Peru. In 2016, Colombia was

the largest origin of refugees in the Latin America and Caribbean region, driven by long-standing internal conflict. Refugees from Colombia were hosted in neighbouring Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela and Ecuador. The trend has reversed in recent times; a fairly large number of migrants have moved from Venezuela into Colombia and other neighbouring countries. Haiti is the second largest origin of refugees in the Caribbean region. The most prominent intra-regional migrant corridors involve Nicaraguans, Panamanians and other Central Americans moving to Costa Rica for temporary or permanent labour, and Central Americans (primarily from Honduras, Guatemala and El Salvador) migrating to Belize because of instability and a lack of employment opportunities in their home countries. In the Caribbean, the most prominent intra-regional migrant corridors include Haitians migrating to the neighbouring Dominican Republic. Southern Cone countries of Chile, Argentina and Brazil which all witnessed increases of between 16 and 20 per cent in migrant populations between 2010 and 2015 have some of the largest migrant populations in South America, attracting labour migrants from the Andean countries, as well as Paraguay. The Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela was home to a large number of intraregional migrants from Colombia and Ecuador but at the beginning of 2019 some two million Venezuelans had shifted to Colombia, Brazil and other neighbouring countries.

In 2015, the United States had the largest foreign-born population in the world, while Canada had the seventh largest in Northern America. Over 85 per cent of the foreign-born populations in North American region lived in the United States, where they comprise over 14 per cent of the total population. Refugees in the United States came from a vast range of countries; however, the largest refugee populations were from China, Haiti, El Salvador, Guatemala, Egypt and Ethiopia. Canada is also host to a large refugee population. The largest origin countries are Colombia and China. China and India have now overtaken Mexico in terms of recent immigrant arrivals to the United States. The largest immigration pathway for Asians migrating to the United States is through family sponsored visas. Asian students accounted for 76 per cent of international students enrolled in United States higher education institutions in 2014–2015. Migrant populations in Canada have primarily originated from European countries but by 2015, Asian countries surpassed it; India is largest source country of migrants going to Canada.

The vast majority of migrants in Oceania live in either Australia or New Zealand. Tonga, Samoa and Fiji all have high counts of emigrants in comparison with their native population and very low shares of foreign-born populations. Australia and New Zealand have high shares of foreign-born populations comprising over 28 per cent and 23 per cent respectively. Australia is the largest host country in this region, followed by Papua New Guinea and New Zealand. Most of the refugees in these countries originate from Asia, such as Indonesians in Papua New Guinea or Afghans and Iranians in Australia. The United Kingdom has consistently been the main origin country of migrants in New Zealand for decades, with a notable increase in the number of Asian migrants, particularly from China and India, as well as a considerable population of people from the Pacific Islands, including Fiji, Samoa and Tonga. Australia's refugee resettlement programme is the third largest in the world and resettles refugees who have been living in neighbouring countries such as Malaysia and Indonesia who originate from other countries, such as Myanmar and Afghanistan. New Zealand is also a refugee resettlement country, announcing the resettlement of 750 Syrian refugees in 2015–2016.

In Asia, India and China have the largest absolute numbers of migrants living abroad who constitute small shares of the total populations of India and China. Migrants from China made up the fourth largest population of foreign born migrants in the world after India, Mexico and the Russian Federation. Over two million Chinese-born emigrants reside in the United States, which was also home to other large Asian migrant groups from India, the Philippines and Viet Nam. Other countries with large numbers of migrants residing abroad include Bangladesh and Pakistan, many of whom are in GCC countries. Refugees from the Syria and Afghanistan constituted more than a third of the world's refugees at the end of 2016.

In North Asia, countries such as Japan are already undergoing negative population growth, while the Republic of Korea has the lowest birth rate and the fastest-ageing population profile among OECD countries (Moon, 2015). So both countries are increasingly promoting temporary foreign labour immigration, Urbanization in China initiated one of the largest human migrations in history. The socio-economic dynamics between Western and Eastern China are important factors, with the West characterized by high population growth rates, a surplus of workers and lower incomes, while the East contends with a shortage of workers in metropolitan areas and boasts both higher incomes and education levels (Hugo, 2015).

While India and Pakistan were initially the major origin countries of labour to GCC countries, the origin of migrant workers has since diversified, attracting workers from Sri Lanka, Nepal and Bangladesh (Oommen, 2015). There are millions of Bangladeshi and Nepalese labour migrants working in India, primarily in the informal sector as construction labourers and domestic workers (Srivastava and Pandey, 2017). Internal migration within South Asia countries is extensive and larger in scale than international migration, related primarily to temporary and seasonal migration from rural to urban areas (Srivastava and Pandey, 2017). In Bangladesh, disasters such as Cyclone Mora in May 2017 displaced hundreds of thousands of people (Solomon, 2017). In Nepal, disasters caused by the Gorkha and Udayapur earthquakes in 2015 led to immense internal displacement (IOM, 2016) while around half a million people were estimated to be displaced by severe flooding in Sri Lanka in May 2017 (IOM, 2017).

