

UNDERSTANDING THE CONSTRUCTION OF NATIONAL SECURITY

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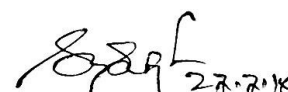
DECLARATION


I declare that the dissertation entitled "Understanding the Construction of National Security" submitted by me for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. The thesis has not been submitted for any other degree of this University or any other university.



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Dedicated to My Mother

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AFSPA	Armed Forces Special Powers Act
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CDRO	Coordination of Democratic Rights Organisation
NSA	National Security Act
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NEI	Northeast India
PUDR	People's Union of Democratic Rights
POTA	Prevention of Terrorism Act
SSCI	Senate Select Committee on Intelligence
SPO	Special Police Officer
TADA	Terrorist and Disruptive activities prevention Act
UN	United Nations
UAPA	Unlawful Activities Prevention Act
VOA	Voice of America

Chapter One

Introduction

*Security is when everything is settled. When nothing can happen to you.
Security is a denial of life¹.*

The struggle for survival and security has been of prime importance to every living entity. The history of civilization has witnessed and documented this struggle for security in various forms among individuals, communities, societies and countries. With changing times, the idea of security has also transformed to a great extent. The academic literature on politics laid an immense importance on security of states but it hardly conceptualized or defined the concept accurately (Baldwin 1997). It was with the onslaught of two world wars in the twentieth century and a changed political scenario that a full-fledged discipline of International Relations came into being (Brown 2000). This discipline then focused on various aspects of relations between states and concept of security presumed importance. The concept was still used in a conventional and traditional manner. Most of the theories which developed around the time understood security in a conventional manner with hardly any attempts at explaining it. With further changes in political scenario at the international level towards the end of twentieth century, the concept of security evolved into security studies: a sub-discipline of international relations.

The literature of security studies has been attracting considerable attention because of its importance in maintaining the survival of states in the international system. Security studies have evolved over a period of time. From being limited to strategic studies which was about military relations between states, it has widened in terms of both the referent object as well as its content (Smith 1999).

¹ Greer, G (1971), *The Female Eunuch*, New York: Harper Collins Publishers.

The security of states or national security has changed meanings with changing analysis by various theoretical paradigms. This work attempts at understanding the construction of national security by focusing on its theoretical understanding, evolution and practice.

Background

In order to understand the basic debate on national security, it is necessary to unravel one clear demarcation which delineates the concept of security under two categories. The first is the rationalist understanding which includes neo-realist and neo-liberal standpoints and another is reflectivist understanding which mainly includes the critical theory approach and postmodernism (Smith 1999). Although, a lot of differences exist in the neo-realist and neo-liberal understanding, both the concepts study security from the same lens and necessarily agree on basic epistemology and a methodological individualistic premise (Smith 1999:76; Krause and Williams 1997:87). Smith argues 'that there is no denial in the differences between the two, as they both vary in the importance of relative as opposed to absolute gains or how to approach the problem of anarchy at international level'. Nonetheless, rationalist approaches consider states as subject of security and understand anarchy as a given condition at the international level.

The reflectivist approach on the other hand, is based on opposing the rationalist thinking and the importance given to positivism (Krause and Williams 1997). It challenges the basic assumptions of rationalist approach. While posing a critique to referent points and scope of security it transcends the boundaries of rationalistic assumptions and broadens the scope of security studies.

Theoretical Underpinnings

Realist Thought

The concept of national security in realist understanding is understood as a derivative of power. In order to maintain security, the state needs to attain power in terms of military strength. The state is the main actor and provider of security and the security

of individuals emanates from the security of state. Krause and Williams (1997), argue that 'the state is the primary locus of security, and with it, authority and obligation...the security of citizens is identified with the state, and by that definition, those who stand outside it are threats, whether potential or actual'. Also the relations between the states are only 'strategic' based on relative threat anticipated by the state (Krause and Williams 1997: 87).

The root of neorealist conception of 'threat' is based on Hobbesian philosophy that a rational actor is always surrounded by similar actors who become a source of insecurity for him. This provides a starting point for the concept of security in neorealist understanding. The main idea behind the 'classic security dilemma' forms one of the most important theories of neorealism and shapes the concept of national security (Krause and Williams 1997). The importance of state as a single unit also comes from the Hobbesian understanding which glorifies the role of a powerful sovereign dominating other spheres. The sovereign seeks to bring lasting peace and maintain national security.

The nature of the individual subject and its relation with the political order assumes the presence of anarchy and lawlessness at the international level which necessitates an atmosphere of perpetual conflict and insecurity. This leads to prime importance given to military security under neorealist theory. Military security requires protecting the territory, population and state institutions. It also requires the defence of state institutions from external threats and attacks and hence becomes synonymous with power and authority. Grizold (1994) argues that 'national security is exclusively understood with respect to sovereign nation state and its most important function is the protection of its physical integrity'.

The obsession with security of physical integrity is explained by the neorealist theory of Kenneth Waltz. His work *Theory of International Politics* revived the importance of military emphasis in national security. His focus on the structure of international system and presence of anarchy reinvigorated the need for states to pay heed to building arms.

The concept of security from realist standpoint can be understood by evaluating the basic assumptions of groupism, egoism and power centrism (Wohlforth 2010). In international politics group solidarity is very essential and the most important human groups are the states. In order to survive states need to form cohesive groups which can in turn lead to a sense of conflict and insecurity for other states.

The egoism in human nature is understood as a derivative of narrow self-interest. The survival and security of a state thus becomes the main agenda irrespective of security of other states. The narrow self-interest of the state always lies in securing the boundaries of its state in view of anarchy at the international level (Wohlforth 2010).

A sense of conflict and insecurity among states is amplified by the great inequalities of power. Disproportionate power can lead to coercion by powerful states. This leads to a perpetual competition to attain power and secure the identity of a sovereign state. The existence of these three factors namely egoism, power centrism and groupism help in explaining the concept of national security (Wohlforth 2010). It explains the basic idea behind the environment of mistrust, conflict and instability in the anarchical international system.

Liberal Thought

Another important rationalist approach which is a subject of this study is neoliberal theory. Neoliberal theory also takes state as a unitary actor and believes that democratic state is responsible for maintaining security. Belief in values such as individual freedom, political participation and equality of opportunity form the characteristic features of liberal school of thought. The school encompasses a wide range of philosophies but the core ideas support liberty, freedom, individual rights and international association.

The understanding of the concept of security for liberals has been derived from how they look at inter-state relations at international level. Since liberals predict that there are stable democracies which are economically interdependent, the behaviour of states would vary according to varying circumstances. Rousseau and Walker (2010) enlist

the following three points to explain inter-state behaviour according to liberal democratic peace theory.

1. There are fewer chances for democratic states to engage in conflict with other states because of their democratic nature.
2. States which are democratic maintain peace at international level because they involve in trade and investment with each other
3. As opposed to a state of perpetual conflict, liberal democratic states seek cooperative behavior at international level.

The roots of liberal school of thought lie in the writings of thinkers like Thomas Paine and Immanuel Kant. As opposed to Hobbesian understanding of human nature, Kant and Paine believed that there is inherent good in human nature. If provided with right kind of environment like a non-corrupt democratic government, man can live in peace and cooperation with others (Smith 1992).

Security under the liberal school of thought could thus be achieved by maintaining amicable relations with other states. At the state level, democracies do not indulge in wars' rather they find cooperative ways to maintain security. State preferences as argued by Moravcsik (1997) play an important role in shaping the attitude of democracies at the international level. Economy, polity, government institutions and domestic politics define the security dimensions of the states. The liberal political theory gives importance to the nature of different actors which include not only state as a unitary unit but also societal actors and the international system.

National security is explained through the state preferences which get formulated as a result of numerous factors like ideas, institutions and interest. The responsibility of state is not limited to the provision of territorial security; it also requires safeguarding the rights of its individuals. It is a maximalist view of security where the state is more than the sum of its whole.

Critical Thought

The critical theory also known as reflectivist thought poses a binary opposition to the above mentioned rationalist theories. Liberal and Realist theories have tried to explain

the international system on the basis of what 'exists'. Critical theory problematises the whole discourse of rationalist thought and seeks to question the accepted rationalist understanding of Security. Critical theory questions the conventional understanding of security by posing questions relating to its definition, scope and understanding.

The earliest attempt by Wolfers (1952) was by questioning the concept of national security to be as 'given'. He argued that it is an ambiguous symbol as it can mean different things to different people. He stated, 'if the concept is used without specifications it can lead to a lot of confusion'. Baldwin (1997) lays emphasis on a better conceptualisation of the concept of security. He argues that the security has always been a neglected and contested concept and thus attempts to explicate the concept 'in order to define security as a policy objective distinguishable from others' (Baldwin 1997: 24).

Critical theory debated the concept of security from a number of vantage points. Buzan (1983) contributed significantly while adding various nuances to the concept of security. In his work, *People, States and Fear: The National Security Problem in International relations*, he reconceptualised the concept of security by adding five different threats to the security of state. He argued that the threats belonging to economic, political, societal and environmental field can be equally important for the state as the traditional military threats. He also added five different levels for understanding security: international systems, international subsystems, units, subunits and individuals (Buzan et. al. 1998).

Another school of thought under critical security studies which adds a new dimension to literature is the work by Ken Booth. He argues for a change in the focus of security from the absence of threat towards 'emancipation' of the individual. It widens the scope to include all the factors such as poverty, poor education, and political oppression apart from war and threat. It seeks to remove all the constraints on the individuals as a result of these issues (Booth 1991a).

Critical security studies problematises the various aspects of security which are not taken into account by state-centric realist theories, the statist views wherein states are considered as only unitary and significant actors in world politics (Wynn Jones 1999:

258-259). The unilateral direction of the security discourse gives so much importance to the security of the state that it becomes the source of controversy and threat itself (Buzan 1983). The concept of societal security put forward by Weaver et al (1993) looks at the importance that identity plays within a state.

Evolution of the Concept of Security

The concept of security has evolved with changes in political situation over a period of time. Security Studies was confined to the sphere of strategic understanding till latter half of twentieth century (Smith 1999). It was all about strategic relations among states; the discipline's emphasis was only the military aspect of it. It is only in the last thirty-five years that security studies have broadened the scope of its study to a large extent. It has evolved to pay attention to other aspects of security as well including environmental security, economic security, health security and security from poverty.

For the neorealist like Kenneth Waltz and his predecessors, the core assumptions of International Relations revolved around military security. The same was true for neo-liberals. Then arrived the social constructivists like Nicholas Onuf (1989), John Ruggie (1998) and Alexander Wendt (1987). They claimed that the processes and structures of international relations are indeed social constructions. They focused on how international community and social processes can transform the politics of security and create environment for peace. State actors might see security as achievable through community rather than through power. Wendt (1992) argued that power politics, identity and interest of the states are all a construction of society.

Irrespective of revision of focus towards norms, culture and identity, military security remained the dominant issue-area and state was still the privileged actor. It was only with the advent of the Critical Security Studies that the focus shifted from the state as a dominant actor to that of the individual and the community.

Richard Ullman (1983) in his article 'Redefining Security' questioned the utility of focusing on military security. He argued,

‘that it conveys a false image of reality. It causes states to concentrate on military threat and to ignore other and perhaps even more harmful dangers. Thus it reduces its total security and it also contributes to a pervasive militarization of International Relations that in the long run can only increase global insecurity’ (Ullman 1983).

Similarly Joseph Nye and Sean Lynn-Jones criticized the lack of innovation and presence of ethnocentrism in security studies. Barry Buzan (1983) broadened the security agenda in order to involve other sectors to the concept of security, such as economic, ecological, political and societal security. However, Buzan did believe that the state would continue to be the referent point for security.

Jessica Tuchman (1989) put forward a strong case for redefining security in terms of environmental issues. The Welsh and Aberystwyth school of thought pioneered by Booth (1991) and Wynn Jones (2001) conceptualised security studies by rejecting the state-centric view and focusing on human emancipation.

Mohammad Ayoob (1997) focused on the third world security problems but maintained a realist understanding of security. He defined security in ‘relation to both internal and external vulnerabilities which pose threat to state structures both territorial and institutional’ (Ayoob 1997).

The feminist critique of security studies was posed by thinkers such as Tickner (1988). She highlighted the gender-bias in security studies and argued how women are ignored in international relations. The conspicuous absence of women issues from security studies literature in spite of being major sufferers as casualties of war is one of the biggest drawbacks of traditional security studies. Tickner (1988) seeks to provide a feminist redefinition of security that attempts to go beyond the prevalent dichotomies like that of war versus peace.

