

# **Military Securitization to Existential Threat: A Comparative Analysis with Non-military Policy Options in Bangladesh**



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## Research Certificate

This is to certify that the Research Paper on 'Military Securitization to Existential Threat: A Comparative Analysis with Non-military Policy Options in Bangladesh', prepared by Senjuti Shuvo Ahmed, Department of Political Science, University of Dhaka, has been completed under my direct supervision and submitted for M. Phil degree of the University of Dhaka. I certify that I have read the paper in its final form for submission and have found it very satisfactory. I also certify that, to the best of my knowledge, nobody has conducted any kind of research on this issue before whatsoever and/or any part of this paper has not been submitted to any university or institution before for any degree or publication.

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**I, Senjuti Shuvo Ahmed, M. Phil researcher in the Department of Political Science, University of Dhaka, declaring that the thesis paper on ‘Military Securitization to Existential Threat: A Comparative Analysis with Non-military Policy Options in Bangladesh’ has been written by me under the direct supervision of Dr. Khundkar Nadira Parveen, professor, Department of Political Science, University of Dhaka. I declare that this thesis paper is my own work and no part of the paper has been copied from any other previous work on the research subject matter, except such cases where acknowledgement has been duly placed.**

**I also declare that no one has conducted any research on this issue before and I assure that no part of this thesis paper has been submitted to any university, institution or to organization for any degree or publication.**

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## **Dedication**

**To all the devoted persons who fight for safeguarding the natural environment and wildlife with their cast iron motivation and endeavour.**

## Acknowledgement

At first, I gratefully acknowledge my respectable supervisor Dr. Khundkar Nadira Parveen's immense contributions to my research endeavour. She cordially guided me by all manner of means from data collection to finishing touch to the thesis paper. I was always warmly welcomed to her for any kind of assistance whether the assistance was to research related or to mental support to confront the emerged challenges. Her good advices were quite conducive in preparing this thesis paper.

I would like to thank Mr. Gobinda Chakraborty, professor, Department of Political Science, University of Dhaka, for his valuable comment on the paper.

For the financially challenged students, during research programme, obstructions are not limited only to data collection, data analysis, field works and so on but also to financial hardship especially while there is no sufficient funding from governmental and/or non-governmental organizations. This research work would hardly be possible if my dear mother Mrs. Tahera Amin Ahmed did not finance the research and did not bear my other living costs. My all research related efforts would seriously be impaired with inimical hardship if she did not assist me by her scarce savings as to I did not hold any job.

I am indebted also to the library authority of BISS (Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies) for extending helping hand to collect most of the invaluable and rare books and journals through letting me use their rich library of internationally standard collections.

I would like to thank Mr. Abdul Mannan, Senior Administrative Officer, Department of Political Science, University of Dhaka, for his cordial responsiveness to my requirements. He heartily provided me administrative as well as academic information during this research work.

## Abstract

Traditionally, the concept of security refers to the concept of state centric security meaning that securitizing national security and territorial integrity of a state with the employment of military power. With the emergence of new security challenges in the changed world order, the notion of security is no longer restricted to conventional or military security. The focus of security analysts and state actors has been shifting from conventional security to non-conventional aspects of security that include climate change, terrorism, poverty, ethnic conflicts, migration complexity, environmental degradation and marine pollution, cyber and transnational crime, negative impact of information technology and globalization, overpopulation problem, scarce resources, and other issues of human security. Although states, particularly after the end of Cold War, have to emphasize predominantly on multidimensional non-military security challenges, the importance of military security cannot be repudiated by the international actors. Therefore, on the question of security measures and mechanism, efforts are being sought by different states with a view of pursuance of comprehensive security policy.

As to military forces especially in developing countries are nowadays questioned with the controversy over their utility in the changed global order, Bangladesh has to seek specific framework and well planning to diversify the role of its armed forces with a view to make visible economic return of defence expenditure through increased level of peacetime uses of the forces. It can be argued here that controversy over military expenditure in developing countries like Bangladesh can be mitigated to large extent if the fungible nature of military power is appropriately maneuvered in support of socio-economic and political development, and nation building in those countries. Despite the non-combat role of Bangladesh Armed Forces during peacetime is notable, huge amount of defence expenditure in recent years, followed by meeting Forces Goals-2030 and modernization programme, importantly require more non-military uses of the armed forces than the existing level.

This thesis paper is divided into eight chapters implying comparative analysis between military and non-military security policy options for Bangladesh. First chapter describes research methodology used in preparing the paper. Second chapter deals with the basic concept of security and securitization with different contested schools of thought. This chapter also includes concept of traditional security and non-traditional security indicating their distinguishing nature. Third chapter implies potentialities and existing scenarios of military and non-military threats to Bangladesh. In this chapter, efforts have been made to identify possible threats to Bangladesh emanated from both sources—military and non-military. Military strengths of three bordering countries—India, Myanmar and Bangladesh have been showed in chapter four. A comparison of military hardware and equipments, warships and combat aircrafts of these three countries are drawn in the chapter. Building a hypothetical warfare scenario between the countries whether Bangladesh could win or loss may be served by the chapter.

