

Non-Traditional Security Threat and National Security

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Abstract

Liberty versus security debate is again at the forefront and staring in our eyes. This dimension of security studies where we find certain countries like Iran who are battling COVID-19 with all their might and that the virus is threatening their sovereignty and their overall existence is a cause of concern. There is no question that citizens have willingly accepted more surveillance and submitted more data to the state, but the question remains whether the state will relent after the outbreak of the COVID-19 is over and whether the State should retreat back to its normal positioning and resort back to Westphalian epitome? State now onwards will require more data and shall collect/collate more information from the citizens. Whether the Post COVID-19 world shall see more challenges and opportunities for the governments and assuming their rhetoric will be at an all-time high—both will be a big challenge for citizenry to face. The biological warfare that has unfolded shrouded with ‘conspiracy theory’ tag has begun to reshape the Westphalian foundations.

1. INTRODUCTION

COVID-19 has brought to the fore the issues for national security. The health pandemic and the challenges it creates for security scenario are alarming. Hitherto, the challenges posed by health epidemics to the security and sovereignty of a state have largely remained unexplored. This is not the first time that the world is witnessing virus outbreaks at such a scale, but the response now has been quite sharp and decisive from various countries like China, South Korea and Japan. Citizens have again submitted and surrendered a big chunk of their liberty to the State. Liberty versus security debate is again at the forefront and staring in our eyes. This dimension of security studies where we find certain countries like Iran who are battling COVID-19 with all their might and that the virus is threatening their sovereignty and their overall existence is a cause of concern. There is no question that citizens have willingly accepted more surveillance and submitted more data to the state, but the question remains whether the state will relent after the outbreak of the COVID-19 is over and whether the State should retreat back to its normal positioning and resort back to Westphalian epitome? State now onwards will require more data and shall collect/collate more information from the citizens. Whether the Post COVID-19 world shall see more challenges and opportunities for the governments and assuming their rhetoric will be at an all-time high—both will be a big challenge for citizenry to face. The biological warfare that has unfolded shrouded with ‘conspiracy theory’ tag has begun to reshape the Westphalian foundations.

Security Studies: Traditional and Copenhagen School of thought

Modern state is recognised by the idea of sovereignty—it is the exclusive claim of the state over territorial rights and population within it. Use of military might and force is essential in controlling the territory, hence it (force) becomes sine qua non of traditionalistic literature.

Security studies involves referent objects and securitising agents. In traditionalistic literature, state is the most important referent object but not the sole one. Similarly, ruling elite are most important securitising agents owing to their controlling of political rise in political hierarchy (Buzan, 1983).

Traditional security studies look at the security through National security lens. Sovereignty and integrity of the state is the locus and focal point. Cold war and the literature before this zeroed in on the weapons, disarmament, increasing the deterrence to shield the state from other states. In order to fructify and protect the state, traditional security studies also encompassed the idea of making pacts, alliances and treaties between various states (Attinà, 2016). It is quite common and a cliched phenomenon to associate origins of security studies to proliferation of nuclear weapons and cold war era (Bock & Berkowitz, 1966). In the Traditional security framework, the 'referent' object is the State and its sovereign institutions. The rivalries and antagonism between the two blocks after the cold war on the one hand and the new challenges that newly independent nations of Asia and Africa faced compelled the Security studies literature to look at expand the notions of security. Although, traditional concerns remained central and even dominant.

Human remains the central concern of security studies. This concern was holistically drawn out by the Canadian model, UNDP's concept of security and during same period by scholars like Barry Buzan, Ole Waever and Jaap de Wilde. Comprehensive security studies or Non-traditional security studies rose after the rivalries of the cold war ended. The strains of comprehensive studies can be found in Quincy Wright's *The Study of War* (1942). The treatise gives the comprehensive and multidimensional treatment to the aspects of war be they Sociological, Biological, Historical, Psychological, philosophical etc. Quincy argued that war is a disease that needs a cure. Quite apart from the classical interpretations that security studies involve the concern of states about how to manage external threats, non-traditional security studies base their foundations under these five comprehensive dimensions—Military, political, economic, environmental and societal (Buzan *et al.*, 1998).

Non- Traditional security studies has expanded the scope of security studies from narrow militaristic clutches. Buzan (1997) argues against the presumption that non-traditionalist makes security studies incoherent and gives a constructivist method for making security studies reintegrative among all the three branches of security studies viz Traditional, Wideners and Critical Studies. The Copenhagen school belongs to the "Widener studies" that believes in the idea that security question is open to myriad threats. It is antagonistic to the view that security involves just the war and use of force between the states. Traditionalist have a complaint about intellectual coherence but Copenhagen school believe that non-military solutions can offer a refuge. Threats and vulnerabilities can arise can be both military and non-military but in order to qualify as a security threat, an issue has to satisfy and uptick the criteria that makes it less normal. An issue has to be a threat to the referent object. An issue becomes and qualifies as a threat in non-traditional security frame work when politics getting behind it and it (issue) gains the attention of State and public at large.

Canadian Approach, UNDP and Novel Corona Virus

Human primate is the basis of both Traditional and non-traditional security studies. But it was the UNDP's treatment of the human security that relegated security studies to the issues ranging from better health, education and well being to the issues related to human dignity, freedom, equality and liberty. The later set falls with the domain of Canadian school. The Stockholm Initiative on Global Security and Governance in 1991 called for "Common Responsibility in the 1990's". The call referred to the challenges for security that where new than political rivalry, antagonism, armament and deterrence. The new areas being related to

and having genesis in development, degradation of environment, growth of population and economic stagnation. The areas identified as creating security challenges were central to the Governance challenges rather than military or national security.

