There are no two opinions on the fact that security is highly contested and politicized phenomenon and concept. The contemporary times have an unsavory knack of abusing almost everything under the sun, be it globalization (marred by blatant capitalism), facts (creating alternate facts), human beings (gender differences, sexual exploitation), language (truth and post-truth), nature (pollution and exploitation), and the list goes on; and the whole notion of ‘security’ also stands in the same territory. The paper intends towards an analysis of the argument that the yearning, and need for being far more secure (in social, economic and cultural context) than before has actually made us much more vulnerable. The failure of ‘globalization from below’, the success of ‘globalization from above’, navigation without reference to a fixed point, a North star and the absence of critical thinking and improved education policies and system, have coerced us in favour of fascist regimes, protectionism, extreme form of nationalism, walling of borders and creation of delusionary ‘threat’ and the ‘threatened’ - two major elements of ‘security’. In the light of aforementioned argument, the paper plans towards fleshing out of the recent unfortunate incidents in India, where ‘cow’ is far more ‘threatened’ than the human beings and in order to protect it human beings must be lynched, the silencing of independent and questioning voices of journalists, the disappearance and suicide of students from university campuses, suicides of farmers in the absence of emancipatory policies, and lastly, manufacturing of mob who is ready to brand you as an anti-national and Lynch you - all in the false sense of becoming ‘secure’. This study in the wake of analysis of abovementioned incidents and
happenings aims towards an understanding of the meaning of being ‘secure’ - is it arms versus policies, nationalism versus accommodation, power versus modesty, fascism versus democracy?

[Keywords : Globalization, Security, Nationalism, Fascism, Policies, Abuse]

1. Introduction

Much ink has been spilt historically and even in the present times the ‘spillage’, and ‘slippage’ continues, to chronicle, explain, critically examine, and to include different perspectives related to various unfortunate incidents, and pogroms all around the globe. Neither the unfortunate has ceased to exist nor the piling up of empty ink bottles as a resultant. Though one can certainly not question the ‘ink-spillage’ and make policies for sustainable use of ink, but one can surely ask the question - “Do we as human beings have failed ourselves and continue to do so almost religiously every morning, evening and night? Additionally, this question gains much more pungency especially in the context of banalities like, good morning, evening and night where there is an incessant refusal to examine the good in ‘good’”?

On the surface level the question, for few or many, may seem like a cliché and a classic example of ink spillage, but by rendering any statement, an idea, a fact, a thought or for that matter any response as cliché, does that objective or subjective musing cease to exist and evaporate on the pretext of being called as cliché? The answer is certainly no; it does not; it remains there, staring in our face asking to be understood, interpreted, and critically opened. It is in this drawn framework or context which establishes the validity of the aforementioned question this discussion will aim towards -‘why’ this question, which in a larger context is also the main argument of this question.

The answer to the ‘why’ of this question can easily be understood from the oppressive, dominating and hegemonic power structures of rule and relationships which has lead to unimaginable and unheard atrocities and violence in almost every part of the world to the effect that whenever there is a sense of peace in the world, there is a joke which starts going around which can be summed up best in one line - that the world is witnessing an outbreak of peace. The creation of Salwa Judum by the Indian state in order to butcher the resistance movements in Chattisgarh, India, inserting of stones in the vagina of a school teacher, Soni Sori, in Bastar, India (Roy, 2011) and at the world level, the bombing of Iraq, Syria, Yemen and Palestine are few such examples of violence. Additionally, this discussion apart from aiming towards the critical description of the incidents of the above mentioned nature and questioning the dying spirit of human and moral values, will also look into the questioning of the collective response of the fellow humans who rendered themselves as bystanders in various parts of the worlds while the painful and gut-wrenching screams of these mutilated humans echoed in the chambers of the heart of humanity.
2. **Globalization and its Role in ‘War in Nations’**

Moving further towards the central argument of this paper which attempts not only to study the reasons for recent multifarious incidents of violence on minorities in India but also tries to comprehend the role of globalization in giving an unabated impetus to the variables responsible for such violence. Post the fall of Berlin wall in 1989 globalization gained unprecedented currency, and after the 9/11 attacks, this currency has exponentially increased even though there were unsubstantiated calls for the end of the global after 9/11. But to the surprise of the social scientists and the denizens of this world globalization proved much more resilient a process, a phenomenon and a concept that anyone could ever theorize or imagine. The newness inherent in the globalization is almost beyond the chains of language or for that matter any particular definition.

