

Section I

National Security

Chapter 2

The Concept of National Security

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NATIONAL SECURITY

“Ah... . The joys of living. There is nothing quite like it”¹

-- Phrase from an Advertisement

“There is no such thing as security”²

-- A Witness to the World Trade Center Terrorist Attack, September 11, 2001.

“At the end of this exhaustive, exploratory and analytical research, the researcher tends to believe that the “National Security Concept” has all the potential to become the religion of the future for civilised believers.”

The odyssey in search of the concept of national security and its elements begins here. Its elusiveness is what makes this exploration interesting. In this voyage, the researcher is engrossed with the vicissitudes of the short and rugged human life. The period they spent on earth is negligible compared to the time the planet has been in existence. They still struggle to survive as they did when they were primitives. Survival is not guaranteed. They are unaware that the body they own is mortal by default by an advanced design of God. An immortal life form would have been a blunder of creation. Within this hides the concept of "national security;" the terminology doesn't matter.

CHAPTER 2

THE CONCEPT OF NATIONAL SECURITY

Meaning of a Concept

Concept means "a general notion, an abstract idea, or in philosophical terms, an idea that is conceived in the mind, by combining all its aspects, as the product of careful mental activity."³ The idea is perceived by the inquisitive human mind often oblivious of the complexity involved in defining it. The idea thereafter becomes a term, which its practitioners and others, who stand to "benefit" by it, define as understood by them sporadically. National security is such an idea. If understood clearly and practised perfectly, can benefit the humanity as a whole.⁴ Therefore the perception is an important precursor for defining it. Definition leads to understanding. This chapter examines the concept from various perspectives of human knowledge.

Behavioural Approach: Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs

The second level in Abraham Maslow's (1908-1970) hierarchy of needs⁵ is the security or the safety needs of the individual. These are the needs to be free of physical danger and of the fear of losing a job, property, food or shelter. Though this theory is questioned with respect to its hierarchical definition, it is valid in a human system that thrives for existence and survival. "Survival" is the key word in the concept of security. Maslow places the basic human needs in an ascending order of importance that ultimately

leads to self-actualisation as and when the previous need in the hierarchy is satisfied. In motivation theory,⁶ these needs work from the bottom up, once satisfied. The hierarchical levels are given in Table 2.1.

Steps	Needs
5	Self actualisation (self fulfillment) needs
4	Ego needs (self esteem and the esteem of others)
3	Social needs (sense of belonging)
2	Security needs (personal safety)
1	Physiological needs (food, water, shelter)

Table 2.1 Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs

Maslow understood that mostly people wanted more than they have. As one desire is satisfied, another takes its place in the hierarchy. In the case of primary need, it is food, water, and shelter at step 1. Immediate need at step 2 is **security**. Transition to psychological needs takes shape at step 2. Physiological needs preserve life, but security is key to survival. It is a powerful need at the bottom of the hierarchy, and is essential to be satisfied for the humans to survive through their life. From here it can be concluded.

- (a) that security⁷ is necessary for human survival,
- (b) and security was originally conceived as physical safety and it still continues the same in almost all thought processes.

Maslow's theory has been subjected to extensive research.⁸ It was identified that at higher-level, strength of needs varied with the individual. In another research, the hierarchy was questioned. The reserachers insisted that the upward movement of need

prominence resulted from upward career changes and not from the satisfaction of lower-order needs.⁹ While Maslow's needs pertain to the needs of the individual at the job environment, the issue here is understanding security, and not the other needs of the humans. It is very clear from the group of needs that security and safety needs form the basic needs, and being at the lower level are the prime movers of anxiety in humans. The security needs existed from the beginning and was not induced with human advancement.

Psychological Approach: Adler on Security

Alfred Adler, one of the founding fathers of modern psychoanalysis, examined human personality from all angles. Though he had differences with his contemporaries—Freud and Jung—his theories had particular relevance to modern thinking on easy-to-apply psychology. According to Adler, civilisations play an important role in the development of a person's psychological goal.¹⁰ It sets up rules and boundaries against which children struggle very early in their lives, until they discover how to fulfill their wishes in a way that promises both security and successful adaptation of life in relation to every day realities. By security, Adler does not mean only security from danger but that further element of safety that guarantee our continued existence under optimum circumstances. Children secure it by demanding a safety margin greater than is strictly necessary for the satisfaction of their basic needs, greater than would be necessary for a quite life.¹¹ Here we stumble upon a point: the expectations of humans with respect to security are more than what actually they need¹². In other words there is "apparent security," what one really needs for well-being, and "perceived security," what one

perceives as necessary. It is this, according to Adler, creates a tendency in people for supremacy and domination.