In Southeast Asia, the largest intra-regional migration corridor based on foreign-born population data is from Myanmar to Thailand, and relates both to displacement due to conflict and violence and to cross-border migration for income generation, family reunion and other reasons. The increase in labour migration to GCC States has created tremendous demographic change in destination countries. Today, with the exceptions of Oman and Saudi Arabia, migrants make up the majority of the population in GCC countries comprising 88 per cent of the population in the United Arab Emirates, 76 per cent in Qatar and 74 per cent in Kuwait (UN DESA, 2015). Income differentials between origin and destination countries are a key driver of migration, with the Gulf countries providing higher wages and greater employment opportunities to labour migrants (Jacobsen and Valenta, 2016).

Countries bordering Syria are the principal hosts of Syrian refugees, Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan are all among the top 10 host countries in the world in 2016 (UNHCR, 2017). In 2015, there were just under 5 million migrants born in Central Asia who were living in the Russian Federation (UN DESA, 2015). People from

Central Asia also migrate to Europe and China, where work and family ties are relatively strong. Germany, for example, was home to just over 1 million migrants from Kazakhstan in 2015, second only to the Russian Federation, where 2.56 million Kazakh-born people resided (UN DESA, 2015). Kazakhstan is now predominantly a country of transit and of immigration, attracting skilled workers from various countries and, increasingly, becoming a destination for migrant workers from Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan.

Check Your Progress Exercise 3

Note: i)   Use the space given below for your answer.

   ii)   See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.

1)   Explain the experience of Migration and Refugees in various regions across the world.

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10.6   RESETTLEMENT AND RETURN OF REFUGEES

One of the key mandates of UNHCR is to seek permanent solutions for refugees. Within this context, voluntary repatriation, local integration and resettlement are the traditional solutions sought by UNHRC. Resettlement is a concrete way to achieve solidarity and sharing responsibility. The number of countries that are a part of UNHCR's resettlement programmes increased from 33 in 2015 to 37 in 2016. States in Europe and Latin America established new resettlement programmes, or made new resettlement commitments. The traditional resettlement countries of Australia, Canada and the United States continued to conduct the majority of the world's refugee resettlements. In 2016, almost 190,000 refugees were admitted for resettlement and Syrian, Congolese, Iraqi and Somali refugees were the key beneficiaries.

Local integration involves finding a permanent home in the country of asylum and integrating with the local communities. In course of time, the process should lead to permanent residence rights and the acquisition of citizenship in the country of asylum. The objective is to integrate refugees to pursue sustainable livelihoods and contribute to the economic life of the host country, and live among the host population without discrimination or exploitation. The acquisition of citizenship through naturalization is used as a way for local integration for refugees.

During 2016, over 550,000 refugees returned to their countries of origin. Prolonged and renewed conflicts have contributed to low levels of voluntary repatriation. The majority of returns (384,000) were to Afghanistan, primarily from Pakistan. The return to the country of origin is often the preferred solution for many refugees though repatriation should be based on a free and informed decision with the full commitment of the country of origin to the reintegration

process to ensure that returnees are able to safely rebuild their lives. Unfortunately, the contexts in which such returns took place in 2017 were often complex, with many refugees returning under adverse circumstances to situations in which sustainable reintegration could not be assured. In some cases, so-called spontaneous returns took place under a degree of duress in which thresholds for voluntary, safe, and dignified return not being met. In 2017, refugees returned to 43 countries of origin from 94 former countries of asylum, as reported by UNHCR offices and after reconciliation of departure and arrival figures. It should be noted that countries of origin reported only arrivals of returning refugees, with no distinction between those who returned through voluntary repatriation or returned spontaneously or in conditions that were not considered conducive for lasting solutions.

The responsibility to protect refugees falls on individual sovereign states. States derive their responsibility to protect refugees by good faith being signatory to international conventions and agreements as well as based on their national legislation, their political and moral commitment, or by reason of customary international law. All states are supposed to protect the fundamental human rights of refugees under customary international law. The conventional law concerning refugee trace back to the Article 14 of Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) which states, "that everyone has the right to seek and enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution."

The New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in September 2016 declares that all Member States are committed to "a more equitable sharing of the burden and responsibility for hosting and supporting the world's refugees, while taking account of existing contributions and the differing capacities and resources among States." The General Assembly sets out, in this declaration, the key elements of a Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF) designed to ease pressures on countries hosting large numbers of refugees, enhance refugee self-reliance, expand access to third-country solutions, and support conditions in countries of origin for return in safety and dignity.

The different international conventions and treaties that deal with the human rights of refugees are: Universal Declaration of Human Rights; the1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol; International Covenants on Civil and Political Rights, 1966; International Covenants on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 1966; and International Labour Organisation's (ILO) migrant workers conventions of 1949 and 1975.

Human rights of refugees under regional arrangements are provided by:the Organization of African Unity (OAU); Organization of American States (OAS); Council of Europe (COE); and the Bangkok Principles, 1966.

International organizations that deal with the human rights of refugees are: the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN DESA); Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD);International Labour Organization (ILO);World Bank; the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR); Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC);United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC); and the International Organization for Migration (IOM).

Check Your Progress Exercise 4

Note: i)   Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.

1) Explain the various international conventions, treaties and organizations that deal with the human rights of refugees.

