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## UNIT 15 HUMAN SECURITY IN SOUTH ASIA

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### 15.1 INTRODUCTION

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The end of the Cold War was celebrated among many circles as an end to the conflict determined pattern of global relations which would ensure greater cooperation and peace. People were soon mistaken. While the number of inter-state conflicts certainly came down in the post Cold War years, the externally induced factors, as well as the rising incidence of collapsing internal institutions, witnessed the rise of intra-state conflicts of various types. One is perhaps forced to acknowledge at least partial validity of the prophecy made by John J. Mearsheimer who had argued in 1990 in a different context that we will soon be missing the order of the Cold War years as we leap into “untamed anarchy.” In cases of such internal conflicts, the most alarming fact has been the increasing incidence of state failures in terms of ensuring supply of public goods to their citizens. The most critical failure, in this connection, arguably has been the relative failure of the states in ensuring security for the citizens. As one analyst argues:

“There is a hierarchy of political goods. None is as critical as the supply of security, especially human security. Individuals alone, almost exclusively in special or particular circumstances, can attempt to secure themselves. Or groups of individuals can band together to organize and purchase goods or services that maximise their sense of security. Traditionally, and usually, however, individuals and groups cannot easily or effectively substitute private security for the full spectrum of public security. The state’s prime function is to provide that political good of security-to prevent cross-border invasions, and infiltrations, and any loss of territory; to eliminate domestic threats to or attacks upon the national order and social structure; to prevent crime and any related dangers to domestic human security; and to enable citizens to resolve their disputes with the state and with their fellow inhabitants without recourse to arms or other forms of physical coercion.”

Thus, the classical concept of security centering on the state and its use of force to manage threats to its territorial integrity, autonomy and domestic political order from other powerful states, was criticised by International Relations scholars on three grounds. First, the classical formulation was seen as too unilateralist in its emphasis on *force*, in a world

where interdependence is pushing nations together, there is a need for a more *cooperative* security for the world. Second, the classical formulation erred in restricting the scope of security only to military threats from other states. Besides, rival states may deploy other non-traditional kinds of threat against territorial integrity and domestic political order; these may include environmental, economic and cultural threats; here the threat may be reckoned not only from other states but also from various non-state actors. Such a broadened security aspect is termed as comprehensive security. A third and more fundamental critique of security goes even further to suggest that security cannot be restricted to the well-being of the state only. It is held that what should be central in security aspect is not the state but the protection and welfare of the citizens or human beings, a conception of security that is centered above all on the security of the common people, termed under human security.

### Aims and Objectives

This Unit would enable you to:

- explain the theoretical perspectives of human security
- identify the human security problems of South Asia
- analyse the related problems like terrorism, insurgency, gender and environmental issues.

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## 15.2 GENESIS OF THE CONCEPT OF HUMAN SECURITY

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The most important forerunners of the idea of human security were the reports of a series of multinational, independent commission of prominent leaders, intellectuals and academicians. Beginning in the 1970s, the Club of Rome group produced a series of volume on the “world problematique,” which were premised on a ‘complex of problems troubling men of all nations: poverty, unemployment, inflation and other monetary and economic disruption. In the 1980s, two other independent commissions contributed to the changing thinking on development and security: a) The Independent Commission on International Development issues chaired by Willy-Brandt which issued the “North-South” report; b) The Independent Commission chaired by Olofe Palme, who chaired the famous “common security” report which drew attention to alternative ways of thinking about peace and security. It acknowledged that third world security was additionally threatened by poverty and deprivation, vis-à-vis economic inequality.

In 1991, the ***Stockholm Initiative*** on Global Security and Governance, issued a call for “common responsibilities in the 1990s,” which referred to “challenges to security other than political rivalry and armaments, and wider concepts of security which dealt with threats from failure in development, environmental degradation”. The ***Global Neighborhood*** report of 1994 echoed the Stockholm Initiative words on security: “The concept of global security must be broadened from the traditional focus on the security of states to include the security of people and the security of the planet”. But, the breakthrough came with ***UNDP’s Human Development Report of 1994***. The Report put at the centre of its formulation the notion that development thinking and policies must take as their focus the welfare of individuals rather than macro-economic analysis.

