

Human Security, Indigenous People and Development

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Introduction

Let me start providing certain facts of the 20th Century:

- In this period, some 100 million people were killed in armed conflicts and further 120 million dead as a result of politically related violence where religion or race or ethnicity or political background was the main factor.
- At the start of the century, during armed conflict, 5 percent of the casualties were civilians, at the end of the century, 90 percent of such casualties were civilians.
- Over 120 million land mines were deployed in more than 64 countries and most of the victims were civilians (Venkatachaliah, 2002).

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted around fifty eight years back was a great step to eliminate conflict and establish equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human society, rich or poor, regardless of status, race, religion, colour, sex or political background. Nevertheless, the world has seen barbarous inhumanity during the two world wars. Prof. René Cassin, the noted French jurist, who was connected with this Declaration, was offered the Nobel Prize after 20 years in 1968. Once he said, 'Men are not always good'.

In the evolution of human rights, the western powers were more interested to give priority to the Civil and Political Rights, often referred as 'First Generation Rights', while the Socialist countries were interested in the Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, often referred as 'Second Generation Rights'. The concept of 'Third Generation Rights' was introduced afterwards to refer the rights of the people or groups including right to Self-Determination, Development and Environment. The Vienna World Conference on Human Rights, 1993 reaffirmed that the civil, political, economic, social and cultural Rights are 'universal, interdependent and indivisible'. It has been observed that

Human Rights are best understood as part of law, part of philosophy and part of political movement. The values which drive the idea of human rights owe almost as much to poetry and music as they do to legal principles. They owe nearly as much to the spirituality of all the great religions and to the eternal quest for righteousness as they do to revolutions and the demand for freedom from state tyranny..... The idea of rights has changed over time because people have acted together to claim rights in different circumstances and with varying goals in mind.... In other words, in the history of humans, distinct periods arrive when new rights come into prominence as a force of change. That does not make Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and other rights any way less important than Civil and Political Rights. (Ms. Klug,:)

It is really interesting to note the contribution of the International Human Rights regime in the last few decades. The development has profound impact on

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conceptual and practical issues. In international law, the sovereign states were the main subject and actors. The international human rights regime has projected on the centre-stage the individual. This has interesting implications in the context of the scope of human rights and human security.

The concept of 'human security' has initiated the debate – what 'security' means and how to achieve it. The concept has been defined and pursued in different ways by different nation states: as a means of reducing the human costs of violent conflicts, as a strategy to enable governments to address basic human needs and offset the inequities of globalization, and as a means to provide social safety nets to impoverished, marginalized people. The discussion on the disarmament-development nexus that took place in various UN forums in response to the Cold War arms race contributed in the understanding of human security. Besides, a number of commissions like the Brandt Commission, the Brundtland Commission and the Commission on Global Governance helped to change the focus of security analysis from national and state security to security of the people. In fact, subsequently there was a growing recognition of non-military threats in the global security debate. The Human Development Report of UNDP (1994) provided seven separate components of human security:

1. Economic security (assured basic income)
2. Food security (physical and economic access to food)
3. Health security (relative freedom from disease and infection)
4. Environmental security (access to safe water, clean air and a non degraded land system)
5. Personal security (security from physical violence and threats)
6. Community security (security of cultural identity) and
7. Political security (enjoyment of basic human rights and freedom)

Some have criticized the above scope and definition of human security as too broad. However, others feel that a broader definition is necessary and desirable considering the wider constituency of UN. Some other definitions are more explicitly linked to human rights and humanitarian law. This marked a shift in the norms of state sovereignty with particular reference to human rights protection. Canada criticized the scope of human security as provided by UNDP for focussing more on underdevelopment and ignoring human security resulting from violent conflict (DFAIT, 1999). The varied notions and concepts of human security initiated an interesting debate in the context of national security and human security and 'freedom from want' and 'freedom from fear'. It is interesting to note that some Asian thinkers and governments see human security as yet another attempt by the West to impose its values and political institutions on non-Western societies. Others have pointed out the non-military threats to human security as a reality in many countries and emphasized the need of a collective human security agenda. Canada focussed human security as 'security of the people' which was also supported by Norway. The two countries have formed a Human Security Partnership identifying a nine-point agenda of human security covering:

land-mines, formation of an International Criminal Court, human rights, international humanitarian law, women and children in armed conflict, small arms proliferation, child soldiers, child labour and northern cooperation. (.....,:)

The observation of Japan in the context of the perception of human security may be mentioned here.