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10.7 INDIA'S PERCEPTION AND RESPONSE TO REFUGEEE PROBLEM

It is well known that even without being signatory to the 1951 Refugees' Convention and its 1967 protocol that do not recognize the presence of the UNHCR, and without having domestic law or procedure governing the protection of refugees, India shelters largest refugee population in South Asia. The provisions of the 1951 Refugees Convention and its Protocol can be relied on when there is no conflict with any provisions in the municipal laws. However, India has acceded to other international instruments whose provisions are relevant to the rights of refugees, so India cannot refuse asylum to bona fide seekers of shelter from other countries. Though there is no binding regional agreement concerning refugees in South Asia, India has a long history of sheltering refugees. Refugees are simply viewed as foreigners in India. While India lacks a formal legal framework for refugee protection, its administrative policies over the years have generally been in line with international legal norms on refugees.

In the nineteenth century, India's colonial government enacted the Foreigners Act, 1864, the first statute to ban, detain, and expel foreigners. But when the Second World War broke out, the colonial government found even the 1864 statute too lenient for the absolute powers it demanded, so it was replaced by the Foreigners Act, 1940. After the war ended, and amidst the large-scale displacement that followed, the 1940 wartime legislation was further consolidated as the Foreigners Act, 1946 ('Foreigners Act'). India has hosted 10 million refugees, the largest refugee movements in history, during partition in 1947, another major influx in 1959 of Tibetan refugees followed by massive influx in 1971 when more than 10 million refugees from the erstwhile East Pakistan reached India as refugees. The next major influx of refugees came from Sri Lanka in 1983 and from Afghanistan in 1986.

The 1971 refugees were voluntarily repatriated en masse after the violence in Bangladesh subsided, bringing the crisis to an end. On the other hand, the Tibetan mass influx into India, beginning in 1959 and still continuing, remains in search of a permanent solution. For Sri Lankan Tamil refugees, their stay in India has been marked by heavy surveillance following Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's assassination. The Chakma and Hejong refugees who once lived in the Chittagong hill tracts, most of which are located in Bangladesh have been living as refugees

in India for more than five decades, mostly in the North-East and West Bengal. According to the 2011 census, 47,471 Chakmas live in Arunachal Pradesh alone. In 2015, the Supreme Court of India had directed the central government to give citizenship to both Chakma and Hajong refugees. In September 2017, the government of India decided to provide citizenship to these groups, despite opposition from many groups in Arunachal Pradesh, where these refugees are concentrated.

There are also refugees from Iran, Mayanmar and Sudan in small numbers in India. The Government of India has extended its support directly to Tibetans, Sri Lankans and the Chakmas from Bangladesh, while other groups such as the Afghans, Burmese, Sudanese and others fall under the mandate of UNHCR in India. The statistics of refugees in India are incomplete for variety of reasons. First, they do not convey a historical sense of the large refugee populations India has hosted in its past. Second, there are a large number of unrecognised refugees in India who remain uncounted. These include large populations of unregistered refugees from Nepal and Bhutan as well as asylum seekers who were denied asylum as a result of structural failures in UNHCR's refugee status determination mechanism.

Refugees in India are treated under the law applicable to aliens. Besides, Foreigners Act 1946 (Section 3, 3A, 7, 14), Registration of Foreigners Act 1939 (Section 3, 6), Passport (Entry into India) Act, 1920, Passport Act, 1967, Extradition Act, 1962 and the Protection of Human Rights Act, 1993 are the laws that govern refugees in India. Jurisdiction over issues of citizenship, naturalization and aliens rests with the Indian parliament. However, influxes of refugees have been handled by administrative decisions rather than through legislative requirements. This administrative discretion is exercised within the framework of the 1946 Foreigners Act, and refugee policy in the country has essentially evolved from a series of administrative orders passed under the authority of section 3 of the said Act.

The Foreigners Act failed to treat those people who enter India on intelligible criteria. So all the people, regardless of being tourists, travellers, expatriate workers, fugitives, refugees, and migrants are treated uniformly under a single regime. The Foreigners Act compels foreigners to prove their identities; present themselves at police stations; control their movements, activities, and residences; confine them in internment camps; and, of course, to leave India. The law's deportation power enables the government to complete deportations without even minimal judicial review. This power of deportation has been delegated and sub-delegated to a mid-level police officer who can order a foreigner to leave India.

Refugee problem is dealt with by multiple institutions in India. The Home Ministry generally looks after the rehabilitation and settlement of refugees; and the Ministry of External Affairs is responsible for bilateral negotiations with other countries. The state governments are entrusted with the protection and maintenance of the refugee camps at the local level. The absence of a legislative regime for refugee protection leaves the status of refugees somewhat precarious in India – based on the tolerance and goodwill of the government in power. So refugees get different kinds of treatment in terms of rights and privileges, and also different legal status under the domestic laws and regulations. Although UNHCR refugee certificates are legally recognized by the government, in practice the Union Ministry of Home Affairs, the Foreigners Regional Registration Office, and the local police

authorities take cognizance of the refugees; and 'extended stay' has, to date, normally been granted to all UNHCR recognized refugees.

Judicial courts in India are lenient towards asylum seekers; but courts have been hampered to enforce provisions of international human rights instruments and refugee law norms in the absence of incorporating national legislation. Though, Supreme Court acknowledges the central government's "unrestricted right to expel", it has ordered regional authorities to stop the harassment of refugee communities by the local inhabitants on the basis of interpretation of Article 21 of the Constitution that states that "person" instead of 'citizen' gets the protection of life and liberty including the foreigners. Besides the minimal right to life and liberty, which does not protect against detention and deportation under the Foreigners Act, refugees arguably have the right not to be discriminated against in relation to other refugees.