In this report, Mahbub-ul-Haq raised the question of “security for whom” which went to say: human security is not about states and nations, but about individuals and people. He

essayed a brief illustrative litany of threats: drugs, disease, terrorism and poverty. Under the section, “Redefining Security: The Human Dimension,” the UNDP Report cited the founding document of the United Nations and its original delineation of security as “freedom from fear” as also “freedom from want” and “the equal weight to territories and to people.”

“Human security is not a concern with weapons—it is a concern with human life and dignity. It is concerned with how people live and breathe in a society, how freely they exercises their many choices, how much access they have to market and social opportunities—and whether they live in comfort and in peace.”

The Report listed 7 components of human security: a) economic security, b) food security, c) health security d) environmental security, e) personal security, f) community security and political security. It further distinguished between localized/ global and international threats—endorsing changes in national and international policy focused on basic needs, productive and remunerative employment and human rights, preventive diplomacy and the reform of global institutions.

Overlapping the UNDP Report, two other schools of thought contributed their perception on human security: a) The Canadian-led middle powers approach to human security (1997), and b) The Norway organized middle power conference in Lysoen (1999). While the Canadian school cited among others, the income gap between rich and poor countries, religious and ethnic discord, state repression, the widespread use of anti-personnel landmines and an unstable, protectionist international trading system; the 1999 paper refers to the danger posed by civil conflicts, large-scale atrocities and genocide. Both, the UNDP and Canadian School concentrated on the individual as the referent of security. They agreed that post-1991, individual or human security is the central concern of security; traditional national security concerns are secondary; the little places where they differed are shown in the table given below:

	<b>UNDP School</b>	<b>Canadian School</b>
Security for whom	Primarily the individual	Individual + State
Security of what value	Personal safety/well-being and individual freedom	Personal safety/well-being and individual freedom
Security from what threats	Direct and indirect violence; greater emphasis on indirect violence	Direct and indirect violence; greater emphasis on direct violence
Security by what means	Promoting human development; basic needs plus equity, sustainability and participation at all levels of global security	Promoting political development; global norms and institutions, plus collective use of force as well as sanctions if and when necessary.

On issues of direct and indirect threats, human security proponents significantly differ from neo-realist conception. For the realist, the basic threat to security comprises direct organised violence from other states. In the human security conception, threats emanate from direct, indirect and identifiable sources, such as other states and non-state actors of

various kinds, as also from structural sources, that is, from relations of power at various levels—from the family upwards to the global economy.

### **The direct and indirect threats to Human Security**

<b>Direct Violence</b>	<b>Indirect Violence</b>
Violent Death/Disablement	Deprivation
Dehumanisation	Disease
Drugs	Natural & Man-made disasters
International disputes	Underdevelopment
Most Destructive weapons	Population Displacement/Environmental Degradation

### **Thus Human Security is different from National Security in the following manner:**

	<b>National Security</b>	<b>Human Security</b>
Security for whom	The State	The individual
Security from what threats	Direct threats from other states	Direct threats from states and non-state actors, as well as indirect threats
Security by what means	Force as the primary instrument of security to be used unilaterally by a state: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Balance of power</li> <li>- Norms and institutions are of limited value, particularly in the security/military sphere</li> </ul>	Force as the secondary means of security to be used by a state: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Balance of power is of limited utility</li> <li>Soft power is important</li> </ul> Cooperation between states, INGOs and NGOs can be effective and sustained. Norms and institutions matter, democratisation enhances security.

“Tomorrow’s world,” said Peter Chalk, “will be a Grey Area Phenomena (GAP) world—GAP being loosely defined as threats to the stability of sovereign states by non-state actors and non-governmental processes and organizations. While violent GAP threats are associated with activities of non-state actors including international crime syndicates, drug trafficking and terrorist groups, non-violent GAP threats are related to the problems posed by non-governmental processes and influences, including uncontrolled/illegal immigration, famine and transnational spread of diseases like HIV and cholera. GAP issues, whether violent or not, represent a direct threat to the underlying stability, cohesion and fabric of the modern sovereign state. They generally blur the clear dividing line between domestic and international spheres of security. Issues of terrorism and environmental degradation

may emanate from within states; however their effects are truly transnational in nature. “In many cases,” say Chalk, “the impact of one GAP issue will have consequences for another. Hence we see political extremists moving into organized international criminal activity for revenue purposes; global warming encouraging the spread of diseases; and environmental degradation stimulating mass unregulated population flows. There’s nothing new about GAP problems, as threats of terrorism, money laundering and gun running have all existed for many years. What’s new about these threats is the complex geo-strategic environment, the frequency and psyche that has facilitated the growth and occurrence of them”.