Chapter five and six deal with military and non-military policy options for Bangladesh respectively. These two chapters provide the basis for the comparison between military security and non-military security and thereby recommend security policies Bangladesh should pursue. Chapter seven provides qualitative analyses on the issues of security and development nexus, development and military power in Third World states, democracy and military power, non-material determinants of military power, priorities between military and non-military securities, and optimum level of military expenditure in terms of Bangladesh. This chapter contains core portion of the thesis paper focusing on its aims and objectives, and hypotheses. Finally, chapter eight indicates existing and new areas of possible peacetime uses of Bangladesh Armed Forces with a view to make economic return of defence expenditure. The chapter also incorporates the success stories of the armed forces in the field of peace support operations at different periods of time.

Research findings of this thesis paper show that degree of non-military threats sphere is much higher than that of military threats to Bangladesh. Somewhere it is figured out that

non-military threat has been merged with possible military threat. For instance, water dispute with neighbouring India, on one hand, leads to impair ecosystem and decrease agricultural productivity in Bangladesh, and thereby, in turn, affects the economy of the country. On the other hand, the dispute may be turned into military conflicts between the countries in future whether water crisis would further be intensified. However, non-military policy options, as stated in the hypothesis of the study, should get priority over military options in national security planning. In support of another hypothesis, findings of the paper indicate that it is possible to retrieve, directly or indirectly, the annual defense expenditure in the form of a visible return to maximum extent through civilian usages of military power. As perceived in third hypothesis, the thesis paper implies the fact that not higher military aspiration (if any) rather scheduled and successive modernization of military, in line with regional balance of power and socio-economic development of the country, is the suitable option for Bangladesh.



## Table of Contents

<b>Contents</b>	
Research Certificate	
Declaration	
Dedication	
Acknowledgement	
Abstract	
List of Tables and Figures	
List of Acronyms	
<b>Chapter I</b>	<b>Pages</b>
Introduction	2-4
1.1. Research Problem	4-5
1.2. Scope of the Study	5-6
1.3. Aims and Objectives of the Study	6-7
1.4. Rationale of the Study	7-8
1.5. Literature Review of the Study	8
1.6. Methodology of the Study	8-10
1.7. Hypotheses of the Study	10-11
1.8. Limitations of the Study	11
References (Chapter I)	12
<b>Chapter II</b>	
2.1. Concept of Security	14-19
2.2. Traditional and Non-Traditional Security	19-24
2.3. Securitization: Conceptual Framework	24-27
2.4. Contested Concept of Security: Six Schools of Thought	27-32
References (Chapter II)	33-35
<b>Chapter III</b>	
Military and Non-military Threats to Bangladesh:	37

<b>Potentialities and Existing Scenarios</b>	
<b>3.1. Military Threats to Bangladesh: Potential Sources</b>	<b>37-38</b>
<b>3.1.1. Natural Resource as a Source of Conflict: Regional Perspective</b>	<b>38-42</b>
<b>3.1.2. Geo-Strategic and Geo-Political Sources of Conflict: Regional Perspective</b>	<b>42-48</b>
<b>3.2. Non-military Threats to Bangladesh</b>	<b>48</b>
<b>3.2.1. Threats to Environmental Security</b>	<b>48-59</b>
<b>3.2.2. Economic Threats</b>	<b>59-66</b>
<b>3.2.3. Socio-political Threats</b>	<b>66-75</b>
<b>References ( Chapter III)</b>	<b>76-79</b>
<b>Chapter IV</b>	
<b>Military Strengths of Three Bordering Countries—India, Myanmar and Bangladesh: A Comparative Point of View</b>	<b>81</b>
<b>4.1. India</b>	<b>81-99</b>
<b>4.2. Myanmar</b>	<b>99-106</b>
<b>4.3. Bangladesh</b>	<b>106-114</b>
<b>References ( Chapter IV)</b>	<b>115</b>
<b>Chapter V</b>	
<b>Securitization to Existential Threat: Military Policy Options for Bangladesh</b>	<b>117</b>
<b>5.1 Concept of Military Security</b>	<b>118</b>
<b>5.2. Concept of Existential Threat: Military Perspective</b>	<b>118-119</b>
<b>5.3. Modernization of Armed Forces: Prioritizing Quality to Quantity</b>	<b>119-127</b>
<b>5.4. To Maintain a Moderate Military Expenditure</b>	<b>127-131</b>
<b>5.5. To Maintain a Small Size Modern Armed Forces for the Defensive Purpose</b>	<b>131-133</b>
<b>5.6. Building Up an Effective, Trained and Semi-trained Citizen Army</b>	<b>133-135</b>
<b>5.7. Defense Cooperation</b>	<b>135-139</b>
<b>References ( Chapter V)</b>	<b>140-142</b>