10.7.1 India's Approach towards International Convention on Refugees

144 countries have signed the Refugee Convention but India has not been part of it. This is a curious anomaly for a country which has sheltered millions of refugees during the life of the Convention. Though India's refusal to sign the Convention has never been clearly communicated, Bhairav Acharya (2016) states four apparent reasons which he has speculated from official documents. First, Delhi was irked by the Eurocentrism of the original Refugee Convention that ignored the "largest mass migration in human history," experienced during the Partition of India. Second, the Refugee Convention's treatment of a refugee solely as an individual rather than as constituent of a group or community contradicts with India's unique national imagination and fluid conception of citizenship. So refugee individualism conceptually conflicts with mass influx situations because individuals in a mass influx are unable to prove individual persecution, leaving them vulnerable to refoulement. The Refugee Convention's silence regarding mass influxes constitutes a continuing failure. Third, the Refugee Convention fails to deal with mixed migration, which lacks a definition, although there is broad consensus on its features. India has long faced mixed migration, particularly across its eastern land and sea frontiers. UNHCR's first official response, the "10-Point Plan of Action," was published only in 2006, identifying five areas around the world for special attention. South Asia was not included in those areas, despite its familiarity with the mixed migration. Finally, Delhi wants the Refugee Convention to contain strong 'burden-sharing' provisions. The argument resonates in India after its experience of sheltering around 10 million refugees in 1971 with inadequate foreign assistance.

10.7.2   Status of Refugees in India

Sri Lankan Tamil refugees are housed in 243 camps in Tamil Nadu who are welcomed on the basis of kinship with their demographically proximate hosts. But militant refugee groups brought the Sri Lankan conflict onto Indian soil that culminated into the assassination former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. Tamil refugee issues have deeply impacted on their host community, even influencing the course of Tamil Nadu politics and bilateral relations with Sri Lanka. That was never the case with Tibetan refugees who were deliberately dispersed across that protected them from Chinese reprisals near the border though Tibetans demographic dissimilarities often lead to conflict with locals.

Tibetan refugees were granted asylum by the government of India under the principle of non-refoulement. Under executive decision all the Tibetan refugees were issued "Indian Registration Certificates" as "refugee" with "Tibetan nationality." Once India acknowledged Tibet is part of China, India started issuing Special Entry Permit (SEP) for the purpose of registration either for pilgrimage or education or others for the duration of one month and for one year respectively. Many Tibetan refugees take the longer Special Entry Permit (SEP) and then apply for a Registration Certificate. A travel document called the "Identity Certificates" is also issued by the government of India upon completion of the "Application for Issuance of Certificate of Identity" and after obtaining the "No Objection to Return to India" (NORI) Certificate by the concerned state government. NORI is renewable in every two years while the Identity Certificates is renewable after six years period.

Even today, the issue of illegal Bangladeshi immigrants is used by political parties to garner votes in elections in north-east India. The local communities and tribal groups have alleged that refugees from Bangladesh and the continuous flow of illegal immigrants have led to a change in the social demography of that area, thereby making the locals a minority in their own homeland. The National Registry for Citizens in Assam is an outcome of such politics. There has also been historic migration from Nepal aided by an open border agreement further pushed by a decade-long civil war. Nepalese in mixed flows sought refuge, temporary shelter, and employment in India. While the exact number of people undertaking irregular migration within the region is not known, partly because of its relatively porous borders, there are estimated to be large irregular migrant populations within the region (Srivastava and Pandey, 2017). India is home to populations of irregular migrants from Bangladesh, Nepal, and to a lesser extent, Sri Lanka. .

Of late, Rohingya Muslims refugee status has attracted international media attention. Over 40,000 Rohingya Muslims escaped Myanmar to take shelter in India and the UNHCR has issued identity cards to about 16,500 Rohingya in India, to "prevent harassment, arbitrary arrests, detention and deportation" of refugees. However, India has categorized them as illegal immigrants and a security threat, appealed to Myanmar to take back the Rohingya refugees under the assumption that they belong to Burmese stock. Ironically, Burmese do not consider the Rohingyas as their citizens and treat them as immigrants from Bangladesh who came during the British colonial rule. Moreover, Bangladesh is the favourite destination for the Rohingyas and they consider themselves as natives of the Burmese state and expect protection from Myanmar State.

Check Your Progress Exercise 5

Note: i)   Use the space given below for your answer.

ii)   See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.

1)   How Refugees are legally treated in India?

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2) Why India is not a signatory of International Conventions on Refugees?

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10.8 LET US SUM UP

There is a heightened concern of migration and its various manifestations in the recent past as it has become increasingly a complex legal and political process at transnational level having inter-linkages with multitude of public policy issues of geography and demography. Though many write and speak about refugees and migration in an interchangeably confusing manner, to make it lucidly subtle 'all refugees are migrants but all migrants are not refugees'. Migration as a phenomenon occurs due to various factors relating to economic prosperity, inequality, demography, violence and conflict, and environmental change. Contrary to the general perception, largest numbers of refugees are sheltered in the current world by least developed and developing countries such as Turkey, Sudan and Bangladesh whereas Northern America and Europe still remain green pastures for the professional migrants. By the very nature, the complex dynamics of migration can never be fully measured, understood and regulated in the current global milieu. India's ambivalent stand on migration and refugees is a response to the contradicting position of the International Refugee Convention on non-refoulement and burden sharing.

