

External, Internal and Human Security in India

Dr Apurba Kundu

European Institute for Asian Studies/University of Bradford

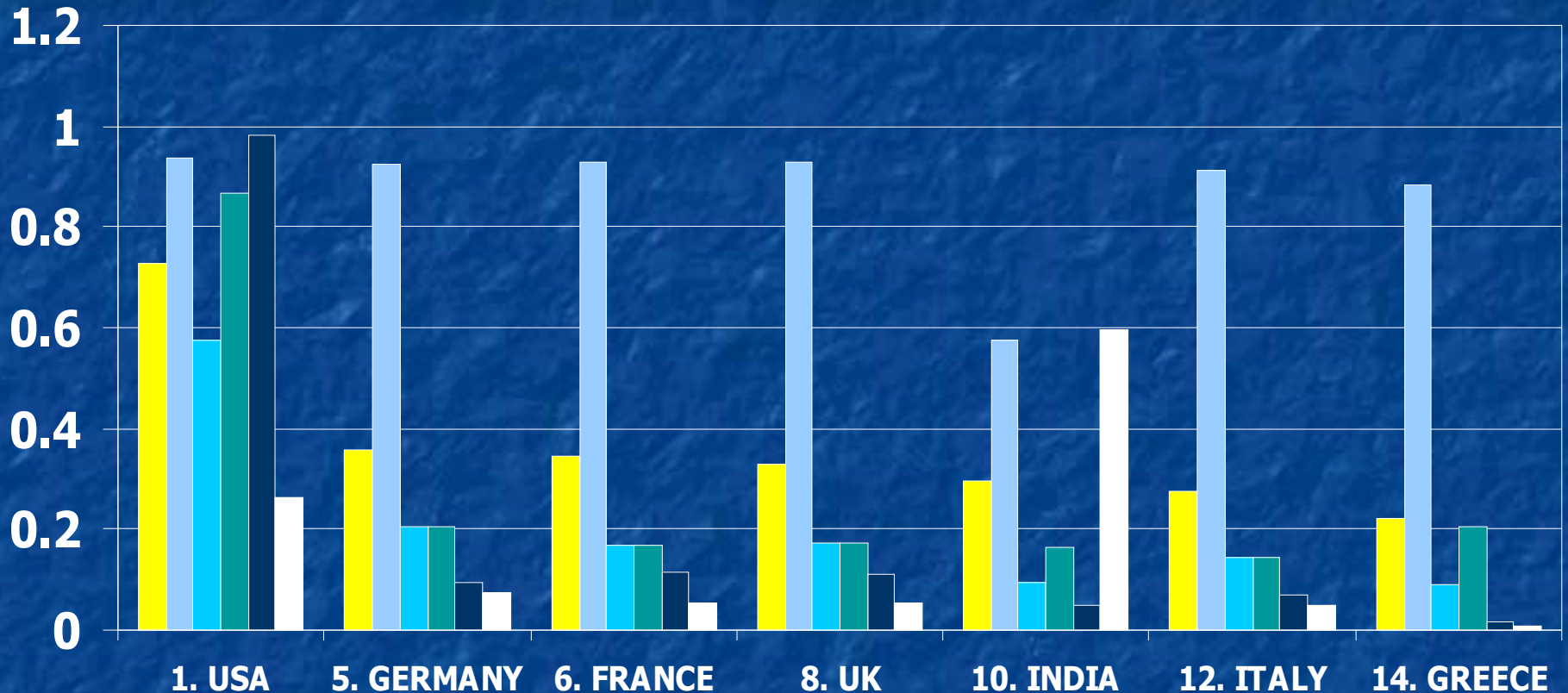
EU-INDIA-USA Trialogue, Brussels, 30 September 2004

“Human Security”