<b>Chapter VI</b>	
<b>Securitization to Existential Threat: Non-military Policy Options for Bangladesh</b>	<b>144</b>
<b>6.1. Concept of Existential Threat: Non-military Perspective</b>	<b>144-145</b>
<b>6.2. Economic Development and Technological Advancement</b>	<b>145-149</b>
<b>6.3. Multilaterism and Regional Security</b>	<b>149-155</b>
<b>6.4. Diplomacy and Foreign Policy Mechanism</b>	<b>155-160</b>
<b>6.5. Political Stability and Good Governance</b>	<b>161-162</b>
<b>6.6. Neutrality</b>	<b>163-164</b>
<b>6.7. Engagement</b>	<b>164-165</b>
<b>6.8. Balancing or Bandwagoning</b>	<b>165-166</b>
<b>6.9. Producing Soft Power</b>	<b>167-168</b>
<b>6.9.A. Maritime Security: Nonconventional Perspective</b>	<b>168-175</b>
<b>6.9.B. Climate Change Adaptation and Combating Environmental Degradation</b>	<b>175-182</b>
<b>References ( Chapter VI)</b>	<b>183-186</b>
<b>Chapter VII</b>	
<b>The Comprehensive Security Policy Options for Bangladesh: An Analytical Point of View</b>	<b>188</b>
<b>7.1 Security and Development Nexus</b>	<b>188-190</b>
<b>7.2 Development and Military Power in Third World States</b>	<b>190</b>
<b>7.3 Democracy and Military Power</b>	<b>190-191</b>
<b>7.4 Non-Material Determinants of Military Power</b>	<b>191-193</b>
<b>7.5 Whether to Give Emphasis—Military or Non-military Aspects of Security: An Overview</b>	<b>193-194</b>
<b>7.6 Reduction in Military Expenditure and Release Resources: Problems &amp; Prospects</b>	<b>194-196</b>
<b>7.7 Reasonable and Redundant Military Expenditures: An Argument in the Context of Bangladesh</b>	<b>196-198</b>
<b>References ( Chapter VII)</b>	<b>199-200</b>
<b>Chapter VIII</b>	

<b>Peacetime Uses of Armed Forces: Policy Measures for Bangladesh to Achieve a Visible Return of Defense Expenditure to the Maximum Extent Possible</b>	<b>202-203</b>
<b>Controversy over the Utility of Military Forces</b>	<b>204-205</b>
<b>Contribution of Bangladesh Armed Forces: Visible Economic Return of Defence Expenditure</b>	<b>205-206</b>
<b>8.1. UN Peacekeeping Mission: Vital Source of Economic Gains</b>	<b>206-210</b>
<b>8.2. Disaster Management and Rescue &amp; Relief Operations</b>	<b>210-214</b>
<b>8.3. Combating Terrorism and Assistances to Maintain the Law and Order System</b>	<b>214-217</b>
<b>8.4. The Military and Human Security</b>	<b>217-218</b>
<b>8.5. Multidimensional Role of Bangladesh Navy to Safeguard and Utilize the Maritime Interests</b>	<b>218-221</b>
<b>8.6. Utilization of the Fungibility of Military Power</b>	<b>221-222</b>
<b>8.7. Visible Economic Return of Military Expenditure: Role of Bangladesh Army</b>	<b>223-225</b>
<b>References ( Chapter VIII)</b>	<b>226-228</b>
<b>Conclusion</b>	<b>229-230</b>
<b>Appendix</b>	<b>231-233</b>

## List of Tables and Figures

SL No:	Subjects	Pages
1	Table 1: Water Resources in South Asia (Availability and Requirements)	41
2	Table 2: Brief Overview of the Security Concerns Generated by Rohingyas in Bangladesh	45-46
3	Table 3: Natural Disasters in Bangladesh, 1900–2008	53
4	Table 4: Inundation area and damage caused by various floods during 1954-1998	54-55
5	Figure 1: Climate Policy Situation in Bangladesh	57
6	Table 5: Ways of Malpractices in Different Government Sectors in Bangladesh	62-63
7	Figure 2: Trade Deficit of Bangladesh from 2006 to 2016	65
8	Figure 3: Population Growth in Bangladesh (2006-2016)	70
9	Table 6: Poverty Reduction Rate during 1991/92-2005	70-71
10	Figure 4: Military Expenditure in India as % of GDP (1991-2013)	81
11	Table 7: Infantry Weapons (India)	82-83
12	Table 8: Explosives, Rockets and Mortars (India)	83-84
13	Table 9: Vehicles (India)	84
14	Table 10: Engineering and Support (India)	85
15	Table 11: Mine protected, Mine clearing and Mine laying (India)	85
16	Table 12: Armoured Combat Vehicles (India)	86
17	Table 13: Artillery (India)	86-87
18	Table 14: Anti-tank (India)	87
19	Table 15: Ballistic and Cruise (India)	88
20	Table 16: Air Defence (India)	89
21	Table 17: Submarine Fleet (India)	90
22	Table 18: Surface Fleet (India)	90-93
23	Table 19: Auxiliary Fleet (India)	94-95
24	Table 20: List of Active Indian Aircraft	96-97
25	Figure 5: Military Expenditure in Myanmar as % of GDP (1991-2013)	100
26	Table 21: Indian Naval Air Arm	97-98
27	Table 22: Army Aviation Corps (India)	98

28	Table 23: Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (India)	99
29	Table 24: Armoured Vehicles (Myanmar)	100-101
30	Table 25: Artillery (Myanmar)	101-102
31	Table 26: Air Defence (Myanmar)	102
32	Figure 6: Military Expenditure in Bangladesh as % of GDP (1991-2013)	107
33	Table 27: Anti Tank (Myanmar)	102-103
34	Table 28: Active Ships and Equipment of Myanmar Navy	103-105
35	Table 29: List of Active Aircraft of Myanmar Air Force	105-106
36	Table 30: Equipment of Bangladesh Army	108
37	Table 31: Small Arms and Light Support Weapons (Bangladesh)	109
38	Table 32: Bangladesh Navy Ships/Establishments	110-111
39	Figure 7: Military Expenditure of Bangladesh as % of GDP (1988-2014)	128
40	Table 33: Bangladesh Navy Ships/Establishments-1	111
41	Figure 8: GDP Growth Rate in Bangladesh (2006-2016)	146
42	Table 34: Bangladesh Navy Ships/Establishments-2	112
43	Table 35: Active Aircraft of Bangladesh Air force	113
44	Table 36: Percentage of Gross Domestic Product on Public Expenditures by Country (1998-2001)	129-130
45	Table 37: Marine Zones of Bangladesh, Human Security Issues, and their Impacts	169-170
46	Figure 9: Maritime Boundary in Bay of Bengal	219