Indian legal system has no uniform law to deal with its refugee population. India is a refugee prone region and needs to review its ambivalent refugee law policy in line with its tradition. A future asylum law should set out a right against statelessness and procedural provisions for acquiring citizenship within clear timeframes. It needs to clearly mention about inclusion, exclusion, and cessation criteria for refugee status; the principle of non-refoulement; procedures to apply for asylum; and create institutions to determine asylum claims, etc.

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10.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress Exercise 1

Refugees flee from country of origin due to generalised violence, foreign aggression, internal conflicts, and massive human rights violations. In contrast, migrants are a far broader category of people who leave their places of habitual residence to live elsewhere on various reasons. Diaspora refers to expatriate communities who maintain links with their homelands.

Check Your Progress Exercise 2

The wage differences-the welfare of migrants' families-reduce unemployment and underemployment-reduction of poverty-social development-Remittances-transfer of skills, knowledge and technology-risk takers-labour supply-adverse labour market effects on wages and employment of domestic workers-ease pressures on pensions systems-clash of civilizations-Islamophobia-continuation of civil conflict-Friction between refugees and local communities- limited data on migration flows.

Check Your Progress Exercise 3

Migrations corridors-geographic proximity-Africans moving to GCC States-intraregional migration in Europe-Schengen Area- Brexit-Mexicans in the United States-Colombia is the largest origin of refugees -Venezuela intraregional migrants from Colombia and Ecuador-the US has the largest foreign-born population in Northern America-China and India have now overtaken Mexico in terms of recent immigrant arrivals to the US-migrants in Oceania are living in either Australia or New Zealand-In Asia-India and China have the largest absolute numbers of migrants living abroad-in Far East Japan negative population growth-the Republic of Korea the lowest birth rate and the fastest-ageing population-labor migration to GCC countries -Internal migration within Southern Asia- intraregional migration corridor in Southeast Asia-Central Asians to the Russian Federation.

Check Your Progress Exercise 4

UDHR (1948), Convention of Refugees (1951) and its 1967 Protocol, ICCPR (1966), ICESCR (1966); ILO (1949& 1975), OAU, OAS, COE, The Bangkok

Principles(1966); UN DESA,OECD, The World Bank, UNHCR, IDMC, UNODC, IOM.

Check Your Progress Exercise 5

1) The Foreigners Act, 1864-the Foreigners Act, 1940-the Foreigners Act, 1946-Registration of Foreigners Act 1939-Passport (Entry into India) Act, 1920-Passport Act, 1967, Extradition Act, 1962-the Protection of Human Rights Act, 1993.

2) Eurocentrism- refugee solely as an individual rather than as a constituent of a group or community- fails to deal with mixed migration-lack of 'burden sharing' provisions.

UNIT 11   HUMAN SECURITY*

Structure

11.0   OBJECTIVES

In this Unit, you will be reading about human security. After going through this Unit, you would be able to understand:

- The concept of human security;

- Difference between human security and traditional security; and

- Interdependent nature of human rights, human development and human security

11.1   INTRODUCTION

Conflicts are an inherent part of human nature. Conflicts can be settled by adhering to peace at any cost. Peace cannot be achieved unless use of violence is shunned to settle conflicts and non-violence is observed. The term non-violence should be understood not as an absence of physical injury but as an active force of love towards one and all - including human beings, animals and plants. While conflicts destroy the harmonious fabric of human society, peace brings them together. Conflict divides people, peace unites them. If human beings are to live a peaceful and harmonious life, the first requisite is the absence of conflict that leads to a secure and peaceful life. Violence perpetuates disharmony, peace brings tolerance, love and amity. In today's parlance, human security is what defines a peaceful life – an environment devoid of conflict, stress and negativity. Human Security is an emerging pattern for understanding worldwide susceptibilities wherein the notion of traditional security is challenged and given as an alternative concept of human security; it is considered as a primary condition for ensuring national, regional and global security.

The concept of human security and its evolution is a consequence of developments of a post-Cold War, multi-disciplinary understanding of security involving a

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number of research areas, including development studies, international relations, strategic studies and human rights. The report of the United Nations Development Programme (1994) *Human Development Report* is considered as one of the thought-provoking publication in the field of human security. The Report emphasized two important concepts – freedom from want and freedom from fear for all. These two concepts are like two pillars that elevate the sacredness of the concept of human security.

11.2 DEFINING HUMAN SECURITY: UNDP DEFINITION

Dr. Mahbub Ul Haq was the first to draw global attention to the concept of human security in the United Nations Development Programme's 1994 *Human Development Report*. It was discussed in the UN's 1995 World Summit on Social Development in Copenhagen (Denmark). The UNDP's 1994 Human Development Report's definition of human security says that the scope of global security should be expanded to include threats in seven areas as of importance.

Political Security: Political security is concerned with the fact whether people live in a society that honours their basic human rights. As per the report by Amnesty International, some of the violations include political repression, systematic torture, ill treatment, disappearance in most of the countries. Human rights violations are often the consequence of political unrest. In many cases, the state itself has been identified as the violator of human rights by repressing individuals and groups; the state is also found to exercise control over free flow of ideas and information.

