South Asia Human Security Series

Human Security in India

Discourse, Practices and Policy Implications

Mahendra P Lama

The present volume examines the case for broadening the scope of security by breaking the rigidity brought about by traditional forms of dominant state-centric and military based security concepts and their determining matrices.

The main thrust of this study is on three very critical areas, viz., (i) environmental security, (ii) food security and (iii) energy security. It deals with how gains from effective management of human security parameters get translated into enhanced security both at the macro and micro levels.

In doing so, the study endeavours to unfurl a new framework of concerns, complexities and constituents of human and national security linkages. This enhances the possibility of arriving at a collective and comprehensive notion of security on a national and sub-national basis, away from state-centric and threat perception-dominated determinants of security.

This book should help experts and scholars of security issues understand new dimensions of national security and should this happen the book will have made a major contribution in the study of security issues.

(see next flap)

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ISBN 978 984 8815 28 1

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Bangladesh Institute of
International and Strategic Studies

The University Press Limited

The University Press Limited
Red Crescent House
61 Motijheel C/A
P. O. Box 2611
Dhaka 1000
Bangladesh
Fax : (88 02) 9565443
E-mail: upl@bangla.net, upl@btcl.net.bd
Website: www.uplbooks.com

First published 2010

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This book is an output of the BIISS Regional Collaborative Research Project on *Human Security in South Asia: Discourse, Practice and Policy Proposition*, 2003-2006 conducted with assistance from the Ford Foundation, New Delhi.

Cover design by Ashraful Hassan Arif

ISBN 978 984 8815 28 1

Published by Mohiuddin Ahmed, The University Press Limited, Dhaka. Computer design by Ashim K. Biswas and produced by Abarton, 99 Malibagh, Dhaka. Printed at the Akota Offset Press, 119 Fakirapool, Dhaka, Bangladesh.

South Asia Human Security Series

South Asia Human Security Series is the product of a three-year regional collaborative research project titled, *Human Security in South Asia: Discourse, Practice and Policy Proposition* conducted by BIISS under the aegis of the Ford Foundation, New Delhi, 2003-06. The aim of the project has been to provide an understanding of the prevailing discourses and practices on human security in South Asia as well as to generate inputs for policy making at regional and national levels. Five individual country papers on Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka and five thematic areas: (a) Constructing a Human Security Index for South Asia; (b) Violence, Terrorism and Human Security; (c) Ethnicity and Human Security; (d) Gender and Human Security; (e) Marginalisation and Human Security – were covered. The outcome is the present series.

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Abbreviations

AASU	All Assam Students Union
AFRA	Armed Forces (Special Powers) Regulation Act
AHREP	Andhikhola Hydel and Rural Electrification Project
AITUC	All India Trade Union Congress
ANERT	Agency for Non-Conventional Energy and Rural Technology
APMC	Agricultural Produce Marketing Committee (Regulation) Act
ASEAN	Association for South East Asian Nations
BAU	Business as Usual
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BCM	Billion Cubic Metres
BCS	Best Case Scenario
BEE	Bureau of Energy Efficiency
BIMSTEC	Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation
BJP	Bharatiya Janata Party
Bkwh	Billion kw hour
BLA	Baluchistan Liberation Army
BRO	Border Road Organisation
CBM	Coal Bed Methane
CBMs	Confidence Building Measures
CDM	Clean Development Mechanism
CEA	Central Electricity Authority
CEE	Centre for Environmental Education
CGWB	Central Ground Water Board
CHT	Chittagong Hill Tracts
CIL	Coal India Limited
CITU	Centre for Indian Trade Union
CNG	Compressed Natural Gas
CPCB	Central Pollution Control Board
CPI(M)	Communist Party of India (Marxist)

CPR	Centre for Policy Research
CPRs	Common Pool Resources
CSE	Centre for Science and Environment
CSIR	Council for Scientific and Industrial Research
DAE	Department of Atomic Energy
DPAP	Drought Prone Areas Programme
DPC	Dabhol Power Company
EIA	Environmental Impact Assessment
EPS	Electric Power Survey
ESCO	Energy Service Company
FBR	Fast Breeder Reactor
FCI	Food Corporation of India
GAIL	Gas Authority of India Limited
GAP	Ganga Action Plan
GCC	Gulf Cooperation Council
GDI	Gender-related Development Index
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GHG	Greenhouse Gases
GLOF	Glacial Lake Outburst Floods
GoM	Group of Ministers
HDI	Human Development Index
HRMS	Hill Resource Management Society
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Association
ICOR	Incremental Capital Output Ratio
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
IEA	International Energy Association
IHI	Index of Human Insecurity
IIPA	Indian Institute of Public Administration
INTUC	Indian National Trade Union Congress.
IOC	Indian Oil Corporation
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
IPP	Independent Power Producer
ITDG	Intermediate Technology Development Group
IWT	Indus Water Treaty
JRY	Jawahar Rojgar Yojana