Adler compares human beings inferior to other living forms when it comes to survival. They can survive only in particularly favourable conditions. This feeling of insecurity and inferiority is always present in human consciousness. This stimulus forces them to seek security through favourable conditions. The result was communal living.¹³ The feeling of insecurity and inferiority is a constant stimulus to the discovery of adapting to better ways of life on earth. Always there is conflict between "zero security," "apparent security," and "perceived (inflated) security" (Table 2.2).

Security	Inference
Zero Security	Undesirable state
Apparent security	Desirable state
Perceived (Inflated) security	Overly ambitious state

Table 2.2. States of Security Perception by Adler

The instinct for communal living fostered human intellect to overcome the inferiority and insecurity of existence caused by inbuilt vulnerability. Mind became an organ of thinking, feeling, and acting. The security issues rose from the trials and tribulations associated with it. At the same time, security doesn't need psychological explanation with logical reasoning. According to Martin Kettle¹⁴, the fear of insecurity is persistent among the rich and the powerful. The fear is perceptible in a system where apparent security clashes with perceived security as the driving force, inducing irrational reactions. Fear created, according to Kettle, the "gated community" syndrome in our

society.¹⁵ The bottom line is that security is an issue for those who have something to lose, and the way it has been perceived. Everyone has something to lose.

The Philosophy of Security

Philosophy began with inner questionings: "what am I" and "why am I here." It actually sustains insecurity without defining it. A philosopher opens the mind to the humanity explaining the facts of life in its ludicrously brief existence. It is often assumed that a people may be best understood by reference to its political history and geographical situation. The efforts of modern nations to understand each other are always dictated to a large extent by a latent fear and distrust. This fear results in conflicts. It is the same within the communities. The truth is that a people consist in that in which it believes.¹⁶ An example quoted is the failure of the British to understand the Indian character in spite of a long colonial term.¹⁷

According to philosophers, the elements common to both eastern and western thought should confirm us in the belief, so often repudiated, that the human mind is everywhere one and the same, or at least that it operates in the same way.¹⁸ It is not a question of *consensus ad idem*--identity of mind, but the operability of the mind with respect to existentialistic environment.¹⁹

The seer-scientists of India regarded each human being as an integrated whole of body, mind, intellect, and *atma*. Thereafter they found the logic to interrelate them. According to the western thinkers this was an escapist mode through an exclusive

preoccupation with spirituality.²⁰ This concomitant indifference towards materialism is evident in the Indian way of thinking. According to *Encyclopaedia Britannica*:²¹ “Indian thought, however, was primarily philosophical and otherworldly, and was concerned more with escaping than with understanding.” Whether acceptable or not, India has shown that spirituality can mitigate the pain of existentialism and one does not have to look for clarification elsewhere for the theme, especially among skeptics. Cause for an effect within the realm of spirituality is also another form of rationalisation that is essential for survival. But the fact remains that in a spiritual society there is an undernourishment of fear and therefore security threshold is higher. It is also an escapist mode in the sense that when the security is threatened and does not find a sociophysical answer, humans tend to escape into spirituality. This hypothesis is not researched here.

Philosophical evolution of security is, therefore, idealistic, and it is the belief system whether occidental or oriental that rejuvenates it, and furthers its cause. Ideally in such societies the role of the government for providing security should be less demanding than others without such inbuilt defence mechanisms. However identifying a complementary element of security—as in spiritual security—is difficult and gratuitous in this study.

It can be seen that philosophically security sense is never a void. What fills the void in an undesirable state²² of security is spirituality and belief system. This is shown diagrammatically in Figure. 2.1. It also explains why people tend to be more spiritualistic

and superstitious when apparent security crumples momentarily.²³ Faith and superstition rises when perceived security decreases and balances the otherwise normal human mind.