## List of Acronyms

**ACC—Arab Cooperation Council**

**AERV—Armoured Engineer Reconnaissance Vehicle**

**AFD—Armed Forces Division**

**APCs—Armoured Personnel Carriers**

**ASEAN—Association of South East Asian Nations**

**AWACS—Airborne Warning and Control Systems**

**BAF—Bangladesh Air Force**

**BGB—Bangladesh Border Guard**

**BISS—Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies**

**BIMSTEC—Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral and Economic Cooperation**

**BIPSOT—Bangladesh Institute of Peace Support Operations Training**

**BN—Bangladesh Navy**

**BNCC—Bangladesh National Cadet Core**

**BNP—Bangladesh Nationalist Party**

**BPDB—Bangladesh Power Development Board**

**BRAC—Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee**

**BRICS—Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa**

**CAAB—Civil Aviation Authority of Bangladesh**

**CEASE—Compact Environmental Anomaly Sensor**

**CHT—Chittagong Hill Tract**

**CLCS—Commission on the Limits of the Continental Shelf**

**COAS—Chief of Army Staff**

**DREE—Disaster Response Exercise & Exchange**

**ECM—Electronic Counter Measures**

**EEZ—Exclusive Economic Zone**

**ENCOP—Environmental and Conflicts Project**

**ES—Environmental Security**

**EU—European Union**

**FAO—Food and Agricultural Organization**

**FDI—Foreign Direct Investment**

**GATT—General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade**

**GBM—Ganges-Brahmaputra-Meghna**

**GCC—Gulf Cooperation Council**

**GCMs—General Circulation Models**

**GDP—Gross Domestic Product**

**GLONASS—Global Navigation Satellite System**

**GNP—Gross National Product**

**GOB—Government of Bangladesh**

**GPS—Global Positioning System**

**HO—Hydrographic Organization**

**ICG—International Crisis Group**

**ICZM—Integrated Coastal Zone Management**

**IEDs—Improvised Explosive Devices**

**IMF—International Monetary Fund**

**IMO—International Maritime Organization**

**IOC—Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission**

**ISR—Intelligence, Surveillance, and Reconnaissance**

**ITLOS—International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea**

**KPV—Krupnokaliberniy Pulemyot Vladimirova (in Russian)(Heavy Machine Gun)**

**KSA—Kingdom of Saudi Arabia**

**LCM—Landing Craft Mechanized**

**LCU—Landing Craft Utility**

**LDCs—Least Developed Countries**

**MANPADS—Man Portable Air Defecec System**

**MDGs—Millennium Development Goals**



**MERCOSUR—South American Economic Organization (Spanish: Mercado Comun del Sur)**

**MFIs—Microfinance Institutions**

**MI—Military Intelligence**

**MNCs—Multinational Companies**

**MNEs—Multinational Enterprises**

**MOOTW—Military Operation Other Than War**

**MP—Member of Parliament**

**MPV—Multi-Purpose Vehicle**

**NAM—Non-Aligned Movement**

**NAPA—National Adaptation Programs of Action**

**NATO—North Atlantic Treaty Organization**

**NDP—Net Domestic Product**

**NGOs—Non-governmental Organizations**

**NIC—National Intelligence Council**

**NOD—Non-Offensive Defense**

**NSV—Nikitin Sokolov Volkov (in Russian) (Heavy Machine Gun)**

**NTPC—National Thermal Power Corporation**

**OECD—Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development**

**OIC—Organization of Islamic Countries**

**PADS—Precision Aerial Delivery System**

**PDV—Personnel Decontamination Vehicle**

**PKM—Peace Keeping Mission**

**PLA—People’s Liberation Army**

**PSO—Peace Support Operation**

**RAB—Rapid Action Battalion**

**RLP—River Linking Project**

**SAARC—South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation**

**SAF—Singapore Armed Forces**

**SAFTA—South Asian Free Trade Area**

**SDGs—Sustainable Development Goals**

**SEAD—Suppression of Enemy Air Defenses**

**SIPRI—Stockholm International Peace Research Institute**

**SLORC—State Law and Order Restoration Council**

**SLR—Sea Level Rise**

**SPOT—Synchronized Pre-deployment and Operational Tracker**

**STOMD—SAARC Terrorist Offences Monitoring Desk**

**TNCs—Transnational Companies**

**TRIMs—Trade Related Investment Measures**

**TRIPS—Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights**

**UAV—Unmanned Aerial Vehicle**

**UK—United Kingdom**

**UN—United Nations**

**UNCLOS—United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea**

**UNDCP—United Nations International Drug Control Programme**

**UNDP—United Nations Development Programme**

**UNDPKO—United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations**

**UNEP—United Nations Environmental Programme**

**UNESCO—United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization**

**UNFCCC—United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change**

**UNHCR—United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees**

**UNIIMOG—United Nations Iran-Iraq Military Observer Group**

**UNPKO—United Nations Peacekeeping Operations**

**USA—United States of America**

**USARPAC—US Army Pacific**

**USSR—Union of Soviet Socialist Republics**

**VDP—Village Defence Parties**

**WMD—Weapon of Mass Destruction**

**WTO—World Trade Organization**



## **Abstract**

Traditionally, the concept of security refers to the concept of state centric security meaning that securitizing national security and territorial integrity of a state with the employment of military power. With the emergence of new security challenges in the changed world order, the notion of security is no longer restricted to conventional or military security. The focus of security analysts and state actors has been shifting from conventional security to non-conventional aspects of security that include climate change, terrorism, poverty, ethnic conflicts, migration complexity, environmental degradation and marine pollution, cyber and transnational crime, negative impact of information technology and globalization, overpopulation problem, scarce resources, and other issues of human security. Although states, particularly after the end of Cold War, have to emphasize predominantly on multidimensional non-military security challenges, the importance of military security cannot be repudiated by the international actors. Therefore, on the question of security measures and mechanism, efforts are being sought by different states with a view of pursuance of comprehensive security policy.