Economic Security: Economic security means an assurance of basic income for an individual who, by productive work or labour or in whatever profession or work one may get into, earns a livelihood. It is important to note that only about a quarter of the world's people or a minuscule percentage of people are presently economically secure. Most of the developing countries are struggling with provision of employment to their citizens. It is also not confined to developing countries but also in developed countries as well. Also, most of the governments try to come to power by assuring its people the benefits of employment. Often, unemployment problems had led to clashes among people of different states/provinces and have even led to massive violence and untoward incidents.

Health Security: Health Security is one of the most vital components of any policy as forwarded by governments. It aims to assure protection from diseases and unhealthy lifestyles. In developing countries, the major causes of death are infectious and parasitic diseases, which kill millions of people annually. In developed countries too, health care has become an important aspect of public life and many of these nations are even facing a shortage of medical staff. According to the United Nations, in both developing and developed countries, threats to health security are usually greater for poor people in rural areas, and particularly among women and children. Absence of healthy diet, malnutrition and insufficient supply of medicine, clean water and food aggravate the situation.

Food Security: Food security requires that all people at all times have both physical and economic access to basic food. As per the report of the United Nations, it is not the overall availability of food that poses a challenge but an improper and

poor distribution of food and a lack of purchasing power to some extent. While importing of food items remained a constant feature in the past among many countries, ever since food security as a basic right has gained prominence, it is being addresses at both national and international levels. Food security is also closely related to economic security wherein the purchasing power often determines the quality of the food taken.

Environmental Security: it is relatively a new addition to the rights as assured by the national and international organizations and governments. It aims to protect people from both the short and long-term ravages of nature, man-made disasters, and deterioration and depletion of the natural environment and resources. Some of the major concerns of both the national and international organizations related to environmental security are air and water pollution, lack of clean water, and access to safe environmental standards. In industrial countries, one of the major threats is air pollution. Global warming and climate change, caused by the emission of greenhouse gases, is another environmental security issue.

Individual and Community Security: Individual security aims to protect people from physical violence, be it from the state or any other external state/forces, from violent individuals, groups, state and sub-state actors; protection includes safety from domestic abuse, or from predatory adults. It also aims to protect people from small to heinous crimes and violent activities. Community security aims to protect people from the loss of general relationships, ideals and from social, sectarian, religious and ethnic violence. Communities that are smaller in number, minorities, ethnic groups, etc., are particularly vulnerable to violence and its effects. About half of the world's states have come across one or other forms of inter-ethnic strife.

Most of the UNDP's seven categories of threats would receive adequate global attention and resources due to constant monitoring and policy formulations. This has led to an important development in the sense that two significant concepts emerged out of these initiatives for human security. One, is the *"Freedom from Fear"'* and the other '*"Freedom from Want"'*. The UNDP 1994 report has reiterated that human security requires attention to both *freedom from fear* and *freedom from want.* In course of time, there have been variations in this because questions have been raised as to what kind of threats people face, the part of the world they come from and the state's initiatives to ensure security for them. Further, the mechanisms for responding to these threats have varied widely and these have also been contemplated thoroughly by the authorities concerned.

(i)Freedom from Fear: This school seeks to limit the practice of Human Security in protecting individuals from violent conflicts while recognising that these violent threats are strongly associated with poverty, lack of state capacity and other forms of inequities. This approach argues that limiting the focus to violence is a realistic and manageable approach towards Human Security. Emergency assistance, conflict prevention and resolution, peace-building are the main concerns of this approach.

(ii)Freedom from Want: This school advocates a holistic approach in achieving human security and argues that the threat agenda should be broadened to include hunger, disease and natural disasters because they are inseparable concepts in addressing the root of human insecurity and they kill far more people than war, genocide and terrorism combined. Different from "Freedom from Fear", it expands the focus beyond violence with emphasis on development and security goals.

11.2.1 Security as a State/National Concept

In original, the concept of security to individual or groups in a state was based on the concept of territorial sovereignty. The moment, there was violation in this, it was considered as a breach of security and the traditional methods of protection for people through arms was taken up. Human security, therefore, was secured by ensuring state/national security. This would hold the sovereignty of the nation as a supreme characteristic of state protection. This means protection of people living within territorial boundaries and also the protection of boundaries of the state from external aggression. Territorial integrity therefore was the prime concern. The more secure, one's boundaries are from external threats, the more secure a nation is. The responsibility of protection of national security/state security or people security was that of the government's in general. It is supposed to invest finances and human resources to secure the state. When sovereignty is guaranteed and enforced, the state security including sovereignty is automatically ensured.

11.2.2 Shift to 'People-centered' Concept

The concern for human security rose from the consequent losses of people and nations in the frequent wars that shook the world in the early 20th century. International organizations that subsequently came up brought this concern forward and reiterated their commitment to secure people and nations henceforth. "The Second World War and subsequent deliberations in various UN-based conferences brought out the limitations of state or national sovereignty-based security and the need for protecting people's lives". This concept turned the focus on rights and security of people. This led the United Nations General Assembly to adopt the 'Universal Declaration on Human Rights' that called for safeguarding the rights of the people and protecting them in various ways to ensure a good life for the people. This Declaration was adopted on 10th December, 1948 and categorically states at the end of its Preamble that the United Nations General Assembly:

> Proclaims THIS UNIVERSAL DECLERATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the people's of territories under their jurisdiction.

Further, The Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action adopted on 25th June 1993 states clearly that (Part 1, Para 1) (Human Rights, 1994, p.194):

> The World Conference on Human Rights reaffirms the solemn commitment of all states to fulfill their obligations to promote universal respect for, and observance and protection of, all human rights and fundamental freedoms for all in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, other instruments relating to human rights, and international law. The universal nature of these rights and freedoms is beyond question.

