

A photograph of a woman in a purple shirt and a striped sarong, carrying a large, empty woven basket on her back. She is walking through a forest with many trees and sunlight filtering through the leaves. The text is overlaid on the top half of the image.

**Perspective of
Security &
Development in
North East India**

**S.K. Agnihotri IAS
B. Datta Ray**

PERSPECTIVE OF
SECURITY AND DEVELOPMENT
IN
NORTH EAST INDIA



Edited by
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PREFACE

North East India Council for Social Science Research, the premier social science research body in North East India, held on 9 December, 2002 a workshop on 'Perspective of Security and Development in North East India'.

The basic objective of this workshop was to start an intensive dialogue among scholars and policy-makers on the subjects dealing with: (a) The security scenario, internal security issues with reference to North East India, (b) External security threat, relating to arm supply, human, wildlife and drug trafficking, (c) Militancy and its adverse impact on the economic and industrial development of North East India, major targets of attack being on oil, coal, tea and power infrastructure, (d) Conflict resolution measures sub-regional co-operation on management of militancy through sharing of water, trade and transit facilities, management of migration, trafficking, narcotic problems, etc.

The workshop analysed the reasons behind the deteriorating situation in North East India. It came to the conclusion that the issue of security and development must be considered together. The lack of good Governance at all levels is one of the major causes of deteriorated situation over time.

We take this opportunity to thank National Foundation for Communal Harmony and North Eastern Regional Centre of ICSSR for their generous support to hold the workshop. Mr. Ashok Kumar Mittal and Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi deserve special thanks for undertaking expeditious publication of this volume.

Editors

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INTRODUCTION

North East India is a strategic area of significance with 5,500 km. length of international boundary. It is connected with the rest of India by a narrow strip of land, known as chicken's neck. It has assumed considerable importance during the last fifty years more so since 1962.

No other region of India has international borders as extensive as that of North East India. It shares about one-third of India's international border. North East India shares about 1,643 km. border with Myanmar, about 1,000 km. with China, about 1,956 km. with Bangladesh and about 650 km. with Bhutan. It is a land locked mass of land. It has no coast line or exclusive maritime economic zone. As a result North East India's relations with the neighbouring countries have far reaching implications, strategic and developmental. North East India's security and development issues are linked directly with its neighbouring countries with which it has borders.

Security of country, external or internal, has a great bearing on its social, human and economic development. In fact, security and development, in its multidimension aspects reinforce each other. A secure environment encourages the entrepreneurs to undertake higher level of investment in production activities by minimising the uncertainties and risk factors and thereby strengthening the process of development, the latter in term enables the state to further improve its security environment through higher level of investment in strategic and critical inputs. Thus security and development go hand in hand. The more secure a region or a country is, it is more likely to attract global investment in productive activities and in human development. The more developed a country is, it is more capable to support an elaborate security arrangements.

The development implications of vulnerable security perceptions of a state are felt more in bordering areas than in the

hinterland. It is because of this, traditional security perception tends to consider its bordering region like North East India more vulnerable to external threats. This perception in turn tends to affect development activities in the bordering areas. India-China relation in the eastern sector is a glaring instance.

Any strategic change in the neighbouring countries has serious security and development implications for India. A good neighbourly relation, no doubt, improves the security environment, a hostile relation negatively affect development activities by way of diversion of scarce resources from development to security needs, external as well as internal. The current stand off with Pakistan is a pointer. The uneasy relations between India and Pakistan and India and China severely impeded the social and economic development of South Asia. Therefore it is of utmost importance to study how our relation with immediate neighbours and security concerns arising out of that have affected our pace of development particularly of North East India during the last five decades. Our relations with neighbouring countries have serious long-term development and security implication for North East India.

There are more than 100 major ethnic groups in North East India. The motivation of different ethnic groups for preserving their identities has been a dynamic phenomenon in reorganising of North East India on broad ethnic boundaries. The Constitution of India adopted a federal approach to accommodate ethnic aspiration and creating a security environment by the mechanism of Fifth and Sixth Schedules to the Constitution and also by re-organisation of State boundaries. The process started in 1954 with the creation of North East Frontier Agency. The dream of composite Assam ended in 1972. Reorganisation is a continuous process to accommodate ethnic aspirations and for creating development and security environment.

The break-up of composite Assam by 1972 necessitated the birth of North Eastern Council for co-ordinated planned development of social and economic infrastructure in North East India. The need for regional security was expected also to be looked into by an independent body under North Eastern Council

which is a recognition of the interdependence of economic development and security environment in North East India.

Since 1990, neighbouring Bangladesh has harboured North East India insurgent groups and allowed them to import arms to their bases in India through Cox Bazar and Chittagong Hill Tracts. Some top insurgent leaders continue to live in Bangladesh. Extra religious groups are trying to gain a foothold in the border states of North East India. The adverse security implication of this development acquires a sinister overtone when we realise that Bangladesh is a small country. It needs space. The rise of far right religious groups to state-power has sharpened the unresolved identity crisis and has a serious challenge to internal security of Bangladesh and to the peace, security and development of North East India. The insurgent camps of Bhutan forests and the five decade old of insurgency in Upper Myanmar bordering North East India have security and development implication for North East India. North East India cannot continue to remain a soft underbelly. As a core power, India can ill-afford to ignore or minimise the gravity of the situation. The crying need is an effective security, and economic development strategy package.