In South and Southeast Asia, GAP challenges have become more prominent because:

(1) Many of these challenges thrive in areas that lack strong state structures in terms of both national cohesiveness and established systems of civil and legal justice. The region contains a number of ethno-religious minorities that are experiencing erosion of their traditional authority owing to the process of modernisation that has been imposed on them by the ‘majority’ to consolidate its dominance over the state. The resulting sense of insecurity and alienation has drawn many groups towards radical militancy.

(2) Second, most of the South and Southeast Asian countries exhibit strong resistance towards intrusive and interventionist law enforcement mechanisms. The norm of non-interference in internal affairs, within the 1976 Treaty of Amity and Cooperation, remains extremely strong in the mindset of the member-countries of ASEAN; while the principle of unanimity in the decision-making process of SAARC has virtually kept bilateral problems outside the ambit of the organisation (despite the fact that most of South Asia’s problems today are bilateral rather than multilateral).

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### 15.3 HUMAN SECURITY AND SOUTH ASIA

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The South Asian region, inhabited by more than one-fifth of global population, is afflicted by a number of social, political and economic problems compounded by political mistrust and suspicion. The region is plagued by inter-state conflicts over boundaries. Besides, intra-state conflicts in recent decades have spilled over into neighbour’s territories. There is hardly a single state in South Asia, which has not been affected by trans-border spilling of ethno-nationalist, communal and militant activity. In addition, the region has witnessed a sharp increase in unemployment, poverty, epidemics, drug trafficking and environmental degradation. All these issues pose a far more serious and immediate challenge to the security of the society. People have suffered more from internal conflicts within countries than in wars between countries in the past two decades. A pressing need has been felt to address these problems with immediate effect.

#### **South Asia’s Tryst with Terrorism**

Terrorism in South Asia is part sponsored, part home-grown and part induced by decades of alienation created due to historical and economic reasons. It is no doubt that terror attacks here are more extensive and gory than they are in Southeast Asia. This stems in large part from closer geographical proximity to West Asia, strengthened by the presence of al-Qaeda bases in Afghanistan and Pakistan. It is also a function of long term conflict in Afghanistan and Kashmir. The extremist Taliban regime gave sanctuary to al-Qaeda operatives working in these conflict zones. With the result that remnant al-Qaeda forces have linked up with other extremist groups in South Asia including the Lashkar-

e-Taiba (LeT), Jaish-e-Mohammad, and Lashkar-i-Jhangvi to achieve their ultimate goal of setting up an *ummah*. The array of schools—*madrassas* training professional fanatics has exported these ‘corporate Jihadi’ armageddon to strike at the heart of city centres in South Asia. The unabated flow of illegal weapons in Chittagong’s Cox Bazaar area of Bangladesh, the fact that millions of young Bangladeshis are influenced by fanatics and evidences that the intelligence wings of those states that sponsor terrorism have a stronghold within Dhaka, leaves the possibilities of Bangladesh turning into ‘Next Afghanistan,’ substantially high and the onus on the present government to chalk a ‘balancing’ act to keep the extremist forces as well as the moderate voices quietly under control.

The 26/11 attack on Mumbai is one such instance of a well-exported state-sponsored terrorism across the borders. Vis-à-vis religious terrorism, South Asia is also witness to another kind of insurgency/armed conflict; this arising out of economic deprivation of the periphery and ethnic dissention. It is quite unlike ‘religious terrorism’ that has a distinct objective, a structured terror system that keeps the system going. India’s North-East (presently parts of Eastern India as well), for instance, has over 100 insurgent groups demanding separate statehood from the centre owing to decades of economic deprivation and lack of governance in those areas. In Sri Lanka, the systematic exclusion of the Tamil-speaking minorities by the government for over a decade—following a dual-faced approach of preaching peaceful settlement of disputes between the two communities, while allowing the military to operate in a ham-fisted fashion to crack down on the Tamil minorities, resulted in the birth of the full-blown terrorist organisation—the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elam (LTTE), whose terror tactics and gruesome suicide attacks are emulated by terrorist groups around the world till date.