Theory and Practice

While understanding the construction of security from a theoretical standpoint, this work also looks into the practical aspects of it. The realist paradigm being extremely state-centric does not take into account the problems that a state can pose as an agent of insecurity. In Realist understanding, security is easily understood as a derivative of power. The use of disproportionate power to maintain the territorial integrity of state

leads states to create such a security apparatus which comes in conflict with the individual security of its own citizens. The US war on terror is a striking example of a realist understanding of national security. The aim of 'war on terror' was to secure the national security interests of the US and other countries by curbing the violence created by the non-state actors. However, the reports and trends are showing a result which is contrary to the expected outcomes.

Similarly the liberal school of thought pitches for a concept of security which is based on the assumption of cooperation among states in order to maintain national security. This conception of security assumes cooperation among states and a global security system which believes in a universal concept of security with shared norms, principles and practices (Haftendorn1991). This security system presupposes a strong system of units which regulate the laws and orders between various states. The concept of security in liberal theory plays at the international level and takes into account the security of other units besides its own. It emphasises on the ability of individuals to build institutions and influence the patterns of action. It has an immense belief in the overarching security systems which could solve the problems of the world.

A look at various state-building activities of transnational organisations like UN highlights the issues which constitute a source of conflict and instability in states. Wilde (2007) raises questions about the difference between the illegitimate state generated colonialism and legitimate international organisation generated intervention. He argues that by the creation of these legitimate organisations like UN and its security council, there is an establishment of legitimate power to carry on interventions and invasions on other states. These activities owing to their legitimate character are carried on with impunity. The examples of such interventions in Kosovo, East Timor, Eastern Slavonia and Bosnia and Herzevegonia explain the hegemonic nature of such activities. This leads us to believe that cooperation at the international level does not necessarily lead to the maintenance of peace and world order. Rather it could lead to war and chaos for the victim states.

Critical Security Studies brings in a number of various factors which should be incorporated into the definition of security. There is no consensus for a single

definition of national security. Different variants have been enumerated which focus on different issues.

The concept of identity and national security is taken into account by a number of theorists. It has been conceptualised by thinkers such as Anderson, Bourdieu, Stuart Hall and Clifford Geertz.

‘Nations are ‘imagined communities’ perceived as limited by boundaries and thereby cut off from the surrounding nations, because no nation identifies with humanity in its entirety. They are represented in the minds and memories of the nationalized subjects as sovereign and limited political units and can become a very influential guiding idea’ (Cillia et al 1999).

These thinkers have highlighted the importance of a national identity but do not really look at the construction of identities within a state.

Critical security studies have also dealt with the concept of identity but the engagement of security and identity has been limited. Mohammad Ayoob (1997) provides a third world perspective of security. Similarly Weaver et al (1993), focus on societal security. However, none of them really stress on the problem of identity with respect to domestic issues. This gap in literature has been addressed by this dissertation as it shows how the problems of identity affect the national security policies at the ground level.

An example of the identity issues in the Indian state indicates the problems that occur when the practical aspects of national security are focused upon. The alienation of identities in the states such as Jammu and Kashmir, northeastern states and Chhattisgarh and others point out the underlying causes of the failure of national security policy. The laws and policies create a feeling of alienation and deprivation among the people who are targeted. The populations who suffer from these deprivations are usually people from different ethnic groups and identities. Rajni Kothari (1970) states that

‘this feeling of deprivation has several dimensions. The separatist tendencies in India have been more potent in regions inhabited by distinctly non Aryan ethnic groups which have experienced varying degree of assimilation into the all India cultural mainstream. Thus the more serious problems confronting

India's territorial integrity come from the unassimilated tribal periphery in the north east regions of the country'.

This highlights the problems that India faces with respect to its national security policy. The unassimilated identities which already feel distanced from a national identity get further alienated due to lack of importance given to them.

This study has been undertaken with an aim to explore and analyse the construction of national security. In seeking to address this question, the study has focused upon three theoretical perspectives, namely, realism, liberalism and critical theory. The study examines the theoretical underpinnings of the debates on security from these three theoretical perspectives. The study has also attempted to explore the practical aspects of national security concept as understood according to the three theories. It looks into various examples to evaluate how much does theoretical understanding echo when it comes to the practice of national security.

This work seeks to find out answers to the following questions:

1. What is it that drives the construction of national security?
2. Why does the pursuit of national security exacerbate the perception of insecurity?

The following hypotheses were put forward in the beginning of this study:

1. The pursuit of national security precipitates the process of othering thereby leading to alienation in society.
2. The construction of national security is driven primarily by the quest for coercive nation-building rather than as a response to external threats.

By the end of the research, the following hypotheses have been inferred:

1. The pursuit of national security precipitates the process of othering thereby leading to alienation in society.
2. The construction of national security is driven primarily by the quest for coercive nation-building rather than as a response to external threats.

3. The theoretical understanding of national security fails to reverberate with its practical dynamics.

Research Methods

The research undertaken for this dissertation was based on qualitative method. Primary data was gathered mainly from the government's policy reports and other reports from organisations like Peoples Union of Democratic Rights (PUDR), Cooperation of Democratic Rights Organisations (CDRO) and other national and international organizations. This was supplemented with secondary sources through theoretical work done by academics and theorists. A thorough study of academic and scholarly work was carried out along with articles from leading journals and documents. Also the opinion of people and politicians was evaluated by analysing the local newspapers to get a clearer picture and understanding of the ground situation.

Organisation of dissertation

Chapter Two: National security as a response to threat

This chapter deals with the realist conception of national security which limits the role of national security to tackling the territorial threats. The chapter analyses the philosophy behind the realist theory and traces the origin and development of the realist understanding. It also looks into the different sub-schools of realism such as neorealism, offensive and defensive realism and neoclassical realism.

The second part of the chapter evaluates the construction of national security based on realist understanding. It looks at different dimensions of the definitions of security on the basis of various theories which explain the behaviour of states.

Chapter Three: National Security as statecraft

This chapter deals with the conception of national security from a liberal perspective. The first section of the chapter gives an overview of liberal political theory and explains the core assumptions on which it is based. It also looks into the Kantian philosophy which forms the basic foundation on which the liberal theory is based.

The second section deals with how the concept of security is shaped through the concept of statecraft in preference based liberal theory. The third section critically analyses the liberal theory by highlighting the outcomes of the liberal conception of security. It also evaluates the work of international and transnational organisations and their effect on the sovereignty of states and the overall scenario of global security.

Chapter Four: National Security as alienation of identities

This chapter looks into the discourse of national security from a critical theoretical perspective. At the outset it seeks to explain what critical theory is and goes on to elaborate the evolution of critical security studies. Then the critique of critical security studies is given before taking up the concept of identity in critical security studies. The research gap in the critical security studies is explained.

The next section of the chapter takes up the example of India and analyses the problem of identities within its borders. The chapter deals with the national security problem with respect to alienation of identities.

Chapter five: Conclusion

This chapter evaluates and summarizes the outcome of the whole study.

Chapter Two

National Security as a Response to Threat

For the longest time, the concept of security in political parlance was attributed strictly to state and its territoriality. It is only in recent times that the concept attracted attention of theorists who sought to deconstruct it in order to broaden its definition. It took a considerable effort for the theorists to declare the concept as a contested definition. Owing to their work the literature on security got divided into two major categories: traditional and non-traditional concepts of security.

The realist school of thought is categorised as the traditional schools as they have been adhering to the age-old concept of 'state' as the only player in the game of international relations. The realist school of thought is assumed to be the most predominant in explaining the concept of security as it happened to explain the behaviour of states in the early years of development of International relations.

International relations as a discipline of study came into prominence only after the First World War and for the succeeding decades, it evolved in an atmosphere of war and conflict between states. Probably that was the reason that the realist conception of security became the most dominant and accepted definition of security for a long time to come. Security Studies was what we now call 'strategic studies', it was all about the military relations between the states (Smith 1999).

It was the neorealist understanding of International Relations which supposedly provided a parsimonious understanding of international system. Kenneth Waltz with his '*Theory of Internal Politics*' took the discipline by storm and also contributed immensely in shaping the traditional definition of security. The aim of this chapter is to explore the concept of security from the lens of realist paradigm. At the outset we will try to get an overview of the realist theory. Then we will trace the evolution and history of realist thought and understand how the concept of security has been conceptualised and put into practice.

Background

The most significant aspect of Realist tradition is the overwhelming importance of the 'state' as a basic unit for survival. The utmost function of the state is to maintain its existence and sovereignty. The international system exists in the form of anarchy, that is an absence of any formal system of government and it is in the self-interest of the states to secure their boundaries. The security of state is the single most important function of its machinery.

The realist tradition is considered as one of the oldest tradition in the history of International politics. It can be traced to the Greek civilisations where thinkers like Thucydides, Machiavelli and Hobbes laid down the foundation of what came to be recognized as realist tradition. These thinkers nuanced the explanations of international politics by carving out a discipline of study from a commonsensical understanding of state relations.

Realist tradition has imbibed a lot from Hobbesian political philosophy and its relevance has been reiterated by scholars time and again. Vincent (1981) argued that the Hobbesian tradition was very much alive in the twentieth century. His writings better explain the international scenario as compared to those of Kant or Grotius. Also the concept of international anarchy explained the essential truths of international relations regardless of time and space. His work is the starting point for any research in the field of International Relations.

The philosophy of Hobbes was based on the argument that all human actions are motivated by selfishness which was a 'state of nature'. It was something which was driven by fear, a state of perpetual conflict and a natural quest for glory and defence. For him this state of nature also applies to the states which results in perpetual conflict and a posture of war (Forde 1992).

The thinkers such as Hobbes and Machiavelli developed a perspective which is identified as classical realism. Though classical realism differs from the succeeding variants of realism, the basic tenets of the realist tradition remain the same. The general accepted assumptions of the realist tradition could be listed as follows:

- I. The state is the main actor and it is supposed to behave rationally in order to survive in the anarchical international system.
- II. This anarchic character of international politics compels states to defend their self-interests by any means and hence dissolves the moral character of the states.
- III. States acting morally at the international stage may prove disadvantageous for their survival.
- IV. The states have to safeguard their interests in the international environment by being independent and aggressive.

Evolution

The classical realist understanding of international relations was challenged by an alternate theory of liberalism. Liberalism provided a substitutive explanation based on concepts of peace and stability. It propagated an international political system based on democratic states and constitutional regimes which do not want war (Forde 1992). Introducing the concept of morality in managing international affairs, the liberal tradition highlighted the possibility of moral consensus and cooperation. This idealistic explanation appealed to the believers of peace to a large extent. However, the unfolding of two World Wars and the failure of liberal institutions such as League of Nations, shattered the hopes of liberals and revived the traditions of realist explanations.

In the mid- twentieth century, E.H Carr in his book '*Twenty Year Crisis*' provided a renewal to realist understanding in international relations theory. He compared the liberal and realist traditions and concluded that realist understanding is a better theory to explain the international system. He argued that Machiavelli was the first important political realist and that his doctrine of realist philosophy can still be relevant in explaining the present international order. For Machiavelli, history was a sequence of cause and effect. He believed that politics should not be a function of ethics rather ethics should be the function of politics. Also, there could be no effective morality unless there was no effective authority (Carr 1981).

Carr (1981) sidelines the liberal sentiments of peace and cooperation as naive and ill informed. He argues that liberals ignore the real facts and base their conclusions on

utopian explanations while as realists are more pragmatic as they let the political facts inform their theories. For him the most outstanding ‘achievement of modern realism, however, has been to reveal, not merely the deterministic aspects of the historical process, but the relative and pragmatic thought itself’.

Re-emphasising the relevance of the realist traditions, Carr (1981) explained the importance of power and national interest in determining the relations between states. Since his work was published during the interwar years, his explanation for the failure of ‘utopian’ understanding was much appreciated. The concepts of ‘harmony of interest’ and ‘universal moral principles’ could not explain the events unfolding during the interwar years. Hence E.H Carr’s work provided a great impetus to the renewal of realist tradition.

Neorealism

Morgenthau and Carr were followed by Kenneth Waltz who in his seminal work, ‘*The Theory of International Politics*’ reinvented the realist thought to explain the ongoing international order. He argued that unit level analysis is not enough to explain international politics and that the effects of structure should also be added to make the theory more parsimonious. Unit level analysis and structure –level analysis both can better explain the changes in the political system (Waltz 1979).