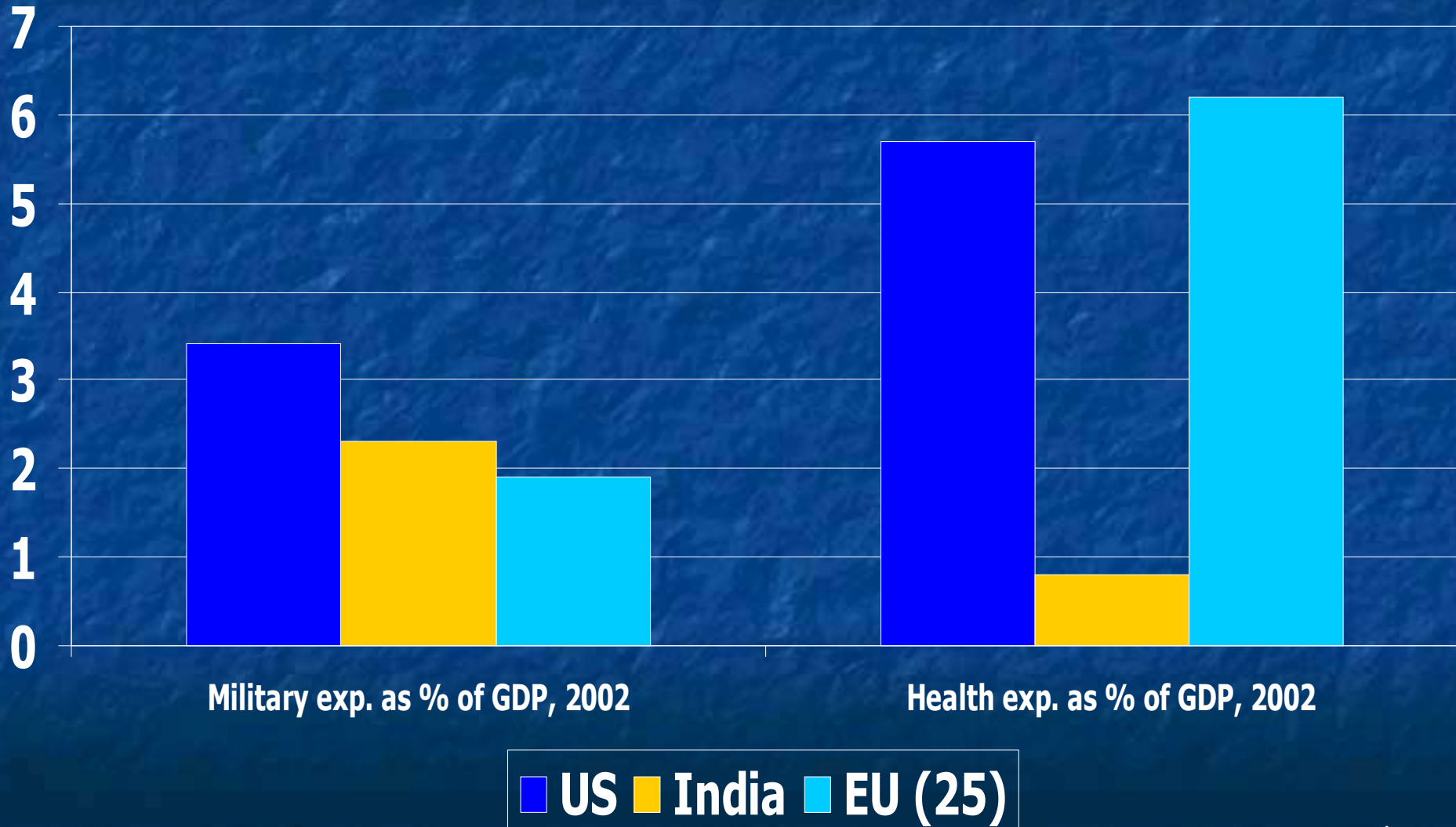
- “The concept of security has far too long been interpreted narrowly: as security of territory from external aggression, or as protection of national interest in foreign policy, or as global security from the threat of nuclear holocaust...Forgotten were the **legitimate concerns of ordinary people who sought security in their daily lives**”.
 - UNDP Development Report 1994: Chapter 2: New Dimensions of Human Security
- “...the determinants of **human security** include the economic, social and humanitarian prerequisites of human well-being and stability”.
 - 1998 Annual Report of the UN Secretary-General
- “In essence, **human security** means freedom from pervasive threats to people's rights, their safety or even their lives”.
 - A Perspective on Human Security: Chairman's Summary 1st Ministerial Meeting of the Human Security Network, Lysøen, Norway, May 20 1999
- “The common underlying idea of ‘**human security**’ is to think about security as something more than the defence of a State's territory and sovereignty—the security of the individual to be recognised side by side with those of states.”
 - Mirko Zambelli, “Putting people at the centre of the international agenda: the human security approach”, 2002.

