

Non-traditional Security Threat in South Asia with Particular Orientation to IDP's in Pakistan

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Abstract

In international relations, the idea of human security is a specific approach to security that is relating to human rights and governance. Academically and politically, the recent shift of attention from security to human security is a matter of concern. In traditional practices of security, military intercessions are the prioritization that is unsuccessful in responding the most pressing threats to individual security adequately, all over the world. The traditional security threats have served to further individual security challenges. Internal displacement has become a fact of life in South Asia that is a hall mark of conflict ridden regions of the world. Minority conflicts, religious and ethnic rifts, state repression, demands for sovereignty, famines, floods, terrorism, lack of development projects and IDPs crisis, all have added to the challenge of already aggravated human security conditions in South Asia. Pakistan, since long, has been facing IDPs crisis that is a challenge to human security, a sphere of security and it has become difficult to fully cope the issue by the leadership of Pakistan. As the repatriation of internally displaced persons and reconstruction of their areas after 2009 military offensive of Swat has been completed in the near past, Pakistan military resolved to flush out all terrorist outfits and initiated the military operation 'Zarb-e-Azb' in 2014, in North Waziristan Agency. In the aftermath of present operation, Pakistan is faced with a large displacement crisis, with almost one million people. The paper examines the phenomenon of internal displacement as a non-traditional security issue that poses a serious threat to the regional security of south Asia in general and to the internal security of Pakistan in particular.

Key Words: Non-traditional security, human security, IDPs, South Asia, Zarb-e-Azb, Pakistan's Armed Forces.

Introduction

The end of the Cold War, globalization, ecological degradation and terrorism pooled to open a new aspect of security that is human security. The focus shifted away from military might as a core value of global security order to various non-traditional sections, with a much enhanced role of new variables like economy, politics and societal forces. Scholars with an alternative approach to security studies questioned the security dilemma that can only be attained through military dimension. After Cold War, there was a shift in the

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framework of security and world order from traditional approach to non-traditional approach.

The developing terrorist activities in the aftermath of 1) Soviet incursion, 2) a decade long war between Afghanistan and Socialist Russia, 3) Pakistan's full support to Afghan brothers, and 4) the retreat of USSR affected all the human spheres badly. Another incident in the last decade was the intervention of US and allied forces in Afghanistan and Pakistan's involvement in Global War on Terror which further complicated the human security paradigm in the region generally and Pakistan particularly. Despite efforts to battling down terrorism, Pakistan experienced an upsurge in horrible terrorist incidents in the wake of the war on terror. Pakistan's FATA region, a predominantly tribal region of high strategic value for both Afghanistan and Pakistan emerged as a hub of terrorist activities and soon became a flash point in the global war against terrorism.

In the after effects of World War II, security was perceived as an all-inclusive concept that took into account all spheres of human life – from an individual living in a community and the community itself a sovereign state. Nevertheless, complexities of the Cold War saw the world split into two geopolitical and ideological blocks wherein the concept of security remained strongly knit around the traditional model. State security remained pre-eminent over security of individual. This kept the discipline of security mainly limited to conventional concept seen through a narrow prism of state facing external military threats (Khan, 2013).

After World War II, the UN was besieged by shadows of war and hence state security from the beginning. The UN Charter started with these words “we the peoples of the United Nations determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind...” (The Charter of the United Nations, 1945). This shows the state-centric approach, which impelled the formation of a world body. The UN had security on its prime agendas. For instance, in 1945, the US Secretary of State, Edward Reilly Stettinius Jr., reported to his government on the result of the conference in San Francisco, which established the UN, in these words:

“The battle of peace has to be fought on two fronts. The first is the security front where victory spells freedom from fear. The second is the economic and social front where victory means freedom from want. Only victory on both fronts can ensure the world of an enduring peace...” (Okubo, 2007).

The Relationship between Human Security and Non-traditional Security

Human security, an area of non-traditional security threats challenge the survival and safety of people and states that emerge mainly out of nonmilitary causes, for instance “climate change, environmental degradation, natural disasters, infectious diseases, transnational crimes, irregular migration, ethnic conflicts, arms smuggling, sea piracy and other threats to human security” (Anthony, 2010). All these phenomena cause flux. Ulman stated that “non-traditional security threats are, namely:- International Terrorism, Transnational Organized Crime, Environmental Security, Illegal Migration, Energy Security, and Human Security” (Chaudhuri, n.d). Nations and association continued to give way to traditional security paradigm. Spending a lot on weapons and warheads at the cost of people worsen the human security. Lloyd Axworthy stated, “... the basis of traditional security concept is sovereignty of a state, while the basis of the concept of human security is sovereignty of an individual” (Khan, 2013).