His theory of international politics described states as ‘unitary actors’ in an international system where the sole aim of the actors is to ‘survive’. The system is a self-help system as all the states are obliged to look for their own survival. Every state can be a potential threat to other state and it has to continuously maintain its balance through balance of power (Waltz 1979).

The international system functions in anarchy and plays an important role in developing pressure and creating wars. He argued that anarchy at the international level gives space to the evil human nature to express itself more rigorously (Waltz 1989). Because of order and hierarchy at the domestic level human nature doesn’t manifest itself, however at the international level it plays a major role in creating chaos and disorder. Waltz describes anarchy as a political order based on formal subordination and authority (Waltz 1979).

He also explained how states need to act in a particular manner in order to survive in the international environment. It is hard for states to cooperate, the war is inevitable and it will recur amongst the great powers over centuries. The wars would be more frequent in the multi polar world and that the bipolar world would be most stable. There would be a preoccupation with the states to provide for their security because of inherent suspicion and hostility (Waltz 1988).

Waltz's understanding of international relations became a milestone in the realist thought. His neorealism was considered as the most dominant understanding in the discipline of International Relations theory. It evolved realist thought into a field of study which heralded power politics, national interest, anarchy and security as the important tools for understanding international system.

However, with the fall of the Berlin Wall and the end of the Cold War the criticism against neorealist theory started to mount. This led the followers of Waltz to rebuild arguments around the basic core assumptions of neorealist theory. New variants such as offensive and defensive realism and neoclassical realism came into picture.

Offensive and defensive realism

Reiterating the core elements of neorealist thought, Kenneth Oye (1986) in his work 'Cooperation under anarchy' argued that the conflict causing impact of anarchy can be pacified if states seek to cooperate with each other. Lynn-Jones (1995) argued that defensive strategies can be the best way to maintain security of states. The states can enhance their defensive strategies by forming alliances. The stronger an alliance or group identity, the harder it will be to threaten that group. The stronger group identity thus could serve as a deterrent against subjugation or conquest. It's possible for the states to defend themselves without threatening the other states. High technological background and nuclear ability can also help in deterring the enemy states. They could also signal their peaceful intentions without leaving any scope for aggression and hence increasing the chances of peaceful coexistence amongst states.

On the other hand, an offensive realist such as Mearsheimer (2001) believed more in the conflict generating nature of the international anarchy. The chaos and disorder at the international system cause the states to go for aggressive state expansion. Offensive realists argued that in the absence of any overarching authority to enforce

agreements, there is no certainty that the peace causing circumstances can last forever. Any buildup in the power of a state should be seen with suspicion as a state can never be confident about its security. The ever increasing innovation in technology has greatly increased the offensive characteristics of the state. In order to survive in the long run, states need to constantly increase their own power or to weaken the power of other states.

The innovations and the additions to the sub-schools of the realist thought continued as more problem specific schools such as neoclassical realism were developed.

Neoclassical realism

Gideon Rose (1998) chose to address the inability of neorealism to engage with the outcomes of individual states policies. Waltz (1979) explained neorealism as a theory of international politics which dealt only with the general assumptions of the state behaviour and not the foreign policy issues. The neoclassical realists revisited classical realism by making realist theory more relevant to foreign policy. They incorporated both external and internal variables and also insights from the classical realist thought. As Rose (1998) believes 'Its adherents argue that the scope and ambition of a country's foreign policy is driven first and foremost by its place in the international system and specifically by its relative material capabilities'. The neorealists attempted to make theory relevant to foreign policy by developing explanations and paying attention to the specific conditions that each state faces. By ignoring the search for an overarching theory they managed to analyse different issues and problems of a particular state through the specific theory which best explains it. These various schools and sub-schools attempt to make the realist thought relevant to different outcomes in international politics.

The above-mentioned discussion on the evolution of the realist thought and its different sub categories reveal very distinctly that there are certain core elements of the realist thought which include anarchy, narrow self-interest, power centrism and groupism. These elements define and configure the behavior of states at the national and international level. National security and national interest are the topics of grave significance for the realist thought.

Understanding Security from the Realist standpoint.

By now we are comfortable with the basic understanding of realist school of thought and its various sub-schools. It has become clearly evident that the concept of state and its security is of ultimate value. In the rest of the chapter, we seek to understand the construction of security from realist perspective. To simplify the matter, we first look at the definition of a 'realist state'.

The state under the realist thought is a single unit which has been best explained by Buzan (1983). Barry Buzan in his book *People, State and Fear: The National Security problem in International Relations* identifies state as a powerful unit of political allegiance and authority. He argues that state is the only unit that has the legitimate command over the instruments of force including the access to modern means of technology and warfare. It bears a striking resemblance with the individual. It is a single entity which as per the realist thought would be driven by the human essence and would be obsessed with its security and survival. It is composed of three components which are understood with relation to each other. The three components include the physical base of the state, the idea of the state and the institutional expression of the state. Buzan (1983) has gone into depth explaining the various components but for realist understanding it is a monolithic whole around which the whole international system revolves.

Realist thought places the state in the center of the whole international system as a 'subject of threat' and its main purpose is its survival. The survival is attained by projecting all the energies of the state towards its national security.

National security according to realists is a straight forward concept which is basically understood as a derivative of power. An actor with enough power would achieve security as a consequence of it. In this sense, the concept of security has a heavy military emphasis and it can be better defined in conjunction with the concepts such as dominance and stability. Security is related to the absence of fear and threat by other actors. Though, the concept of security has been theorised by a number of thinkers from liberal, constructivist and critical standpoints, the realist conception of security is limited to the absence of territorial threat from other states in the international anarchical system. Realist conception of security necessitates a strong defence mechanism which leads to immense emphasis on arms buildup, both

conventional and nuclear. Apart from the arms race that most of the states indulge in, it also leads to nuclear weapon revolution where more and more states are joining the nuclear weapon bandwagon to guarantee their national security.

Different realist theories explain the constraints and incentives that shape behavior and outcomes in international politics. The 'balance of power' theory explains that considering the absence of any rule of law in an anarchical set up, it is very likely that states can resort to the use of force against other states. The theory explains that states will have tendency to build up their own weapon systems (internal balancing) or they will form alliances with other stronger states to increase their capabilities (external balancing). This balance of power theory explains how states build up power against other states (Wohlforth 2010). The balancing of United States and Soviet Union during the Cold War era can be explained through the balance of power theory.

Another theory which highlights the importance of acquiring security is the 'balance of threat' theory. The states are constantly aware that a particular state could pose a threat to its security. It can be in the form of geographical proximity, aggregate capabilities or aggressive intentions. In this case again, the state will resort to internal and external balancing in order to thwart the threat (Wohlforth 2010). The classical case can be the balancing of the countries like India and Pakistan where both resorted to the accumulation of weapon systems. Since both the countries share geographical proximity it was very imperative for both the states to build up their capabilities to deal with the threat posed by the other country.

The importance of national security is also explained by what Herz (1950) called as the 'security dilemma'. The constant need for self-defence can encourage a state to increase its security capabilities, projecting an unintended threat to the other country which renders that country insecure. This causes a vicious circle of mistrust and threat leading the two countries into an unending arms race.

The security dilemma theory was further developed into 'offence-defence' theory, which explained the effect of factors such as technology and geography in distinguishing between the offensive or defensive posture. Now if the military operations having more capabilities have an offensive posture, there are more chances of conflict and wars whereas, if the defensive operations have an advantage, there are more chances of peace and cooperation (Lynn-Jones 1995).

All realist theories highlight the indispensability of national security in international system. The explanation of arms buildup, acts of deterrence during cold war and the continuing efforts for acquiring nuclear weapons by more and more countries is all explained as a response to 'threat' to state security.

A very good example to understand the obsessive approach of states towards national security is to look at the U.S foreign policy after the end of cold war. With disintegration of the Soviet Union, the U.S attained a position of dominance with respect to all other important states at the international level. The hegemonic stability theory of Realism would suggest that the international order would maintain stability till the time the relations of authority are sustained by the underlying distribution of power (Wohlforth 2010). Though there were no major wars but U.S pursued an aggressive stance and indulged in limited wars and conflicts. The states such as Vietnam, Iraq, Lebanon and Afghanistan to name a few were subjected to oppressive wars and conflicts. The U.S struggle for maintaining its power transformed into an end in itself rather than a means to attain security.

In all these cases, the insecurity of the US was projected as a national security concern and resulted in increasing instability around the world. Invasion of Iraq and the unprecedented support to Israel in attacking Palestine are such blatant mistakes that even realists have criticized these attempts by the US. The aggressive US foreign policy took a significant turn after the terror attacks on the United States on 11 September 2001. This attack witnessed a new phase of imbalanced and aggressive US foreign policy which affected not only the supposed target but also the people of its own state. The following example explains how a neorealist conception of security thrives on the creation of 'us' versus 'them' divide. It further explains the manner in which this divide exacerbates the problems of security.

US War on Terror

The war on terror waged by the US subjected its citizens to an indeterminate and ambiguous war. It was a campaign which started as a counter strategy after the terrorist attacks of September 11 2001. The campaign was joined by a number of NATO and non NATO states. The purpose of the campaign was to formulate a national security strategy which could use all necessary force against the nations or groups who were in any way related to planning, authorising or aiding the terror

attack on 11 September 2001. This war elevated terrorism as an existential threat to US security. Condoleezza Rice stated that, “there is no longer any doubt that today America faces an existential threat to its security—a threat as great as any faced during the Civil War, World War II and the Cold War”. The war was legitimised in a way that suspending the freedoms was found necessary as a part of the war strategy (Rice 2002).

The US along with its allies started a string of operations in different parts of the world such as Philippines, Horn of Africa and Trans Sahara and most importantly in Afghanistan and Iraq. Out of these the war against Iraq and Afghanistan constituted a clear breach of sovereignty and lead to the use of mediated form of violence under the garb of ‘just war’. The war has been propagated on the premise of importance for national security and national interest. A tremendous increase in the military actions, intelligence and surveillance was in the good cause of maintaining national security. The whole war was to be directed against the ‘external other’ (Rice 2002).

The war on Iraq at an early point killed an estimated range of 4 million to 9 million civilians. The subsequent bombing of Afghanistan to attack Osama bin Laden’s network led to the death of approximately 3500 civilians (Shah 2013). The US also modified a number of laws in order to circumvent the international laws and treaties such as Geneva Convention. The modified laws varied from creating certain new categories like enemy combatants to identifying extra territorial locations like Guantanamo Bay to interrogate, detain and torture these suspects. Creating the new category of enemy combatants denied the privilege of calling them as legitimate participants in war and hence made them immune from any privileges provided against torture by international humanitarian law (Powell and Garth 2006).

The recent report by the United States Senate Select Committee on Intelligence (SSCI) about the CIA is a glaring example of how the war on terror was executed, considering the fact that the report has been given by a US agency itself. The war on terror as an example of pursuing the national security on the basis of a response to threat has led to indiscriminate use of power and the creation of a hegemon in the international system.

War on Terror: Success or failure?

The war on terror regime militarized the whole national security regime in view of the unprecedented terror threat. Cameron (2007) writes, 'In this real state of emergency there was little chance to ponder appropriate responses as the US began to limber its mighty war machine for its inevitable retributive justice'. It did not take much time for the terrorist threat to become the unquestionable reality threatening national security. The first thing to analyse about this war on terror is to check for the success it has achieved in combating terror and hence security the national interest of US. According to reports, now after all these years of war on terror the terror seems to be escalating like never before. Another article in *Foreign Policy* states that terrorism is growing at an alarming rate.

The aim of the 'war on terror' was to secure the national security interests of the US and other countries by curbing the violence created by the non-state war making entities. However, the reports and trends are showing a result which is contrary to the expected outcomes.

According to a study by the RAND Corporation in 2007, the number of the Salafi-Jihadist groups has increased from 28 in 2007 to 49 in 2013. The number of attacks increased from 100 to 950. The numbers of terrorists active in 2007 varied from 18,000 to 42,000 and in 2013 the number has increased to 105, 000. The core *Al Qaeda* has sustained huge damage but since 2010 there has been a 58 percent increase in the number of jihadist groups (Rothkopf 2014). These figures show the realist strategy of ruthlessly using force at the cost of civil liberties which has not been able to produce the desirable results.

The human and economic cost of this war is way more than the benefits it provided. With the growth of terrorism and the emergence of new groups like Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) the war seems far from being over. The thirteen costly years on terrorism have been immensely unsuccessful in creating a peaceful world. The homeland security in US probably is more secure and the American citizens might feel more secure on the American soil but that is more often than not a result of unprecedented surveillance and intelligence coupled with new technologies rather than the success of 'war on terror'.