Figure 2.1. Security Circle and Balancing Rider of Human Mind

Writing at the time of French Revolution, Thomas Paine expressed his conviction that “a morning of reason” had dawned in Europe, and that the dark night of superstition had finally been rolled back.²⁴ What puzzles researchers is the date when the first morning of reason had dawned in the world. “I want to know” said Voltaire, “what were the steps by which men passed from barbarism to civilisation.”²⁵ The evidences are so far misleading. In its philosophical evolution “security” is universal, and the feelings of the people irrespective of their geographical and cultural differences are identical.

Historical Perspective of Security

History studies the chronological record of events based on critical examination of source materials presenting an explanation of their causes²⁶. According to a Persian proverb “history is a mirror of the past and a lesson for the present.”²⁷ “Lessons of history” and “history repeats” are nonchalant phrases often quoted in statements. The

word "history" originated from Greek "I know." Though expected to be carefully analysed, history reflects pictures of conditioned appreciation and guided perception. Therefore in any research, reliability of historical documents is an important issue. It has to be seen with an element of intuition that human beings are known to be capable of with the right brain thinking. Nobel laureate Amartya Sen once spoke in Kerala, India, that history should not be mixed with myth. But history cannot avoid the edifice of myth, ignorance, observations, social fallacies, religious sentiments, colonial tempers, and the mindset of aggressors. The underlying aspect of all these is fear, inherent in humans as a catalyst for survival and existence. Fear drives the humans and their history.

The official Pakistani history of the 1971 War does not mention the surrender of the Eastern Command with 91,000 personnel to Indian Army at Dhaka on December 16, 1971²⁸. It is understandable from the point of view of any nation that will not like to record a negative event in its totality, but history, thereafter, ceases to be a lesson for the future. It therefore defies the Persian proverb quoted before. In India, the media musings on suppressing the history of the 1965 Indo-Pak War generally turns out to be based on facts of delaying publications. History of the 1947-48 operations were completed in 1950 but was published only in 1984, 34 years later. It should be acceptable, if the document was sensitive at that time. Suppression of the war histories by the government of India was confirmed by S. N. Prasad, the retired editor of these histories, in an interview to an Indian journalist.²⁹ The official history has to be vetted by the "glorified babus" of half-a-dozen departments according to him.³⁰ As per the versions from a historian, history is not only "delayed" but also "distorted."

The question in the evolution of the concept of security is, when did humans become conscious about it and started suffering associated anxiety syndromes feeling the existentialistic dread. It is more a socio-psychological phenomena than historic. The Great Wall of China is a symbol of it. Behind the wall was Emperor Chhin Shih Huang Huang Ti, who ruled China 11 years after its unification over 2000 years ago. He seemed to be a man in great hurry and also scared to death. He linked up the existing defensive walls into one great wall like a scary child wanted to shut the windows before going to sleep. On one side of the wall were the marauding Huns, on the other, the rich farmlands of China. It was likely that the emperor wanted not only to prevent the Huns from entering, but also prevent his hard-working farmers from getting out. That would not have been but for food security as well as ethnic propriety. The farmers would have mixed with the wandering nomads and shattered the emperor's dream of a unified China.³¹ In the end the boundaries of Chhin Shih Huang Huang Ti's empire became the traditional territory of China. In Xian archeologists found 8,000 terracotta soldiers: infantrymen, archers, cavalrymen, horsemen, and charioteers guarding the emperor's tomb. The potters created them 2,000 years before to protect the emperor in his after life. The fear of insecurity extended even in afterlife both in China and ancient Egypt as the evidence shows in the Pharos tombs. Fear and security are central to the activities of the powerful. Where as the Great Wall as a symbol of physical security was only 2,000 years old, early records of history show these tendencies all over the world.