As to military forces especially in developing countries are nowadays questioned with the controversy over their utility in the changed global order, Bangladesh has to seek specific framework and well planning to diversify the role of its armed forces with a view to make visible economic return of defence expenditure through increased level of peacetime uses of the forces. It can be argued here that controversy over military expenditure in developing countries like Bangladesh can be mitigated to large extent if the fungible nature of military power is appropriately maneuvered in support of socio-economic and political development, and nation building in those countries. Despite the non-combat role of Bangladesh Armed Forces during peacetime is notable, huge amount of defence expenditure in recent years, followed by meeting Forces Goals-2030 and modernization programme, importantly require more non-military uses of the armed forces than the existing level.

This thesis paper is divided into eight chapters implying comparative analysis between military and non-military security policy options for Bangladesh. First chapter describes

research methodology used in preparing the paper. Second chapter deals with the basic concept of security and securitization with different contested schools of thought. This chapter also includes concept of traditional security and non-traditional security indicating their distinguishing nature. Third chapter implies potentialities and existing scenarios of military and non-military threats to Bangladesh. In this chapter, efforts have been made to identify possible threats to Bangladesh emanated from both sources—military and non-military. Military strengths of three bordering countries—India, Myanmar and Bangladesh have been showed in chapter four. A comparison of military hardware and equipments, warships and combat aircrafts of these three countries are drawn in the chapter. Building a hypothetical warfare scenario between the countries whether Bangladesh could win or loss may be served by the chapter.

Chapter five and six deal with military and non-military policy options for Bangladesh respectively. These two chapters provide the basis for the comparison between military security and non-military security and thereby recommend security policies Bangladesh should pursue. Chapter seven provides qualitative analyses on the issues of security and development nexus, development and military power in Third World states, democracy and military power, non-material determinants of military power, priorities between military and non-military securities, and optimum level of military expenditure in terms of Bangladesh. This chapter contains core portion of the thesis paper focusing on its aims and objectives, and hypotheses. Finally, chapter eight indicates new areas of possible peacetime uses of Bangladesh Armed Forces with a view to make economic return of defence expenditure. The chapter also incorporates the success stories of the armed forces in the field of peace support operations at different periods of time.

Research findings of this thesis paper show that degree of non-military threats sphere is much higher than that of military threats to Bangladesh. Somewhere it is figured out that non-military threat has been merged with possible military threat. For instance, water dispute with neighbouring India, on one hand, leads to impair ecosystem and decrease agricultural productivity in Bangladesh, and thereby, in turn, affects the economy of the country. On the other hand, the dispute may be turned into military conflicts between the countries in future whether water crisis would further be intensified. However, non-military policy options, as stated in the hypothesis of the study, should get priority over

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# Chapter I

## Introduction

Security, in its conventional sense, is restricted to the security of the state and refers to mostly military power. Although traditional and non-traditional security are interdependent and sometimes remain complementary, they differentiate each other in a large scale. After the end of Cold War, the security dimension began to change from traditional to non-traditional aspects of security. Security analysts and scholars now emphasize more on human security than on the state centric concept of security.

Traditional security usually links with national security, territorial integrity and military defense of states' geographical borders. People of the contemporary societies do not confront security challenges in a single way, rather they have to face multidimensional challenges to securitize different referent objects. Climate change has been emerged as a great threat to geographically vulnerable sectors and eventually the impact of climate change is going to bring a devastating consequence for the entire human being. Rapid environmental degradation worsens the condition making it gradually unsuitable for living being on the Earth. Security is no longer defined as only state security, it is nowadays more intangible, pervasive and complex. Moreover, in this modern age, security policies for a state as well as the people of the state, are predominantly determined by economic, societal and cultural issues.

Threats to a state mainly originate from two sources—internal and external, whereas internal security deals with non-military threats and both military and non-military threats to the state may be emanated from military as well as non-military sources. For the consolidation of security, a proper balance between diplomacy, military power, technological and economic capabilities, interdependent linkages and participation in global institutional mechanism, are suggested by Henry Kissinger.<sup>1</sup> The foundations of power have been going away from the emphasis on military force for some factors. Atrocity of nuclear attack, the difficulties of extending territory or new empires due to growing nationalism, western societies' reluctance to be involved in a war—all these facts make war a last resort for most advanced countries.