S.K. AGNIHOTRI
B. DATTA RAY

**SECURITY FOR WHOM?
HUMAN OR THE NATIONAL?
A Plea for Comprehensive Security in India**

A.C. SINHA

Security has been of paramount concern of the human beings from the very beginning of the human history. To begin with, it raises the issue of individual *vis-a-vis* collective security. Should an individual be considered as an atom or a faceless common man or a citizen of a civil State? At what level, should one identify the collectivity? Community, tribe/cast, 'State', world-wide civilized humanity, or United Nations Organisation (UNO)? Is it not a fact that current security obsession has something to do with colonial heritage? The former British colonizers' concern for the security of their Indian empire and consequent 'Forward Policy to the Himalayas' as a part of 'the Great Game' in the Central Asia is too familiar. The two Great World Wars further developed the obsession of their national securities to the extent that the rivalry between the world powers turned into 'cold war' between the world power blocks. So much so that even when one of them, the USSR collapsed, the only super power in the world, USA, is so much concerned with its national security, that she has identified her counterpoise in the form of a world-wide Islamic terrorist movement.

It is nobody's surprise that today every member of the civilized world is terror-stricken because of the deteriorating security environment all over the world. In this brief paper, our effort is to examine the security concern from Indian point of view. There

are a number of aspects in this presentation. Firstly, we propose to provide a brief historical background of the security concern. Secondly, we seek to identify the various security concerns in India. Thirdly, we intend to survey the security scenario from vantage point of North Eastern Frontiers of the Indian State. And lastly, we end our presentation with a plea that the one-sided concern for either the individual or the 'State' security is logically misplaced. We should endeavour for a comprehensive human security world over. And only then, every individual, community, or the 'State' will have a sense of security. Till then, we keep on trying to acquire it.

The Background of the Security

The prehistoric man terribly insecure in the face of the daunting natural objects. He was awfully afraid of the natural forces: fire, water, wild creatures, flood, earthquake, sun. He was invariably awe-struck because of the fact of human technological and mental infancy. In course of time, the rational man, who lived in woods along with wild creatures, developed a moral and spiritual approach to the physical and natural forces. Man as well realised the strength of the collectivity when he formed the tribal bands. And thus, he had the first experience of communal living. Chieftainship, principalities, kingdoms, states and empires did emerge in course of time in different parts of the world in different forms. However, valours in the wars against the adversaries got engrained in, the psyche of the various communities and nationalities. Thus, one finds folk heroes and folk warriors all over the world as the centres of the legends and myths. The classical literature abounds in the songs, ballads and exploits of these folk heroes. Needless to add that one of the most potent principles of the state formation has been the principle of conquest, with its validity till date.

In course of time, individual valour came to be replaced with excellence of armaments, because of increasing scientific inventions and improved technology. This process gave birth to arms race among the nations to collect/develop more and more of articles and weapons of mass destruction. Connivance of the

callous men and materials of mass destruction during the two World Wars further increased the appetite to search for more potent weapons of mass destruction: nuclear, hydrogen and chemical. These means of mass destruction were used sparingly, but when they were used against all forms of live force: human, animal, bird, insect and vegetation. This has been the phase of human experience, when the 'State' appears to be all powerful entity, unchallenged and drunk with its own might against the individual dissent.

Refusal to accommodate some of dissent gave birth to individual or ideological desperation. There have been occasions, when 'States' appear to be helpless against well-armed and desperate extremists, who manage to create a psychosis of insecurity and destruction. There are occasions, when the all powerful states appear increasingly helpless and insecure against such fanatic adversaries and they even are unable to provide basic security to life to the common citizenry. As the 'State', whether the welfare one or the totalitarian one, appear to be unable to facilitate the basic security to the citizen—one of the rationale for its existence—man is left at loose, as a helpless and mindless entity. In such a situation, a common man's physical, mental and moral strength is no match to this new form of challenge to its existence.

In such a situation, what does one expect from the state apparatus? What should be the security scenario today? Whose security are we referring to? Granted that the 'State' has turned out to be ineffective, how does an individual, an ordinary citizen, ensure his security on the teeth of desperate havoc of a terrorist? Is there any mechanism available to an average human being against this menace? In case there is no tangible remedy to this menace, then in the absence of the state structure, who will ensure even the very physical continuation of the individual against such an adversary? Thus, in the ultimate analysis, human rights and human security, which are certainly distinct from state security, have to be accommodated within the ambit of the state security. This is because of the fact that once the institution of 'State' goes,

the very existence of humanity is at stake, a risk, which cannot be and must not be taken knowingly.

Dimension of Security

The classical definition of security is that “a nation is secured to the extent to which it is not in danger of having sacrifice core values, if it wishes to avoid, and it is able, if challenged, to maintain them by such victory, in such a war” (Raghavan, V.R.: 2001). Hence, war is accorded primacy to preserve a country’s national security leading to defence preparedness. Such a perception in one country may cause apprehensions, and thus, insecurity in another, possibly a neighbouring country, leading to an armed race between two or more neighbouring powers. However, security in its widest and true sense of the term should result in the well-being of the people at large. After all, there can be little security in a state of endemic poverty, illiteracy, and absence of health care. That’s the reason why some of the scholars talk about security. By human security, they imply that “ultimately state is for individual security. In the end, the State is the provider of security for the citizenry; it is a means to security (of its inhabitants) and its security cannot be end of security” (Bajpai, K.: 2002).

To begin with, at the conceptual level, security does encompass a series of aspects. Some of them may be arranged in the following order:

(i) *Economic Security*

- (a) Free movement of work force across the national boundaries can be an area of co-operation between nations; and
- (b) Tariff and trade barriers, if reduced, will enhance the economic security among the nations.

(ii) *Environmental Security*

- (a) Depletion of prime resources such as water, clean air will

affect the security of both—the state and its population even across the national boundaries; and

- (b) Energy security and its impact on the people is a matter of concern among the nations.

(iii) *Political Security*

The challenge of harmonising plural societies *versus* a distinct national identity as a determinant of security needs in a state is fraught with serious consequences and thus, such efforts need to be studied in greater details.