In Japan's view, however, human security is a much broader concept. We believe that freedom from want is no less critical than freedom from fear. So long as its objectives are to ensure the survival and dignity of individuals as human beings, it is necessary to go beyond thinking of human security solely in terms of protecting human life in conflict situations. (.....,:)

To understand human security, Astrid Suhrke (1999) emphasized the issue of 'vulnerability' with reference to three categories of victims: those of war and internal conflicts, those living at or below subsistence levels, and victims of natural disaster. Dr Sverre Lodgaard (2000) of the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs advocated a narrower scope of human security which he felt should not be mixed up with human development. Thus the debate of human security arises from varied perceptions: the western usage reflects the individualistic ethos of liberal democracy which conflicts with the Asian approach to human rights which, as felt by Asian thinkers should cover the different cultural contexts and historical experiences of Asia. Human security calls for a shift of security considering from state security to security of the people, which includes both individuals and communities considering the survival and well-being of all communities. The observation of Prof. Amartya Sen (1999), a Nobel Laureate and a Member of International Commission on Human Security, is worth mentioning here. He pointed out the crucial link between freedom from fear and freedom from want. Human security gives emphasis on human dignity without ignoring the rights of societies and non-political rights. Safety and dignity of individuals or people can not be compromised. In fact, in the human security paradigm, the tolerance of human rights violation for economic development or social stability is not acceptable.

Democracy and Human Security

In the last twenty years alone 81 more countries of the world have moved towards democratic practices, some 33 of them had their military regimes replaced by civil governments. Democratic governance and human development have an intimate interrelationship. Participatory decisions are at the heart of human development. Authoritarian regimes often argue that they have advantages in building strong states that can make tough decisions in the interests of people. They also argue that democratic processes create disorder and impede efficient management – 'that countries must choose between democracy and development, between extending political freedom and expanding incomes'. The Human Development Report 2002, however, provided the opposite picture:

..... There are good reasons to believe that democracy and growth are compatible. With just two exceptions, all of the world's richest countries – those with per capita income of more than \$20,000 (in 2000 purchasing power parity) – have the world's most democratic regimes. In addition, 42 of the 48 high human development countries are democracies. A systematic study by Adam Przeworski and others of 135 countries from 1950-90 discredits the notion of a trade off between democracy and development. (Human Development Report, 2002:

It has been further noted that democracies are better than authoritarian regimes in managing conflicts and catastrophes. Democracy provides for political space and

institutional mechanisms for debate and change, particularly in managing sudden turn downs that threaten human survival. The Human Development Report says:

..... In India famines were common under colonial rule – for example 2 to 3 million people died in 1943 Bengal famine. But since independence and democratic rule, there has been no recurrence of famine – despite severe crop failures and massive losses of purchasing power for large segments of population as in 1968, 1973, 1979 and 1987. Each time the government acted to avoid famine. Food production fell largely in 1973 during drought in Maharashtra, but famine was averted partly because 5 million people were put to work in public works projects. (Human Development Report, 2002:)

Justice, equality and human dignity are the watch words of human rights discourse. But the inequity of the international economic order has produced unacceptable levels of inequality, both internally and internationally. In the USA (1994) itself the poorest quintile of the population had 1.5 percent of income and consumption while the top quintile had 45.2 percent. This reflects, in a non-trivial sense, the anomalies and inequities of the international economic order. Inequality between and amongst countries has also increased. The income gap between the fifth of the world's people living in the richest countries and the fifth in the poorest was 74 to 1 in 1997, up from 60 to 1 in 1990 and 30 to 1 in 1960 (World Development Report, 1999). Over the 30 years from 1960 to 1990 the affluent 20 percent of the world have enhanced their share of incomes and consumption from 70.1 percent to 86 percent while the poorest 20 percent have had their share reduced to 1 percent. This is the manifestation of a growth, which is ruthless, rootless, voiceless, jobless, and futureless.