Feirke (2005) argues that this war has increased the threat and led to the deepening of the conflict. It has created an identity of the enemy on the basis of religion and thus coalesced the populations which otherwise would have distanced themselves from the so-called terrorists. The use of force and the language of war clearly demarcated lines on the basis of 'us' and 'them' identity. Feirke poses a critique on the war on terror by arguing from a critical security perspective. He believes that the war was securitised by the kind of language used, by posing it as an existential threat and by using the politics of fear – fear of the repetition of the trauma through another terrorist attack. This securitisation has led to the extrapolation of threat and resulted in wrong national security policies.

The war on terror has also been critiqued by Robin W. Cameron (2007); he criticizes the way this war not only infringed upon the civil liberties of the 'other' but also curbs the dissent of its own citizens. It created a 'permanent war mentality' under which the suspicion, and even persecution of the 'other' is a small price to pay for domestic security. It creates a national identity where dissent or criticism of its policies is like helping the 'other'. The norms, beliefs and values are all created for individuals. Individuals are subjected to an asymmetrical relationship where their behaviour is altered and normalised but the individuals remain powerless to influence the regime in return (Cameron 2007).

Cameron (2007) in his article 'Self-discipline in the time of terror' uses the Foucauldian analyses in order to explain the state's disciplinary power against itself. He argues that,

The role of discipline in the Foucauldian sense is not so much to explicitly control individuals but to shape and produce the way in which they know. This involves the construction of what is described as a regime of truth, a discursive reality whereby rules, codes and procedures are written into everyday life. The individual is thus in an asymmetrical relationship with a discursive regime and is in sense under surveillance from these norms, resulting in the individual subjecting themselves to the discipline.

This kind of disciplining effect creates an environment which dictates the identities of the citizens; it dictates what is right and what is wrong. The norms, values and stereotypes are fed into the system through the vast network of entertainment and information.

The problem has been exacerbated rather than solved by militarisation. The war has not only suspended civil liberties, it also has led to gross human rights violations with complete disregard for international law. Hence the realist conception of national security exaggerates the perception of threat resulting in policies which have proven to be either complete failures or counter-productive.

Apart from the above mentioned problems related to national security, the critics of the neorealist theories believe that preoccupation of states with their defence has led to an undue importance being given to national security. They believe that explaining security as a response to threat has narrowed down the scope of security to something which fails to provide a holistic understanding of the international system.

The most important criticism to realist understanding of security has come from liberal and critical theory perspective. There is a huge literature in these schools of thought which broaden and widen the concept of security, which will be taken into account in the next two chapters.

Here however, we would explore the inbuilt contradictions in the concept of national security. In the realist theory, the concept of security and the state has been subjected to considerable criticism. Both the concepts are considered to be very narrow and restricted in approach.

Security in realism is synonymous with the concept of citizenship (Krause and Williams 1997). Belonging to a state can only entitle its people to security. Anyone falling outside the purview of citizenship does not fall into the category of an object of security. People without a state, as in case of countries going through conflicts or wars (for example the Kurds and Palestinians), do not fall into the category of citizens and become vulnerable to insecurity. Thus the concept of security is not inclusive of all the people.

The neorealist approach has pitched the state and people against each other, thus creating a paradox in its own definition. A number of criticisms against the neorealist approach point towards this paradox. The contradiction that arises has been highlighted by Krause and Williams (1997), they argue that sometimes the protection of individuals within a community is not equated with support for states; security of state comes in contradiction with the security of its people. This leads to the cases of

safeguarding human rights of people and supporting the rule of law. Rights of individuals from torture and wrongful confinement are some of the rights that get violated. Authoritative sovereign states committing crimes against its people to maintain the idea of the state is a common occurrence in the present world order.

They also argue that sometimes the state machinery poses greatest threat to its own people. State institutions become a source of organised violence to curb freedom of people. The doctrine of national security becomes a justification for the abuse of power by state machinery. 'Citizenship paradoxically becomes a source of insecurity, and the claims of citizenship become the justification of violence' (Krause and Williams 1997). The unchecked use of power and violence by different countries such as those in Central America, Middle East or South Asia are glaring examples misuse of national security doctrine by legitimate authorities.

The third case is the inability of the neorealist states to identify the broader threats such as the threats to economy and environment which can cause insecurity to the people and are urgent issues but do not fit into the definitions of threat under neorealism. These issues and problems are dealt with in critical security studies which broaden their purview to accommodate a number of threats then just the threat to sovereignty of the state.

The above highlighted problems expose only the tip of the iceberg when it comes to criticisms of neorealist understanding of security. The next two chapters will go into the detailed alternate explanations of security. Here, we only intend to understand the construction of national security through a realist perspective and focus on the various inadequacies of the definitions and its effect on the current world order. This work proves that national security as a response to threat is an inadequate understanding as it fails to explain the dynamics of security issues in its entirety.

Chapter Three

National Security as Statecraft

The construction of national security is understood in myriad ways according to various theoretical paradigms. Its understanding and explanation has changed according to varying historical and philosophical contexts. In earlier chapter we analysed the concept of security from a realist standpoint, where national security is understood strictly as the security of state with reference to its territorial boundaries. In this chapter we will attempt to understand the construction of national security from liberal perspective.

There are different theoretical paradigms which understand security in various perspectives. The concept of security has evolved from being state-centric to something that involves international as well as global security (Haftendorn 1991). Each concept of security varies from the other on the basis of its interpretations of various threats and challenges that it perceives. With the change in nature of international political system, the nature of the security also changed. There has been a change in how states have opened up from being regionally bound to ones that are a part of a dynamic, interactive and interdependent system of states.

The understanding of national security also evolved from a Hobbesian understanding which pitches every state against the other in an environment of ‘war of all against all’ to a Kantian understanding of ‘perpetual peace’ where the states and their interests could coexist under an overarching political order (Haftendorn 1991). The Hobbesian thought developed into the realist understanding of security which has already been dealt with in the previous chapter. The Kantian thought on the other hand paved the way for the liberal understanding of security which is the subject matter of this chapter.

The liberal understanding of security is more of a ‘global security’ because there is an assumption of a community of mankind and an overarching political system (Haftendorn 1991). This conception of security assumes cooperation among states and a global security system which believes in a universal concept of security with shared norms,

principles and practices (Haftendorn1991). This security system presupposes a strong system of units which regulate the laws and orders between various states. The concept of security in liberal theory plays at the international level and takes into account the security of other units besides its own. It emphasises on the ability of individuals to build institutions and influence the patterns of action. It has an immense belief in the overarching security systems which could solve the problems identified by the realist understanding of security. The later versions of liberal theory also lay emphasis on the development of international norms and the capability of states to define their own interests (Keohane and Nye 1989).

In order to understand the concept of security from a liberal paradigm, we need to delve deep into the theoretical foundations and evolution of the liberal political theory. This chapter will trace the origin and evolution of liberal theory and try to understand the construction of security from its lens. The theory of liberalism would also be examined by taking in account the variable of preference in international relations.

The first section of the chapter will give an overview of the liberal political theory and explain the core assumptions on which it is based. It will also look into the Kantian philosophy which forms the basic foundation on which the liberal theory is based. The second section will deal with how the concept of security is shaped through the concept of statecraft by preference based liberal theory. The third section will critically analyse the liberal theory by highlighting the outcomes of the liberal conception of security. It will evaluate the work of international and transnational organisations and their effect on the sovereignty of states and overall scenario of global security.

Explaining the Liberal Theory

Contravening the conflict centric nature of realist thought, the liberal thought in international relations has been the propagator of peace and justice. Immanuel Kant, the founder of this thought developed it during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Based on the premise of good human nature and cooperation among individuals, liberal political thought sought to believe that the misery of war would come to an end (Smith 1992). However, with the unfolding of the two world wars and other interstate conflicts,

it was the realist understanding of international relations which caught the imagination of political thinkers. This however, did not lead to a situation of academics losing interest in liberal thought owing to its promise for an optimistic world view, democracy and human rights (Steins et al 2010).

The liberal thought is a wide theory which encompasses the explanation of political as well as economic issues. In economic sense, it is a broad term which promotes a free market with minimum regulation. Another variant emphasises an intervening role of state to avoid accumulation of wealth and power in few hands. Politically the liberal thought believes in democracy, pluralism and human rights. It also develops into a wide variety of sub disciplines such as interdependence theory, transnationalism, liberal internationalism and the likes. Steins et al maintain 'Liberalism, as an 'ism', is an approach to all forms of human organization, whether of a political or economic nature, and it contains within it a social theory, philosophy and ideology' (Steins et. al. 2010). The subject of liberalism is inherently based on the philosophy of good human nature, cooperation, rights of the individuals, their opportunities and choice.

The basic premise on which the thought of liberalism is based is reason and rationality in human nature (Nardin and Mapel 1992). Liberals have always believed that rational argument and reason can only be the best way to solve issues and have rejected the realist belief that humans are evil by nature and incapable of any sort of kindness. Thinkers like Kant, Bentham and Dickinson and Alfred E. Zimmerman have all reiterated the faith in good human nature and upheld the belief in peace and reformed international system. Kant, one of the earliest thinkers of liberal thought had immense belief in the development of natural capacity for reason and culture but he was cautious that it would not come easily (Nardin and Mapel 1992). Bentham (1891) on the other hand believed that wars and armaments can never help any state; these would act as obstacles to the development of states. Trade and commerce was supposed to replace wars in the international arena. Trade and commerce was connected with welfare, it would shape the foreign policies under the liberal tradition. The use of force, armaments and tyranny was opposed by liberal thinkers because it would take away from the welfare and public resources of the people. Maintaining harmony and peace and avoiding wars and conflicts

was the only way to defeat anarchy and take control of the way states want to maintain their foreign affairs. Also the capacity of individuals to act reasonably and understand moral principles was one of the basic assumptions of liberal thought.

Some of the core assumptions of the liberal thought could be summarised as follows:

- I. Humans are inherently rational and good natured; they can pursue their own interests and are morally upright.
- II. Humans are capable of maintaining cooperation because there is usually harmony of interests among people, hence most of the time people would not be interested in wars.
- III. International realm can be handled in the same way as domestic realm, there should be no centralisation of power and individual liberty should be respected.
- IV. Human rights, universal commitment to brotherhood and transnational boundaries would be certain values which are cherished under the liberal doctrine.

Deriving from the above-mentioned assumptions we can roughly conclude that liberals believe in the common good of all as Jeremy Bentham believes in the ‘greatest happiness of the greatest number’ (Bentham 1891). The common good of all emerges when individuals are allowed to define the common good and place it in harmony with others. There ought to be peaceful accommodation of different conceptions of good and the good of the maximum number is accepted as common good. The concept of cosmopolitanism is also given more importance in liberalism as compared to nationalism which is believed to create divisions among the people of the world on the basis of narrow national self-interests (Nardin and Mapel 1992).

The Kantian Paradigm

The origin of the liberal tradition in International relations is believed to be the Kantian work called as '*Perpetual Peace*'. As opposed to the Hobbesian tradition of the 'war against all' Kant believed in the peaceful state of nature. He believed in the creation of a peaceful state of the world. Mostly dismissed as impractical, he believed in the formation of republics in order to sustain the peaceful state. Hurrel (1990) explains the influence that Kant's writing had on the development of liberal tradition in international relations and the various interpretations related to his writing. Hurrell believes that Kant's view of international system was the solution to the problem of war and that his concept of international system was a limited federation without any powers of law enforcement. Kant believed that a more peaceful world could be achieved only if there are republican states as opposed to monarchies or dictatorships and where people enjoyed individual freedoms (Hurrel 1990). For Kant, the international system could only be secure in presence of an organised society. Till the time there is lawlessness, there would be insecurity and there would be war. The only way to enjoy freedom and peace in a society is by maintaining law and order and creating an organised society. Kant believes in an inseparable connection between the domestic and international system and for him international anarchy is considered deplorable both at the domestic as well as international level. Anarchy and a state of war are completely unacceptable at both the levels of state and the international system. Kant also believes in the overarching system of cosmopolitan security. He believes that 'peace can neither be inaugurated nor secured without a general agreement between nations and this could be achieved only by forming a universal union of states and this union would be more of a federation of states' (Hurrel 1990).

Also in order to attain a stage of peaceful world, Kant stresses the importance of domestic reform (Hurrel 1990). He believes that the republics are less likely to go to wars because people are less inclined towards wars as opposed to the rulers. Wars not only are harmful for the economic costs of a state but also cause immense misery and pain for the civilians. Kant stresses on the need to reform international anarchy in order to avoid destruction and conflict and the need to identify oneself as a part of global community as

opposed to a national identity. However, he does not propagate overthrow of the society of states rather he believes in the improvement of the state systems. It would include more rights and duties and international law and order (Hurrel 1990).