The 9/11 attacks apart from bringing in the questions pertaining to the end of globalization also gave world a shock with regard to the perils of free trade, deep economic integration and faster capital flows and raised a paradoxical question as to why even after open markets, free-flowing capital and liberal ideas, spread of democracy and strengthening of democratic institutions, there is a considerable increase in the attacks on minorities or for that matter in the incidents of violence? Why there is an inclination of the voters towards leaders who are openly fascist? Why there is a blurring of lines between ‘wars of the nation and wars in the nation’? (Appadurai, 2006 : 15)

The answers to the aforementioned questions lie in the inequalities and exclusions which are generated because of the globalization. Globalization as a form is certainly not at fault but the contents with which the form of globalization is filled are problematic thus leading to ‘globalization from above’, that is, corporate globalization, ideology of financial community based on predatory capitalism, soft capital, market fundamentalism, environmental degradation, neoliberalism, unsustainable and uneven development, globalization of war, inequality of power, wealth and knowledge, lack of transparency, un-accountability and discriminatory policies of IMF, World Bank, World Economic Forum and the G8. Joseph Stiglitz paints the picture rather much more clearly:

“...a society more divided between the haves and the have-nots...the rich live in gated communities, send their children to expensive schools, and have access to first-rate medical care. Meanwhile, the rest live in a world marked by insecurity, at best mediocre education, and in effect rationed health care?they hope and pray they don’t get seriously sick. At the bottom are millions of young people alienated and without hope. I have seen that picture in many developing countries; economists have given it a name, a dual economy, two societies living side by side, but hardly knowing each other, hardly imagining what life is like for the other. Whether we will fall to the depths of some countries, where the gates grow higher, and the societies split
farther and farther apart, I do not know. It is, however, the nightmare towards which we are slowly marching” (2012: 229).

The above explanation leads us to the question of uncertainty, failed promises, broken dreams, and fallen desires thus leading to anxiety regarding the future. A future of which no leader, no nation is ready to take hold to prevent it from breaking into million pieces and as Rakesh Sood remarks:

Navigation requires reference to a fixed point, a North Star, but in today’s policy world with all the major powers playing a hedging game, even as the existing institutions fall short of coping with the challenges posed by the world in transition, there is no pole. Every major power is dissatisfied with the status quo, but no major power or even a coalition of major powers is able to define, let alone seek to establish a new status quo (The Hindu).

Thus the world is witnessing the failure of anti-globalization movements and globalization from below which includes participatory democracy, grassroots partaking, protecting cultural diversity and global social justice, reduction of poverty, globalization of knowledge, improved health, globalized civil society and most importantly globalized protest movements among many others. The working middle class who was promised greater social and economic opportunities, like equality, financial security, progress, global citizenship and better lifestyle now finds itself in complete disarray leading to the growing disenchantment and resentment with the unregulated globalization and with the idea of liberal modernity. Moreover, none of the global leader or world organization is ready to take the responsibility of failure of globalization from below, rather they want to kick away the ladder of globalization after reaping its benefits, it is in this context that the global leaders who failed to regulate globalization and now in order to hide their inefficiency and to run away from accountability do not miss a single opportunity of blaming globalization (except Chinese President Xi Jinping) for all the ills of modern society - from Syrian refuge crisis to 2008 global financial crisis and resort towards use of ‘..misplaced xenophobia to find a scapegoat for economic woes’ as said by Dr. Brian Klaas, Professor of politics at the LSE (Ram, The Hindu).