By the late 1990s the fifth of the world's people living in highest-income countries had:

- 86% of world GDP – the bottom fifth just 1%.
- 82% of world export markets – the bottom fifth just 1%.
- 68% of foreign direct investment – the bottom fifth had just 1%.
- 74% of world telephone lines, today's basic means of communication – the bottom fifth just 1.5%.
- Income of the richest 5% of the world is 114 times that of the poorest 5%.
- Richest 1% has as much income as the poorest 57%.
- In more personal terms, just three richest men, Bill Gates, Warren Buffet and Paul Allen, have wealth equal to the income of 48 poor countries, consisting of over a billion people.

Since independence India has made some impressive achievements. Particularly significant has been the increase in agricultural production. Between 1950 and 2000, the index of agricultural production increased more than four fold. Between 1960 and 2000 wheat production went up from 11 million tonnes to 75.6 million tonnes and the production of rice increased from 35 million tonnes to 89.5 million tonnes. This is no mean achievement for a country that relied on food aid until the middle of the 1960s. The rosy picture of the success of the green revolution is generally projected. It is true that the production has increased considerably, but it has also increased inequality. The rich have become richer and the poor poorer. Again, one may notice the many cases of suicide

committed by the farmers in different parts of India. As ‘modern’ agriculture needs more investment, the farmers often are forced to take loan for agriculture and if they do not get the proper return, often they commit suicide, reflecting the increasing insecurity of human being.

The most significant is population growth. Kerala has a fertility rate of 1.7, which is equal to that of Britain and France, is below 1.9 of China and 2.0 of the U.S.A. This according to Prof. Amartya Sen has been achieved

with no coercion, but mainly through the emergence of new values – a process in which political and social dialogues have played a major part. The level of literacy in Kerala, especially the female literacy, is higher than that of every province in China. This has greatly contributed to making informed social and political dialogues possible. (Sen,:)

In India life expectancy was just 20.9 years in 1910. In 2000 the life expectancy of the urban female in Kerala went up to 80 years. There is abundant empirical evidence of the inter-link between the spread of education and economic achievement.

The lack of education is one of the major reasons for their unequal status of women in society. Denial of access to organized knowledge to women from ancient times has contributed to the increasing subordination of women. (Sen,:)

Maternal anaemia in India is about 57 percent. It is nearly 71 percent for the Dalits and underprivileged sections. An international comparison of infant mortality and maternal mortality rates are given below:

Country	Maternal mortality (per lakh birth)	Infant mortality rate – per 1000 births	Births attended by skilled health staff	No. of women getting prenatal care
UK	7	6	98%	92%
USA	8	7	99%	94%
China	60	32	78%	79%
India	410	69	42%	60%

Source:,:

Within Indian society itself the intra-societal and inter-regional imbalances are significant. While the infant mortality rate in urban Kerala is about 12, it is still as high as 146 in Kishanganj in Bihar. One Human Development Report (UNDP) said that a child born in Kerala today can expect to live longer than one born in Washington. The percentage of child births under skilled health staff is 93 percent in Kerala and 3 percent in Uttar Pradesh.

The UNDP report of 1994 made a very interesting observation. In the developing countries nearly 65 percent of the diseases could have been eliminated if we could provide safe drinking water. Unfortunately, it is not happening.

The main issues of human rights in many countries are education, prevalence of maternal anaemia, low birth-weight related neurological deficiencies, children’s education, particularly of the girl child. Poverty is of course, the worst and most crucial human rights deprivation.

Even in 1994, the Human Development Report of 1994, in its chapter 'New Dimensions of Human Security' had said:

Fifty years ago, Albert Einstein summed up the discovery of atomic energy with characteristic simplicity: 'Everything changed'. He went on to predict: 'we shall require a substantially new manner of thinking if mankind is to survive. But five decades later we need another profound transition in thinking – from nuclear security to human security. (Human Development Report, 1994:)

The report changed the concept of security from its earlier narrow connotation and attached it to the legitimate concerns of ordinary people who sought security in daily lives.