Argument was that security challenges involved lack of basic freedoms including liberty, speech and enjoying basic human Rights (Stockholm, 1991). In the similar breath, the Commission on Global Governance report titled as *Global Neighbourhood* argues that, “The concept of global security must be broadened from the traditional focus on the security of states to include the security of people and the security of the planet” (The Commission on Global Governance, 1995). These reports and others became the precursor for MahbubulHaq to establish the foundations of Human Development Index (HDI). Focus because of these efforts shifted to human beings being at the centre stage of the security discussion and policy making. This approach is documented in the treatise entitled as “New Imperatives of Human Security” 1994. Mehbub ulHaq argues that states and nations are not central to the question of security but individuals are. In his words, “world is entering a new era of human security” whereby we will see that the concept of human security shall change in its entirety. The question and theme of development being central to his conceptualization of security wen he argued that security shall be achieved through development and not through arms (Haq, 1995, PP-1). This theme was broadened by the Canadian approach to the humanistic dimension and a security perspective.

Canadian school of security is an extension of UNDP and later on became quite separate and broadened. The security of individual is again basic to Canadian approach. In 1997 & 1998 Canada has made two major statements to define its position along with Lysoen (1999) in Norway that is along Canadian lines. According to Lloyd Axworthy security involves security against economic privation, an acceptable quality of life, and a guarantee of fundamental human rights. He (1999) further argues that, “Security between states remains a necessary condition for the security of people” and since the cold war it is evidently clear that, “national security is insufficient to guarantee people’s security”. The Canadian approach talks about “freedom from fear” and “freedom from want”—these are the two basic tenets of tis school of thought. There are values associated along with question of security.

Along with the question of security, it is the good quality of life and a guarantee of basic human rights that forms the core argument. This was along the lines of Lysoen that along with freedom from fear and want there got to have the avenues for equal opportunities. The threats to human existence way beyond the questions posed by Traditional Security study scholars are rising divide between rich and poor, state failure, religious and ethnic conflicts, environmental degradation, migration, state repression, child abuse and protectionism in international trade. Globalization has brought in new threats along with interconnectedness that include civil conflicts, drug mafias, global terrorism, disease, biological warfare and cybercrime. Globalization has brought in new threats that are non-traditional in nature which include effects because of climate change and increased pollution. In 1997, Axworthy argued that disarmament, peacebuilding, peacekeeping, protection of children’s rights and open trade that is rule based are the pertinent areas of human security.

The critique of Traditional and non-tradition security studies manifests that in Traditional security studies, the reference point was the state where as the non-traditional security perspective that includes Copenhagen school of thought, UNDP’s conception and Canadian school swayed the focus towards the security of an individual. The security of an individual is coterminous with the security of the state, but the vice versa is not true. In the Canadian conception, there is deep and profound focus on the values that include well-being in both physical sense and larger freedom of individual that includes his liberty as well. The long list of values associated with Canadian scholars are economic development that is sustainable

and social equality/equity on one hand and physical security that includes, fundamental liberal freedoms, rule of law and good governance (Axworthy, 1997. Pp.184). Security threats in non-traditional security scenario are multifaceted and multidimensional.

According to Johan Galtung, violence can be differentiated between two that includes direct or personal violence and indirect or structural violence. He argues that, violence is not always the use of force against another individual, it may involve the use of non-personal instruments as well say structural or systematic. The division between global haves and have-nots is thus a systematic violence perpetuated by crony-capitalism. The outbreak of pandemics, diseases and disasters doesn't differentiate between individuals and are actually great equalizers. Being the failure of public health institutions, corporates and states, COVID-19 has pushed in a structural violence against the individuals. The nuanced approach toes the argument by Galtung that State has failed in its obligations and has perpetuated violence against the marginalised and people on fringe. This violence and security threat is not visible to naked eye but the response of the state has made it manifest as various security steps are being taken to control the COVID-19 that originated in Wuhan. Novel Corona has made states to close the borders and states like Iran that face existential threat from other neighbouring countries is grappling with security challenge of Himalayan magnitude. Many studies have been done in this regard with significant findings (Sinha P. et al. 2019; Shilpaet al. 2019; Singh et al. 2020; Zhang et al. 2020a; Zhang et al. 2020b).

2. CONCLUSION

COVID-19 has redefined and strengthened the approach of non-traditional security studies. The approaches and dimensions provided by non-traditional/comprehensive/widener school of thought has provide the theoretical foundations about how we are dealing with the COVID-19 pandemic. The pandemic has impacted economics, politics and social spheres of human civilization. Traditional security apparatus is comprehensively facing new challenges due to the pandemic. No doubt, COVID-19 has been a shot in the arm of Nationalists, populists and protectionist school of thought, still there is lot on the table from Authoritarian regimes. UNDP and Canadian model and its presumptions have to be thought through. The discourse has to be around those theoretical foundations. The traditional security apparatus is there for an overhaul as is the geo-politics of international military exercises between nations. COVID-19 not only come as a boon for non-traditional security studies but is also forcing traditional security apparatus and modalities to rethink and re-strategize. For instance, the military exercises between the nations and the way military is trained in stress and in huddles. Virus like COVID-19 have redefined the security challenges we face and our responses to it. The philosophical underpinnings around sociological treatment of disease are back in discourse that shall add to the new themes of non-traditional security studies.

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