In this framework, enhancement of international cooperation in the field of human rights is essential for the full achievement of the purposes of the United Nations.

Human rights and fundamental freedoms are the birthright of all human beings; their protection and promotion is the first responsibility of the governments.

It goes to the credit of then president of the United States of America, Franklin D. Roosevelt, who in his address to the Nation in 1941 outlined four essential freedoms stating that "we look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms.

'The first is freedom of speech and expression – everywhere in the world.

The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way – everywhere in the world.

The third is freedom from want – which, translated into world terms, means economic understandings that will secure to every nation a healthy peace-time life for its inhabitants – everywhere in the world.

The fourth is freedom from fear, which translated in into world terms means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such thorough fashion that no nation would be able to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbour – anywhere in the world." (p.41, Human Rights, 1994).

President Roosevelt wanted these to be achieved not in a distant millennium. This vision "is a definite basis for a world attainable in our own time and generation." (p.41, Human Rights,1994).

This clearly demonstrates that the end of the world wars led to a significant development and concern for human rights and security. To this day, this security is often discussed as the most valuable contribution of mankind towards each other for a safer and better world.

Check Your Progress Exercise 1

Note: i)   Use the space given below for your answer.

ii)   See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.

4)   Explain the concept of human security as described in the 1994 *Human Development Report.*

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11.3 HUMAN SECURITY, HUMAN RIGHTS AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

In the sphere of Human Rights, a well-known subject since the formation of the international organizations, the discussion mostly on how the rights of the human beings should be ensured by the state irrespective of class or any other difference. While the concept of a good life also has been included in the sphere of human rights, the policies by the governments around the world centred on how each and every aspect of human life has to be protected and safeguarded. Out of this emerged the concepts of human development and more recently, the concept of human security. The national governments, international organizations and also the world economic organizations are also taking active part in prescribing a safe and fulfilled life for one and all throughout the world. Development does not mean only economic development. It includes social, political, cultural and environmental aspects of human life as well. The inclusion of the non-economic aspects has gained more attention of the world and therefore the concepts of human rights, human development and human security have become much integrated concepts. This, in a way, ensures a balanced development in society and also ensures the inclusion of all while formulating policies for the welfare of the people.

The international financial institutions are also actively involved in promoting this initiative as it secures a better life for people. In fact, some of the terms and conditions while disbursing loans are centred on human rights and the standards of living a nation is trying to provide for its citizens. More and more issues are closely intertwined with these concepts like rehabilitation of affected people in the natural and man-made disasters, non-exploitation of labour, prohibition of child labour and safety standards ensured for the employees and so on. The focus is mainly on seeking the assistance of developmental agencies in planning and influencing an additional holistic development that guarantees human security. The aim is to protect the vulnerable segments of the society and promote human security. The development and security initiatives are to be reflected in the policies as initiated by the agencies and governments concerned.

11.3.1 Modern Concept of Human Security

Security, traditionally, meant the absence of threat from external aggression and protection of territorial boundaries of a nation. Security was something that eluded the world till the wars lasted. An initiative at the international level was taken to give fillip to the concept of security worldwide. But the beginning of the Cold War that lasted till the 1990s changed the concept of security. There was an element of insecurity in the world with different nations aligning with the US and erstwhile USSR. While the Cold War ended in 1990s, it gave rise to new issues and concerns around the world. The world was free from bloc politics but what really bothered the nations was development that was relegated to the background during the previous years.

An initiative was taken by nations that intended to focus more on human development and human rights as the harbingers of security. Thus the emergence of Human Security as an important element of human life came into prominence. The traditional concept of security did not encompass all the aspects of human life. Nowhere was the social or cultural aspect taken into consideration while

formulating policies. Therefore, in order to include all – the poor, the needy, the marginalized, the disabled and so on – the concept of human right and development expanded to new proportions. It was comprehended that the human rights approach should be reinforced with welfare measures and security of the people should be realized through this. The need of the hour was people-centred security that was absolutely essential for national, regional and global stability. Therefore the concept included many disciplines that are directly concerned with each other and intermingled with astuteness. These included a fusion of concepts of human security encompassing development studies, strategic studies, human rights, economics and international relations. The UNDP's 1994 *Human Development Report* (HDR 1994) was a landmark that brought forth the need for human security to fight global insecurities that troubled people all over the world for a long time.

The HDR 1994 has brought out few significant points which are summarized as below:

i)   It mentioned the idea of sustainable human development wherein people feel protected at all times.

ii) It categorically mentioned that the conflicts which are likely to emerge in future should be confined to the disputing parties and not to be spilled into others.

iii) It should address the main concerns of the parties which may even include deep socio-economic disparities and deprivation.

iv) Security should mean development and not armed action that could be avoided at all costs.

v)   Security should mean safeguards in areas such as income security, health security, natural environment security and security from petty and serious crimes and so on.

Sabina Alkire, a noted expert on economic and development studies, describes the objective of human security as important to "safeguard the vital core of all human lives from critical pervasive threats, in a way consistent with long-term human fulfillment." Her work deserves to be cited in full in this context as she explains the concept of human security with a detailed emphasis. Human security maintains: (i) the joint focus on both poverty and violence; (ii) its 'people-centered' nature; (iii) multi-dimensionality; (iv) cultural and pervasive threats to the vital core of peoples' lives; and (v) the objective of human security be specified and translated into operational policies and projects by principled procedures.

