CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Normatively, the search for peace, security and development is a primary goal of any state. In the history of development of states, the Third World\(^1\) holds a unique place. Despite continuous effort, many of them states have failed in addressing a number of issues such as development, unemployment, poverty, corruption, ethnicity, environment and human rights which have created political and social unrest. In fact, in the post-Cold War period, these issues have resulted in conflicts and instability in a number of Third World countries. The prolonged conflicts have resulted in the loss of thousands of lives, destruction of property and drained state resources. Since, many of the issues still afflict the Third World,\(^2\) conflict and instability are hallmarks of these states. How to deal with these conflicts and instability have become grave challenges to the Third World states in contemporary times.

Although Third World countries have numerical strength in global representation but they are perceived to be weak when compared with the West. They are incomparable in terms of military, technology, economic development in regard to stability in their

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\(^1\) The term ‘Third World’ was coined by the economist Alfred Sauvy in 1952, which became widespread in the later 1950s to refer to countries within what was known as the ‘non-aligned movement.’ This comprised of countries that were not part of either the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation or the Warsaw Pact and sought to distinguish themselves from the post-War bi-polar superpowers (the US and the Soviet Union). It is used generically (but often loosely) to refer to all less developed countries, although commonly it is most often used to refer to the less wealthy countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America. See Andrew Jones, Dictionary of Globalisation (Malden: Polity Press, 2006), p. 211 and Phillipe Braillard and Mohammad-Reza Djalili (eds.), The Third World and International Relations (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publisher, 1984), p. 1; George Thomas Kurian (ed.), Encyclopaedia of the Third World Vol. 1 (New York: Facts on File, 1987), p. ix.

societies. Further, the challenges faced by these states are complex. Therefore, a majority of them have failed to emerge as effective states. While, some have argued that the West on many occasions deliberately created divisions in the Third World in order to sabotage their social and economic development and consequently weaken their political system.\(^3\) With their inherent weaknesses internally and externally, many states are caught in a dilemma whether to follow their own independent policies or to follow the dictate of the West. Their insecurity intensifies further when Western interests backed by military power have time and again tested these weak states. This has created insecurity for many of the Third World states.

In the aftermath of the Cold War, states are continuously undergoing transformation. The role and functions of the state is further constrained and modified. At the institutional level, issue of governance, minimum role of the state in the economic sphere and privatisation are increasingly emphasised. In this new system, states no longer enjoy a monopoly of sovereign status nor act as a major actor within and outside. Many of its powers and functions are being shared, whilst, states are also facing mounting challenges in numerous ways. On one hand, the state no longer performs many of its core functions\(^4\) as in the area of development and security while on the other, states are under excessive pressures questioning their very existence. This has become a new reality, in particular, after the advent of global neoliberalism.

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At the ideological level, the demise of the Soviet Union marked the triumph of the capitalist world. The capitalist block led by United States of America became triumphant and dominates global politics. Under the hegemony of the US and other Western powers, neoliberal ideas have taken precedence in the global development agenda in the new world order. While, many of the Third World states continued to depend on aid and loans from the richer countries and other multilateral institutions where, all these came with greater risk as they are now compelled to adhere to the new ideology.

With lack of industrial development, many Third World states had to open up bulk of their market for foreign investment. Many of their manufacturing sectors relied on traditional methods which could not compete with the advanced new technologies of the Western counterparts and the refusal to share technology and ideas created a huge gap. Over a period, the Third World states not only export raw materials at cheaper rates to the industrialised countries but in this process they have become consumers and highly dependent on the finished products from abroad. While it is apparent that many raw materials exporting countries have failed to raise their income and clear off their debts, rather they have been left with a huge debt deficit and thereby crippling their economy. Simultaneously, a great share of their country’s resources has been dominated by the few MNCs, TNCs and other private players. This has created a gap in wealth and power between them, at times leaving many Third World states in a crisis.

In regard to safety and security of their people, the challenges have become complex. This primary function has become deficient in many Third World states. In the name of security, many states have acted aggressively against their own citizens and moreover, with the emergence of contemporary issues and challenges, the traditional
concept of security is unable to capture the range of issues within the ambit of security. Thus, it becomes important to critically examine the concept of security suited to the changing times. The concept of security has never been neutral, and over a period it has been changing to accommodate contemporary issues and challenges.

Subsequently, there has been paradigm shift in security studies in the aftermath of the Cold War. There was a strong consensus for a broader approach to security rather than a confined and limited traditional approach which was considered as narrow and inadequate in understanding contemporary issues and challenges. Thus, the concern over traditional foreign policy and military problems were increasingly supplanted by economic, environmental and human rights concerns. Moreover, the need for securing individual and people’s security has further widened the discourse which led to the emergence of the concept of “human security”.

