



## Introduction

Syed Sami Raza

With this volume, the *Review of Human Rights* has successfully entered its second year of publication. We have become more confident about its regular publication as well as about success of the overall academic initiative. In this volume we were able to attract five original articles and three book reviews. These articles focus on human rights in the backdrop of global concerns for security. A number of countries make the subject of discussion, especially Pakistan, Germany, USA, Myanmar, and Afghanistan. It is also worth mentioning that this volume introduces at least two new concepts: “necro-biographies” by Michael J. Shapiro and “uneven humanitarianism” by Tani Sebro.

The issue begins with my own article, which traces a long genealogy of the current security regime in Pakistan. I begin with the earliest colonial regulations—Regulation X of 1804 and Regulation III of 1818. I argue that with these regulations, and especially with their basis on the British high treason law, the colonial regime of security began to develop. A century later the colonial administration introduced more comprehensive security laws in the wake of the WWI. Agreeing with Giorgio Agamben that the global paradigm of security began to develop with the WWI, I instantiate it in the case of colonial India. I go on to demonstrate that the security laws made in the interwar period by the British colonial administration were later adopted by both Pakistan and India. In Pakistan the recent security laws made in the wake of the War on Terror are also based on these colonial laws. They also show close legal linkages with security laws of the US and the UK.

The second article by Jan-Peter Hartung takes up the issue of security and studies its relationship with immigration in Germany. He writes that Angela Merkel’s announcement of “welcome culture” created some hope for immigrants from Africa, the Middle East, and

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elsewhere. However, soon afterward some violent incidents take place, like the one by Anis Amiri who drove a truck into Christmas market in central Berlin and killed a dozen people, which led to an intense debate between liberals and conservative in Germany. In the wake of these incidents the conservative party (AfD) also gained some political ground. Thus the state was forced to revert to the traditional security discourse. Hartung critiques the state's security discourse and also rejects the idea that the concepts of criminality and policing can make complete sense of the problem. He questions the security-rationality on the basis of which the State distinguishes between those who submit to order and those who (obviously) do not. He argues that "the modern state acts every bit as arbitrary as pre-modern rulers, and uses first and foremost emotive rhetoric to sell its perspective as rational and, consequently, valid. The 'security narrative,' in my eyes, is just one of those rhetorical tools which is employed time and again rather successfully."

Michael J. Shapiro's article also studies the issue of security in the War on Terror. However, it throws light on the dynamic of individual's identity in securitized spaces. Shapiro argues that one of the new practices employed by American security agencies is constructing biographies of individuals suspected of involved in terrorism. On the basis of these biographies, which he calls necro-biographies, they are either apprehended or killed. Shapiro also makes an interesting point of juxtaposing contingency against identity to bear down on the state's exploits to construct static identities on the basis of which rights and priorities are distributed.

The last two articles are focused on humanitarian efforts of international organizations and powerful state. They engage, although from different angles, the concepts of humanitarianism and "the responsibility to protect" of international community. Tani Seburo takes up the case of refugees living in large camps alongside Thai-Myanmar border. These refugees have been living there for decades without being safely returned or integrated in either country. They have rather been left by the UNHCR for providing humanitarian aid. Through her extensive fieldwork she comes to learn about the politics of uneven distribution of humanitarian aid in that part of the world. She explains this interesting political phenomenon, which is taking toll on the lives of abandoned and stateless refugees, by developing the concept of "uneven humanitarianism." On the other hand, Shahida Aman critiques the way the concept of humanitarianism and responsibility to protect have been used by UN and NATO in war-torn and violence-prone countries like Afghanistan, Syria, Sri Lanka, Iraq and Democratic Republic of Congo. She does an extensive literature review and concludes that military intervention afforded by the help of these

concepts does not solve the problems of war, violence, and insecurity. She stresses on the importance of non-military ways of intervention like socio-economic and diplomatic measures.