According to history, humans started life from Africa. The oldest human footprints found on volcanic ash are estimated to be 3.6 million years old.³² They were

ominids that walked around eating fruits. Slowly they learned to eat meat. Probably they were capable of using a stick for defence, attack, or digging for a small animal hiding in a burrow.³³ They migrated to where they could reach looking for survival. In spite of the ruthless competition, they stayed alive, multiplied, and migrated for thousands of years. Throughout, they developed the skills to defend themselves against all odds. They discovered fire and collected before learning to make it. They were dejected when the flames went out. Fire was precious. The skill of employing fire was one of the achievements of human race. For a long period the human race was in a pitiable condition compared to wild animals for survival. Physically it was smaller and lighter than many of the animals living in the vicinity that outnumbered them. They realised that the only way to protect against them was to organise. This intellect seems to be the first sign of security consciousness. This slow increase in human organising capability was a vital aid to self-defence, especially at night. Without that ability to cooperate against an enemy, the early humans venturing into new tropical areas might easily have been wiped out by animals of prey. By a long and slow roundabout mode they migrated in a long never-ending loop from the tropics of Africa to the temperate zones of Asia. Essentially people of the inland, these humans were late in settling along the coasts, and very late in mastering even the shallow seas. They did not even fish from the sea till a hundred thousand years ago. But on scattered beaches they were confronting the hazardous sea and embarking on it.³⁴

Human brain also enlarged in course of time from 500 cubic centimeters among the *Humanoids* to 900 in *Homo erectus* who carried out the long migrations. The growth

of the brain and its structure was one of the remarkable changes in the history of biological evolution. What is important here is that the fear and security consciousness that even animals depicts in their life pattern has been visible in the early humanoids abstractly though different from the animals that surrounded them. The complications of evolution take credit for its development in today's form. The Great Awakening was visible some 60,000 years ago among the nomads. Death became as important as life. It is evident from their belief in the last journey and afterlife. It was also the sign of acute uncertainty these people felt about life.³⁵ Death often arrived silently and mysteriously. The quest for physical security was hidden within this uncertainty about life that witnessed violence and trauma at all turning points.

The history of the world is dominated by wars and conflicts between clans, tribes, nations, and empires: one group fighting against another for perceived survival. The first ever war in recorded history was for territorial conquest in 35,000 BC when the *Homo sapien* "advanced hunters" displaced the Neanderthals from their hunting grounds.³⁶ Countless wars, recorded and unrecorded have taken place in the last 10,000 years.³⁷ War and peace are linked in their causation. Peace between the groups has been often the result of a pecking order that have been arrived at either by war or by the threat of war.

Political Science and Security

In political science, national security is the concept of safety for the territory and population of a state, and by extension the policies adopted for its preservation.³⁸ Security

is sometimes defined as the assurance of future welfare. According to this concept national security might be regarded as the whole range of measures affecting the economic and social welfare of a population, as well as provision against aggression from abroad or subversion within. Usually the term is invoked either when the safety of the nation is thought to be threatened by armed force or when military action offers a possible answer to other dangers, such as a wave of illegal immigration.³⁹ Political science gives a concise meaning of national security.

Mythology and Security

Legends have its own explanations of national security concept. Folklores are full of narrations depicting the pinnacles of glory of kingdoms, where the kings were praised for their just ruling. Subsequently such kings become legends. The quest for the concept of national security has to pass through one such folklore. The festival of Onam, a harvest celebration in Kerala, is synonymous with prosperity when people remember their most benevolent King, Mahabali. According to the legend, the *devus* on their envy dethroned him with the power of Lord *Vishnu*, who disguised as a dwarf-sized Brahman boy, sought the help of the King for three footsteps of land, for meditation. When the generous King agreed, the tiny boy metamorphosed to a monstrous-size and measured the whole earth with one foot and the sky with another. Mahabali offered his head for the third step. Vishnu pushed him under, but only after heeding to the prayer of the good King that he could visit his people once a year and see by himself their well-being and practice of ethical standards set by him. The legend talks about the aspirational mindset of the people through the concept of security, roughly translated from Malayalam as follows: -

"All were equal during Mhabali's regime, a period of pleasantry and freedom from danger, no theft, no deceit, not even a grain worth of lies; no disease or epidemics, and unheard of was infant mortality; measures and balances were kept in order, and no fraud of any sort."

The concept talks about freedom from fear of physical and spiritual insecurity, and high ethical standards as the concept of well-being. It is the role of the "King" to provide security, and in security equality is certain. Kautilya's *Arthashastra* mentions about it.⁴⁰ Equality is the basis of the preamble to many constitutions in the world today. Mythology, according to historians reflects happenings of yore. Euhemerus, a philosopher resident of the Macedonian Court of the fourth century BC, argued that all myths are related to historical events, and that the gods were originally humans who had achieved great success and who after their death, received divine honours from grateful people.⁴¹ All these leads to the concept of security as the well-being and success in life.