Kgoe	Kg of oil equivalent
LNG	Liquefied Natural Gas
Lpcd	Litres of water per capita per day
MAF	Million Acre Feet
Mcm	Million cubic meters
MIDR	Mining-Induced Displacement
MIS	Market Intervention Scheme
MISA	Maintenance of Internal Security Act
MLD	Million Litres per Day
Mmscmd	Million metric standard cubic meters per day
MNC	Multi-National Company
MoEF	Ministry of Environment and Forests
MSP	Minimum Support Price
Mt	Million tonnes
NALCO	National Aluminium Company Limited
NAPCC	National Action Plan on Climate Change
NBA	Narmada Bachao Andolan
NCRB	National Crime Records Bureau
NDC	National Development Council
NELP	New Exploration Licensing Policy
NFFWP	National Food for Work Programme
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NHRC	National Human Rights Commission
NNMB	National Nutrition Monitoring Bureau
NNWS	Non-Nuclear Weapons State
NOCs	National Oil Companies
NPCIL	Nuclear Power Corporation of India Limited
NPK	Nitrogen, Phosphorus and Potassium
NPO	Non-Profit Organisation
NRCP	National River Conservation Plan
NREGA	National Rural Employment Guarantee Act
NSA	National Security Act
NSCN	National Socialist Council of Nagaland
NSDP	Net State Domestic Product
NSG	Nuclear Suppliers' Group

NSS	National Statistical Survey
NSSO	National Sample Survey Organisation
NTPC	National Thermal Power Corporation
NWDPRA	National Watershed Development Project for Rainfed Areas
NWFP	North West Frontier Province
O&M	Operation and Maintenance
O&OEG	Oil and Oil Equivalent of Gas
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
OPEC	Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries
ORG	Operations Research Group
OVL	Oil and Natural Gas Commission Videsh Limited of India
PAF	Project Affected Families
PDS	Public Distribution System
PHWR	Pressurized Heavy Water Reactor
PIL	Public Interest Litigation
PLF	Plant Load Factor
PLL	Petronet LNG Limited
POTA	Prevention of Terrorism Act
PPM	Parts Per Million
PSC	Production Sharing Contracts
PSR	Petroleum Strategic Reserve
PUCL	People's Union for Civil Liberties
PUDR	People's Union for Democratic Rights
PWG	Peoples War Group
RPTC	Regional Power Trading Corporation
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAGQ	South Asia Growth Quadrangle
SAPP	Southern African Power Pool
SEB	State Electricity Board
SEZ	Special Economic Zone
SGRY	Sampoorna Grameen Rojgar Yojana
SHP	Small Hydel Power
SPV	Solar Photovoltaic
SSP	Sardar Sarovar Project

TADA	Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act
TANWA	Tamil Nadu Women in Agriculture
Tcf	Trillion cubic feet
TERI	The Energy and Resource Institute
TIFAC	Technology Information, Forecasting and Assessment Council
TPDS	Targeted Public Distribution System
TRIPS	Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights
ULFA	United Liberation Front of Assam
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNMOVIC	UN Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission
VAL	Vedanta Alimina Ltd
WCED	World Commission on Environment and Development
WMD	Weapons of Mass Destruction
WTO	World Trade Organisation

Notes:

10 Lakh = 1 million

100 lakh = 1 crore

1 crore = 10 million

Preface

This volume is part of a larger "BIISS-Ford Foundation Collaborative Research Project" on *Human Security in South Asia: Discourse, Practice and Policy Proposition.* This volume starts with a fundamental question as to what makes people feel insecure. Ingrained in this question are the complexities of sources of insecurity among human population in various situations and locations. This question also confronts orthodox account of security on its inadequacy in understanding and assessing actual nature and scale of threats to human security. Precisely on this ground, central premises of orthodox account and constituents of security have been constantly challenged and alternative discourses and conceptual underpinnings are gradually emerging. Orthodox security analysis neglects wider meaning of security as it assumes international system to be fundamentally anarchic and considers international politics and domestic system mutually exclusive. Under these premises, threats are targeted directly to sovereignty of the state as represented in territorial integrity, thereby making state as a primary referent object. Here, the state-society relationship is separated from the international relations. Domestic realm becomes exclusive.

Another way to look at it is to ask a question as to what makes people feel secure. The intrinsic feeling of security both at the individual and community levels emanate from meeting of things that people cherish most including food for the family, shelter, good health, protection from violence both inflicted by men and nature, non-oppressive states and freedom from pervasive threats to people's rights and safety of lives. This feeling of security in a way determines the state of human and national security. The core element in this framework of human security leading to national security is that the human beings are considered as the primary referents.

How Relevant are these Emerging Concepts to India?