According to the Research of Institute of Asia and Pacific Studies, the impact of the ‘War on Terror’ on human security in South Asia, particularly on the relationship between anti-terrorist measures and a broad understanding of human security, human displacement has become an issue (n.d). With the end of Cold War, the concept of security has been broadened, redefined and reconstituted. Human security has become an essentially contested concept as a non-traditional security challenge. Non-traditional security approach focuses on non-military security threats. They are transnational in nature and defined in political and socio-economic terms. The decision makers should be engaged regarding the importance of non-traditional security in guiding political response to face the crisis and developing strategies to lessen the threat of human security to state. The institutional capacity of governments, regional and international organizations should be built up to retort these challenges.

Human Security and IDPs Crisis in Pakistan

The UN Secretary-General stated that the internal displacement is one of the world’s greatest humanitarian challenges. According to the UN Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement, IDPs are:

“persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and

who have not crossed an internationally recognized state border” (OCHA Pakistan, April 2001).

According to OCHA Report 2013, over twenty five million people today, are the sufferers of humanitarian crisis on the globe. In South Asia, displacement has been at rise due to conflicts and human rights violations. More than this figure is displaced due to natural disasters and other reasons. The IDPs forced to abandon their homes and livelihoods, are the most vulnerable and neglected persons around the world. As Secretary-General Kofi Annan has noted, “internal displacement is the great tragedy of our times. Internally displaced people are among the most vulnerable of the human family” (Anan, 1999). To respond to the security and support needs of the IDPs is therefore, one of the major challenges to human security, presently.

Dr. Mahbub ul Haq noted: “I firmly believe that the world is entering a new era in which the very concept of security will change-and change dramatically. Security will be interpreted as: Security of the people, not just territory; Security of individuals, not just of nations; Security through sustainable development not through arms; Security of all people anywhere in their homes, in their jobs, in their streets, in their communities, in their environment... Human security will be regarded as universal, global and indivisible” (Khan, 2013).

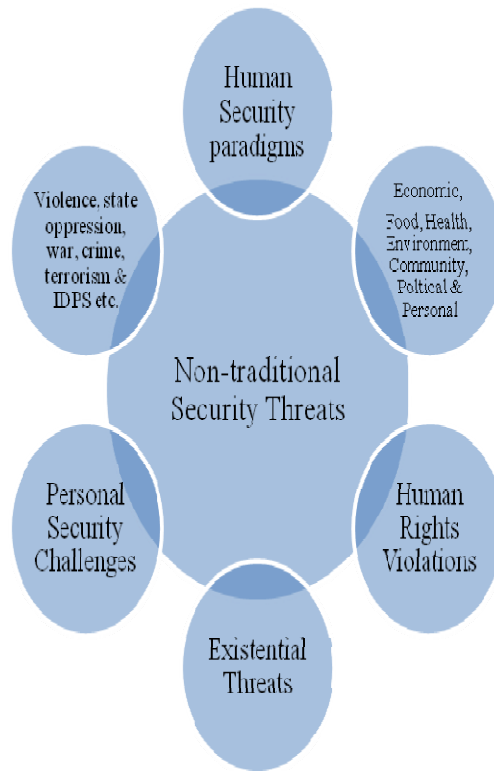
Human Security is a comprehensive but widely contested concept. It has become the attention of scholars of in the twentieth century. The notion of security has been expanded. Prof. Dr. Mujahid Kamran, Vice Chancellor University of the Punjab, wrote in the preface of the book ‘Human Security in Pakistan’ that the ‘focus of academic debate has been shifted away now from state to individual human being’ (2013). “The nature of threats and security discourses are incessantly changing and this expanding security agenda has gone beyond state and military security. With the fall apart of USSR and a transformed socialist world, the global strategic environment has been in a constant flux” (Chaudhuri, n.d).