Organised Groups and Prelude to Nationalism

Forming of communal groups by humans for security reasons is the beginning of the concept of organised defence. According to Adler, it fostered their most notable instrument for protection against the rigours of life—the human mind.⁴² In this way they stayed alive and multiplied. From there it was a long way to nation states, refined form of organised groups with marked territories, satisfying in a well pronounced manner the inherent territorial instincts of individuals and groups. For some historians, the prelude to nationalism was in the crusade to abolish slavery and bondage led by people of

compassion. The thirst for equality became the hallmark of the period. Nationalism was one of those ventures for equality but latently turned to inequality as an outcome of the movement.⁴³ The sense of equality was within boundaries of kinship; it was not extended to people belonging to other income groups and social classes.⁴⁴ It still continues within the boundaries of nationalism.

The Treaty of Westphalia and Sovereignty of States

In 1648 the Treaty of Westphalia brought an end to the "Eighty Years' War" between Spain and the Dutch, and the German phase of the "Thirty Years' War." The Spanish-Dutch treaty was signed on January 30, 1648. The treaty of October 24, 1648, comprehended the Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand III, the other German princes, France, and Sweden. England, Poland, Muscovy, and Turkey were the only European powers that were not represented at the two assemblies.⁴⁵ Under the terms of the peace settlement, a number of countries received territories or confirmed in their sovereignty over territories. The territorial clauses all favoured Sweden, France, and their allies.

Beside territorial changes, a universal and unconditional amnesty to all those who had been deprived of their possessions was declared, and it was decreed that all secular lands (with specified exceptions) should be restored to those who had held them in 1618. Even more important than the territorial redistribution was the ecclesiastical settlement. The member states of the Empire were bound to allow at least private worship, liberty of conscience, and the right of emigration to all religious minorities and dissidents within their domains. The constitutional changes made by the treaty had far-reaching effects. For

Germany, the settlement ended the century-long struggle between the monarchical tendencies of the Holy Roman Emperors and the federalist aspirations of the Empire's German princes. The Peace of Westphalia recognised the full territorial sovereignty of the member states of the Empire. By this and other changes the princes of the Empire became absolute sovereigns in their own dominions. The Holy Roman Emperor and the Diet were left with a mere shadow of their former power. Not only was the central authority of the Empire replaced almost entirely by the sovereignty of about 300 princes but also the power of the Empire was materially weakened in other ways.

For many years Germany thus became the principal theatre of European diplomacy and war, and the natural development of German national unity was delayed. But if the Treaty of Westphalia pronounced the dissolution of the old order in the Empire, it facilitated the growth of new powers in its component parts, especially Austria, Bavaria, and Brandenburg. The treaty was recognized as a fundamental law of the German constitution and formed the basis of all subsequent treaties until the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire in 1806. The Treaty of Westphalia ushered in a new era of geopolitics. The pact, in course of time, created the nation-state, which could control its domestic affairs largely free from outside interference.

The State in Political Philosophy

In political philosophy, the State is a deeper, wider, more comprehensive, if somewhat conceptual entity, while the government implicated continuously in the life of the community as the operating agency. Thus opposition to the government is permissible

subject to the rule of the law, while hostility to the state amounts to treason if it is from within. In reality there is little difference between the State and the government. The quest for security was vested in the "King" The concept of the "King" is evident in every form of governance. Even a democratic system is not free from this concept as the dynastic lineage gain competence in ascension in politics in many countries, though that is not the criteria for such an assessment. The people pay obeisance to those who govern them in every form of government. They depend on them for security.

Change, Acculturation, and Security

The span of human existence is negligible compared to that of the world. History of humans in its macroscopic sense is comparatively short. Past is pronounced in the present in micro history. The change is evident only after a reasonable period and not when it is on. This is important to understand change. Change is causative and is a function of time. Causality in philosophy is the relationship of a cause to its effect, which was studied by the Greek philosopher Aristotle. The cause is defined, as the preceding event without which the event in question would not have occurred. There are philosophers like Henri Bergson who believed that the ultimate reality or life is not determined by exact causal consequences. According to him no exact repetition happens in real time, and where there is no repetition, there is no cause, for cause means that the antecedents are repeatedly followed by the same consequence.⁴⁶

Chaos theory leads us to the simple principle of a system moving from order to disorder and again to order with the increase in entropy through bifurcations that leads

one to another. Inevitably there is chance that accounts for changes in bifurcations. In such cases change occurs. Small events like an assassin's bullet can change the course of history. And it is the same in cause and effect. Effect indicates change. Whatever may be the reasons, for the student of security, change is evident in a global context and is a sign to watch for.