Human security as an expanded version of security moves away from the traditional focus on state security. With the emergence of new threats, individuals and people are the main victims who need to be secured, thus, human security appears as an answer to these problems. Unlike the traditional notion, human security puts ‘individual’ at the centre of debate, analysis and policy-making. Thus, this new concept is associated with the security of individuals and people, and not just security of nations or territory. Here, the traditional conception of security which is concerned with territorial integrity and

sovereignty as the core value that needs to be protected is at variance to the idea of human security that relates to the safety and well-being of “all the people everywhere at homes, jobs, streets, communities, and environment.”

However, this conception has raised many doubts especially in the context of the Third World.

In the Third World context, security is dominantly a search for internal security. Most of their problems can be traced back to the process of state-building and their late entry into the system of states. Though some of the problems vary between the states but most of their problems are similar. These problems are largely non-military in nature but have an equal impact of a military threat which challenges the capability of the states. The nature of socio-political pressures and domestic institutional instability has led to the weakening of these states. Many of their communities are fragmented along religious, linguistic and ethnic lines and their regimes generally lack the support of various significant component of their population. Lack of legitimacy and security interest of the regime has resulted in violent contestations. Thus, these problems threaten the capability of the states to survive as a cohesive political entity. Moreover, with the emergence of new global forces such as global neoliberalism, the challenges to security are becoming more complex.

As neoliberalism is ascending globally, there is a widespread perception of increasing inequality and fragmentation within and between states. Neoliberals want states

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8 Ibid.
to withdraw from the whole economic sphere in order to provide more space to the market. Moreover, it also urges upon states to act strong in order to pass and implement appropriate legislation for markets to function with unfettered freedom. However, what the neoliberals fail to note is the generation of wealth itself cannot provide security. What is more pertinent to these states is the equitable distribution of wealth. The available evidence suggests that the unfettered functioning of market forces has sharply increased the disparity in wealth and income distribution between rich and poor countries and the rich and poor especially in the Third World countries.

Contemporary debates on the shrinking role of the state in welfare and social provision have to be viewed in the context of neoliberalism. Despite the need for effective state intervention, many states are trapped into the global setting of neoliberal ideas and thereby, fail to fulfil the aspirations of their citizens. Thus, within states, there is growing fragmentation between the state and its larger populace over these agenda. Some of the underlying factors are the cut back of welfare functions as neoliberals suggest in order to promote more economic growth could possibly do more harm to the states. In particular, in the Third World welfare assumes prime importance and the sudden change in this configuration could even lead to a greater legitimacy crisis. Consequently, some of these states face extreme pressure from these forces contributing to violent crisis within which in its extreme could lead to the collapse of the state or state failure.

Regardless of many disadvantages, the neoliberals frequently endorse the idea that neoliberalism is an engine for a country’s economic growth and ultimately this will tackle the issue of poverty. Available evidence suggests that over two decades of its operation,

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there is an increasingly vulnerability of the economic security of the middle and lower classes. They demand more and more state intervention in various economic activities. Instead of addressing these legitimate grievances, states are now siding with corporate agendas and using various coercive mechanisms to contain the legitimate demand of their citizens. Consequently, this squeezes the democratic space for politics. Ultimately, it impacts upon the inclusive notion of citizenship that is becoming more and more exclusive. As a result of numerous exploitations and failure to fulfil the aspiration of the larger populace, many resistance movements have emerged within the state and against the corporate model of development. Some of the resistance groups take extreme forms even to the extent of challenging the authority of the state.

Furthermore, with the emergence of global neoliberalism, there has been a challenge to the traditional security functions of the state. Many states are unable to perform some of their traditional security functions and look to the market to assist them. Encroachment of the market into defence production and the role of the market in many of the ongoing conflicts illustrate the defining features of the modern times. Increased privatisation of security also severely affects the nature of conflict. Privatisation of government-controlled assets, particularly in industries related to defence and security, is now well-established and has become a global trend. The global market now has an enormous capacity to provide military service globally. The global free market enables the capability for the privates to expand, innovate, and adapt to market requirements including the capacity to offer military services. However, intensifying use of private security companies (PSCs)\(^\text{13}\)

\(^\text{13}\) Private Security Companies (PSCs) is considered a much broader term which includes range of military and security services from combatant to non-combatant activities and various other security related service. While Private Military Firms (PMFs) or Private Military Companies (PMCs) are those firms which provides
to provide conventional fighting forces, ranging from training soldiers to patrolling streets, reflects a deeper and deeply significant transition in the nature of armed conflict. These points the inability of the state to control this process and thus, the function of security has become increasingly marketised.