(iv) *Societal Security*

- (a) Migration of population segments across the national boundaries may pose security risk;
- (b) Influx of refugees from one to another country after a possible persecution may endanger the security environment among the nations; and
- (c) Lack of participation in the State sponsored development plans by the civil society may lead to a totalitarian regime.

Security Concerns from the Indian Regions

Delhi Policy Group has been organising a series of seminars on security related aspects. Its first such seminar was called in January 2001 on ‘Comprehensive Security for South Asia’, scholars and policy planners from SAARC countries participated and the proceedings of the seminar were made public within few months. The second seminar in the series was organised in August 2001 and it was on ‘Comprehensive Security: Perspectives from India’s Regions’. After a three-day long deliberations on the presentations from the various regions of the country, certain common concerns were identified as the summery on the issue (Raghavan, V.R.: 2002). They may be enumerated in the following:

1. Issue of poverty, economic backwardness and economic growth;

2. Problems of governance, dissonance between resolutions and implementations; and
3. Problems of identity, migration and social fragmentation.

North Eastern Concern for its Security

The above security concerns from the Indian regions were equally applicable to this region. However, certain points needed to be emphasised and some unique ones to the region are to be added to. Among them mention may be made of the following:

Identity

We held a seminar in 1978 on the problems of youth as a part of an all India exercise in North-Eastern Hill University. Unlike other regions of the country, the issue of ethnic identity, and not poverty and unemployment, were the key concerns within the region. The problem of identity continues to be of cardinal significance even today. There are communities, which have been rightly as the 'bridge communities', while there are others, which have been functioning as the 'buffer' ones. The relatively smaller ethnic groups in the region have seen both the processes of fragmentation and consolidation of the smaller entities into larger ones *vis-a-vis* larger socio-cultural units. These are the reasons for being apprehensive of their submergence in the ethnic melting pot of the Indian Union.

Migration

The local ethnic groups rarely resort to a sizeable out-migration; but thinly populated region is subject to in-migration from Bangladesh, Myanmar, Nepal, Tibet and other states of the Indian Union. In such a situation, the small ethnic groups naturally feel encapsulated and drowned. They apprehend that their forested hill tracts may be turned into an alien land to them within no time. The Assamese are yet to get over Sir Sahdulla's encouragement to settle the British Assam with immigrant Bengal Muslims in second quarter of 20th century.

Social Fragmentation

The North Eastern Frontier region of India is naturally identified with reference to the Indian Union. The region, which was known as British Assam during the colonial period of its history, has not been able to evolve a regional identity. It has a tenuous link in terms of racial, ethnic, linguistic, religious and even historical context with rest of India. Even historical linkages are problematic, formal and legal one and there is a limited emotional involvement in Indian things. Within the region, again the 'seven sisters' have a plethora of social, religious, ethnic and other types of combinations. There are really very limited fora actively engaged in the region for social integration of the region with the Indian cultural commonwealth.

Lack of Effective Governance

Fragmentation of composite state of Assam led to emergence of small states with limited revenue and considerable expenditure. The Indian Union treats them as a special category states because of their limited revenue base, on-going insurgency, location on the backward frontier region and predominance of the scheduled tribes. These states suffer from lack of fore-sighted, committed, and effective leadership. The state level decision-making process is far from satisfactory to deliver the welfare programmes to the grassroots level. In such a situation, the common man of the region is lost, insecure and always apprehensive.

The North Eastern region of India as a whole is subjected to an intense insecurity at all the levels. The Indian States, the federal and the provinces, and its denizens, indigenous and migrants, all are insecure in the region, because of the contested legitimacy. Insurgency and counter-insurgency operations cost a considerable amount of investment in terms of men and material. On the other hand, human dignity to the citizens cannot be ensured because limited economic resources are thinly distributed even among the aliens. Poor quality of life and high level of political consciousness breed an atmosphere of insecurity in which political unrest ensures a chain of violence, suppression and reprisal.

One may pose an obvious question: what type of security scenario for the 'State' and human dignity for the individual emerge from the above survey? Add to this is the security scenario from the neighbouring countries. Sri Lanka and Pakistan had their internal problems, which invariably spilled over to India. Similarly, Myanmar and Tibet have been in turmoil for decades now. Of late, even Nepal, Bhutan and Bangladesh have turned out to be locales of pronounced anti-state uprisings. There have been persistent reports that the agent-provocators of Inter Service Intelligence of Pakistan have established a network of espionage in India in general and North Eastern region in particular. It is invariably reported that the chain of Islamic theological schools (*Madarsas*) are extensively used for anti-Indian activities. We have noted elsewhere how even the legendary loyal members of the Gorkha background have been recruited for creating unrest and causing harm to men and materials (Sinha, A.C.: 2002).

The picture presented above indicates enough dark spots on the security map of India. There are aspects of security, which go beyond our national boundary; in which co-operation from the neighbouring countries is urgently needed. Needless to add that our security policy continues to be state centric, which is possibly a colonial inheritance. It has to be broadened and human dimension has to be added to it. Defence related strategy is a must, which has to be pursued by qualified policy-makers. However, no defence policy will succeed unless common interests are identified with countries, which have common borders with us. We continue to be captive of the past colonial heritage in the matters of defence. For example, we have open borders with Nepal and Bhutan, but we raising electric wire fencing on our Bangladesh borders. We know that the history of both the situations is different; still we should review the strategic concerns together with the neighbouring countries. Can we not help to chalk out "a security charter of the SAARC countries" minus the stumbling block of Pakistan? One imagines that the time has come to think aloud and take unconventional and bold steps in this direction. And only then the above dark picture of national and human security will be different and pleasant one.