According to British diplomat Robert Cooper, 'A large number of the most powerful states no longer want to fight or conquer.'<sup>2</sup> The acceptability of war is being diminished day by day.

Although war remains unusual in this era of globalization, civil war has been replaced largely by state war. The major changes after the end of the Cold War, have shifted the nature of war, and brutal civil wars have been spread over the many parts of the world. Separatist movements, insurgencies, terrorism, militancy along with other social, economic, and environmental problems, like poverty or climate change, have brought an imperative concern for the most of the third world countries.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, role of prevailing military forces is being changed in consistent with the reality of changing world order. Although non-military aspects contemporarily have been come to prominence, the importance of military power are not trivially considered by any state actors.

Bangladesh is a third world country and it is time to diversify the traditional role of its armed forces into vast non-traditional fields as well as militaristic subject matters.

Barry Buzan analyzes security as wider agenda in five sectors namely political, military economic, societal and environment. For any individual country, a proper internal and external security depends on multidimensional aspects. In this case, political, economic and military powers are intertwined to determine a comprehensive securitization. Besides military power, socio-economic development, technological advancement, diplomatic strategy and regional cooperation are complementary constituents to enhance security capabilities of a country. Bangladesh has to meet a dilemma between defense expenditure and economic development. Macro level security logically relates to military aspects and micro level security emphasizes on economic development. In the changed global, regional, geopolitical and geo-economic realities, Bangladesh should draw a balance between macro level and micro level security policies. Now an important question on security issue has been emerged that how Bangladesh can maintain a reasonable balance between military and non-military mechanism and policies to ensure its national security as well as non-military security to existential threat. It is argued that non-military threats such as climate change, poverty, scarce resources sometimes lead, in

the long run, to severe conflict and thereby eventually turn to posing threats to existence.

As a small developing country, unlike other bigger developing countries like India, Brazil or Indonesia, Bangladesh needs to prioritize non-military aspects of securitization to military ones. In other words, national defence expenditure should not be drawn to such a scale that puts over constraint on national economic development. Nevertheless, successive modernization of armed forces is expected to be continued in line with the country's GDP (Gross Domestic Production) growth rate, except any state of war is declared.

This research endeavour focuses on the above questions and pursues an analytical study of military and other non-military options for Bangladesh in terms of internal and external threats. This research work also draws potential threat scenarios emanated from various conventional and non-conventional sources and implies a comparative analysis on the issues of comprehensive security in Bangladesh perspective. In some cases, during the research, it has been found that non-military securitizing issues in the country have not been addressed in accordance with its recent economic growth.

In this paper, there are some optimum military as well as non-military policy options for Bangladesh on the basis of macro level view. Peacetime uses of Bangladesh Armed Forces have been precisely narrated to show how a good visible return of defence expenditure can be achieved through the process of MOOTW (Military Operation Other Than War).

## **1.1. Research Problem**

Huge defense budget is certainly a big strain on a least developed country like Bangladesh while it has to face a lot of threats emerged from non-military security implications. On the other hand, a sustainable socio-economic development is not possible without enough internal and external security processes, and internal and external securities are not assured completely while the state becomes militarily

vulnerable to the military might of other hostile countries. Therefore, Bangladesh has to face a definite dilemma between defense and development policy making.

Some security analysts prefer to put emphasis on non-military security process especially in case of least developed countries. But military personnel and some of defense experts demand strictly adequate military and defense expenditure from the national economy for the successive modernization of military and for boosting up military power. Although non-traditional security like human security has become a buzzword today, the importance of military securitization, predominantly in order to protect national security and state sovereignty, is unavoidable even in term of a small Third World country.

I, as a writer of this thesis paper, think that there is a communication gap between the understandings of both sides—defenders of military security and the defenders of non-military security. This problem generates a necessity to formulate a comprehensive and suitable security planning to strengthen securitization for the referent object whether it is an individual citizen of Bangladesh or is Bangladesh itself. The combination of the degrees of military and non-military securities, as a part of comprehensive security, may differ from state to state based on different socio-economic, political and geostrategic realities of the concerned states.

## **1.2. Scope of the Study**

The core portion of the research work is limited to military and non-military security of Bangladesh and their comparative analysis. This comparative analysis focuses on military capacity of Bangladesh for self defense from any probable military aggression to its existence, as well as internal and external security, and obtaining a visible return of defense expenditure through the civilian usage of military power. Military security denotes here in the research traditional security maintained by armed forces consisting of three uniformed military services—Bangladesh Army, Bangladesh Navy and Bangladesh Air Force.

A moderate comparison between the military hardware of major bordering countries has been drawn to strengthen the analysis. Two intervening variables—security and

securitization are the basic/main units and other variables like military power, modernization of armed forces, defence cooperation, human security, economic development, environment, diplomacy, foreign policy, regional cooperation, related to military and non-military (non-traditional) security, are subunits. Basic units, reasonably, are interrelated with almost every subunit stated in the paper. All of the subunits have been analyzed at macro level and are discussed here very concisely in a manner of making an overview. In other words, I have looked at different variables in a bird's eye view since I have to reach a substantial number of military and non-military security issues for the purpose of drawing a comparative analysis.

This research work, for a depth and breadth analysis, also incorporates the concise study of geo-strategic, geo-economic and geo-political capacity of Bangladesh in regional balance of power. Discussion on military affairs includes the changing roles and formation of modern military suggesting some modifications and rearrangements for the armed forces of Bangladesh. The deteriorating socio-economic and political conditions, as part of nonconventional security concerns, are briefly narrated in the paper and policy options in the respective sectors are suggested accordingly.