Furthermore, there has been a significant failure from the denizens of this world who failed themselves by not resorting to the use of reasoned critical thinking which is best explained in the words of Tabish Khair:

“Reasoned thinking is not the same as Cartesian Reason. For Descartes and Enlightenment thinkers influenced by him, Reason - best written with a capital R - was an unconscious or conscious substitute for God. That is why it was so easy for Christian Evangelicals to combine Reason with Christianity in the 18th and 19th centuries...But this God-like Reason is not the same as reasoned critical thinking, though its instruments are similar. God-like Reason is unchanging, universal, all-seeing, absolute, (and) singular. Reasoned thinking is situational, historical, dialogically objective, and it can
offer more than one conclusion. It is not relativist, but is always contextual. What reasoned thinking requires is an equal discourse in language, despite the slipperiness of language, about a world that is mutually experienced, despite the subjectivity of experience” (The Hindu).

The desperation, uncertainty and anxiety generated because of the failure of globalization from below, the inability to exercise reasoned critical thinking coupled with the rise in voices of protectionism and nationalism lead the citizens towards a situation where there was no exit other than choosing fascist regimes for their nations. But then the question is- are there any alternatives other than taking the support of the crutches of nationalism, and protectionism? Is there any line of thinking which can stand ‘without the crutch of ideology’? (Mishra, The Hindu) What if, say after a decade the current political order harping on nationalism and localism is not able to produce the result as desired by the masses? What will be the alternative then?

‘Genocide, after all, is an exercise in community-building.’

Philip Gourevitch (1998 : 95)

Though the analysis of globalization provides us with quite many reference points still, it doesn’t provide us with the reasons for violent attacks on minorities in India. Henceforth, in order to understand the unholy link between globalization and the urge to massacre minorities can be understood from the theoretical model given by Arjun Appadurai’s in his seminal work titled, Fear of Small Numbers: an Essay on the Geography of Anger (2006).

According to the arguments propounded by Appadurai, modern nation-state and the idea of national sovereignty is built around the concept of singular ‘national ethnos’ or in other words, around ‘some sort of ethnic genius’ (2006: 3). And this ethnic singularity is cultivated, produced and spread around with a lot of efforts by political parties, warfare, and ‘further through punishing disciplines of educational and linguistic uniformity, and through the subordination of myriad local and regional traditions to produce Indians or Frenchmen or Britons’. Globalization, as it results in uncontrollable and untraceable flow of capital, wealth generation, movement of human population and flow of ideas because of the revolution in information technologies creates a very difficult challenge to this idea of modern nation-state and to the fundamental sociological concepts of class, power, nation-state and shakes the foundations of these stable categories of social sciences. Thus the loss of ‘the idea of a sovereign and stable territory, the idea of a containable and countable population, the idea of a reliable census, and the idea of stable and transparent categories countable population’ (2006: 6) creates a kind of surge in the already existing ‘social uncertainty’ and also results in the loss of the ‘illusion of national economic sovereignty’. The already existing categories of uncertainty include - uncertainty about the nature and behaviour of a particular community, which also includes their history, and about the sharing of resources.
and goods which are provided by the state and this depends upon the relationship of ‘we’ and ‘they’ categories with the state. Thus in the words of Appadurai:

The virtually complete loss of even the fiction of a national economy, which had some evidence for its existence in the eras of strong socialist states and central planning, now leaves the cultural field as the main one in which fantasies of purity, authenticity, borders, and security can be enacted. It is no surprise that throughout the developing world, the death or implosion of national economies has been accompanied by the rise of various new fundamentalisms, majoritarianisms, and indigenisms, frequently with a marked ethmoidal edge. The nation-state has been steadily reduced to the fiction of its ethnos as the last cultural resource over which it may exercise full dominion (2006: 23).