While dissimilarities overshadow the similarities in the trends of evolutionary terrorism in South and Southeast Asia—the most striking similarities between these two regions are the fact that both have porous borders with lax immigration law and other administrative loopholes (corruption, nepotism); both are mostly democracies with secular forces and both are encircled by weak to medium powers; the most striking dissimilarity between the two regions exist in the presence of a much weaker South Asian organisation- SAARC, vis-à-vis a much happening Southeast Asian one—the ASEAN. While SAARC seems to be enmeshed in too many bilateral disputes—the Indo-Pak dispute looming high on all of them—its principle of unanimity in the decision-making process has deterred the smooth functioning of the organisation substantially, with special emphasis on the human (in)security issues of direct, in-direct and asymmetrical threats.

**Table 2: Regional Similarities and Budding Grounds of Terrorism**

South Asia	Southeast Asia
Weak government, porous border, lax immigration law, corruption, nepotism	Weak government, porous border, lax immigration law, corruption, nepotism
Democracies with secular forces	Democracies with secular forces
Middle to small powers	Middle to small powers

**Author's own interpretation****Table: 3: Regional Dissimilarities as Budding Grounds of Terrorism**

South Asia	Southeast Asia
Exported 'foreign terrorism'– Mostly not home grown	Basically 'home– grown'. The concrete enemies are not in Afghanistan or Iraq, but at home
Religious fanatics– professional terrorism	Economic injustice, ethno-religious factors– Moderate groups prominent.
Geographical proximity to Osama	Geographically distanced from the headquarters

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## 15.4 FIGHTING INSURGENCY: THE INDIAN CONTEXT

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Like terrorism, insurgency against the state has been a familiar problem in the region of South Asia and nearly all nation-states belonging to the region continue to face it. It is, however, generally accepted that within the region, India has been able to tackle the insurgency question in a far more satisfactory manner than the other countries. Insurgency has been a festering problem since the emergence of India as a separate state in 1947. Apart from ethno-religion based separated movements like in the north-eastern parts of India, the Punjab, or in the state of Jammu and Kashmir, India also continues to experience insurgencies based on radical political/ideological based movements like the Naxalite movements. The general principle of the Indian state has been to use force against the groups advocating or practising violent methods in order to realise their objectives. The post-Cold War developments have had their impact in the South Asian region also, making the task of dealing with insurgency, more difficult. Such new trends have been considered important enough for the Indian army, for instance, to come out with its own Manual on Sub conventional warfare in 2006. The Manual brought out by the Indian Army, defines sub conventional warfare as a generic term encompassing all armed conflicts that are above the level of peaceful coexistence amongst states and below the threshold of war. It includes militancy, insurgency, proxy war and terrorism that may be employed as a means in an insurrectionist movement or undertaken independently. Border skirmishes also fall within this category. The Manual defines the counter insurgency operation thus: "It is the use of all measures of Government activity to combat insurgency, including operations by the military, Central Para-Military Forces, economic development, political reforms and perception management aimed at winning 'Hearts and Minds' of people".

The main aim of such operations is conflict resolution through the process of winning the hearts and minds of the people. Naturally, such efforts cannot be achieved through military operations alone but involve greater inter-agency coordination and minimum emphasis on violence. As the Manual itself states:

"The end state sought by a national counter insurgency campaign is always 'conflict resolution', which generally succeeds 'conflict termination'. This entails demilitarisation of

the conflict zone and shaping the environment, wherein the remaining differences can be pursued without violence. The requisite shaping of the environment is affected through a concurrent application of all elements of national power. This involves addressing the root causes of the problem in right earnest...”

The Indian army's counter-insurgency operations, thus, has been argued:

“...(E)mployed both political measures and military force. Though each iteration of these combinations of efforts looks messy and sui generis, there is a common underlying grand strategy. On the other hand, it is difficult to say whether this is a conscious strategy or whether it has evolved out of the deep background of Indian strategic culture. The essence of this strategy is the willingness to compromise with rebellious sub-nationalities on all issues with one exception: secession is taboo. In order to permit such compromises, it was essential that military force be kept carefully limited—though force was used, and frequently. This grand strategy was evident in all the major counter-insurgency campaigns, and it has been effective in avoiding defeat, a major objective in guerrilla wars.”