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CONTOURS OF NATIONAL SECURITY THREATS AND THREAT PERCEPTIONS IN INDIA

B.B. DATTA

The Concept of National Security

In the pre-capitalist era with no nation state in sight, there was hardly any sanctity of what we call an “international boundary”. Boundaries of kingdoms were violated with impunity. Invasion and plunder was the rule of the game. In fact, in those days, this was the way “power projection” was done by kings, monarchs and emperors.

With the emergence of modern nation states, protecting the sanctity of national boundaries became one of the top priority functions of a state. The attributes of such a nation state include a demarcated geographic territory, a population living within its boundaries with a common cultural heritage and a shared history with a common ideal for the future and the sovereignty of the people as vested in the state.

The classical definition of security throws a good deal of light on the main concern of security. It says, “a nation is secured to the extent to which it is not in danger of having to sacrifice core-values, if it wishes to avoid war, and is able, if challenged, to maintain them by such victory in such a war”. If we add to “core-values”, whatever other concerns are integral to the existence of a modern nation state, the definition is a perfect one.

Threat Perception

Threats to national security have to be understood and analysed with reference to two basic points. Firstly, what lies within the capacity and competence of a state to deal with by way of providing good governance, must not be brought under the cover of security threats. Dissent, agitations, peaceful or violent, challenge to authority arising out of deprivations of perceived justice—economic, political, social or cultural—may originate from faulty policies in governance. To the extent it is so, they are not matters of concern for national security. But when such a situation is sought to be exploited by external powers in connivance with elements within, it poses a national security concern. The line is thin. Still it is a line of demarcation indicating where the solution lies and what specific measures are called for involving the need to restore good governance and taking appropriate security measures.

Second, threat to security is a matter of perception. There may be threats to the state from a neighbouring or distant power and it may or may not be perceived by the targeted nation. Perceived threats activate nations towards defence preparedness. Unperceived threats remain dormant till the time it makes a surprise appearance on the unprepared victim at a time of the enemy's choosing. The degree to which a nation is capable of reading the whole range of threats to its security now or in near future, is determined by the degree to which a nation is awake and alert with a sense of history and armed with the necessary economic, political and defence intelligence of those nations who are or likely to be hostile and compare them with its own strengths in respective spheres.

The extent to which a nation perceives its vulnerability is a matter of its own judgement about threats. Threat perceptions are time and space specific. A nation is unprepared without a vulnerability analysis of its own on a continuous basis.

Security Management

Historically speaking, war has been the main instrument of dealing

with security threats. The war, as an instrument to secure peace, whatever be its nature—localised, conventional, limited or nuclear calls for defence preparedness and is still today the most important instrument of security management with the primacy of its own.

Two strategies are very important for adequate defence preparedness: (i) to ensure that it has state of the art defence mechanism comparable to those of other countries that are considered “potential security threats”; (ii) to keep on fighting a diplomatic war to maintain certain equilibrium in international relations to make sure that it is not disadvantageous to itself.

It is interesting to note that there is an unchanging paradigm in the twin strategy in defence preparedness. The salient principles of diplomacy have remained more or less the same throughout. Regarding the other part, while the war has become high precision, high tech, with immense capacity for mass destruction, and threatening to transform warfare into a process of annihilation through biological or ecological warfare, the basics remain the same. To quote Satpal, “In canto III (*Yuddha Kanda*) of *Valmiki Ramayana*, Hanuman explains to Lord Rama that Lanka was absolutely invincible because it had well in place all the four elements which make a country inaccessible even to gods. It had a deep moat; it had high mountains; a dense forest; and impregnable fortress. The mountain and moat paradigm of defence have not changed with the changing times of technologies. All that is happening is a slight redefining of the mountain and the moat, and the forest and the fort.

In the present context, for India, electronic warfare (EW) in the air, and anti-missile batteries throughout the landmass of the country can make it very difficult for the enemy men or machines to approach the targets and hence can be viewed as mountain and forest respectively. Similarly, the Indian Ocean can act as partial moat with nuclear submarines growling like alligators. The choice of site for engaging the enemy will have to be flexible. This will necessarily make the “Portable Fort” a military reality in any future warfare but it will be a fort anyway”.¹

However it is true that the concept of national security has undergone a sea change in twentieth century world particularly to

its later decades and, beginning of the twenty-first. The concept has become so comprehensive in its meaning and scope that it encompasses all issues extending far beyond external military threats in the traditional sense as well as non-military, non-traditional security threats emanating from “Drugs”, “Aids”, “migration of population”, proxy wars and the like which affect the concerns and sensitivities, cultural identity and value system of a nation.

The concept of national security can best be grasped with reference to the state structure of a modern nation state with its well-defined functions indicating the province of government. A state by definition has to have all the necessary instruments in place to protect its territory, the life and property of the people living within its jurisdiction and ensure justice, fair play and well being of its people through spontaneous and effective functioning of its various organs for the fulfilment of those very purposes for which the state has emerged as the highest form of social organisation at the apex of the “social pyramid”.

Threats to national security have to be perceived in this light. Whenever the effective and spontaneous functioning of the state is affected because of factors operating either from outside or from within or both challenging the State’s capacity to discharge its responsibilities, a security threat has emerged. Threats therefore maybe either external or internal. By internal threat we refer to any threat, maybe political, social, economic or cultural, which has arisen due to either internal political conflict, or through abetment by the foreign agencies having a direct bearing on the law and order situation of the country. By external threat we refer primarily to that kind of threat, which is by and large anticipated in view of the troubled international relations or one country having any direct vested interest within another country.

To provide an effective security cover to the country the state has to ensure two things: (i) physical security in terms of defending the territorial integrity safeguarding the border with patrolling, fencing, canalising, border demarcation when and wherever necessary; and (ii) ongoing counter intelligence operations covering (a) espionage, (b) sabotage, and (c) subversion.