The notion of ‘human security’ paradigm was conceptualized during the decade of 1990s and influenced the world largely in mid-1990s, challenging the global politics, institutions and governance systems. Dr. Mahbub ul Haq was the first time to use the term ‘human security’ officially in the Human Development Report-1994. The traditional concept of composite security changed exclusively from national security to human security paradigm and security of an individual. The UNDP changed and rather transformed the concept, taking it to the realm of human development. “In 1993, the UNDP document stressed on the notion that human security should be achieved

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through human development, from redundancy, food security, prevention from human displacement and environmental conflicts not through arms and prevention from territorial security challenges” (Zambelli, 2002).

The definition proposed by the Commission on Human Security re-conceptualized security by departing from traditional state-centric approach and focused on people-centric approach. UNDP’s Human Development Report-1994 defined the human security as including “safety from such chronic threats as hunger, disease and repression and; protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily lives, whether in homes, jobs or communities” (UNDP, 1994). The HDR-1994 gave out seven components of human security paradigm; economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security and political security as illustrated in the shape below. With the help of data taken from ‘Human Security in Pakistan’ by Ehsan Mehmood Khan (2013), the shape below presented the link between IDPs, a threat to human security paradigm as a non-traditional security challenge in this paper.



Human Security and human rights are interconnected. In non-traditional security paradigm, the connection between human rights and human security are used and comprehended as interchangeable terms. Human security as an umbrella term encompasses human rights in its broader folds. Conceptually and practically, human rights do not actually take care of all types of threats faced by humanity on individual or by community but in case of virtually failed or extremely oppressive state calls for international intervention and the UN has been generally remained preoccupied.

The traditional model of security with its relevancy to military dimension has been challenged by civil societies around the world. Human security dimensions gain primacy although it is essential to remain cognizant of the states' need for national defence, sovereignty and integration (Khan, 2013). Barry Buzan brought to the front new dimensions of security that are, beyond military, including political, economic, ecological and collective facets. Buzan noted, "The bottom line of security is survival, but it reasonably includes a substantial range of concerns about the conditions of existence. Survival and conditions of existence refer to both the state and society, which is made up of individuals and communities"(1991). Buzan is considered as a pioneer of the concept of human security and posits that the ultimate referent object of security should be the individual, whose well-being is not necessarily coterminous with the security of the state.

Violations of human rights and other grave threats to human survival like internal displacement, terrorism, insurgency and state's oppression challenge the global community to pay heed towards a nontraditional, all comprehensive approach of human and state security. The global community is lawful to intervene in the internal affairs of a state in matters of serious human security violations. Nearly seven decades after Pakistan inception, she has not been able to address the vulnerabilities faced by an individual. She continuously faces a host of challenges in numerous areas. Natural hazards, terrorism and other threats continue to intricate human security paradigm in the nascent state of Pakistan. The successive governments did not pay much heed to the hottest emerging issue at societal level and at policy level. The profile on human security is troublesome even today. Insecurity at personal, economic and societal levels is the dilemma of the whole world today but developing countries like Pakistan are hardly equipped or prepared to face such daunting problems in a befitting way.

Military Offensives in Pakistan

The semi-autonomous FATA comprises of seven districts are, Bajour, Orakzai, Khyber, Mohmand, North Waziristan, South Waziristan and Kurram

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and the major military operations conducted in FATA due to host of terrorist activities, are Operation Al-Mizan, Operation Zalzal, Operation Sher-e-Dil, Operation Rah-e-Rast, Operation Rah-e-Haq and Operation Rah-e-Nijat waged in the six districts by the Armed Forces of Pakistan. The first military offensive was conducted in 2002 in FATA against the militant outfits, from then to 2014; North Waziristan's existence was hit by 'safe haven' of terrorist outfits. In 2014, armed forces of Pakistan initiated military offensive in North Waziristan Agency.

Operation Zarb-e-Azb named after the sword of the Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) was launched by the military forces of Pakistan on 15 June 2014 to fight off all the terrorist outfits without discrimination of good and bad, due to continued pandemonium. According to an ISPR statement, "using North Waziristan as a base, these terrorists had waged a war against the state of Pakistan and had been disrupting our national life in all its dimensions, stunting our economic growth and causing enormous loss of life and property" (Sherazi, June 16, 2014).