National Security Index

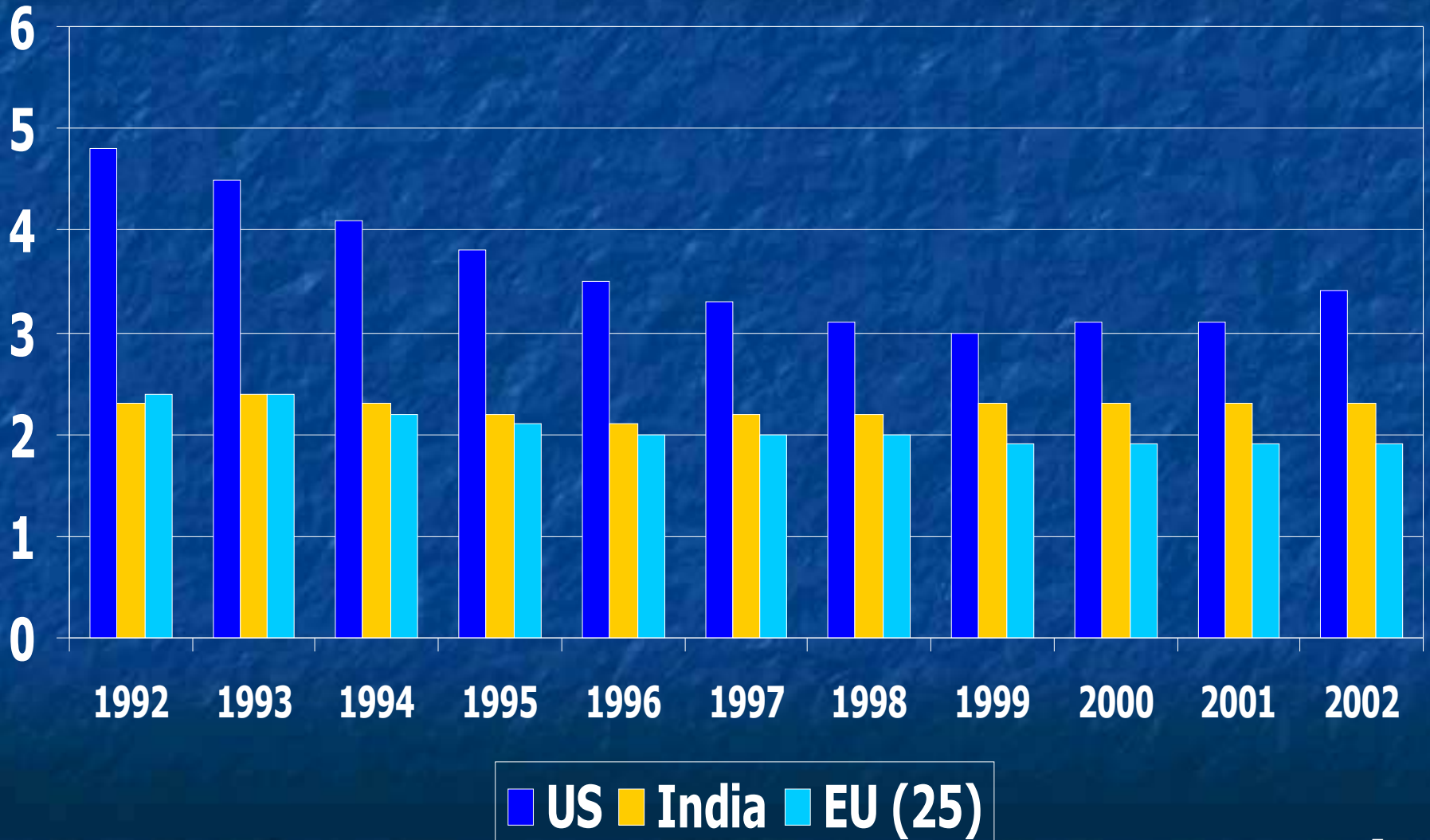
prepared by National Security Council Secretariat, 2002