National security is very much concerned with economic, technological capabilities of a nation and its diplomatic efficiency as reflected in the global and regional power equations. It also concerns the characteristic traits of a nation as reflected in its responses to political, psychological and diplomatic pressures mounted upon it by another nation or a group of nations.

However, all said and done, "power" remains at the heart of international relations and one cannot think of security management without referring to power. The concept of power is also changing in its scope. Phrases like economic power, military power or moral power are indicative of this. But on the question of security it is the military capability of a nation that matters most though even a military power needs steady economic and moral support to provide itself an invincible bulwark of defence against any attack. This is security as a derivative of power.

National security is also being seen as a derivative of "peace". Here the indications are that cooperative security or harmonious coexistence would alone ensure the lasting peace and tranquillity that nations desire. According to this school of thought national security is nothing but "human security" or the "defence of a healthy and happy population". If this is not what we are defending then it may be that one day we are left with nothing to defend, they argue.

In an increasingly globalised and multipolar world with many non-governmental actors active new ideas of security as well as of threats keep on evolving and the concept of security has a tendency to go beyond territory and embrace economy, education, environment, inequalities and imbalances. In such a context security implies not merely "absence of war" but "the rule of law", transparency and accountability.

While many healthy ideas can be connected with a nation's security concerns or even those of the international bodies, the precursors of a global state and coining phrases like "food security", "educational security", "health security", the fact is that the world of today does not yet permit a sovereign nation to de-link itself from the concept of security as a derivative of power. In India the Nehruvian period between 1947 and 1962 was

marked by a bold experiment to shape the country as a moral power, the defence bulwark being moral excellence and cultural politics with diplomatic peace offensive rather than a state of the art military preparedness. But that collapsed in 1962 when the Chinese army entered the North East Frontier areas of India. India was forced to seek American help with a policy shift. She awoke to her needs of defence and with Soviet help forthcoming defence preparedness was on way.

Earlier in 1947-48 when the Pakistani sponsored tribal militia attacked Kashmir on the heel of Maharaja Hari Singh's declaration that as per options given under the terms of British withdrawal, Kashmir had joined India, Indian Army had to intervene to repulse the attack. And then at a point when the Indian Army was well poised to drive out the attackers, Nehru took the matter to the United Nations. A partisan UN rewarded India with a Line of Control with the armies of Pakistan and India pitted against each other. The military dictatorship in Pakistan inspired by the success it had, in partnership with the US, in Afghanistan, sought to apply the strategy of state sponsored terrorism into Jammu & Kashmir. It worked well in internationalising the issue with mounting pressure on India to solve the Kashmir problem with Pakistan. The September 11th attack on the US knocked out the very basis of the strategy. Had India solved the problem militarily, of which it was fully capable, Hindus, Muslims, Buddhists and others of Kashmir would not have been the worst victims of a continuing tragedy. The cacophony about South Asia being in the danger of nuclear holocaust would not have been heard. India sought peace, acted morally, with full trust in the Charter of the UN and got in return a never-ending hydra-headed war.

These frustrating experiences in India's foreign policy were not enough to force Indian rulers to undertake a pragmatic assessment of policy objectives to prioritise the nation's interest from the security perspective. A humiliated India kept on committing the blunders of not projecting herself as a power. Power projection is at the heart of security management involving both defence and foreign policies. A nation's prestige is a derivative of the reputation of being a power among the fellow

states, a reputation that inspires awe and respect. To quote John Spanier, "Prestige, like love, is in the eye of the beholder. It is to be sure, acquired as a result of past action. In short, a state's power has credibility."²

India did the nuclear implosion in 1974. It was her ideal opportunity to enter into the nuclear club. She did not do so for reasons best known to the rulers of the time. Had India availed herself of the good work done by her scientists and technologists, she would have assumed the status of a regional power, which she is by her sheer size, long history and culture spreading beyond her boundaries. It would have a very salubrious effect on both North Western and North Eastern regions of India where external and internal threats, inextricably mixed up, were assuming an alarming proportion. Her tenacious advocacy for total disarmament, seeking to demonstrate her moral superiority as a non-nuclear power did not cut any ice. Had she become a nuclear power by then, her opinion would have received more respectful attention. The emergence of China as a nuclear power testifies to the farsighted policies of the Chinese rulers, who decided as early as 1963 to go nuclear so that China would not be bullied by the big powers. By 1998 when India at long last went for a nuclear explosion, Pakistan, which had followed closely on the trail of India, did the same and derived legitimacy from Indian actions. And what is more important, established a nuclear parity with India which otherwise she could never have dreamt of. This achievement of Pakistan is in spite of so many inherent lacunae behind the façade of their nuclear posture. India's delayed decision had cost her the legitimate membership of the nuclear club and economic sanctions. Yet India, having gone nuclear has got the power projection it badly needed. The immediate benefit was a radical shift in the US foreign policy objectives from China to India.

There is a second kind of threat. The threat to social and cultural cohesiveness of the nation. Here the attacks, covert or overt, are on one or more points of the social pyramid at the apex of which sits the state. These attacks have started from within and joined by forces from outside. India today has the spectacle of facing an inextricable mix-up with increasing external and internal

threats with inter-community, inter-tribe and inter-clan conflicts. In such a scenario anti-Indian foreign powers, particularly the religious fundamentalists who have set a goal to conquer India, are busy helping mutually antagonistic interests with money, weapons and training, setting community against community, tribe against tribe, clan against clan, to keep India's North Eastern as well as North Western regions destabilised, with the specific objective of weakening her militarily and economically. To deal with this kind of threat India certainly needs a well-equipped defence force with high expertise on counter insurgency operations. But this has to be accompanied by radical reforms in the institutional framework provided by the Constitution and in Indianising education rooting youths to their own rich heritage retaining full emphasis on science, technology and spirituality. In the area of ethnic chaos and conflicts the challenge has to be met by, to quote His Holiness Sri Sri Ravishankar, "the deepening of roots and broadening of vision."