Another important argument which highlights the interstate order in liberal tradition is the principle of nonintervention. Kant believes that no state should interfere in the internal matters of the other state. Andrew Hurrel (1990) maintains that Kant was a statist and also believed in cosmopolitanism. He believed in an overarching society of states and in the moral unity of human kind.

Kant laid down the foundation of the liberal international relation theory along with the philosophers like Adam Smith, Richard Cobden, John Stuart Mill, Woodrow Wilson and John Maynard Keynes. Liberalism as a theory evolved into a number of branches like economic liberalism which believed in free market and trade without any state intervention, as markets are considered to be efficient means of maintaining trade and commerce. Utilitarianism, the term used by Bentham defined the extent of rationality by the maximum utility it is capable of providing to the maximum number of people. The purpose of the state was not sidelined completely though as Adam Smith did believe that governments need to provide the public goods. The focus on the extent of state intervention increased towards the twentieth century as Adam Smith believed that some sort of state intervention is important for providing public goods and a regulatory system in the form of a legal system. However, the classical liberalist stance of minimum intervention continued to stay applicable to a large extent, as mutual interdependence among states for trade was believed to minimise conflict. The argument against perverse national interest was an important argument by the liberal theorist.

Preference based Liberal Theory of International Politics

The liberal tradition of international politics has developed with the above characteristics as its foundation. Andrew Moravcsik (1997) explains the essence of liberal international theory through the relations between states on the basis of preferences shaped through social ideas, interest and institutions. This is opposed to how realist statecraft is determined by the response to threat. State preferences hold the most important space in

the liberal tradition. Preferences are usually shaped through strategic calculations of the governmental institutions. The state preferences in the liberal theory are shaped by a number of factors which include domestic institutions, economic interdependence and other factors like polity and economy (Moravcsik 1997). The liberal political theory gives importance to the nature of different actors which include not only the state as a unitary unit but also societal actors and international system. Addressing the commonly held opinion about liberal theory being ideological and utopian, Moravcsik (1997) has tried to state liberal theory in non-ideological and non-utopian forms. Liberal theory explains the statecraft through certain assumptions which form the basic premises of liberal theory in international politics.

Liberal theory gives primacy to the societal actors, when it comes to the standpoint of the statecraft or security. The main focus of statecraft remains the societal actor. The civil society at the domestic as well as transnational level comprises individuals of a diverse kind having different goals and orientations. These individuals are rational and risk averse who work for their individual welfare. Competition and scarcity does exist and that causes people to compete for incentives. Liberal theory usually assumes that most of the goals of individuals are based on the harmony of interest; hence there are more chances of cooperation. Though there could be some individuals who are not as risk averse as the other ones, there are higher chances of conflict and competition. The three basic things which could lead to conflict among the individuals are inequality in political power, scarcity of material resources and differences in the fundamental beliefs. Scarcity could be the cause of conflict whereas abundance can promote harmony and balance. Similarly difference in the political power can exacerbate violence while when there is equitable distribution of power, that will bring harmony and peace (Moravcsik 1997).

Second and a very important assumption of the liberal political theory which explains the way foreign policies and other decisions in the international systems work is about state preferences and representation. Contrary to the realist perspective which looks at all the state policies and decisions as a response to threat, the liberal perspective explains the state practices as an outcome of the interests of a certain section of the society who comprise mostly the state officials. "Represented institutions and the practices constitute

the critical 'transmission belt' by which the preferences and social power of individuals and groups are translated into state policy" (Moravcsik 1997). So the underlying interest and the identities of the people can have a major effect on the way policies are formulated in the states. Usually there is a certain section of people who are elite and whose interests and preferences get more importance in terms of policy formulations' mostly the interest of the larger section of people get ignored. These elite sections of people usually are a part of the state institutions and thus become key determinants of the state policies. An important point is to be noted in the usage of the term preferences here is that preferences are different from the 'strategies' or 'tactics' of the state. Strategies, tactics or policies of the state are usually in response to a particular external threat or a result of thought of moves in case of bandwagoning, appeasing or containment (Moravcsik 1997). Sometimes the states have diverse viewpoints according to various institutions; preferences could rationally be formed for the good of the whole state while as sometimes it could be for the vested interest of a certain section of the government or society. So the liberal thought emphasises over the fact that as opposed to the clear cut conceptions of security set up, welfare policies or sovereignty as propagated by the realist sense, states tend to have diverse and changing stances over such things. The liberal definition of states' policies provides them enough scope to change and reinterpret various policies and stances according to the changes in international scenario.

The third important assumption of liberal international theory explains the interdependence of states and their behaviours which shape state preferences. The preferences of one state get shaped by the underlying preferences of another state. These state preferences of various countries keep changing according to the changes in the states. The interdependence in policy happens through the cost benefit analysis of the states. However, at times when the state preferences do not match and there happens to be a deadlock or a zero sum game, it increases the chances of interstate tension or conflict and it can also then lead to coercion. States in such scenarios weigh the outcomes and cost benefit analysis helps to resolve certain issues. The coordination in the policies takes place through coordination games explained by rational choice theory like prisoner's dilemma and other ways of cooperation. The payoff structures are weighed in terms of mutual and conflicting preferences (Oye 1986).

The state preferences of cooperation and conflict are also determined by the social identity of the actors (Moravcsik 1997). The preferences determined by certain section of individuals who dominate the political discussions plays an important role in formulation of policies. 'Social identity is defined as a set of preferences shared by individuals concerning the proper scope and nature of public goods provision , which in turn specifies the nature of legitimate domestic order by stipulating which social actors belong to the polity and what is owed' (Moravcsik 1997). The important areas where social identities can play important role are that of socio-economic regulation, political and geographic borders. Unlike realists for whom national security is an end in itself, for liberals it is a means to fulfill the underlying preferences of the societal groups.

Unlike in realism where the only identity which defines the policies of state is based on the state identity, in liberalism societal identity can bridge the gap between the two states. If the people belonging to the same, say, ethnic, religious or linguistic identity happen to exist on the two sides of the borders there could be mutual trust and recognition. If there are different identities it can lead to more conflict. Moravcsik maintains that there are empirical evidences that the nature of identities on the borders of the states can have an important impact on patterns of conflict and cooperation. The greatest wars and the national interventions have happened on the issues of ethnic and religious identities (Moravcsik 1992).

The liberal theory also gives immense importance to domestic politics in deciding on the foreign policies which is contrary to the realist paradigm which does not pay any heed to the impact domestic politics can play on international politics. The state is considered to be a unitary actor and its goals are constant whereas the liberal tradition believes that preferences can change over a period of time with change in political institutions.

For liberals, states and their preferences are all socially embedded. The state preferences become the determining factors of all the state policies. National security also does not remain confined as a response to threat but assumes a bigger and greater meaning encompassing all social, economic and social goals. Though liberal theory does accept the meaning of state as having a territoriality and population but its purpose goes beyond tackling the physical threat to the state. National security encompasses a greater job of

state building while paying attention to democratic set up, human rights and other social and economic freedoms. The focus lies more in cooperation among the states at the international level on the basis of its state preferences. Maintaining institutions and world order is the way of maintaining security in liberal political thought. Institutions play an important role in facilitating relations among the different states. Complex interdependence and cooperation are the important factors which regulate the relations between various states. The role of liberal institutions was considered to be very important in maintaining peace and stability among states. This branch of liberalism popularly called as liberal institutionalism laid important emphasis on the institutions of the state to maintain law and order in international system. It leads to the belief in international organizations such as United Nations. It emphasized on the role played by the international system in maintaining cooperation and world order between states.

The liberal institutionalism managed to develop into a theoretical perspective with thinkers such as Hedley Bull, Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye adding various nuances to the understanding of cooperation and interdependence of states at the international level.

Keohane and Nye (1989) explained cooperation and interaction among states on the basis of interaction between states and non-state actors across national borders. Their theory also annihilates the difference between high and low politics, that is, undue importance is not given to national security and defense issues over other issues of socio economic development and welfare. Considerable importance is given to the gains that could be achieved through cooperation with the states at the international level. The soft power and the role played by international organisations is the basic premise which drives the concept of state building under the liberal paradigm.

The same theory of institutionalism is reproduced by Moravcsik (1997) by calling the liberal view of regimes as “socially embedded” indicating that the success and the failure of the international organisations depends on their responsibility towards cooperation. The states which are more cooperative induce more stability in the international system.

Hence the concept of security in liberal institutionalism is mostly defined by the role of the cooperation in the form of international organizations. The importance given to the

institutions and their role in state building however becomes problematic when it is looked at from a practical point of view.

The Problem with the Liberal Theory of Security

The way liberal theory focusses upon the relations between states, it lays emphasis on a concept of security which is more global and reinforces the amicable relations between states on the basis of cooperation. It presupposes the importance of a strong institution or a world government (Haftendorn 1991). It encourages the existence of international organisations and gives them prime importance in the maintenance of law, order and security in the international system. The liberal theory creates a rosy picture of the world in terms of the possible existence of a peaceful world order governed by the international and transnational organisations. The failure of the organisations such as League of Nations and United Nations in maintaining peace and order suggests otherwise.

This section will look into the various ways in which international organizations have failed to maintain the law and order (as suggested by liberal theory) and rather are responsible for more instability and diminution of sovereignty of weak states. International organisations have become tools in the hands of the developed and strong states to unleash a new phase of neocolonialism. The concept of ‘global security’ as propagated by liberal theory has ended up in compromising the security of weak states and in turn disturbing the balance and security of the whole international system. The next section of the chapter will discuss certain examples of how the international organisations have failed in maintaining a security regime and thus making the concept of global security redundant.

Neil Robinson and Aidan Hehir (2007) have compiled the work of thinkers like Ralph Wilde, Philip Cunliffe, David Chandler and Vanessa Pupavac. These thinkers have engaged critically with the prospects of the work of international organizations and their role in maintaining the global security. The arguments given by these thinkers bring forth the failure of the liberal conception of security.

The supposed role of the international organisations is to maintain peace and order in the world and also help in state building and reconstruction of states. The argument that the

liberal theory believes in cooperation between states presupposes that the states are necessarily democratic and egalitarian. This argument attracts maximum criticism as this is not the case all the time. There are states which are not necessarily egalitarian even if they are democratic and they do not adhere to the norms and values of democratic institutions. A significant issue faced by the international community is to maintain peace and order in the world. Stability, peace and order could be achieved by creating a level playing field for all the countries. In wake of inequality of states, and the existence of myriad weak states, this becomes a serious problem. Robinson and Hehir quote Migdal J. (1988) in explaining weak states as those states which do not have 'capacities to penetrate society, regulate social relationships, extract resources, and appropriate or use resources in determined ways'. In these kinds of states, the state is incapable to make decisions and chalk out its own preferences. These states tend to become dependent on other stronger states and require help in their state building-exercise (Robinson 2007). This state building exercise more often than not turns exploitative for the weaker states. Under the garb of legitimate international action the institutional machinery turns defunct and serves its own interest.

The cooperation of states and the formation of transnational organisations are meant to solve the issues of the world by concerted efforts that are taken up by such organisations. The international organisations such as United Nations and various organisations associated with it play important roles in order to maintain law and order in the world. Ralph Wilde (2007) argues that the international administration is not much different from its predecessor, colonialism. He argues that international organisations are being compared to the colonial forces in the new age, especially after the invasions of Iraq and Afghanistan. He raises questions about the difference between the illegitimate state generated colonialism and legitimate international organisation generated intervention. He believes that by the creation of these legitimate organisations such as UN and its security council, there is an establishment of a legitimate power to carry on interventions and invasions on other states. These activities owing to their legitimate character are carried on with impunity. The examples of such interventions in Kosovo, East Timor, Eastern Slavonia and Bosnia and Herzegovina explain the hegemonic nature of such activities. This leads us to believe that cooperation at the international level does not

necessarily lead to the maintenance of peace and world order. Rather, it could lead to war and chaos for the victim states. Another very important problem in this case is the legitimacy that these institutions have maintained which make their actions completely acceptable in the present scenario and even more dangerous. Rather than fulfilling the liberal aim of maintaining peace and security, these actions end up being hegemonic and controversial.