For many of them, security symbolizes protection from the threat of disease, hunger, political repression and environmental hazards. With the dark shadows of the cold war receding, one can now see that conflicts are within nations rather than between nations. For most people, feeling of insecurity arises more from worries about daily life than from the dread of a cataclysmic world event. Will they and their families have enough to eat? Will they lose their jobs? Will their streets and neighbourhoods safe from crime? Will they be tortured by repressive state? Will they become victim of violence because of their gender? Will their religion or ethnic origin target them for persecution. (Human Development Report, 1994)

The U.N. Secretary General, in his millennium report said:

The century just ended was disfigured, time and again, by ruthless conflict...Grinding poverty and striking inequality persist within and among countries even amidst unprecedented wealth. Diseases, old and new, threaten to undo painstaking progress. Nature's life-sustaining services, on which our species depends for its survival, are being seriously disrupted and degraded by our own everyday activities. (UN Millennium Report,)

A number of development programmes have been initiated which have varied effect on population. In many places, the development programmes have benefited some while created disruption and displacement for others. Displacement of a larger population mostly illiterate and unorganized weaker section in the context of development of the region or nation is very common in most of the countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Since there is displacement of a large section of population, the access and command over natural resources are affected, the survival and security of the people are also affected. One cannot stop exploitation of natural resources but what one is now looking for is how to achieve sustainable development. This may demand a new development strategy with a genuine participatory approach and creating a process of natural resource use which is open, accessible and accountable for the security of the larger population. In fact development is expected to improve the quality of life which is not possible when security is affected for a sizable section of the population. Development may be considered as those changes which are required, but have minimum disruptive effects on the concerned population. The protest of the people in the context of different so-called development projects in different parts of the world or many forest development programmes raises a very fundamental question, the development does not start with goods, it starts with people. Again, globalization has created new opportunities and problems. Prof. Amartya Sen has noted that global participation is basically an

enhancement of economic opportunity and its costs can be minimized through appropriate domestic policies, paying particular attention to the availability and distributional equity of economic and social opportunities. He also stressed the importance of certain positive social changes in this regard like land reforms, spread of education, better health care, freedom of work and freedom of fear, which are very much related to human security. He also observed, 'these are not much the social consequences of economic reforms, but the economic consequences of social reforms. The market economy flourishes on the foundations of social development- a lesson which India has yet to learn.' (Sen,).

The Commission on Global Governance distinguished between the security of state and security of people. Because of emerging socio-economic and political situation, the security of the people is very much affected. After the publication of the Commission Report in 1994, efforts have been made to define the security of people, the human security, more rigorously, along with practical ways of promoting it. Thus human security means the security of people: their physical safety, socio-economic well-being, protection of human rights and freedom. The fundamental components of human security are the security of people against threats to life, health, livelihood, personal safety and human dignity. Naturally, the concerned socio-economic and political systems play a very crucial role in the context of human security and its protection.

Environment, Development and Human Security

The world to-day is deeply concerned with ecological issues. Man for his ever-growing needs uses resources in nature. In this way he promotes development. The use of natural resources and the initiation of development produce changes in ecology. The nature of changes in ecology manifests the character of development. The character of development, again, determines the use of resources. The pattern of use of resources reflects to a certain extent the path of development that a governing group has decided to follow. Although the issues have to be analyzed from different points of view, the role of human being as an agent of change has to be taken as focal point. In the relationship between development and environment, adjustment is the need, but conflict is generally the outcome. Industrial, agricultural and infrastructural developments have created many environmental problems due to misunderstanding of the system in nature. In the planning model, the environmental issues were not adequately considered in the past. This is now regarded as too costly to be avoided. The process of planning and concomitant administrative decisions should attach top priority to the resolution of the contradiction between development and environment.

Immediately after the colonial rule in many countries there was an acute shortage of food for which the government of the concerned country desperately tried to increase food production at any cost. Maybe an increase or growth in production was the goal at that moment and maybe the objective was achieved in a given context, but is it possible to equate it with development? Any increase in production is growth but development is a broader and wider term and it has other connotations too. It not only includes growth, but an equitable distribution of facilities and resources and reduction, if not elimination, of exploitative practices are also implied. Of late, another very important and crucial indicator has also been added to it. It is the question of environment. Man, for his ever-growing needs, uses resources in nature. The use of natural resources and initiation of

development produce changes in ecology. In the relationship between development and environment, adjustment is the need. Any activity is likely to produce some changes in ecology, but it is to be seen how these activities are affecting the ecology. Any activity adversely affecting the ecology cannot be considered as development. Thus development includes both qualitative and quantitative changes – it improves the socio-economic condition and also quality of life of the majority population of the concerned society without adversely affecting the environment and thus not creating any problem for other groups or communities directly not involved in the activity. It thus helps to exploit the natural resources in a better way without any grave adverse environmental consequence.