Another context to see change is through process philosophy. It is a speculative worldview, which asserts that basic reality is constantly in a process of flux and change. Indeed, reality is identified with pure process. Concepts like creativity, freedom, novelty, emergence, and growth are fundamental explanatory categories for process philosophy. It emphasizes dynamic being.⁴⁷ Through process philosophy, theologians bring out the sensitivity and caring relationship of God with the world. God is the original guarantor for security to humans. God too is in the process of change and development. *Mari Amman*, the Goddess of smallpox in Tamil Nadu, India, is an example. Today the Goddess has no serious takers after the disease has been eradicated. Instead there is anew Goddess, *Aidsamma* in Kranataka, India. It is with the tune of change human concept of security vacillates between sensitivity and insensitivity to fear and anxiety.

Continuous contact between two or more distinct societies causes cultural change. Through a process of selection and modification, societies assimilate the belief systems into a common one and thereby induce change. Anthropologists call it acculturation. Human security concept also undergoes change through acculturation, which is unavoidable in an advancing world.

National Security

The expression "national security" comprises the terms "nation" and "security." "Security" is the primary human need. It is by origin. Whereas the amplifying word "national" is comparatively modern. Its origin can be charted from the Treaty of Westphalia through French Revolution to the present day, still changing. The term "national security" continued since then for all these periods interlaced with changes on its way to the present. It was not widely spoken till World War II. The term, by and large, was associated with "military security" for a considerable period. Even today, there is reluctance to dissociate it from this belief system. It is conditioned by centuries old warring traditions. During the Cold War the United States pursued its national security policy based on the containment policy of George Kennan⁴⁸ till the end of Cold War. Since then, concern for nonmilitary threats found a place in the security scenario.

Though the turn around in the definition of national security began after the collapse of the Soviet Union, there was isolated reference to the term as early as the 1790s. A group of Yale undergraduates debated the question. "Does the national security depend on fostering domestic industries?"⁴⁹ During the study the researcher was confronted by a dilemma of sorts. Martin Walker's descriptive version of the Cold War⁵⁰ is responsible for it. The doubt arose from the book: did the national security concept emerge from the dark abyss of Cold War and the Freudian mindset of the totalitarian forces in a democracy, or earlier? But the proposition of the Yale University students in 1790 provides the answer. There was an original approach much before. The Cold War was another global conflict between two sides.⁵¹

The modern etymology of the phrase can also be traced to August 1945 United States Senate hearing; "Our national security can only be assured on a very broad and comprehensive front," Navy Secretary James Forrestal told the Senate. "I am using the word "security" here consistently and continuously rather than "defense." Replied Senator Edwin Johnson, I Like your words "national security." The emphasis here is on "word" not "definition." It was not defined. The amplification followed, "The question of national security is not merely a question of the Army and the Navy." Forrestal continued, "We have to take into account our whole potential for war, our mines, industry, manpower, research, and all the activities that go into normal civilian life."⁵² The phrase was in wider circulation by 1947 when the United States passed the National Security Act. The Act established, among other things, the National Security Council. The term was not defined but left flexible for wider use. It stated that "the function of the Council shall be to advise the President with respect to the integration of domestic, foreign, and military policies relating to the national security..."

Today, with reduced direct threat from each other, nations have understood that they can divert resources to address challenges to their domestic environment. It is only an understanding at the moment. Opportunities are there to seize it. The awareness is spreading over in spite of potential flash points for apocalypse still exist in some parts of the world. At the same time the term national security is oft mentioned in various forums today. The concept therefore calls for an appropriate definition. It is necessary to understand it and analyse it with the changing trends in human administration of the world nationally, regionally, and globally.