Therefore when the ethnos becomes the only sight to complete the unfinished project of national purity and quench the ‘anxiety of incompleteness’, the attacks on minorities in a nation starts. This anxiety exponentially increases on the face of the argument that majorities and minorities can exchange their places, if within time a necessary action is not taken, and without a doubt, the census plays an important role in it. The anxiety of incompleteness, further intensified by the globalization as the nation-states starts to feel as minorities in themselves because of the ‘few megastates, of unruly economic flows and compromised sovereignty’ (2006: 43) thus, transforms into an uncontrollable rage as minorities remind majorities ‘of the small gap which lies between their condition as majorities and the horizon of an unsullied national whole, a pure and untainted national ethnos’. And since globalization cannot be killed or can become an object of ethnocide as it doesn’t have a face, the minorities become the soft target (2006: 8). As summarized by Appadurai:

. . . the very idea of being a majority is a frustration since it implies some sort of ethnic diffusion of the national peoplehood. Minorities, being a reminder of this small but frustrating deficit, thus unleash the urge to purify. This is one basic element of an answer to the question: why can small numbers excite rage? Small numbers represent a tiny obstacle between majority and totality or total purity. In a sense, the smaller the number and the weaker the minority, the deeper the rage about its capacity to make a majority feel like a mere majority than like a whole and uncontested ethnos (2006: 53).

Furthermore, minorities become the recipient of wrath also because they remind the ruling class of the failures of globalization, of development and welfare, of their own failures thus it becomes necessary for them to purge minorities. As Appadurai explains:

They [minorities] are produced in the specific circumstances of every nation and every nationalism. They are often the carriers of the unwanted memories of the acts of violence that produced existing states, of forced conscription, or
of violent extrusion as new states were formed. They are also reminders of the failures of various state projects (socialist, developmentalist, and capitalist). They are marks of failure and coercion. They are embarrassments to any state-sponsored image of national purity and state fairness. They are thus scapegoats in the classical sense (2006: 42).

But the paradoxical fact of the matter is that minorities are also desired by the state, and by the people who rule as they are also minorities in a numerical sense. The reasons for the need of minorities in the case of India comprise creating cheap labour and work force by programmes like ‘Skill India’, to win elections by polarizing the majorities against minorities, and it is also required by the ‘numerical minority upper caste, landed Hindu castes who have much more to fear from the rise of the lower castes than they have to fear from Muslims in their own localities’ (2006: 74), thus they create Muslims as perfect ‘other’ to create a unified Hindu caste front; a point highlighted by Amrita Basu (1994).

Consequently, the points of conflicts which are generated by minorities encompass their language, their lifestyle which become a danger to the so-called ‘national culture coherence’, their financial transactions which are viewed with suspicion and are always under scrutiny, their movements which not only challenges the movements along borders but also within a territory, their legally ambiguous status which tests the constitution and legal orders, and lastly their politics which presents as a threat to the security of the state (Appadurai: 2006). Thus the whole body of a minority comes under suspicion and is dismembered from time to time when the majority ‘predatory identities’ are mobilized by the fascist leaders.

3. An Insecure Nation

Henceforth, it is in this aforementioned framework we can see and understand the dismembering of Mohammad Akhlaq because of eating beef, the brutal murder of Junaid Khan on a moving train days before the festival of Eid, lynching of Pehlu Khan by cow vigilante groups, the killing of Gauri Lankesh where she was shot thrice from a point blank range, the suicide of Rohit Vemula because he was of lower caste, the disappearance of Najeeb from Jawahar Lal Nehru University, where he is yet to be found even after more than a year of his disappearance, the suicides and murders of farmers across India and the list is endless. In all these attacks the saffron-clad and Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh (RSS) believers who think of themselves as majority try to quench their anxiety of incompleteness, they try to purge their rage which is in surplus because of no employment opportunities, because of above-mentioned perils of globalization, because of loss of their idea of national purity and lastly because of their fear that majorities can become minorities and vice-versa. The desire to cull ‘M’ is significant because in the culling of ‘M’ there is an incessant effort to erase the very idea of
plurality, and to give rise to the idea of pure nation (Bharat Rashtra) based on ethnic singularity as propounded by Savarkar and Golwalkar which finds further amplifications in the writings of Savitri Devi. Thus because of the incessant desire, the yearning, and need for being far more secure (in social, economic and cultural context) than before has made us much more vulnerable and insecure.