Development of any region has three main dimensions, economic, social and environmental, and none of these dimensions can be neglected if the real development of a region is to be achieved. Of all the three, the environmental dimension is all pervasive, but it has been hitherto neglected. During the last couple of years a wave to protect the environment is blowing everywhere. The potential environmental damage, the magnitude of the waste management problems are directly related to the growth of economic activities which demands some regions to reduce the rate of economic growth resulting in regional imbalances. On the other hand, a reduction of economic growth rate would lead to unemployment, poverty and several other social problems.

Economic activities always generate residuals and release them into the common property resources of air, water and land. They create external discomfort for the society, which resides there. However, there are strong moral and ethical justifications for not imposing such costs and injuries upon the region and the society. But, the internalization of the externalities is virtually impossible in the case of large-scale production by the use of technology without proper policy to manage the environment. Though the principle of permitting optimal levels of emissions and environmental damages in every region for every economic activity sounds as a better rule to be followed in the regional development programme, it has to pay for the environmental damage in the long-run. Hence the scale of regional development should be comprehensive enough to manage the environmental damage.

Other sets of social and political problems need to be examined. That what is regarded as an enormous ecological problem by one social group, may be regarded by another as an economic opportunity with negligible external costs. A sparsely populated region having large assimilative capacities in its air and water resources may appear to other regions or the nation as an ideal dumping ground of residuals which may be highly objectionable and unfair for the receiving region. It is also to be noted that the residents of well-developed region expects the residents of underdeveloped region to forego the benefit of regional economic development so that the residents of a well-developed region may have external economics of non-polluted vacation areas as second homes in the countryside.

Industrialized regions and nations have already started protecting their environment at the cost of other regions and environments by making heavy demands upon the existing limited stocks of non-renewable minerals, metals, fuels, and other natural resources. Some of the Third World countries find it difficult to take up costly protecting devices to save environment.

Development programmes initiated in tribal-dominated areas often adversely affected the tribal way of life, economy and habitat resulting displacement. This was frequently

followed by the encroachment on traditional tribal areas by non-tribals and as the exploitation of natural resources became more intense, it generally affected the ecosystem of the tribal areas. There are the inevitable difficulties of development policy in a situation where the component programmes are funded by international agencies and often supervised by them. Quite often greater emphasis and attention are given to the interests of the developed sectors of the country, such as the industrial sector or the dominant section of the concerned country. The rights and interests of the so-called backward tribals are often treated as being of secondary importance. Actually with the formation of new nation states and increase in population, the exploitation of natural resources becomes more intense and there is tremendous competition to have access and command over natural resources and this often creates conflicts and tension at different levels. The developed countries or rather the multi-national organizations try to control the resources of the less-developed countries, while the dominant sections of the developing countries try to manipulate in such a way that they can enjoy the major share of the national natural resources often depriving the local population, mostly the tribals.

If we take the case of forest, there is no doubt that there is considerable degradation. Thus people, mostly the women, as they are primarily involved in the collection, are struggling more but getting less. This struggle is directly linked with the level of degradation of forest; where the forest is more degraded, people are forced to struggle more, where it is less degraded, the struggle is much less.

There has been significant land alienation, deforestation and mindless mining operations and other construction activities for the sake of the defence establishments, all leading to displacement and great human misery. Unfortunately, many of these activities were undertaken in the name of development or 'national' interest. Quite often the project-affected people neither received adequate compensation nor resettlement support and little or no benefit out of these activities which greatly and adversely affected their life. The rationale of the 'national interest' to initiate these projects naturally needs thorough review and serious rethinking.

One cannot stop the exploitation of natural resources but what one is now looking for is how to achieve sustainable development. The traditional models of resource use may have an answer to this question. This may demand a new development strategy with a genuine participatory approach and creating a process of natural resource use, which is open, accessible and accountable by devolving power from the state to the local communities in the context of controlling the forest resources.

Conclusion

With increasing globalization, the exploitation of natural resources all over the world has become more intense often affecting the environment and the interests of the local people predominantly the indigenous people. Their access and command over natural resources are often denied affecting their life support systems. With the formation of new nation states after the colonial rule, large-scale migration and movement of people have also been noted due to socio-political reasons. Now one may find a large number of displaced persons, the refugees or stateless population all over the world, where human rights violations are very common and human security is a major problem..

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