The race of nations to attain power is motivated by the survival instinct to influence global events in one's favour. This is expected to continue. It is inherent in group behaviour. Barring military strength, balanced elements of power will be used for that by each nation. It will be done in different ways. For some, it will be by ethnic methods and religious beliefs. For some it will be by accrual of strength through internal and external quality acquisition: health and competitive economy, leading edge technology, viable industrial capacity, quality education, and international efforts through diplomacy. They will prefer a lean and lethal military to protect their national interests. More ideas may follow as humans keep evolving.

National security is a major concept that dictates decisions in the international playing field. The emerging international system today is independent of aspects that limit the freedom of action of states. Economic interdependence and heightened awareness of global effects of cultural, social, and environmental challenges narrow down national perspectives further. This is the setting in which nation states shall ensure their security by maintaining national interests. For this a clear understanding of its principles, and evolving conceptual changes is necessary.

Role of State in National Security

In its outward appearance, the security of the people is the responsibility of the State. In its simplest terms, the role of the State is that of the role of the "King." Adam Smith conceived the role of the State in "atomic capitalism" in which every individual is

considered to be the best judge of welfare. Social welfare was the sum total of the welfare of the individuals.⁵³ Adam Smith assigned the following functions to the state⁵⁴:-

- (a) Defending the State from external aggression.
- (b) Maintenance of law and order.
- (c) Enforcement of sanctity of contract entered between different individuals for commercial transactions.
- (d) Providing infrastructure, education, and assistance to the poor.

Adam Smith's theory was based on highly atomic capitalism and was treated as one of state minimalism. In socialistic approach privatisation was abolished to remove inequality between the haves and the have-nots. The State was given the role of acting as a vanguard of the people and thus develops a new social order based on equality. Keynes exposed the basic weakness of capitalism and called for an end of *laissez faire*. His statements were on economic security in macroeconomic conditions to maintain equilibrium. The role of the State was to promote public participation in economic welfare. But in an underdeveloped country, where one third of the population is below poverty line changes in market mechanisms will make little change in welfare. The State has a major role in employment generation for the poor and promote social welfare.⁵⁵

Kautilya augured ruthlessness against anti-socials, criminals, and others not obeying the State. Mahatma Gandhi provided a touchstone: "Whenever you are in doubt, or when the self becomes too much with you, recall the face of the poorest, and the

weakest man whom you may have seen and ask for yourself if the step you are going to contemplate is going to be useful to him. Will he gain anything by it?"

According to the World Development Report, 1999/2000, "governments play a vital role in the development, but there is no simple set of rules that tells them what to do."⁵⁶ Another vague area lies between the terms external security and internal security. These terms are often considered mutually exclusive. In India, according to author Verghese Koithara, the State and the influential public tend to view external security through a politico-military prism, and not through an economic one. Internal security at the same time is considered state-centric.⁵⁷ Though these concepts are changing with the advent of militant activism and proxy wars, concern for human security is still expressed in an abstract manner.

Recently the Supreme Court of India has ruled that the Government, having failed a licit promise cannot claim impunity on doctrine of promissory estoppel, and is bound by consideration of honesty and good faith. On the contrary the Government should be held at high degree of rectangular rectitude while dealing with the citizens.⁵⁸

All these are auditions in various social structures, ancient or modern. National security is not an end by itself. It is an approach goal. If that is the way it has to be seen, the role of the State irrespective of its basic structure is to go for it by measures that indicate the process status. This is done by defending the State, providing law and order, producing goods and services, regulating the system and a supplier of "public goods",

like education, health, infrastructure, drinking water etc.. In this role the State has to understand that national security is a movement, not an end goal, and that needs the participation of the citizens, who are the end beneficiaries.

NOTES

¹ Phrase from an advertisement, *News Week*, August 6, 2001.

² Channel News Asia, TV Programme, September 13, 2001.

³ Judy Pearsall, and Bill Trumble, (eds.), *The Oxford English Reference Dictionary*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.

⁴ A statement that sprang up in the mind of the researcher while engaged in the research that it could become the new religion of the civilised world. It is quoted at the beginning of the section.

⁵ Harold Koontz, and Heinz Wehrich, *Essentials of Management*, New Delhi: Tata-McGraw-Hill Publishing Company Limited, 1998, pp. 322-326.

⁶ From the book excerpt, *INC.*, on "The Enlightened Manager's Guidebook" by Abraham A. Maslow with Deborah Stephens and Gary Heil, October 1998, p. 45-51, downloaded from <www.maxvalue.com>.