Furthermore, the insecure nation India is also witnessing the manifestation of the fear in the form of creation of ‘mob’, who is ready to spread and socialize fear in the Indian society so that the voices which asks difficult questions are muted. The mob, according to Ravish Kumar, an Indian journalist:

...is based upon the foundation of fear. Responding to external fears, many people started becoming part of the mob. These individuals first feared their own fellow citizens because of their religion; then, once they joined the mob, they learnt fear from the masters and controllers of the mob. The reason for their silence was simple. They understood, ‘If the mob can do this to these people, it can do the same to me’. People joined the mob to silence others; what they did not realize was that they had also learnt to become and remain silent (2018: 17).

Thus a nation which once took pride in calling itself as the most diverse nation, a nation which celebrated Eid, Diwali and Christmas with alike happiness, a nation whose social fabric was unbreakable and a nation which took immense pride in its ‘Innocence’ in Blakenian (2014) terms is now witnessing the blasting of ‘Innocence’ and the dawn of the age of ‘Experience’ thus rendering it as one of the most insecure nations and that too for forever as once ‘Experience’ has gained control there cannot be any irreversible action.

Globalization also creates insecurities because of the development model which it carries on its shoulders. The development model which globalization carries first took its shape after World War II, traces of which can be located in President Truman’s inaugural address delivered on January 20, 1949. Since then the ‘development’ has been an issue of study, critique and analysis from modernization theorists to dependency theorists to world system theorists. One can certainly discuss at length about globalization and development but that’s the matter of a future study and beyond the scope of this paper.

4. **The Solution**

There can be an answer to the above questions and problems which may border around the need for globalization with a human face as propagated by various globalization theorists from David Held, to Anthony McGrew to Joseph Stiglitz and many others. But this study will not propose the calls for globalization with a human face as it has failed to bring in any substantial and concrete change worldwide. Rather this study will aim towards the solutions which will bring in the cultivation of reasoned critical thinking in human beings, and this can be achieved
by protecting, nurturing, and enriching our higher education institutions which have come under serious attack from global capitalist organizations after the 2008-09 global financial crises. The call for the cultivation of critical thinking becomes important because it’s the critical thinking which can help us in understanding a concept, a phenomenon, a statement, an incident, an occurrence from multifarious perspectives. Thus it can enable us in peeling of hidden layers, agendas, propaganda, and motives behind any rendering. It’s the critical thinking which can help us in making an informed choice and can lead us to ‘Higher Innocence’ which comes after the age of ‘Experience’.

More importantly, we the human beings need to realise that there is no particular point in human history which we can hold as responsible for the evil in human psyche or human civilization. Further, if we take refuge in the explanations given by religious texts for the evil in human society than in one way or other we are legitimizing the presence of evil in human society, thus there can also be calls to just sit back and watch the world burn in front of your eyes. This argument leads to another premise that the evil is inherent in human beings and in order to control, suppress and guard the evil we need reasoned critical thinking, which can help us in differentiating between the ‘good’ and the ‘bad’. Additionally, the solutions to the aforementioned problems can also be located in the ceasing of mourning over the death of the ‘intellectual’. The time is ripe for the revival of the ‘Intellectual’ which can be ascertained by the reading and re-reading of Edward Said’s ‘Representations of the Intellectual’ (1996). And for a starting point one can read this definition of an ‘intellectual’ by Said:

The central fact for me is, I think, that the intellectual is an individual endowed with a faculty for representing, embodying, articulating a message, a view, an attitude, philosophy or opinion to, as well for, a public. And this role has an edge to it, and cannot be played without a sense of being someone whose place it is publicly to raise embarrassing questions, to confront orthodoxy and dogma (rather than to produce them), to be someone who cannot easily be co-opted by governments or corporations, and whose raison d’être is to represent all those people and issues that are routinely forgotten or swept under the rug (1996: 12).

In addition, this particular rendering by Allama Iqbal can seriously embalm and embolden our spirits as it calls for human beings to be true to their respective self’s:

Apne man mein doob kar paa ja surag-e-Zindagi
tu agar mera nahi banta na ban, apna to ban.
Delve into your soul and there seek our life’s buried tracks;
Will you not be mine? Then be not mine, be your own right!
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