Below is further elaboration of the concept of human security:

1)   Human security aims to safeguarding human lives from the threat of violent conflicts, diseases and so forth through appropriate institutions and thus institutionalizes protection. The focus is more on human beings than on threat. Human security seeks to envelop some aspects of human life like building capabilities among people to satisfy their basic needs.

2)   Human security is 'people-centered' and the development initiatives associated with human welfare. It means human security should be provided irrespective of age, religion, gender, nationality etc.

3) Human security focuses on human lives and their protection from simple to critical threats. Simple threats that include basic insecurity that troubles people on a daily basis or critical threats that affect basic functions of human life.

4) Human security aims at human fulfilment through governance, participation, capacity building and so forth for both short and long terms.

5) Human security is a global concept and encompasses regions and countries across the globe. It is not just the individuals but also communities should live in collective peace and security and contribute immensely towards the same.

Check Your Progress Exercise 2

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.

1) Briefly describe the relationship between human security, human rights and human development.

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11.4 VARIED DIMENSIONS OF HUMAN SECURITY

So far, we have studied about the concept and emergence of human security. It stands for one of the best ways to achieve a contented life for human beings from all angles. Some of its varied dimensions are given as under:

1) Human security is a collective issue. It is not restricted to few dimensions of security for example, territorial security. It is much beyond the territorial issues and seeks a quality life of individuals all over the world. It is concerned with economic aspects as much as cultural areas.

2) It has an interlinking dimension of the issues. For example, economic insecurity can lead to crimes related to it; malnutrition can lead to long-term and disastrous health effects on individuals. Therefore, its integral approach can never be ignored.

3) Human security is a people-centered concept. The very aim of this concept is to increase awareness and also work towards a safe and secure life of individuals as well as communities as a whole.

4) Human security is one such concept wherein the issues of concern can be identified and solved at an early stage. For example, identifying disturbed/ affected areas and working from an early stage so as to prevent further damage is an important task.

5) Human security is an all encompassing concept. It concerns nations-developed and developing; people-rich and poor; issues-from sustaining culture to tackling crimes. Intervention can be one of the effective methods to ensuring a secure life.

11.5 HUMAN SECURITY AND TRADITIONAL SECURITY

Human security and traditional security are often compared to understand the main objectives and aims.

1) Traditional security deals with the security of national territory and its people. Human security deals with people's security both individual and collective in other spheres different from territorial security.

2) Traditional security focus is on the territorial integration and safeguarding of physical boundaries of a state. Nevertheless, both are interdependent concepts. Only when there is no physical threat of aggression, does a state can concentrate on achieving human security goals for its citizens.

3) Human security has more to do with economic, social and environmental, food and other related issues. Traditional security aims to uphold national sovereignty; human security and its objectives centre on individual's/ community's development for a better life.

4) Traditional security is state-oriented subject. Human security is people-oriented arena.

5) The threats dealt by traditional security include external aggression and protection of people from enemies. Human security deals with threats like environmental degradation, pollution, diseases, crimes etc.

6) Traditional security and related aspects are solely in the purview of the state. Only the government makes for a decisive role. Human security and the related issues are dealt by individuals, communities, non-governmental, local and international communities and organizations.

7) The aim of both traditional and human security is same- protection of people from all kinds of insecurities. Both are interdependent concepts and argue for a strong system wherein people's welfare stands as the ultimate aim.

Check Your Progress Exercise 3

Note: i)   Use the space given below for your answer.

ii)   See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.

1) Describe the difference between human security and traditional security.

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11.6 LET US SUM UP

The concept of human security and its evolution is a consequence of developments of a post-Cold War, multi-disciplinary understanding of security involving a number of research areas, including development studies, international relations, strategic studies and human rights. The report of the United Nations Development Programme (1994) Human Development Report is considered as one of the thought-provoking publication in the field of human security. The Report emphasized two important concepts- freedom from want and freedom from fear for all. These two concepts are like two pillars that elevate the sacredness of the concept of human security. Most of the UNDP's seven categories of threats would receive adequate global attention and resources due to constant monitoring and policy formulations. This has led to an important development in the sense that two significant concepts emerged out of these initiatives for human security. One, is the *"Freedom from Fear"'* and the other '*"Freedom from Want"'*. The UNDP 1994 report has reiterated that human security requires attention to both *freedom from fear* and *freedom from want.* In course of time, there have been variations in this because questions have been risen as to what kind of threats people face, the part of the world they come from and the state's initiatives to ensure security for them. Further, the mechanisms for responding to these threats have varied widely and these have also been contemplated thoroughly by the authorities concerned. The concern for human security rose from the consequent losses of people and nations in the frequent wars that shook the world in the early 20th century. International organizations that subsequently came up brought this concern forward and reiterated their commitment to secure people and nation's security and safety.

11.7 SOME USEFUL REFRENCES

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10.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress Exercise 1

1) Your answer should include following.

    - Human security as defined in the UNDP Report of 1994

Check Your Progress Exercise 2

1) Your answer should include following.

   - the linkage between human security, human rights and human development.

Check Your Progress Exercise 3

1) Your answer should include following.

   - Human security as against the idea of traditional state security