Lack of good governance and efficient administration has developed internal strife, consisting of threats from regionalism, widening economic disparities, steady migration from rural to urban areas, social imbalances creating unrest, unemployment, degradation of environment and basic amenities. With the pressure of population on the increase, mounting demands are met with disillusionment and frustrations. In the heartland of India the emerging picture, though somewhat different from the North East and North West, is equally disturbing. The presence and the operation of the Maoist Communist Centre and People's War Group or even the presence of brigands like Veerapan complement the picture of insurgencies in the North East and terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir. When one considers that about 115 insurgent groups are operating in the North East and about 35 are active in J&K and Punjab areas and the major groups with a full coordination amongst themselves running parallel governments in certain areas, collecting taxes every month from villagers, businessmen and civil servants alike, the intensity of threats to our internal security can be gauged. The political class which is increasingly becoming dependent on money and mafia to retain power is unable to run

the civil administration without more and more help from police, paramilitary and sometimes even on military forces. Today the spectacle before an Indian citizen is: the protectors need protection more than the vulnerable citizens. The military suffers a loss of character by being involved in quelling internal revolt. Corruption and criminality have corroded every rung of the social order. These are, strictly speaking not matters of national security concern but of badly needed reforms in administrative and electoral systems to safeguard the fundamental rights of a citizen in a free, open, pluralistic society and ensure that the fruits of development reach in a fair measure to all sections of the people. There must not be any confusion between the demands of national security management with those of good governance and efficient administration.

There is a third kind of a threat—civilisational threat. Each nation does belong to a civilisation. And a civilisation has certain core values which inform the society and politics of the country. The ethos of a civilisation continues to influence the working of a nation through many channels including the cherished customs and traditions. When a nation finds that by certain developments in the society and politics, these core values are being attacked and mauled, a real civilisational threat emerges. It may potentially be present at the periphery and grow in intensity silently over time, unnoticed for long. The core values of Indian civilisation may be found in the abiding spirit of secularism, democracy, separation of religion and politics, tolerance and appreciation for other's religion, non-conversion, emphasising the fact that each religion is essentially true. The core values are to be found in the spiritual traditions, which have nurtured through centuries the flowering of the Indian genius. To such a society, any aggressive religion or ideology with a blind faith that it alone is true and others are false, with a spirit of conquering others by coercive means such as threat or temptations is an aggressor on its core values. India's secular democratic polity gives them all opportunities to enjoy their rights, in some cases special rights and hence the security threat emanating from them runs through a maze of immense complexity. The emergence of two Islamic states in India's North West and in the North East with a character

that relegates non-Muslims to a status of second class citizens subject to discriminatory treatment. This has created a situation leading to gradual expulsion of minorities into neighbouring countries, particularly to India. Viewed from India's security standpoint these two countries appear to be two bridgeheads of pan-Islamism. Never in the history of India even in the heydays of the Mughal period such a thing happened. Hindus and Muslims lived together sharing the same political destiny, the same economy and the environment of toleration and love.

In post-Independent India the vast demographic change with the consequences of partition ceaselessly at work, a grave security challenge to the civilisation is fast developing. In the areas covered by North Eastern and Eastern region states, the threat is much more acute with the growing immigrant population. It has created social unrest and political turmoil.

In the North East there is a compact geographic area sharing a highly sensitive international border which is home to three Christian majority states, Nagaland, Mizoram and Meghalaya, having English as the state language. As tribals they are in minority in the region though having more land under their possession. The Coupland Plan or the Reid Plan for separation of these tribal areas, constituting them into a "Crown Colony" could have posed a security threat to India. But the Christians and the tribal people have rejected the idea themselves with their instinctive wisdom. Only conversion and that too not by the large Christian group but by zealots belonging to smaller denominations create problems. In Tripura the insurgents tried to adopt conversion as a weapon by issuing threats along with instruction of dos and don'ts. This has somewhat abated but it is still there.

Vigorous conversion drive in Arunachal carries with it a political motive. It looks like there is an effort in some quarters to give both geographical and religious depth to Christian tribals so as to ensure the emergence of a Christian political force in India's North East, in a very strategic location. The canvas calls for a critical security assessment and an appropriate policy application. The threat from the Islamic fundamentalists, who are busy in implanting a picture of a very rich Islamic dreamland in the

minds of the Muslim youth comprising Bangladesh, North Eastern region states, and parts of Bihar and Orissa, is too dangerous to be ignored. In the area described above, the Muslims are already in a majority. Ten to fifteen kilometres inside India along the Indo-Bangla border Muslims over the years have acquired a majority status capturing in many places village leaderships from non-Muslims as the non-Muslims have kept on migrating to the towns or deep inside the interiors for safety reasons. This presents us with a picture of Muslim majority on both sides of Indo-Bangla border. Indeed a hard time for not only for those who watch and protect the borders but also for loyal Indian Muslims. The Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) of Pakistan is very active with funds coming from Islamic countries to implement programmes of sabotage and subversion.

The threat is very complex in nature as it calls for segregating the loyal from the disloyal, genuine Indian citizens from the infiltrators, criminals from the law abiding etc. To meet this threat a strategy has to be evolved combining defence policy, foreign policy and population policy completely sealing off migration. Pre-emptive actions have to be taken to ensure protection of minorities in Bangladesh and dismantling of clandestine training camps for insurgents operating in India. The civilisational threat cannot be tackled only by military action. The role of culture, ecology and democracy are equally important.