Military vs. Health Expenditure, 2002



Military expenditure as a % of GDP, 1992-2002



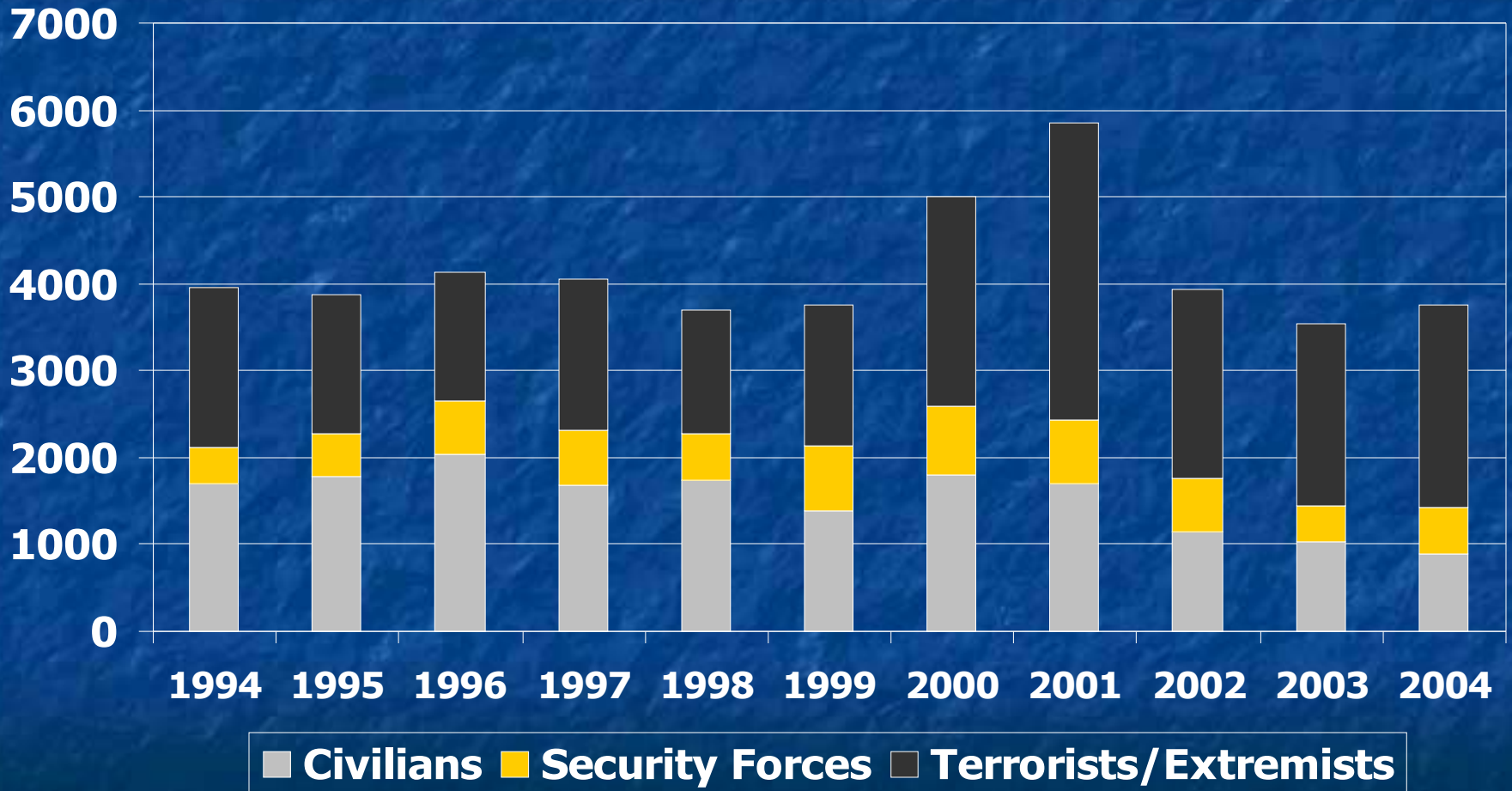
Military Expenditure (External Security)