### **1.3. Aims and Objectives of the Study**

Aims and objectives of this research work are as follows in a numerable form.

1. Analyzing cost-benefit of military dimensions to consolidate comprehensive security of Bangladesh.
2. To get findings whether military security, in comparison with non-military security, should get equal importance, more importance or less importance.
3. Providing a basis for the selection of the priorities between military and non-military dimensions of security to draw up national planning and strategies on the comprehensive security of the country.
4. To portray a comprehensive scenario of national security apparatus that may be applied for functional use in security mechanism of Bangladesh.
5. To generate optional decisions in defense sector.

6. Finding ways for manipulating military capacity in civil works to retrieve annual defence expenditure to the maximum extent possible.
7. Acquisition of better understanding over national security issues.

## **1.4. Rationale of the Study**

This research is very important to explore the detail facts and figures aiming to verify whether military or non- military approaches should get emphasis or balancing between the two specifically on comprehensive security issues of Bangladesh. The research findings might help to determine up to what extent military and other non-military security mechanism should be expanded. Nature and limitations of different levels of prevailing securitization of the country to its existential threats might be come out from this research endeavour.

A global importance of market economy along with tech-industrial advancement has brought economic issues to the central point of world politics and the concept of traditional security appears to be noticeably devalued. The growing imperatives for new approaches to both internal and external security policies uphold a bare necessity to adapt non-military approaches with the prevailing military securitizations. In the changed world order, the rethinking process does not necessarily squeeze the arenas for newer concept and thought of securitizing process. And this type of rethinking emphasizes on the dualism of political democratization and economic liberalism. For the matter of ‘guns versus butter’ debate, there is no chance for any individual country to defend a zero-sum approach. After all, socio-economic and political powers have been merged with military capabilities in the modern world to sustain an integrated approach to every aspect of security.<sup>4</sup> Under the circumstances, this research provides key connections to communication gap in understanding the ambiguity of multidimensional security process. The research work may also help clarify the controversies between military and non-military options for the national security of Bangladesh. Beside a thorough study on military aspect, an overall study of economic growth, political reality, foreign policy, regional co-operation have been conducted in the paper.

The comparative analysis written in the paper provides essential conceptions for military planners and defense experts in policy making process. Inadequate empirical research on the issue also enhances bare necessity of the research work.

## **1.5. Literature Review**

I went through a significant number of scholarly articles by foreign scholars as well as many Bangladeshi ones, substantial number of books, reviews and other publications in different national and international journals, newspapers on security and strategic issues. A good number of articles published in the journal of a prominent think tank—Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies (BIISS) was a reliable source of data in preparing the thesis paper.

All of the articles, books and other related publications, that are duly acknowledged in reference sections of the paper, have highly contributed to meet my requirements in accordance with research objectives, questions, scopes and hypotheses and to ease the data collection process to conduct the research. Different types of contents retrieved from a lot of official, commercial, educational websites and links have enriched the paper by providing me ordinary, extraordinary and latest data. Official websites of Bangladesh Army, Bangladesh Navy and Bangladesh Air Force facilitated to collect updated data and information.

The scope of the research that includes national security of Bangladesh, economic development, environment, military equipments, regional balance of power, defense and foreign policies of the country, geo-strategic, geo-economic and geo-political stands of Bangladesh has largely been covered by these literature reviews.

## **1.6. Methodology of The Study**

The research has followed content analysis, as a first and foremost method of the study, with the extensive use of library. Qualitative method is pursued in data collection procedure and data are mostly secondary in nature.

I have incorporated strict checks and verifications in different contents to avoid bias in research findings. It was mentioned in my research proposal that any method I had chosen for the research might be changed and new method(s) might be included in the research processes if it was found that the chosen research method did not match with the research purpose and had unexpected limitations and flaws to be employed in the research.

I have not introduced the interview method and not drawn the hypothetical warfare scenarios as stated in my research proposal. Interview method was not found necessary during the research programme as to some good contents were substituted to respond my possible questionnaire supposed to be employed in the formal interview.

Scenario building on hypothetical warfare has also been avoided in the paper because such scenarios did not suit to my research objectives within the given scope of the study.

### **i) Data collection Procedure:**

This research follows secondary type of data. Secondary data have been emphasized, because data deriving from various contents are predominantly secondary in nature.

As to content analysis method, secondary data have been collected from different sources such as books, journals, newspapers, different search engines (Google, Bing), Wikipedia, magazines, Google books, scholarly articles, Google scholar, official websites of Bangladesh Military, Bangladesh Navy and Bangladesh Air Force, recorded speech of national and international conferences, different seminars and roundtables on the relevant issues.

It is worth noting that I did not need to utilize all of the data and information collected for the purpose of the study.

### **ii) Analysis of Data:**

When the data and information had been collected, the research went for analysis and interpretation in the light of:

- a. Objectives of the study

- b. Hypotheses of the study
- c. Research problem and question

At this stage, I have used different types of statistical tests, my own opinion, thinking and analysis as well as qualitative techniques to confirm the hypotheses.

### **Research Questions:**

Research question(s) is/are very effective instrument that facilitates a researcher in collecting data from large diverse and widely scattered groups of people. Some research questions inscribed in my mind always directed me carefully whether I had to determine what type of data and how many data I would have to collect in preparing each and every chapter of this research paper.