For India the security spectrum is indeed very complex. Bleeding through the evil consequences of fissures created by an ill conceived partition, India's national objectives are to assure herself of physical survival, territorial integrity and political independence. These objectives are not attainable by themselves. The achievements require the following:

- (i) That India projects herself as a "power" among the fellow states.
- (ii) That she acquires economic strength adequate enough to give economic security to her national goal.
- (iii) That she meets the objective of national welfare which has acquired tremendous importance due to the twin facts

of mass mobilisation being an indispensable part of governance and providing the masses an ever increasing share of material comforts made available by mass industrial production.

- (iv) That she plays her role to secure the protection of her environment and ecology in concert with other nations as a responsible member of global community.

The growth of United Nations after the demise of the League of Nations with its numerous World Bodies active in all spheres of political, social and cultural lives of the human family has caused, slowly and imperceptibly, erosion in the sovereignty of states. Given the pace of globalisation, mainly powered by economic factors, it is not unlikely that a day may come when the world will become one country with one government. Whatever be the scenario of the future, the concept of security and its management shall remain an abiding responsibility of the states even in a new World Order and the phase preceding it. With nationalism losing its teeth, the nation state may find a serious challenge from the big powers. Defence preparedness, diplomatic initiatives and economic bargaining power have to be mixed in varying proportions as dictated by situation to evolve appropriate defence mechanism. It is worth quoting Dr. A.P.J. Abdul Kalam, the President of India, who told the nation in his inaugural address on 25th July 2002: "National security is a national priority . . . indeed, making India strong and self-reliant—economically, socially and militarily is our foremost duty to our Motherland, to ourselves and to our future generations. . . . 'Thinking' is the key to progress and 'non-thinking' is distraction from vision. When a nation does not think, smaller minds overpower it." It is time the political tribe pay heed to what he had said.

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SECURITY AND DEVELOPMENT A Conceptual Frame

ASOK KUMAR RAY

The question of “Security and Development” has been a challenging one in the post-reform development literature. Recent World Bank literature of post-reform era on this issue is burgeoning. The term ‘security’ has been viewed from a special angle and in cases, it has been strategically conditioned with ‘Governance’ and ‘Social Capital’. The context in which these jargons have become the commonplace ones is that of globalisation under the New Economic Policy. The political economy of Globalisation made a major shift in the classical synergy of State, Capital and Market. In the post-reform era, the stake of development has been shifted from government to the non-government organisations and to the private sector. The New Economic Policy pleaded for minimal role of the government in development. Decentralisation, promotion of private sector, organisational pluralism and institutional reforms became the prime agenda in current development administration.¹ The state, far from being a direct stakeholder of development, has rather become a facilitator, enabler and a guide to it. De-institutionalisation of public sector has logically come to be linked with promotion and rationalisation of private sector. It is in this context that “Security and Development” can be viewed in this article.

The very fundamental academic question is: “Security for what”? In the context of Globalisation and New Economic Policy, this security is by and large that of ‘finance capital’. The operation

of finance capital under the New Economic Policy demands proper defence strategy. This is because of the inherent contradiction within the philosophy of private-owned finance capital *vis-a-vis* mass exclusion and alienation with the potentials for opposition. For the purpose of creating an enabling environment in which finance capital may safely operate, two major and related strategic measures are thought of:

Governance and Institutions

In the political front the concept of governance appeared in the backdrop of downsizing of the state power and growing need for decentralisation of power. In the economic front institutions were regarded important for growth, especially important were protection of property rights, capable bureaucracy and political stability as the initial conditions for growth. The hypothesis was: good institutions facilitate growth and weak institutions negatively affect growth. The policy implications of institutional reforms lie in linking it up with the conditionalities of foreign aid, below market-rate loan, and technical assistance provided by the World Bank to the poor countries. Further policy implications of institutional reforms are: efficiency of investment, enforcement of property rights both for their direct effects on growth (more efficient investment) and for their indirect effects in terms of larger investments. In the quest for determining socio-political determinants of growth, Alesina identified some of the variables of weak institutions that affect growth. These are: ethno-linguistic fractionalisation, rule of law, quality of bureaucracy, corruption, democracy, political assassination, government crisis revolutions and coups, government change, strikes, black market premium and human capital. Alesina has drawn a Correlation Matrix for selected political variables, growth and human capital and has shown how these variables affect growth.²

Social Capital

It has been recognised that a market system cannot operate solely on the basis of narrow self-interest. The informational problems

in market interactions offer many chances of opportunistic behaviour. Without some minimal amount of social trust and civil norms, social interactions would be reduced to a minimum of tentative and distrustful commodity trades. The success of a market economy cannot be understood in terms of narrow economic incentives. Norms, social institutions, social capital and trust play critical roles in economic growth. It is this *social contract* implicit in social capital that is necessary to successful operation of market society. This cannot be simply legalised, decreed or installed by a reform government. Behind these social norms stands the machinery of the law which itself stands apart from the market.³

Thus according to the proponents of social capital theory, “it is not by destroying the old norms and constraints in order to clean the slate without allowing for the time consuming process of consuming new norms, the new legalised institutions may well not take hold.” This points to a marked departure from the classical capitalist view that traditional relationships and ways of life impede the process of development and reiterate the view that social relations among corporate and political elites were a primary mechanism of capitalist exploitation.⁴

THE CRITICAL ISSUES

Viewed from the angle of correlating growth theory with political economy, governance and institutional reform stand as an agenda of economic reforms under globalisation. The intellectual root of the term ‘Governance’ is political economy. Under the umbrella of globalisation, the NEP agenda is to globalise privatisation of capital and allow MNCs to go for FDI in the under-developed countries. Dominance of finance capital has been the instrument of post-War neo-colonialism. This has eventually let loose a few risks:

- The contradiction between economic globalisation *vis-à-vis* economic nationalism⁵ and the resultant political reaction.