• 162 Mirage jets at \$30 million each (France)	=	\$4.96 billion
• 18-20 MiG 29 fighters (Russia)	=	\$1.00 billion
• 66 Hawk trainer fighter jets (UK)	=	£1.00 billion
• Admiral Gorshkov aircraft carrier (refit cost) (Russia)	=	\$1.67 billion
• Six submarines (France)	=	\$0.70 billion
• Phalcon airborne early warning radar system (Israel)	=	\$1.00 billion
• Standardise artillery capability w/1200-1500 howitzers (South Africa/Israel/Sweden)	=	£3.00 billion
• Nuclear missiles and delivery systems	=	???
• The "great base race"	=	???
• "Cold Start" reorganisation	=	???
• Ballistic Missile Defence (USA)	=	???

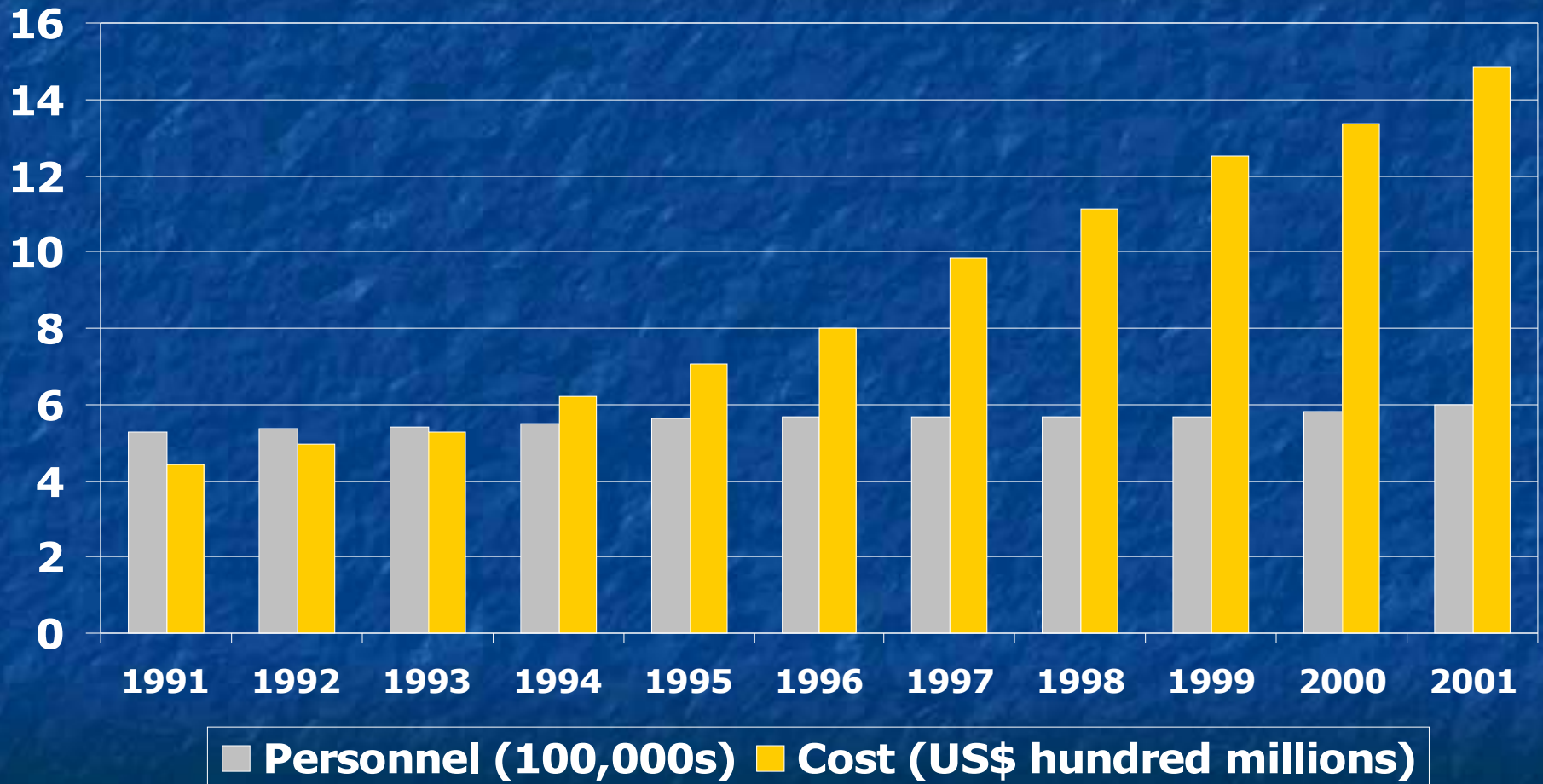
External vs. Internal Security

- **External security:** defending the state's borders.
- **Internal security:** ensuring the safety of individual citizens living within a state's borders.
- In terms of **human security**, which is more important?
 - What do highly expensive military modernisation items do for the human security of the individual citizen?
 - How high a cost should the citizen be expected to bear—in term of personal safety and expense—for implementing external security?
 - Isn't the **human security** of the individual citizen greater when the focus is on internal rather than external security?

Internal Security Casualties in Assam, Jammu & Kashmir and Northeast India, 1994-2004



India: Paramilitary numbers and expenditure, 1991-2001



External, Internal and Human Security in India: Where to next?

- Less spending on big-ticket, high prestige **external security** items like nuclear weapons delivery systems which do little if nothing to increase the sum total of **human security** of individual Indians.
- More effort put into increasing **internal security** measures to ensure the safety and well-being of Indians.
 - More co-operation like the US-India joint **anti-terrorist exercises** in the Northeast.
 - More co-operation between US, India and EU on **police methods and training**.
 - More co-operation on the means and methods of subduing internal violence by **negotiation**.
 - More carefully judged R&D co-operation; for instance, less spent on joint research in areas such as space that ultimately contribute to increased military spending, and more concentrated on areas such as agriculture, medicine and biotechnology that contribute to the **human security** of individual Indians.
- Finally, great thought should be given to the cost of maintaining the Indian state's current external borders.
 - How much—in terms of lives, money, political energies and international goodwill—is being wasted, or will be wasted on maintaining current national frontiers instead of concentrating on bettering the lives, on boosting the **human security** of the great majority of Indians?