⁷ Author Louis Samways in her book "The 12 Secrets of Health and Happiness." New Delhi: Penguin, 2000, p. 329, states that security does not mean happiness. Hapeologists and clinical psychologists commonly view happiness as the next step in human life after security needs are met.

⁸ n. 5, p. 323.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Alfred Adler, *Understanding Human Nature*, Translated by Colin Bret, New Delhi: One World Publications Ltd., 1998, p. 32. Here the research opinion is that civilisations should be taken as different stages of a single civilisation the world is going through.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² n. 5, Maslow also insists on it when he states that most people want is more than what they have.

¹³ n. 10, pp. 35-8.

¹⁴ Martin Kettle, Americans Adrift in Ocean of Fears, *The Deccan Herald, Foreign Panorama, Hyderabad*, August 9, 2001:11.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ E. W. F. Tomlin, *Philosophers of East and West*, London: Oak Tree Books Ltd., 1986, p. 6.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 6-7.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 6.

²⁰ Rishi Kumar Mishra, *Before the Beginning and After the End*, New Delhi: Rupa and Company, 2000, pp. 117-27.

²¹ Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2001, CD-ROM.

²² Normally it is "perceived security" not "apparent security."

²³ Mass prayers after a great tragedy, rituals accompanying traumatic events etc., are examples. Many Americans turned to spirituality after the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, as reported in the media. "Americans turning to God to Heal," *The Times of India, New Delhi*, December 25, 2001, p. 8.

²⁴ n. 16, p. 10.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 11.

²⁶ n. 21.

²⁷ Vishnu Bhagavat, *Betrayal of the Defence Forces*, New Delhi: Manas Publications, 2001, p. 7.

²⁸ Manoj Joshi, Pakistani History does not Mention Surrender of Its Eastern Command, *The Times of India, Mumbai*, September 25, 2000: 1.

²⁹ Manoj Joshi, War with History, Interview with S.N. Prasad, retired director of inter-services historical section of India and Pakistan, *The Times of India, Mumbai*, September 25, 2000:10.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Huge and Colleen Gantzer, 2000 Years of a Wall and Its Warriors, *Swagat*, December, 2000:45.

³² Geoffrey Blainey, *A Short History of the World*, New Delhi: Penguin Books, 2001, p. 4.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 9.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 13.

³⁶ Rodney Castledon, *World History*, London: Parragon, 1994, p. 1.

³⁷ n. 33, p. 537.

³⁸ Microsoft Encarta 2001, CD-ROM.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Jaswant Singh, *Defending India*, Bangalore: Macmillan, India Limited, 1999, p.12.

⁴¹ Arthur Cotterell, (ed.), *World Mythology*, Bath: Parragon, 2000, p. 6.

⁴² n. 10, p. 36.

⁴³ n. 33, pp. 493-511.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 511.

⁴⁵ n. 21.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ n. 38.

⁴⁸ Karen Dawisha, Kennan, Containment, and Crisis in Eastern Europe, in *Containment: Concept and Policy*, Vol. II, edited by Terry L. Deibal, and John Lewis Gadsis, Washington, D.C.: The National Defence University Press, 1986, pp. 401-403.

⁴⁹ Joseph J. Rom, *Defining National Security—the Nonmilitary Aspects*, New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1993, p. 2.

⁵⁰ Martin Walker, *The Cold War and the Making of the Modern World*, London: Vintage, 1993. According to the author the Cold War has been the constant, implacable condition of the vast demographic wave of the children who were born, as the soldiers of World War II came home to a bitter and uncertain peace. It is poignantly focused history of a geostrategic style of 45 years in which the whole world participated directly or indirectly. Nobody was left out. For this reason a researcher of national security can be misled to assume that the very concept of national security originated from the abyss of the Cold War. It was found not so.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 1-7.

⁵² n. 46, p. 2-3.

⁵³ Ruddar Datt, *Indian Economy*, New Delhi: S. Chand and Company Ltd., 2001, p. 210.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 211.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 214.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 216.

⁵⁷ Verghese Koithara, *Society, State and Security*, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1999, pp. 36-38.

⁵⁸ PTI News Scan, December 5, 2001.