- Denial of social value of labour in the production process of globalisation.
- Insulate the poor and the marginal section of the society from the production and consumption processes of globalisation.
- Labour alienation of the unskilled workers and the eventual crises.
- Doubtful promises for social development.⁶
- Likelihood of political reaction, violence and conflict.

Governance is a brief formula of mitigating all these risks and ensuring fuller security of FDI, capital investment by the MNCs and ensuring smooth flow of international debt and profit.⁷ The expectation from governance norms and strong institutions is that the latter must be in a position to resist violence and instability of any kind that might affect the volume and efficiency of foreign direct investment. The term 'security risk' has a still greater connotation. The World Bank intends to insulate itself from the society in which its finance capital operates. This may be termed as 'secessionism of the rich'.⁸ Keeping the administrative question of foreign debt in view, governance norms have been directed towards establishing administrative efficiency, personal security of the administrators, creation of enabling social and political environment for running the foreign aided industries and projects and towards maintenance of law and order and surveillance. For reducing security risk and conflict resolution, the World Bank promoted another concept, namely, participatory development. Participation has been regarded as a norm of good governance. The anticipation is that participation reduces the risks of security and promotes peoples involvement. The accountability of development is bounced back to the people as if the people are the stakeholders of development. Within the institutional matrix of globalisation and privatisation of capital, peoples' participation cannot lead to a 'fit' and eventually it calls for a hiatus between behavioural and structural approaches to conflict resolution and security risk mitigation.⁹

The formula of Governance is expected to create 'capital trenching'. In rationalising this formula, the political economists

of globalisation (Alberto Alesina, Robert Perotti) have discovered SPI indicators. (Socio-political Instability Indicators).¹⁰ Through the application of SPI indicator, there has been an attempt to show a negative impact of these indicators on 'Growth' through probate regression analysis. It has been shown that,

- Political instability causes inflation
- Hinders the process of growth
- Increases the volume of debt
- Discourages FDI
- Reduces GDP
- Causes lack of far-sightedness in formulating economic policy.

The role of governance has been highlighted in order to contain politico-economic unrest and this role has been felt more significant in the under-developed countries. The institutional question is related to that of governance. The institutional conditionality is equivalent to governance conditionality and this equation has become *sine qua non* for the recipient countries to receive foreign debt.

These conditionalities have provoked the World Bank to decline support to those countries, which have weak institutions.¹¹ Commitments to governance and maintenance of institutional standard need among others, a few things:

- The under-developed countries should have surveillance and knowledge about the hindrances of good governance
- Creation of appropriate social and political environment
- Ensure administrative transparency and accountability
- Adequate reforms at policy level
- Change weak structure and systems
- Adequate law and constitutional reforms
- Create an environment receptive to NEP
- Define role of government in the light of globalisation and NEP reforms
- Ensure efficiency and eligibility in the process of administration

- Institutional reforms and decentralisation
- Develop the people based *organisations*
- Decentralisation in decision-making and policy formulation.

Thus, parallel to the SPI indicators, the institutional indicators have also been developed. These include:

- Security of bilateral and multilateral economic agreements and property right indicator
- Corruption indicator
- Judicial system and delay in justice indicator
- Political stability indicator
- Political efficiency indicator
- Market efficiency indicator
- Social and political rights indicator
- Institutional achievement indicator
- Social capital indicator

In the neo model of institutionalisation many more points are there like, efficiency of goods and services and flexibility of government institutions in marketing these, service-oriented and desired institutionalisation, collective efforts of private bodies, CSOs and the media, to include a few.¹²

The core question of governance and institutional reforms evolves round that of downsizing the state power in the under-developed countries so that the latter could never become a powerful contestant to the western states nor they could take concrete and sovereign decisions on socio-economic and political development. The institutional question is raised by the western power not only for the sake of political-economic exchange but also for the sake of keeping police surveillance over rights including the intellectual property rights created through this exchange, being transferred to the MNCs and for keeping the bilateral and multilateral agreements activated. The attenuating circumstances arose out of the need of institutionalisation has hard pressed the law and order infrastructure of the under-developed states and has impelled the latter to introduce coercive

legislation. There has also been growing deficit budget to meet such expenditure.¹³

Despite all rhetoric on governance and institutional reforms, in the pursuit of global market, the role of institutional force has not been ignored. In the peace mission of global marketisation, the “*peace building rules and triggers*”¹⁴ have got a place and accordingly, use of institutionalised force has been prescribed to subdue any kind of democratic movement in the under-developed countries.

In the globalisation context, the concept of social capital is caught in its own dilemma. Social capital formation among the poor and the disadvantaged so far could not lead to any kind of social contract that is necessary for a market society. Given the inherent contradiction between productive forces (highly privatised) and the production relation (characterised by poverty, lack of gainful employment, lower purchasing power of the common people and so on) the social contract proves to be highly utopian. Though theoretically social capital offers a way to bridge sociological and economic perspectives and provide potentially richer and better explanation of economic development, social interactions between community and institutions may not necessarily shape economic performance. In fact Woolcock and Narayan themselves have admitted that “having high level of social solidarity of informal groups does not necessarily lead to economic prosperity.”¹⁶ Rather social solidarity even in our country has resisted the process of private capital investment. (The case of Du Pont in Goa).

But the more serious issue is poverty *vis-à-vis* social capital. Far from gaining from the concept, the contradiction between private capital and the disadvantaged is logically to take a deep root in the society.

NOTES

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