In the light of the above developments, one can clearly make an assertion as how neoliberalism is going to respond to various compelling issues in the foreseeable future? While, it is conspicuous that neoliberalism emerged as an economic policy in the West to correct their economic failures. Within few decades of its operation, this ideology has become a multi-dimensional concept and has been exported worldwide. As an economic policy, neoliberalism is considered as the best model for economic development and growth. In reality, however, it has failed to deliver its promises such as inclusive growth and development. Rather, this ideology has failed to connect the majority of the population to the benefit of development but has uplifted few sections of society. This has further increased inequality and thereby widened the gap between countries and within the countries.

Moreover, over the past two decades, there is an intensifying growth of issues relating to terrorism, proliferation of arms, drug trafficking, human trafficking, and money laundering globally which cannot be overlooked. Though these problems are not only

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confined within the Third World but the underlying question is how the weak states are
going to respond and address these issues effectively. As neoliberalism is taking root,
along with instability and problems confronting many Third World states it is important to
look into these problems whether this has become a solution or part of the problem.
Therefore, the critical analyses of neoliberalism and how it is intertwined with these
contemporary issues assume prime importance.

**STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY**

This study consists of six chapters where, the main discussion is structured into four parts.
The first chapter is an introduction which outlines a general discussion of the subject. The
second chapter is a discussion on the changing connotation of security. This chapter
explores the theoretical concept, discourse and critical assessment on security. First, it
begins by exploring the meaning and definitional concept of security followed by various
debates. It examines the perception behind the ambiguous nature of security. It shows how
security was dominated by the traditional notion for many decades. In the later phase, an
argument developed with the emergence of new threats and challenges. It was perceived
that under such a narrow definition, other emerging issues did not receive much attention
but could equally threaten the state. Hence, such issues are required to be treated as
security issues. This kind of argument began to hold in the mid-fifties and the Cold War
period but the superpower confrontation and the threat of nuclear war favoured much the
militaristic notion of security. However, those arguments received salience as they further
the debate for widening the concept of security in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s. The
broader concept was not only considered a necessity but also crucial in the advent of the
new challenges especially the non-military aspects. This was considered as a major
fundamental shift in security studies, which further influenced the development of the concept of “human security”. Ironically, this development also coincided with the emergence of globalisation and neoliberalism which were taking root in the global environment.

The Third chapter is on the discourse on neoliberalism. This chapter explains how the notion of security has been perceived in the context of neoliberalism. First, a discussion on the theoretical concept and debates on neoliberalism is made, followed by examining the basic premises of how these ideas have been constructed at different points of time in history. Secondly, a more generic discussion on how neoliberalism has been shaped to become a dominant theory in the aftermath of the Cold War period followed by its legitimisation across the globe. Thirdly, an attempt is made to connect neoliberalism with the shrinking role of the state from provision of development and security which are some factors responsible for the crises of legitimacy for many Third World states.

Neoliberalism beyond doubt is a strong advocate of market-based ideology transforming the very character of the state today. Chapter four carries a discussion on neoliberalism and security. This chapter is an attempt to demonstrate the convergence of state and market with the advent of neoliberalism and shows how this has further promoted stronger and complex role of market and suggests how market has now become a deciding factor in almost all spheres thereby even impacting upon state security functions. It is followed by a more detailed discussion on privatisation of security, evolution of Private Security Companies (PSCs), emerging roles, issues of accountability, regulation and control of PSCs and its implications.
The fifth chapter discusses implications of neoliberalism for Third World security. This chapter discusses the various pertinent issues confronting Third World states with a perceived notion that the impact upon them further complicates rather than provides solutions. It is apparent that neoliberalism undermined the already embattled Third World state. In the light of these developments, how these states are going to respond to these challenges of security in the near future has been a constant cause of concern. It brings various issues into discussion in order to support the argument such as primacy of internal issues in the Third World, issue of development, intensifying inequality, issue of poverty, issue of legitimacy, transnational organised crime; availability of small arms, drug trafficking, human trafficking and money laundering.

The sixth chapter—the concluding chapter—is essentially an analysis drawn from the preceding discussions, with the prime assumption that neoliberalism is leading to a new conception of security as seen in its operation in the last two decades. Second, how neoliberalism is going to respond to contemporary issues and challenges. Third, how the weak states in the Third world are going to address these issues effectively without strengthening the state first. Fourth, which agency will be responsible for the safety and security and various social-welfare provisions for the majority of the people in the Third World. Can citizens rely on market for these services? Furthermore, in practice, does the neoliberal ideology have negative implications for the very existence of the states particularly for weak Third World states?