In another recent work, analyst Rajesh Rajagopalan had spoken about the five basic elements of the Indian army's counterinsurgency doctrine, which, according to him, explains the relatively high success rates of the Indian army to contain insurgency. These are: (1) the limitation on force; (2) isolation of insurgents from the general population; (3) achieving domination over the affected area; (4) maintenance of large forces in combat zones; and, (5) firm belief that there is no permanent military solution. In contrast, one could point to the dismal ongoing counter-insurgency operations currently being conducted in the insurgency hit areas of Pakistan, by the Pakistan army. According to one assessment, for instance:

With a dismal track record in counterinsurgency and a traditional outlook focused solely on fighting a conventional war against India, the Pakistani army seems to have adopted an ad hoc strategy. The self-proclaimed invincibility of the armed forces initially prompted it to use a firepower-intensive approach, demonstrated by the frequent use of weapons like helicopter gunships and artillery. The use of brute force instead of low-intensity strikes is a classic flaw in counterinsurgency campaigns: its military effectiveness is suspect, and it invariably embitters the local population. But when these heavy-handed operations fail—as they are bound to—the army has been clueless about alternatives and pulls back completely in favour of political and economic “peace agreements” with insurgents.

Overt use of heavy force has also been a major tactic employed by the Sri Lanka army against the LTTE, which significantly has not been very useful in solving the problem. Nor has the Royal Nepalese Army been very successful in militarily defeating the Maoists in Nepal.

It is evident that low-key, continuous involvement and engagement of state security forces particularly the army and the paramilitary forces in such internal conflict zones can project the image of the state security forces as an ‘occupatory force,’ a tag that any national army would like to avoid. Several members of Indian army brass have, in this connection, time and again, warned against the dangerous implications involved in the continuous presence of the army in internal conflict situations. The tendency on the part of the ruling elite in the nation-states in South Asia, has, however, been to project insurgency primarily as a law and order problem. Attempts to seek a solution, only through the application of force, often leads to an overt securitisation of the problem.

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## 15.5 HUMAN TRAFFICKING, GENDER AND ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES

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Vis-à-vis insurgency, terrorism, South Asia is also fast emerging as an area with lukewarm gender sensitivity which finds expression in female infanticide, female malnutrition, denial of basic healthcare and education to the girl child and increasing rate of violence against women. A recent study on education and girl child in South Asia, gives a very detailed picture of the kind deprivation and victimisation they face. The factors that are responsible are not only of social or religious character but are also found in extreme economic conditions of abject poverty and political situations like wars and conflicts. Human trafficking and flesh trade in South Asia are almost beyond control and are related to a wide array of factors starting from mainly - social traditional role demarcation to situations related to the problems of Internally Displaced Persons (IDP), refugees and migrants. Often forced prostitution is accompanied by kidnapping and violence. However, violence against women is an act occurring at random. A presentation on the various aspects of such violence relates to a plethora of acts ranging from child infanticide to forced prostitution, marital rapes, honour killings, declining state of women's health, particularly, vulnerability to the dreaded HIV and denial of medical attention.

It is needless to say that there is a non-dissociable relation between population explosion, health hazards and a host of other problems. A large section of the South Asian population comprises of children and women who are victims of various health problems. It is reflective of the failure of the governments to achieve the much required population control. However, what is of serious concern to the South Asian countries are the rising threats of epidemic health hazards ranging from post-natural disaster epidemics to tuberculosis and HIV/AIDS. A World Bank Report adequately analyses the fallout of health problems, particularly epidemic attacks that are certainly applicable to South Asia, "In many developing countries, injuries, HIV/AIDS, and TB could shave several points off the GDP growth rate by winnowing the number of prime age adults. Together with increased outlays on those suffering from chronic psychiatric ailments, these diseases could also substantially raise expenditures on health care." The states are further challenged by the inability to control the movement of infected persons across the region as IDPs and illegal migrants.