The initiation of peace negotiations by the civilian leadership of Pakistan, since they rose to power was derailed due to unlawful demands by TTP outfits and continued terror strike in the entire country. To trample the terrorist outfits and wipe out their bases in North Waziristan Agency, close to the Afghan frontier, was well perched with US drone strikes and air strikes by Pakistan air force. The internal security structure of Pakistan was well ensured by vacating the areas from the civilians and moving them toward Bannu, Lakki Marwat, Kohat, Karak, Dera Ismail Khan and KP province. It forced hundreds of thousands of people to internally displace and was marked the second largest internal displacement in Pakistan after Swat in 2009. The IDPs of present military offensive are faced with harsh weather, insufficient food, inadequate shelters, health and other basic needs. Rehabilitation and reconstruction of the damaged areas vacated by local people are the great challenges, confronted by Pakistan's top leadership.

Beyond Zarb-e-Azb: Issue of Internal Displacement

Pakistan Army evacuated the area from locals to keep away the civilians from damage. Some 929,859 persons (from 80,302 families) were registered by FATA Disaster Management Authority (The Express Tribune 14 July, 2014). The inhabitants were moved to Bannu, Laki Marwat, Karak, Dera Ismail Khan and Kohat province of KP. General Raheel Sharif, Chief of the Army Staff assured the army would play its role in rebuilding and restoring normalcy in North Waziristan (Dawn, July 8, 2014). Monetary support and food packages were provided to them (The Express Tribune. 6 July 2014).

The resettling, reconstruction and rehabilitation of IDPs has posed a grave challenge to be reckoned with. Pakistan's fragile civilian leadership lacks institutional capacity and means to supply enough eatables, protection, health facilities and other basic needs, to indefinitely sustain IDPs and to create peace in the areas they left. Facilitating the safe return and rehabilitation of IDPs, and the establishment and installation of an influential governmental structure is the top priority of the civil-military leadership of Pakistan. Director General Military Operations (DGMO) Major General Amir Riaz gave a detailed presentation to the meeting of apex. COAS, Gen. Raheel Sharif, Finance Minister Ishaq Dar, SAFRON Minister Lt Gen (rtd.) Abdul Qadir Baloch, Advisor to Prime Minister on National Security and Foreign Affairs Sartaj Aziz, Prime Minister's Special Assistant on Foreign Affairs Tariq Fatemi and KP Governor Sardar Mehtab Abbasi were the attendees of the meeting. Various options of repatriation of displaced persons and reconstruction of the local infrastructure in NWA, after six months of launching the operation, have been discussed.

PM Nawaz Sharif acknowledged the sacrifices of displaced tribesmen of NWA for Pakistan's solidity and stated that "the state would look after their needs by reconstructing better areas for these displaced persons when they return" (Manan, December 10, 2014). The internally displaced families have gone through enormous misery due to operation in NWA. The military operation along with a clear policy to counter terrorists of all types is adopted. Equal fundamental rights; freedom, security and equal economic opportunities will be provided to them as offered in Pakistan elsewhere. For durable peace and progress, the government needs to establish political, economic, social and administrative reforms in tribal areas. "The government will meet all requirements of the military. All resources will be used to facilitate the peace-loving men, women and children who will be displaced due to the operation till they settle again," the Prime Minister said in his closing speech on federal budget (Dawn, June 18, 2014).