Another important argument is that international organisations tend to focus on building up conditions for good governance and democratic set up among states. Cunliffe (2007) argues that ‘although the claim of state building projects undertaken by international actors is to build human rights and democratic governance. In fact what happens is the creation of regimes that are dependent on outside powers.’ This creates a domination of the sponsor states on the victim states. In the post- cold war era, economic interdependence, globalisation and the increase in the international organisations have changed the dynamics of world politics. Under the pretext of delivering good governance and democratic set up, a trend of interventionism has begun. This overriding of sovereignty was justified on the basis of saving the states from human rights abuse. The humanitarian obligations which are portrayed as higher goals in the liberal political thought help the states in escaping responsibility after exercising power. According to David Chandler (2007), the reason why the powerful states are attracted towards this kind of interventionism is mostly because of the absence of accountability

Chandler (2007) also argues that in the post-cold war period there has been dilution in state sovereignty. He directs the criticism towards organisations which are given more importance thereby lessening the role of the governments. As the importance of the international organisations increases, the role of state decreases. These organisations interfere in the conflict situations of states and hence diminish the role of the states. There is a lack of the stabilisation of political community and the legitimacy of the state government wanes away. This has a tremendous effect on the security of such states. The undue importance received by international organisations restricts the importance of political functioning by the actual elected representatives. This usually leads to the marginalisation of the political sphere (Chandler 2007).

Chandler provides an example of the crisis in Bosnia wherein the place was considered as incapable of giving power to the political representatives and hence became dependent on the international organisation. This turned the state into a dependent entity thereby further weakening its sovereignty. Also the work of these organisations creates a vicious circle of dependency when it comes to the states. In the current form, it's mostly failing in achieving the goals and thus creating terms for its endless existence. This fact is reiterated by other thinkers such as Richard Caplan and Aiden Hehir that these organizations cause the erosion of sovereignty which in turn weakens its authority itself and moves it away from its charter (Robinson 2007).

Highlighting the role played by the international organisations specially the humanitarian NGOs in weakening the economic stability of the developing states, Pupavac (2007) argues that 'NGO's have abandoned the state-led national development and in particular drives for industrialization, in favour of creating sustainable development and empowerment of individuals'.

Pupavac highlights the problems of humanitarian advocacy and argues that humanitarian organisations have moved beyond providing official aid and collecting private funds. It has ventured into intervening in national politics. This is especially true for the weak states or new states which depend on the international organizations for various humanitarian works. Pupavac mentions the various instances of international organisations and humanitarian NGOs advocating military intervention. The examples being Medicines Sans Frontiers (MSF) appealing for military intervention in Bosnia, 'Save the Children' lobbying for intervention in Kosovo and Oxfam in Darfur (Pupavac 2007). So these international organisations have drifted from doing humanitarian work to actively being involved in the politics of these states. This gravely affects the decision making and state building activities of the states as well as the preferences that states tend to define. The national sovereignty of these states gets undermined causing a reassertion of an unequal international order. This highlights the failure of international organisations in creating a structure of independent sovereign states capable of their own system of decision making on the basis of their preferences.

The above-mentioned examples reiterate the failure of international organisations in the state building exercise that liberal theory believes in. It highlights that it is not always possible for states to gain security through cooperation. The task of international and transnational organizations can turn on its head and diminish the sovereignty of the states rather than strengthening it. International cooperation can completely make the state governments dysfunctional and hence transforming them from being independent to completely dependent on other strong states. The examples of failure of the work of international organisations can be seen in the cases of Bosnia, Kosovo, Iraq and Afghanistan.

Chapter Four

National Security as Alienation of Identities

Throughout history, the concept of identity played a major role in establishing relations between various political entities. It existed long before the Westphalian concept of states came into being. Right from the beginning of the civilisations, wars and conflicts between different groups and tribes were based on their identities. The concept of ‘us’ versus ‘them’ has always been the main criterion for establishing or withdrawing relations between people. The concept of security was important then as much as it is now. Ethnic and religious identities have always played an important role in establishing political relations. With the advent of the state system and the formation of national identities, the identities based on religion, ethnicities and languages got relegated to a less important sphere. The literature on International Relations predominantly realist and liberal paradigms ignore the importance of identities in security studies. Its significance in the security environment is largely under-theorised in Critical Security Studies as well. In this chapter, we look at the concept of national security from critical-theoretical perspective and explore the connection between national security and identity.

What is Critical Theory?

The term critical theory was coined by the Frankfurt school² (Frankfurt, Germany) and it essentially derives its existence from sociology and literature. The main focus of critical theory is to challenge and question the existing theoretical knowledge. ‘It believes that most of the theoretical paradigms insist on explaining structures and institutions which are taken as immutable and unchangeable’ (Linklater 1997). Critical theory seeks to go beyond this mere understanding of the concepts and tries to pose a critique to bring about a change. The critical theory in International Relations has provided the much needed

² It’s also known as the Institute of Social research located in Frankfurt in Germany.

window to accommodate, challenge and broaden the epistemic understanding of systems and institutions.

Cox (1981) explains critical theory as something that deals with understanding the historical change as opposed to what he calls as 'problem solving' theory. Problem solving theories according to him are ahistorical that are very narrow in scope of inquiry. They serve the status quo and do not question anything. Critical theory on the other hand looks into the shortcomings of the prevalent ideologies, point out contradictions and challenge the present world order (Cox 1981).

The importance of critical theory has also been outlined by scholars such as Andrew Linklater (1997), who believes that it is the lack of knowledge about society as an important aspect which is not taken into consideration by the mainstream theories. They lack the emancipatory purpose and end up being disadvantageous to the marginal and weaker sections. The ideological theories consider the social structures as given and rigid with no scope of change while critical theory removes the structural constraints and allows the scope for a transformation. It questions and redefines the meaning of political and social boundaries. It opens up the path to understand the concepts of inclusion and exclusion in the course of development. Thus critical theory has broadened the horizons of theory building and made it more inclusive and emancipatory.

The concept of security has been rightly scrutinised and analysed by the critical theorists. In the past few decades, the concept of security which was earlier considered to be under-theorised and contested has witnessed a considerable scrutiny and evolution. Critical Security Studies emerged with the collapse of the cold war and as a result of the inability of traditional security schools to explain the change of events in the post-cold war era (Mutimer 2010).

Critical theory is something that essentially questions each and every aspect of security studies; it challenges the referent point of the security, the object of the security and the kinds of threats that exist. It dismantles the statusquo which was built by the rationalist conceptions of security. The neorealist and neoliberal conceptions of security had normalised the state as the only referent point and international anarchy being the sole

issue in security studies. Critical security studies broadened the scope and highlighted the various other issues which hold more importance in maintaining the security of the state.

Definition of Security

Efforts to conceptually analyse and reduce the ambiguities around the concept of security is something attempted by a large number of thinkers, so much so that Baldwin (1997) calls it something of a 'cottage industry'. However, he calls it a contested concept which lacks proper conceptualisation. He believed that security has been neglected as a concept and there was a need to analyse its value. It needs to be explicated in order to make it easy to compare it with the other goals of the state.

One of the earliest attempts to analyse the concept was done by Arnold Wolfers in 1952. He challenged the assumption that all the states should have military security as their starting point. He emphasised how the concept of national interest and security do not have to be something that is based on the external dangers faced by the state, and the aspirations regarding security can change both temporally and spatially. Different states can have different priorities when it comes to their national interest and the degree and type of security that a nation aspires for, can vary from the need of armaments to just forging good alliances with other states. Wolfers also introduced the importance of moral standpoint in security policies. The undue importance given to the problems of military services takes away the privilege from the social welfare. Also the security policies can be judged not only on how good or evil they are but also on how praiseworthy or condemnable they could be, based on the circumstances (Wolfers 1952).

It was Buzan (1983) who actually broadened the framework of security studies. His was one of the major works which added remarkable value to the definition of security as Ken Booth maintained that Buzan's *People, State and Fear* 'was the most comprehensive theoretical analysis of the concept in international relations literature to date, and since its publication the rest of us have been writing footnotes to it (Booth 1991)'.

Buzan (1983) interpreted about security not only from the perspective of the state but argued that it should also incorporate individual as well as international security. For him the other sectors of security apart from the military security are of equal importance. The concept of security is incomplete without taking into account the political, economic, societal and environmental security. Military security is still the important aspect of the security issues but issues at the periphery are also important (Buzan 1998). Military threats for him are definitely the most important kind of threats because it involved the use of force and a sense of urgency. However, he also laid emphasis on the political threat which could weaken the state as a political entity. It can be more dangerous and not easily identifiable and thus could be more ambiguous. They can pose threat in the form of ideologies; they can be intentional and can have repercussions on the structural arrangement in the international arena. Similarly the economic, societal and environmental issues also pose threats which can have serious repercussions on the security of the state.

The economic security forms the basic foundation for the establishment of the other securities. Societal security is connected with the political and military security. The differences in identities can create fissures in the society and can perpetuate tensions amongst neighboring countries thus compromising on the security of a state. Environmental security is one of the most pressing issues faced by the states in the present times. The threats caused due to environmental degradation transcend borders and thus pose immense pressure on the states. These different sectors added to the broadening of the security agenda.

Booth (1991) was responsible for adding another nuance to the definition of security. For him, the focus of the security should be human emancipation rather than anything else. Power and order which are usually the privileged in the traditional concepts of security are at the expense of others and hence deprive the individuals from their due. For him the state should not be the referent point of security because it's too unreliable, illogical and diverse. His idea of security was to move beyond the important but limited definitions of security to something which could recapture the idea of politics as something which is open-minded and ethical (Booth 1991). Also the traditional concept of security was

ethnocentric and static. This idea of security for Booth was something that had to arrive with the century we are living in. With decolonisation and the emphasis on liberty of people in the twentieth century, it was extremely important to provide freedom to individuals in order to actually make them feel secure (Booth 1991).

Evolution of the Concept of Security

The concept of security has developed over a period of time. The changes in the political landscape of the international system have played an important role in developing the concept of security. The traditionalist concept of security which now could also be relegated to the area of strategic studies (Buzan 1998) was important at the time when states were still struggling to maintain their sovereignty. The neo-realist conception of security was justified in the times when nuclear proliferation was the norm (Smith 1999). It was during these times that the rationalist (neo-liberal and neo-realist) conceptions of security were able to explain the statusquo. Most of the states were in the process of attaining their sovereignty and so the independence of the state was of utmost importance. Strategic studies and neorealism fitted into the scheme of things of international relations.

This was followed by the debate between neo-realists and neo-liberals to explain international relations. There was not much difference in the basic world view of the two paradigms as for both, state was still the basic referent point and its territorial security still a major concern for security. The predominance of the rationalist thought was challenged by some other schools of thought such as constructivism which were evolving meanwhile.

Social constructivism which laid emphasis on the structures and processes of international relations gave the first blow to the popularity of the rationalist school of thought. Thinkers like Wendt (1992) explained anarchy as something which is constructed, 'anarchy is what states make of it'. The constructions could all be structured by various agents and it depends on how they are portrayed to the wider audience.

Another important school which constitutes an important strand of Critical Security Studies is the famous Copenhagen school. It argues that what qualifies as a security problem is something that can be posed as an existential threat to the state. Different issues could be securitised by the state. Securitisation is explained as an extreme form of politicisation (Buzan et al 1998) where a particular issue was posed as being an existential threat and thus removed from the public discussion. This was the way how threats were described by the social constructivists.

Further changes in the international scenario led to the increasing importance given to liberty, freedom and human rights of the various sections of the society. With the decolonisation process and tremendous increase in the number of third world countries, there has been a shift of focus towards the issues of gender, third world countries, human rights and emancipation. This led to a significant change of focus in the analysis of security studies. A reflectivist approach dominated the scene and led to the rise of feminist theory, post modernism and critical theory (Smith 1999).

Booth (1991b) shifted the whole focus of security towards emancipation. He saw emancipation the only way through which the prospect of security could be more likely. Similarly feminist and postmodern security studies also made their foray into the project of broadening the area of security studies.

Critique on Critical Security Studies

Understanding the immense efforts put in by the number of theorists in re-conceptualising and re-theorising security studies, the importance of the state as a referent point of security has not been undermined. Buzan (1983) while engaging with the various sectors of security maintains that national security is something which explains an immediate threat to a state, something that is unavoidable as the threat, and can cause destruction to all the institutions of a state within very less time frame. It can exist in the form of a threat from another country and something that includes warfare.