India has been a theatre of major security concerns. However, much importance has been consciously placed on the traditional military

based security issues despite the fact that the concerns and vulnerabilities are both at federal and local levels and the security threats increasingly and overwhelmingly relate to non-traditional paradigms. In fact, at the heart of 'national' security concerns is the deplorably poor state of human security directly related non-military threats like livelihood, human rights violations, conflicts and natural disasters and even the market led disparities. However, in India also the state has been a referent object of security and threats are only variants of orthodox-external dimensions. There is a huge distance between internal security (largely impinging upon human security) and national security (mostly triggered by external forces). Why this fine distinction between a communal riot-led or Maoist violence-led "internal security" threat and Kargil intrusion-led "national security threat"? The former is a non-traditional and the latter a traditional security threat. Both have strong human security components. What stops us from recognizing the former also as a national security threat? What is the distance between 'internal' and 'national' here? Where is the meeting point? In the answer to this question lies a solution to these complex issues of the orthodox (military) *versus* non-orthodox (human) paradoxes of security.

There are serious constraints in India in changing contours of security and bringing in human security discourse upfront juxtaposing with the orthodox account. There have been attempts by scholars and institutions across the country to do this. However, conceptual acceptance and empirical applicability is yet to make any dent. There is strong state led institutional resistance. Task ahead is both challenging and novel. This is despite the fact that security has assumed wider connotations going beyond borders. Seventeen provincial states of India (out of 28) have international land borders and their interactions across the border are fast becoming critical and complex far beyond the orthodox military perspectives. In some sense, security dimensions are becoming more local than national.

Given the above contexts, basic objective of this study is to examine the possibility of broadening the scope of security dynamics by breaking the rigidity injected by the traditional forms of dominant state-centric security concepts and its determining matrices. This is being done mainly by drawing knowledge, experiences and practices of various human security related issues, actions, formal and informal institutions and social and spatial consideration. The effort here is to

relate security to the more positive aspects of human and other wider dimensions of security in India.

It is in fact happening in a subtle but substantive way. Human development approach to development has been discussed widely. A number of research projects on human security related issues are being conducted across the country. A parallel discourse among the hard-core military strategists and strategic writers on the sweepingly changing yet integrated nature of external and internal security threats has been going on. The core issues are now emerging to be food, environmental and energy security which have very strong human and national security contents. This volume endeavours to bring in theoretical, conceptual and some empirical underpinnings upfront both at macro and micro levels and to examine how they fit into the Indian context.

The author gratefully acknowledges the strong institutional and intellectual support extended by Dr. Abdur Rob Khan, former Research Director, Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies (BIISS) and Mr. A.K.M. Abdus Sabur, Research Director, BIISS. This study would not have been possible without the funding support from the Ford Foundation. In fact, I had the great privilege to be associated with other two non-traditional security projects located in South Asia and funded by the Ford Foundation.

The author expresses his deep sense of gratitude to the following scholars, experts and institutions for extending research support, comments and suggestions towards conducting the present of work: Dr. Vimal Khawas, Centre for Political Geography, Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), New Delhi; Dr. Nawal K. Paswan, Assistant Professor, Central Asian Studies Division, JNU; Prof. Meghna Guha Thakurata, Executive Director, Research Initiative Bangladesh; Prof. I.N. Mukherji, JNU; Prof. Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema, Director, Islamabad Policy Research Institute, Pakistan; Major General Mohammad Abdul Matin, former Director General, BIISS; Prof. Muzaffer Ahmad, Prof. Tasneem Siddqui, Prof. C.R. Abrar and Prof. Ataur Rahman, Dhaka University; Prof. Monirul Hussain, Gauhati University; Dr. Ajay Darshan Behera, Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi; Prof. Sikander Mehdi, Karachi University; Mr. Mohammad Humayun Kabir and Dr. Shaheen Afroze of BIISS; Prof, Dhruba Kumar, Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu; Ms. Kiran Habib, Sustainable Development Policy Institute, Islamabad.

I also drew a lot from a series of discussion meetings with Shri I K Gujral, Former Prime Minister of India, Prof Muchkund Dubey, former Foreign Secretary of India, Shri K.K. Bhargava, former Secretary General of SAARC and a number of widely known media persons including Dr. C Rajamohan, then with *Indian Express*, Ms. Lalita Pannikar then with *Times of India* and Ms. Parul Malhotra of CNN-IBN.

I also thankfully acknowledge the support extended by Prof. Yoshiko Ashiwa, Hitotsubashi University and Prof. David Wank, Sophia University in Tokyo. Much of this writing was done during my stint as a Visiting Professor at the Institute for the Study of Global Issues, Graduate School of Social Sciences, Hitotsubashi University, Kunitachi, Tokyo. I express my gratitude to the President of the Hitotsubashi University for all the facilities and support and the Joshui Guest House authority.

I must especially mention the patience, care and suggestions extended by Sabina, Kafal and Totola, the three priceless jewels in our huge family.

January, 2010

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