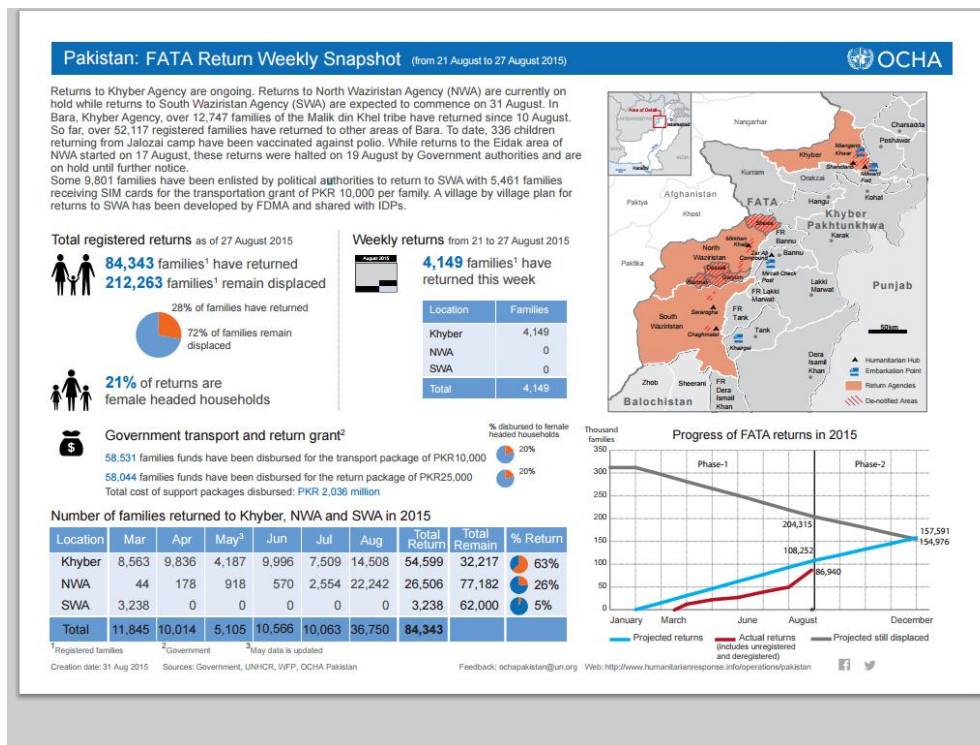
On 10 July, the Foreign Office gave a statement that the repatriation and rehabilitation of IDPs are the internal concerns of Pakistan and she will not seek any external support. Pakistani Foreign Office spokesperson Tasnim Aslam said. "We have very clear instructions from the Prime Minister (to not seek external assistance); Pakistan has neither made nor intends to make a request for international assistance. It has been made very clear that all expenditure related to temporarily displaced Pakistanis will be met from our own resources". (The Express Tribune July 10, 2014). However, it was reported that US allotted 31 million dollars for IDPs rehabilitation (The Express Tribune July 6, 2014) and \$9.3 million for health, hygiene, water and sanitation

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for IDPs and livestock (Dawn, July 22, 2014). It was also reportedly said that the UAE administration assigned \$20.5 million for IDPs as humanitarian aid (The Express Tribune July 6, 2014). The Pakistani Finance Minister Ishaq Dar, in February 2014, told a visiting US Senator Jack Reed that the expenditure of the present military operation, up till now had crossed 40 billion (US\$390 million) and could overlap 130 billion (US\$1.3 billion) (The Express Tribune, February 19th, 2015).

In the aftermath of Zar bi Azb, the following three objectives are the most pressing challenges for the country's civil and military establishment:

1. "To take care of the large number of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs)
2. To organize IDPs safe return and rehabilitation after the operation establishes the writ of the State
3. and to develop a civil set-up to effectively govern the area after the military has done its part" (Safi, 2014 August 04: Pildat).



Source: <https://www.humanitarianresponse.info/en/operations/pakistan/infographic/weekly-return-snapshot-21-august-27-august-2015>.

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On August 14, 2014, the COAS said to conclude the operation to its logical end in few more weeks. He stated, "We will try to complete the military Operation Zarb-e-Azb very soon" (Khan, August 16, 2014). The gigantic task confronting the federal and provincial governments is to resettle more than a million IDPs in their abodes. Furthermore, the military forces will not be able to take hold of the area for long to prevent the reemergence of militants that have now fled from the area. The forthcoming weeks, hence would be challenging for the government of Pakistan that needs a lot of scheduling, financial assistance and primarily sincerity and determination (Khan, August 16, 2014).

The repatriation of the IDPs was permitted by the military forces on December 8, 2014. COAS said, the repatriation of IDPs was their top priority. Officially, it was directed to the government of Pakistan to prepare for the repatriation of IDPs to their abodes in areas that are cleared from terrorist threat (Yousaf, December 8, 2014). Exodus of IDPs is a difficult step but the plan is ready as COAS stated. As the repatriation of internally displaced tribal people and rebuilding of their areas after Swat operation in 2009 had been completed in the near past. Tens of Thousands of people were forced to leave North Waziristan Agency due to a full-fledge offensive to recapture the territory from the terrorists. Rt. Lieutenant General Talat Masood stated that reincorporating them was the key to victory. "These military gains will only be a part of the exercise. Complete success depends on the rehabilitation of the displaced people and development in the tribal region" (The Express Tribune, June 29, 2015).