Keith Krause and Williams argue that irrespective of the tremendous efforts at theorizing and broadening of the security studies, the concept of national security will still remain the issue of prime importance. 'Simply articulating a broad range of newly emerging or newly recognized threats to human survival or wellbeing will not in itself move security studies away from its traditional concerns' (Krause and Williams 1997). They accept the fact that the broadeners of the security studies still have a long way to go to develop significant challenge to the traditional concept of security. They believe that critical security studies need to be taken more seriously as an intellectual enterprise in order to emerge as theoretically viable. The neorealist conceptions of security are based on the growth of scientific knowledge and epistemic hierarchy. Krause and Williams believe there are certain serious problems associated with the traditional view of security which do not get addressed properly.

Most of the thinkers in critical security studies have tried to redefine and re-conceptualise the concept of security by adding different referent points and various layers to the concept of security. All these attempts add different foci to the concept of security and broaden it, but there is no sufficient analysis of how national security functions within the state especially a multi-nation state. Multi-nation states as also explained by Buzan (1983) are those states where people of different identities or nations exist under the same political-sovereign unit called as a state. Nation is something that is created on the basis of cultural homogeneity and adherence to a single identity. It is a large group of people sharing the same cultural and possibly the same racial heritage and normally living in one area. It can exist without a state as well as between two states. The concept of nation is much more deep rooted and socially transmitted within the society. Nation as an entity is more stable as compared to state which is more vulnerable (Buzan 1983). Multi-nation states particularly face a considerable problem in consolidating the issues of national security and different identities.

Identity and National Security in Different Theoretical Paradigms

Though the issues of identity and national security have been analysed by different schools of thought, most of these theorisations have hardly been through the lens of Critical Security Studies. Critical Security Studies as a discipline has briefly engaged itself with the sector of societal security.

The constructivist theorists have opened an analytical space by focusing on the questions of identity and the concept of national security. They argue that interest and identities of the states are 'constructed'. It is based on the importance of culture, civilisation and identity (Katzenstein 1996) and its focus has been the norms, values and historical context (Ruggie and Kratochwil 1986; Krause and Williams 1997).

Peter Katzenstein deals with the manner in which national security gets constructed through the cultural-institutional factors such as norms and identities. He highlights the importance of identities in shaping national security policies. The constructivist explanation of national security came into prominence when neoliberal and neorealist standpoints were struggling to explain the unexpected turn of events after the end of cold war. Herein, the function of norms and identity come into picture. Constructions of a national identity domestically and internationally create a purpose and regulate the behavior of the states (Katzenstein 1996).

The constructivists explained how identity is usually political and how it shapes the behaviour of states in forming alliances or for that matter projecting a particular posture at the international level. For example, Germany and Japan developed an impressive growth in their relative power and maintained consistent national security policies irrespective of a problematic national security environment. This predicted that these two countries might soon take up a role of importance at the international level. However, ironically both the states refrained from doing so. This behaviour of Germany and Japan cannot be explained by the neorealist or neoliberal perspectives which would assume both the states to react according to the needs of the security environment (Berger 1996).

Berger argues that their behaviour is explained by the identity that they have acquired as a result of the two world wars. Their historical experiences developed the values and

beliefs which became institutionalised in their national identities and determined their national security behaviour (Berger 1996).

Similarly, the survival and endurance of North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) in comparison to other transatlantic organisations and in face of so many challenges is not explained by the neorealist theory. Its relevance in the international system terminated with the end of Cold War. However, NATO persists even after the end of Cold War. This was explained by the collective identity of these states to be belonging to a democratic community. Its origin and persistence was something that could not be appropriately explained by the neorealist paradigm (Rise-Kappen 1996).

This work on the role of identity in security studies projected the importance of identity in formulating a particular national security posture at the international level. It however, neglected the role that identity can play at the domestic level and the effect it can have in maintaining national security. The problem of identity and its importance has only been theorised in the form of national identities and their role in determining the behaviour at the international level.

Similarly, the threat that the states pose to its own citizens comprising various identities, under the garb of national security has been the subject of analysis under the human security perspective. The human security paradigm criticises the traditional security studies on the basis of the fact that it assumes state as a single unit and thus the citizens necessarily exist as a part of a state. Traditional security studies fail to take into account the people who do not really belong to any state; these include the examples of Kurds and Palestinians. These people are most vulnerable to the insecurity. In such cases it is only when the security focuses on individuals that true security can be achieved.

Human security perspective however is criticised for completely disengaging from the importance of the security of the 'state' as a political unit. It tends to enlarge the area of security studies excessively to the extent that it moves out of the purview of a sound theoretical paradigm. It is accused of not engaging in epistemological, ontological or methodological debates (Newman 2010).

Critical Security Studies and the Concept of Identity

An important engagement with the societal and identity aspect of security is by Weaver et al (1993). The concept of societal security arrived into the discourse when Buzan (1983) while broadening the concept of security added 'societal security' along with the other securities such as political, environmental, military and economic. It evolved majorly succeeding the changes in political climate after the 1990s. It was important as they focused on identity as the referent point of security as against the state. Societal security was explained as something which could maintain the identity of the society in terms of the traditional patterns of language, culture, religious customs and national identity (Smith 1999). However, this idea of societal security based on identity primarily focused on the issues like migration and the problems related to it. They focused on society as a distinct unit of analysis rather than just a part of the state and introduced the fact that ethno-national identity can be more of a focus of security than the state.

Maintaining the societal security is meant to preserve the ethnic, religious, cultural or political identity. The problem with societal security however is that it is associated with migration and problems related to identity and territoriality. For example, the disintegration of Yugoslavia and Soviet Union is one based on societal insecurity (Weaver et. al. 1993).

All the above-mentioned works on identity have not sufficiently explored the domestic dimensions of national security policies and its engagement with identities. The aim of this work is to address this literature gap and delve into the domestic aspects of national security policies. The next section of this chapter will look into the effect of national security policies on the multiple identities within the state and the role it can play in increasing the insecurity of the state.

The argument is that the peaceful coexistence of different identities can play an important role in maintaining the overall national security of a state. Here we are talking about a multi-nation state comprising a number of different nationalities or identities. A number of identities coexisting in a single state can lead to problems in maintaining the cohesion and security of the state. This is especially in a state which is diverse and historically has

been formed by uniting a number of different identities together. Such states are more vulnerable to the problems of insecurity caused due to diverse identities.

India's National Security and Identity Politics

A very clear example of such a state is India which is home to a large number of different identities. Right from independence it has been trying to consolidate the different identities within a single national identity. However, there have been a number of secessionist movements which continue even after six decades of its independence. In order to consolidate such movements, the national security policies of Indian state have sought the use of extreme militarisation. This is especially true for the state of Jammu and Kashmir and the North-Eastern states.

The political background against which the state of Jammu and Kashmir got accession to India was marred with chaos. The Dogra Maharaja accessed the state to India in the face of the threat posed by tribal raiders from across Pakistan. The accession was only offered with the promise of a plebiscite which never reached the implementation stage and was finally abandoned. After 1953, India changed its stance on the question of plebiscite and maintained that Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part of India. So the Accession itself was not with the consent of the people and the people of Jammu and Kashmir never accepted this arrangement. For most of the people of Kashmir today, it still remains an unresolved issue. However, the desire for a separate identity as an independent Kashmiri state also remains till date. It is worth mentioning that the people's aspiration for a separate homeland has not diminished even after six decades of ruthless Indian control over Kashmir. The situation has more or less become a stalemate but the issue of Kashmir is one of the most deliberated conflicts in the world. Kashmir is the source of gravest national security threat to the Indian state. Three wars have already been fought over the issue of Kashmir and its defense takes the biggest chunk of India's defence expenditure (PUDR 2001).

This has led to immense militarisation of the area of Jammu and Kashmir leading to gross human rights violations of the people. Militarisation of social life has incarcerated these

particular people into a threat to national order. 'These processes of exclusion cast Kashmiris as enemies existing simultaneously inside and outside of the national political community with questionable and suspected loyalties, motivations and inclinations,' (Duschinski 2009). Also the rights of the people are suspended legally as well as politically. The treatment of state towards the Kashmiri population could be very well called something of a 'legal civil war'³. Such legal civil wars are the strategies to eliminate political enemies and also the entire segments of the population that cannot be integrated easily into the political system.

The human rights organisations and other civil and democratic rights organizations have time and again highlighted the gross human rights violations that take place in Jammu and Kashmir in pretext of the national security policies. A number of draconian laws such as Armed Forces Special Powers Act, Terrorist and Disruptive activities prevention Act, and Prevention of terrorism Act are wrongfully used against the people belonging to Kashmiri identity. The people belonging to this identity are denied the right to demonstrate peacefully that there are innumerable cases of 'vengeance killing' where the forces indulge in retaliation upon the civilian population when attacked by the militants (PUDR 2001). There are also cases of people been used as human shields mostly in militancy affected areas. Rape and molestation of women, custodial killings, fake encounters and torture are the norm and the laws like AFSPA are there to completely protect the armed forces and the government from any accountability.

These national security policies and laws are in place in India against the suspected militants as well as the civilians in Kashmir. The neorealist construction of national security categorises these identities as threats to national security and in the goal of promoting national interests it becomes an instrument of violence for the civil society (Duschinski 2009).

The persistence of this militarisation is justified ideologically by the discourse of national security threat, insurgency, counter insurgency and the problems of order and disorder.

³ The term is by a political philosopher Giorgio Agamben, used by Duschinski in her article. 'Destiny effects: Militarization, State Power, and Punitive Containment in Kashmir Valley' (Duschinski 2009).

This process of coercion and violence create an environment of exclusion amongst certain categories of people. The national security state is based more on coercion and exclusion rather than the defence of national territory (Duschinski 2009).

The exclusion of particular communities and identities leads to social suffering of a section of people. People are stripped of their rights and they are relegated to what is called as 'zone of social abandonment' and subjected to the brutal violence of the state. There are more innumerable examples of instances where people belonging to some marginalised community or identity is subjected to abuse and violence and such people are deprived of their human rights and human dignity. As Duschinski (2009) aptly puts "patterns of sustained the disenfranchisement and marginalization have entrenched in Kashmir, collective feelings of alienation from the Indian State". A very stark example is that of the repeated rigged elections conducted in Jammu and Kashmir by the state government. In the elections of 1987, the Muslim United Front comprising Muslim conference and other groups had actually won the election. Salahuddin, the founder of the Hizbul Mujahadeen was according to reports one of the victorious candidates in these elections. However, when the results were announced National Conference was declared victorious. This election acted as a point of further alienation of people who when rejected by the democratic set up chose to cross over to Pakistan and start a new phase of *azadi* and militancy (PUDR 2001).

Decades of political turmoil, increased militarisation combined with the repeated excesses committed by the Indian security forces in the name of counter-insurgency operations have led to large scale alienation of the people of Kashmir from the mainland India. So much so that average Kashmiris today fail to identify themselves with the larger state of India.

This feeling of alienation from the rest of the country is visibly more profound amongst the young generations who identify or view themselves very differently. In 2010, for instance, there were mass protests in Kashmir which started in response to the killing of three young men who were lured and then killed in a fake encounter. Thousands of young men took to the streets protesting and pelting stones against the Indian forces. The interesting fact about this event was that the protesters who were the part of clashes were

mostly young Kashmiris who ‘do not fit into the description of the usual suspects behind the violence that has plagued the divided region since 1989 when Muslim separatist movement took a serious turn’ (VOA 2010).

Walter Anderson from John Hopkins University argues that this time ‘India cannot put the blame on Pakistan for inciting trouble. This young generation is really homegrown’ (VOA 2010). Apart from various experts on politics, the issue has reverberated among the politicians who have also accepted the fact multiple times on public platform that Kashmiris have been alienated due to the attitude of the Indian government towards the Kashmiri people. The then chief minister of Jammu and Kashmir Omar Abdullah accepted this in his Independence Day speech, ‘the people of Kashmir do not feel separate but are made to do so by the different attitude towards us’ (Live Mint 2013). In another instance Sitaram Yechury in an interview to *Tehelka magazine* said that ‘the intensity of alienation surprised me, we always knew there was alienation but this time the intensity was much deeper’ (Mittal 2010). In 2010, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh addressed the people of India on TV and accepted that ‘there is a generation that is disengaged, alienated and traumatized’ (NDTV news 2010).

The alienation from the Indian mainland is reinforced when students move out of the valley to study. In 2014, the Uttar Pradesh police slapped sedition charges on 67 Kashmiri students (which later were dropped after it caused much uproar) for cheering for Pakistan during a cricket match against India. Even the political people’s Democratic Party leader Mufti Syed warned the Prime Minister that ‘the entire Kashmiri student community can become vulnerable and their sense of insecurity will increase’ (Rediff News 2014).