Sources and Notes

SLIDE TITLE	SOURCES AND NOTES
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National Security Index	Adapted from National security Secretariat, "National Security Index", in Satish Kumar (ed) India's National Security: Annual Review 2002 (New Delhi: Indian Research Press, 2002) Chapter VII, pp 349-362.
Military vs. Health Expenditure, 2002	Military exp. as % of GDP figures adapted from Facts on International Relations and Security Trends (FIRST) at http://first.sipri.org/ accessed 26 September 2004. Health exp. as % of GDP figures adapted from United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), State of the World Population 2002 , available at http://www.unfpa.org/swp/swpmain.htm accessed 27 September 2004. NOTE 1: The European Union expanded to 25 member states on 1 May 2004. For the 2002 figures, the individual national statistics of the 25 were collated and then totalled as a percentage of the EU national population. No military expenditure figures were available for the Czech Republic and Slovakia. Population figures for the EU members states adapted from Eurostat at http://europa.eu.int/comm/eurostat/newcronos/reference/display.do?screen=welcomeref&open=/&product=EU_key_indicators&depth=1&language=en accessed 27 September 2004. NOTE 2: No military expenditure figures were available for the Czech Republic and Slovakia. NOTE 3: Spending figures for India are based on exchange rate of INDRs1=US\$0.02181 as shown on www.oanda.com converted 27 September 2004.
Military expenditure as a % of GDP, 1992-2002	Military exp. as % of GDP figures adapted from Facts on International Relations and Security Trends (FIRST) at http://first.sipri.org/ accessed 26 September 2004. NOTE 1: The European Union expanded to 25 member states on 1 May 2004. For the 2002 figures, the individual national statistics of the 25 were collated and then totalled as a percentage of the EU national population. Population figures for the EU members states adapted from Eurostat at http://europa.eu.int/comm/eurostat/newcronos/reference/display.do?screen=welcomeref&open=/&product=EU_key_indicators&depth=1&language=en accessed 27 September 2004. NOTE 2: No military expenditure figures were available for the Czech Republic and Slovakia.
Military Expenditure (External Security)	Donald L. Berlin, "The 'great base race' in the Indian Ocean littoral: conflict prevention or stimulation?", Contemporary South Asia , 13:3, September 2004, forthcoming; Rahul Roy-Chaudhury, "Ballistic Missile Defence (BMD) Developments in South Asia – Implications for Regional Stability", http://www.brad.ac.uk/acad/sassu/publications/Rahul_Chaudhury.pdf accessed 19 September 2004; Luke Harding, "Russia leases nuclear bombers to India", The Guardian , 20 January 2003; Alastair Lawson, "India's ever-increasing defence budget", BBC News , 8 July 2004, at http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/south_asia/3876401.stm accessed 17 September 2004; Ray Marcelo, "India to close Russian aircraft carrier deal", Financial Times , 19 January 2004; Richard Norton-Taylor and Ewen MacAskill, "£1bn arms push to India", The Guardian , 12 January 2002; "Indian signs Israeli radar deal", BBC News , 10 October 2003, at http://www.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/2/hi/south_asia.stm accessed 7 February 2004 accessed 15 September 2004; and The Military Balance, 2003-2004 .
Internal Security Casualties in Assam, Jammu & Kashmir and Northeast India, 1994-2004	Figures adapted from South Asia Terrorism Portal , at http://www.satp.org/ accessed 27 September 2004. NOTE: The Northeast includes the Indian states of Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland and Tripura. Figures for 2004 are extrapolated for whole year from figures provided to 19 September 2004 only.
India: Paramilitary numbers and expenditure, 1991-2001	Figures adapted from Government of India Ministry of Home Affairs, Annual Report 2002-2003 , at http://mha.nic.in/annual/2002-2003/annual_rep.htm accessed 25 September 2004. NOTE: Figures are INDRs1=US\$0.021716 as shown on www.oanda.com converted 28 September 2004.

END

Dr Apurba Kundu

European Institute for Asian Studies/University of Bradford

EU-INDIA-USA Triologue, Brussels, 30 September 2004