On 31 March 2015, the return of the IDPs to their homeland started. 62 families on the very first day of repatriation left Bannu and went back to Spinwam and Shahmeri in NWA. The first phase of repatriation completed on 24 April and approximately 1,200 families were sent back to their homes with six months food ration and non-food stuff with Rupees 25000 help and Rupees 10,000 transport expenses were given to each family. Anti-polio vaccines and anti-measles vaccines were given to children under the age of 5-10 for affective diseases control (Salam & Bittni, Apr 01, 2015). On 4 May 2015, 230 families were sent back to their residences. An official, dealing with IDPs repatriation, said "The civil administration can send entire displaced population back to their homes within a month if the area is de-notified as conflict zone" (Dawn, April 5, 2015). According to the official sources "the cut-off date for the return of IDPs was December 2016" (Dawn, May 04, 2015).

The government of Pakistan is solely responsible for the protection of IDPs and safe return to their areas in FATA. It is the duty of the civilian leadership of Pakistan to resettle them with full capacity. The Ministry of States and

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Frontier Regions (SAFRON) is assigned with the responsibility of rehabilitation of IDPs. National Disaster Management Authority is providing needed support to FATA Disaster Management Authority, Provincial Disaster Management Authority (PDMA), Pakistan Army and other stakeholders for effective crisis management. The government has also made a formal request to UN for support (Pakistan North Waziristan Agency IDP Crisis Following the Zarb-e-Azb Operation, June 27, 2014, ACAPS).

UN Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement

The UN Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement in 1998, issued by UN Secretary General, internationally recognized the rights of persons that are displaced from their abodes by force owing to host of factors that includes natural debacles and on other grounds. The displaced persons, who have not crossed international frontiers are “internally displaced persons” not migrants. The government and the state are responsible to ensure human rights of the displaced people. Following is a summary of guidelines offered by UN, is related to intergovernmental agencies, non-governmental agencies and local authorities as well. They should have been given:

- Equal rights and freedoms, others do have in their country,
- Every human being has the right to dignity and physical, mental and moral integrity,
- The right to receive security and humanitarian support from the government,
- Children particularly singlehanded minors, expectant mothers, mothers with young children, female heads of household, persons with disabilities and elderly persons, shall be entitled to any necessary protection and assistance,
- Adequate standards of living at least and with no discrimination, ensure safe access to: (a) Essential food and potable water; (b) Basic shelter and housing; (c) Appropriate clothing; and (d) Essential medical services and sanitation,
- All wounded, ailing and persons with disabilities shall receive all possible support and medical care with least possible delay and with no distinction. Special attention should also be given to the prevention of contagious and infectious diseases, including AIDS, among internally displaced persons,
- the right of respect of his/her family life and reunion of displaced families as immediately as possible which are separated in crisis,
- Safe return in a dignified way, to their places of residence or voluntary resettlement in any other part of the country,

- Efforts to facilitate the reintegration of returned or resettled internally displaced persons,
- To ensure the full involvement of IDPs in the scheduling and managing of their return or relocation and reintegration,
- All legal rights and all documents to enjoy their recognition everywhere before the law such as passports, personal identification documents, birth certificates and marriage certificates should be issued,
- The assistance shall be given to the returned and to recover the IDPs to maximum possible to their property and possessions, they left behind, or to be given appropriate compensation in case dispossession.
- The Guiding Principles shall be applied without discrimination of any kind, such as race, color, sex, language, religion or belief, political or other opinion, national, ethnic or social origin, legal or social status, age, disability, property, birth, or on any other similar criteria (National Economic and Social Rights Initiative, November 5th, 2012).

Conclusion

The present military offensive that was long expected in Pakistan initiated after the derailment of negotiations between Taliban and apex leadership of Pakistan is proved to be the turning point in war against terror. Owing to the lack of unanimity of views on the matter, the full-fledge offensive in the NWA; the hub of militancy was delayed. The Pakistan Army unleashed the military onslaught against the safe haven of Taliban in Shawal Valley, near Afghan border and the government is prepared to face every eventuality. Once it is completed, the complete return of the displaced people to their homes and rehabilitation of their areas would be the greatest challenge ahead the civilian leadership of Pakistan. For Pakistan's top leadership, this errand is not impossible to achieve because they have had an earlier experience of handling the Swat IDPs crisis and that is extolled internationally. To allay the sufferings of IDPs and to comfort their adversities, the government should do the maximum possible and efforts to be made to win the hearts and minds of these vulnerable people. IDPs that are living in miserable conditions in the camps, facing the vagaries of life should be given relief and rehabilitation of their families is the responsibility of the state. As the ongoing successful military operation in NWA is nearing its end, the concrete planning to resettle the IDPs should be brought to view.

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