The success of a democratic welfare polity depends much on the responsible role of the society and the government as well. Education, which is an indispensable ingredient in the making of a conscious and capable society, is able to contribute to the positive functioning of the kind of socio-political system that we see in South Asia. Unfortunately, the region features a rather sad record of successful literacy. It is interesting to learn that the children who have been enrolled in some kind of school are above 80 percent for most of South Asia. However, it is disheartening to learn that the fraction of children who are able to continue up to fifth grade (completing primary education) is rather low. In fact, in India, the percentage of children that continue with their education is less than 60 percent. Pakistan is known as a nation of dropouts and the literacy rate is less than 50 percent. Other nations are not doing much better. Poor and inadequate education leads to further social complications like stagnation in economic performance, unemployment, social disharmony, rise in socio-economic crimes and the overall failure of a democratic system to achieve stability and progress. Moreover, young generations without proper education fall prey to cheap unskilled labour making the issue of child and forced labour a serious issue all over South Asia. Around the turn of the century a report by the World Bank

Group sees that even after a conservative estimate, some 20-30 million child labour forces live in the five large South Asian countries. The picture is likely to look bleaker as in 2000 it was reported that for the year 2000, the ILO projected 601,000 economically active children in Afghanistan, 269,000 girls and 332,000 boys between the ages of 10-14, representing 24.2% of this age group. Forced child labour is also associated with other kinds of insecurity problems such as forced recruitment in terrorist outfits. In Afghanistan, children were pulled out of school to join various armed groups and in Sri Lanka, LTTE is known for its recruitment of children as fighters. Therefore, states are feared to face the challenge of dissident movements so long as the forces take advantage of the uneducated younger generation of South Asia.

Even environmental issues are gaining increased attention as they have begun to challenge the concept of good governance. In South Asia, the issue of environmental problems must be seen in close association with the concept of development which is fundamental to the success of democracy welfarism in South Asian systems. However, the delicate balance between environmental security and the need for economic development has been seriously disturbed by the chronic problem of poverty. Therefore, the idea of sustainable development can deliver desired goods when poverty is a lesser challenge. As long as poverty dominates the development trajectory, threats of resource depletion increase, and so do conflicts over them. Over-exploitation of resources will exacerbate the pauperisation of those denied of resources. Therefore there continues to be a relentless process of bickering and conflicts (more often than not accompanied by violence) over land masses, forest areas, and water bodies. Poverty and environmental degradation appears not only to be mutually reinforcing, but also creating a vicious circle which has engulfed a large section of the masses of South Asia. The challenge of environmental insecurity for the states of the region is not likely to be quelled in the near future because of the institutional drawbacks within the latter.

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## 15.6 SUMMARY

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Viewed from the above perspective, South Asia provides a grim portrayal of the social, economic, political facets of development and nerve-cracking threats to security. The emerging security order reveals a multitude of fault lines: political, economic, social, environmental, cultural, scientific and technological. These faults overlap partially and often shift in direction. They sometimes reinforce each other and at other times work at cross purposes. The overall picture they present is one of turbulence and uncertainty, in which a variety of contradictory processes unlock a wide range of both opportunities and threats defying the established security order. Integration and exclusion coexist apprehensively side by side in all domains and aspects of the security order. This is an order that is regional but not integrated, that puts all in contact with one another while simultaneously maintaining wide gaps between nations and between peoples within countries, thus benefiting only a small percentage of region's population.

However, it will be erroneous to conclude that there cannot be a strategic premeditated concord in South Asia. The shifting gamut also provides an opportunity to build a cohesive South Asia. Thus, analogous to the security problems of South Asia, the solutions also appear to be intrinsically interrelated. The challenge now is to develop the security architecture of South Asia and afford political and economic energies to the processes of problem-solving, to accelerate wide-ranging regional security cooperation. Today, Security demands expanding economic cooperation wherever possible and making sustained efforts to resolve political disputes. The focus of the security discourse in South

Asia must be shifted from national security to people's security - from security through armaments to security through human development, from territorial security to food, employment and environmental security. It means creating political, social, environmental, economic, military and cultural systems that give people the building blocks of survival, livelihood and dignity. There are strong imperatives to work together despite differences in the security perceptions, but it appears that South Asian regional policy experts currently do not recognise these. Given the geographic proximity, political, socio-cultural and economic complementarities, this region could become the greatest powerhouse.

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## 15.7 TERMINAL QUESTIONS

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1. Trace the evolution of the concept of human security. What are basic differences between human security and national security issues?
2. Examine some of the human security problems of South Asia?
3. Discuss the future of terrorism with special emphasis on its hindering effect on human development.
4. Write short notes on:
  - a. Human Security and poverty eradication
  - b. Environmental Security
  - c. India's Tryst with Insurgency

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## SUGGESTED READINGS

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