The end result of such alienation is the increasing resentment amongst the Kashmiris, who are being hopelessly pushed towards adopting violent measures to safeguard their identity and freedom. In recent years, there has been an upsurge in the number of Kashmiris crossing over to join various Jihadi organizations in order to fight for their right of self-determination. A very important example has been mentioned earlier in the case of a political leader, Syed Salahuddin, who tried to join mainstream politics but because of rigged elections crossed over to Pakistan and became the commander of Hizb-

ul-Mujahiddin (PUDR 2001). Similarly people become vulnerable to use violent ways to protest or in some cases to fight against the Indian state and thus making its national security more vulnerable.

Such alienation drives many a vulnerable youth to join extremist forces involved in spreading terrorism. A lot of them cross over to Pakistan to gain military training so that they could wage guerilla wars against the Indian state. The other masses express their discontent and anger by joining stone-pelting mobs. Thus this alienation process in itself is playing the most important role in amplifying the security threats to its national security.

Another example of national security being the cause of alienation of people is the way Indian state deals the problem of Maoist insurgency. According to the reports by the Coordination of Democratic Organisations (CDRO), the state in its bid to combat the Naxalite challenge indulges in routine and blatant disregard of the laws of land. The state carries out extra-judicial killings of unarmed people. The security forces illegally detain torture and falsely implicate people by branding them as Maoists. There are reports of security forces raiding, looting and burning the villages and then murdering the villagers. The security forces move beyond the boundaries of law to kill and harass some of the poorest and most deprived people in India.

International human rights organisations and non-governmental organisations have time and again highlighted the gross violations that are being carried out by the state machinery in such areas. One of the examples is the fact-finding report by CDRO in 2012, *'Who is the State hunting?'* highlighting three separate incidents of massacre committed by the security officers in the districts of Bijapur and Dantewada. The Indian government as a part of its National security policy had launched an operation called as 'Operation Green hunt' (which has officially never been accepted) to get control over land and natural resources of that area as well as to fight the insurgents. There is a huge military and air force presence in that area. An important aspect of this military operation is that the tribal youths are also inducted as auxiliary forces forming Special Police Officers (SPOs) or gangs such as *Salwa Judum*. There have been innumerable encounters where locals get killed by the security officers. In the Bijapur district of Chhattisgarh

seventeen *adivasis* were killed as a result of firing by security forces. The *adivasis* were fired upon while they had assembled to discuss issues related to farming; six of the victims who got killed were minors (CDRO 2012). Similarly in Dantewada district in March and October, similar encounters took place where unarmed village people were targeted, killed and women raped. This whole massacre is passed off as an ‘encounter’ between the Maoists and central reserve police force.

The Maoist insurgency is an important internal security matter faced by the state of India. The then Prime Minister had gone to the extent of calling it as the ‘greatest internal security threat’. In order to tackle this great threat, the state has given security forces free hand in tackling the problem. There is no accountability of the security forces as laws such as AFSPA shield security forces and the policies such as ‘Operation Green Hunt’ justify excesses committed on innocent people. This creates resentment among local ‘*adivasi*’ population against state and its forces. This civil war is not only a security issues but it also has serious social and economic dimensions. These Maoist areas (or ‘Liberated Zones’) usually belong to the local tribal people who face social marginalisation and exclusion (CDRO 2012). The state behaviour further marginalises these people and makes them more susceptible to join anti-state organisations and terrorist organisations.

Another example is the case of states in the northeastern region of India, which are ethnically, linguistically and culturally very distinct from other regions of India. Eight states on the north eastern side of the Indian state are categorized as northeastern region. The states consist of as many as 200 tribes and sub-tribes with different dialects as well as customary and traditional practices. The traditional tribes are largely of Tibeto-Burman/Mongoloid stock and are culturally closer to Southeast Asia than to mainland India (Heinrich Boll Stiftung 2009). Decades into state formation the Indian state is still struggling to stabilize and assimilate this part of the country into the mainland. This region is characterised with innumerable secessionist movements, demands for autonomy, guerrilla warfare and insurgent movements. Internal conflict in this region is one of the biggest national security threats for India. The geographical isolation and

historical factors have played an important role in the isolation of the region from the mainland India.

Geographically, the region shares ninety percent of its boundaries with other countries. It is connected to the mainland by a narrow corridor (often referred to as the 'chicken's neck') and is surrounded by Bhutan, Myanmar, Bangladesh and China.

Historically, the region could never develop an Indian national identity as large parts of the region were outside the territories of Mughal India. The British colonial rulers, who administered the region, administered it as a loose frontier area (Heinrich Boll Stiftung 2009). The region has always had an individual ethnic and political identity. In fact, even post-independence large parts of hill regions have never come in touch with the idea of a central administration. The people of this region believe in strong ethnic and tribal identities.

Owing to the Indian state's bid to consolidate the northeastern region and nationally integrate the same, the region is prone to conflicts and has transformed into a war zone. There are a huge number of insurgent groups in the northeastern region who are fighting for their self-determination and detest being a part of Indian state. There is large scale discontent among the tribal communities of northeastern region. The discontent usually proliferates in the form of mass protest and armed campaigns which in turn invite heavy-handed military response from the state.

The Indian state treats the problems of northeastern region as national security problem and has sought to tackle it through the military means. The north-eastern region is declared as disputed and laws like Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA) are imposed providing extraordinary powers to the security forces to deal with insurgents and local masses. The law violates the basic human rights of the citizens of the northeastern region as it gives full freedom to the armed forces to arrest, kill and torture people without being accountable to any law (Heinrich Boll Stiftung 2009). Other national security and counter terrorism laws which allow the armed forces and state to carry on human rights violations include the Unlawful Activities (prevention) Act (UAPA), National Security Act (NSA), Terrorist and Disruptive Activities Prevention Act (TADA)

and Prevention of Terrorism Act (TODA). Some of these acts were repealed after extensive outrage against them but most of them are present in one form or another.

These laws and national security policies have further disintegrated the idea of a national identity for the people in northeastern region. This free hand provided by the Indian state to the armed forces has resulted in innumerable cases of extra-judicial killings and disappearances. Hayes (2002) argues, 'countless thousands of extra-judicial killings and disappearances have occurred in Nagaland, Manipur and Assam, not just of militants but political leaders, activists and civilians'.

The problem of alienation has intensified as a result of India's national security policies in this region. This fact has been reiterated again and again by countless international and national organisations. For example a report by the organization known as 'Transnational organization' based in Denmark explains the situation in the Northeast in the most apt terms,

People want and need the state to provide security but in Northeast India it has instead allowed armed groups to operate and flourish while the police and army have meted out human rights abuses upon the civilian population. The drivers of the conflict in Northeast India, atleast over the past two decades, also include a growing sense of alienation and resentment towards the policies of the Indian government. People are frustrated over the government's handling of the insurgency. Ethnic minorities feel they are subject to institutional discrimination, and many believe that the government has failed to share the benefits of India's economic growth and development with the people of the northeast. Counter-insurgency operations in NEI, including the long and brutal repression of uprisings in Nagaland, Manipur and Mizoram, Tripura and Assam by the Indian army, have left an indelible scar on the indigenous populations that bore the brunt of the military force (Hayes 2002).

This clearly explains the alienation that has resulted as a consequence of national security. The national security policies thrive on the rift created by the state machinery between various identities of the state. This alienation intensifies by becoming a part of the mass ideology. This has become very apparent in the case of Northeastern region of India. The people of northeastern origin who migrate to other states in search of livelihood and education opportunities face discrimination from the mainland people. The

recent surge of cases of discrimination in the capital city of Delhi is a clear reflection of that. The use of indiscriminate power to silence the voices of dissent of various identities in sovereign states also prove that national security policies are driven by the quest for coercive nation-building rather than as a response to threat.

Chapter Five

Conclusion

Ironically, the more significant role that national security plays in the understanding of politics and international relations, the less importance it has attained in terms of its conceptualisation. National security plays a pivotal role in understanding politics at all levels: individual, state and international system. This work essentially deals with understanding the construction of national security as a concept.

This work has adopted a two-pronged approach to understand the construction of national security. The first approach is to comprehend its construction from the prism of three theoretical paradigms namely realism, liberalism and critical theory. The second approach analyses the practical dimensions of national security.

The following hypotheses were put forward in the beginning of this study:

1. The pursuit of national security precipitates the process of othering thereby leading to alienation in society.
2. The construction of national security is driven primarily by the quest for coercive nation-building rather than as a response to external threats.

By the end of the research, the following inferences have been drawn:

1. The pursuit of national security precipitates the process of othering thereby leading to alienation in society.
2. The construction of national security is driven primarily by the quest for coercive nation-building rather than as a response to external threats.
3. The theoretical understanding of national security fails to reverberate with its practical dynamics.

This study has concluded that the construction of national security essentially precipitates the process of othering thereby leading to alienation in society. The process of othering is something that is related to the differences created within identities. The creation of identities is based on the differentiation of who 'we' are versus who 'others' are. William Connolly's argument is most pertinent to explain the essence of this work, as he argues 'identity requires difference in order to exist and that if threatened, identity may respond by turning that difference into otherness' (Connolly 1991). This process of othering perfectly explains the dynamics of national security. It functions at two levels; the first is at the level of international system where national identity plays the role of separating people on the basis of their belongingness to a particular state. The other is the alienation created within identities existing inside the boundaries of a sovereign state.

The existence of an inherent identity as 'we' forms the basic idea behind a national identity. It strongly affects the perception of people about how they perceive someone as their own and the rest as others.

The 'others' are perceived as a threat and national security policies are formulated as a response to that threat. The use of power and force becomes an important aspect of securing the interests of an identity. The building of conventional arms and nuclear weapons form the basic strategy to secure national interests.

Cold war and post-cold war strategies were based on the construction of an 'other' which is alleged to be a threat. Limited wars and conflicts such as in Vietnam, Iraq, Lebanon, Afghanistan and Cambodia were all against an exterior threat. An identity of enemy is created on the basis of religion or nationality. By such means those identities are distanced and projected as a potential threat. Waging wars and other means of countering these threats further create alienation among people. On the basis of identities it is not only few people, but the whole population belonging to a particular religion or race that gets alienated.

Closer on timeline is the example of the US war on terror as a strategic response to threat. As explained in second chapter of this dissertation, the creation of differential identities played an important role in the politics of national security politics. As a response to the US war on terror, there has been an increase in the frequency of terror attacks. The number of terrorist organisations increased two fold in the aftermath of the crackdown which was initiated as a response to 11 September 2001. This was a result of alienation created by national security policies.

Another level where the construction of national security breeds othering of people is within the boundaries of a state. This has been explained in the fourth chapter ‘National Security as Alienation of Identities’ with the help of examples from India. Being a diverse state, India encapsulates numerous identities living under the sovereignty of the Indian state. The pursuit of national security leads to the abuse of laws and human rights violations by state machinery.

The state itself becomes a source of threat for its citizens. The abusive domestic laws, deficient justice system, excessive policing and prosecution become the primary factors for breeding alienation among people. The use of such policies against its citizens coalesce the populations against the state apparatus. This gives an impetus for easy organisation of anti-state ideologies. The victimized citizens get easily drawn towards anti-state activities and encourage the development of anti -state organisations.

The alienation among the various identities in India is apparent by how the secessionist movements over a period of time have strengthened rather than diminished in response to India’s policies. The separatist movement in the state of Jammu and Kashmir is far from dying down. Rather it has mobilised the local masses that are actively engaging in armed and unarmed protests against the state. Similarly, people belonging to the northeastern region of India feel alienated as a result of national security policies of Indian state. Moreover, they are often subjected to racial discrimination in mainland India especially in cities such as Delhi.

Another front where the Indian state has been breeding alienation is amongst the tribal people of central India. The Maoist movement is also far from being suppressed and more people feel alienated as a result of policies of the state. Innumerable fake encounters, creation of auxiliary forces from amongst their own tribal people, targeted killings and murders and rape of women form a part of national security policies. Since particular tribal communities are targeted in such encounters, they get alienated from the idea of a government and the state.

This work has also concluded that national security is driven by the quest for coercive nation building rather than as a response to threat. The use of indiscriminate power to silence the voices of dissent within a sovereign state as proven through the examples of Jammu and Kashmir, states in the north-eastern region and tribal areas of central India support the above-concluded hypothesis.

The last hypothesis in the work argues that theoretical understanding of national security fails to reverberate with its practical dimensions. National security seeks to maintain the territoriality, cooperation and stability both within and outside the state. However, on ground it fails to transform these goals into reality. Too much obsession with militarisation weakens the societal fabric of a state and leads to failure of national security policies.

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