Among many other questions, few number of basic research questions that helped me to examine especially my research topic and hypotheses, are as follows:

- a) Is annual defense budget in line with national economic development?
- b) In which dimension, military or non-military, should get priority on the question of national security to existential threat(s)?
- c) To what extent military and non-military security options should be combined to ensure a comprehensive security?
- d) To what level it is possible to make a visible return to annual defense expenditure through the possible civilian usages of military power?

### **1.7. Hypotheses of The Study**

1. Non-military options should get priority in case of national security planning.
2. It is possible to retrieve, directly or indirectly, the annual defense expenditure in the form of a visible return to maximum extent through civilian usages of military power.



3. Not higher military aspiration (if any) rather scheduled and successive modernization of military, in line with regional balance of power and socio-economic development of the country, is the suitable option for Bangladesh.

## **1.8. Limitations of the Study**

Basic limitations of content analysis could not be disregarded here as to a foremost method to conduct this research work. Some selected contents were easily available but did not represent an unbiased sample of all contents related to the research purposes. Content analysis may also face difficulties in drawing a sample plan to collect data. Classification and categorization of collected contents were not fairly easy to be employed. I have, however, tried at my best to avoid every sort of unacceptable biased contents to be taken for the research purpose.

It is worth stating here that this research paper has solely been prepared based on qualitative nature of data and therefore, lacks quantitative analysis and discussion in details. Opinions, comments, thinking, thoughts and theories have widely got priority in the entire paper from alpha to omega, quantitative approach thereby has been devalued here.

I had to face some of multidimensional problems due to financial hardship while conducting the research. I could not, even after my rigorous effort, spare my invaluable time allocated for only this research programme because of bare financial hardship. If I could utilize, with the help of financial solvency, all the time allocated for, the research would naturally be better than the present one in a whole. However, despite my financial crisis, I attempted to work at my best within shortest time possible. Nevertheless, any error, beyond my knowledge, found in the paper is my own liability in the gross.

## References (Chapter I)

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# Chapter II

## 2.1 Concept of Security

Security combines the physical condition with a state of mind. Security can be termed in a negative sense that it is often achieved when bad things do not happen rather good things happen. Taking security as a physical condition may raise problems. For instance, one might have a good confidence in the ability of a bridge to carry on certain weight and volume of armour to resist specific missiles. The bridge and the armour are secure in this sense. But the bridge and the armour could have been subjected to some design problems that might be verified by an opponent determined to find out their breaking point(s).<sup>1</sup> Therefore, no one can achieve a complete security to the potential threats. In this sense, security is always a matter of degree.

There is no absolute definition of security since the concept of security is relational in nature. One may consider security as physical conditions that are more or less effective to secure a referent object, but the security can be properly assessed only when it is tested in comparison with the capabilities and intentions of possible adversary. An analysis of security therefore depends on the assessment of external threats. Security does not only require one's hostility but also vulnerability to secure any object. One's hostility becomes irrelevant if there is no means to express it. The ability to take advantage of another's areas of weakness is a rational determinant of power.<sup>2</sup> The concept of power as well as security is also relational in nature.

A state, worry about its security, has not look only at the capabilities of its enemy, but also has to look at its own vulnerabilities that might be exploited by the potential enemy or enemies. In order to protect national security in a reasonable way, a state therefore should identify its national weaknesses at first such as border insecurity, military weaknesses, economic underdevelopment and so on. Once the identifying process is completed, then the state should find out how these weaknesses or vulnerabilities are susceptible to corrective measures. No state can completely be invulnerable and hence none can enjoy the absolute security in a broad sense. State security in this case can therefore be termed as a state's confidence level to its ability to contain another's

power.<sup>3</sup> Apart from state, this notion might be applicable to some extents to the security of other referent objects whether it is an individual or an organization.

Arnold Wolfers characterizes security as 'the absence of threats to acquired values'.<sup>4</sup> This intuitive notion of Wolfers is frequently used in terms of defining security. David Baldwin reformulates the notion and has redefined security based on his reformulation. He changes the Wolfers' phraseology from 'absence of threats' to 'a low probability of damage to acquired values'. He argues that this ( the change in the phraseology) does not significantly change the Wolfers' meaning and it allows for inclusion of events such as 'earthquake' which can be considered as a 'threat' to security. He justifies the advantage of such reformulation as follows:

States develop deterrence policies (such as enhancement of military power) in response to military attack and such policies are usually intended to secure those states by lowering the probability of attacking to it. On the other hand, states adopt building codes in response to the 'threats' of earthquakes. And this does not generally affect, like military attack, the probability of earthquakes rather it lowers the probability of damage of earthquakes to 'acquired values'. This is how the reformulation focuses on the protection of acquired values and not on the 'presence' or absence' of threats.<sup>5</sup> Based on this reformulation, he argues that security in its most general sense, can be defined in terms of two specifications: a) security for whom? And b) security for which values?

## **Security for whom?**

For Barry Buzan, a simple specification such as 'the individual' or 'the state' is not suffice in answering the question. As there are many states and individuals and as their security is interdependent, Buzan argues that the search for the referent object to be securitized must go hand in hand for the necessary conditions. In order to specify the concept of security, Baldwin states a wide range of answers to the question 'security for whom?': the individual (some, most, or all individuals), the state (some, most, or all states), the international systems (some, most, or all organizations), etc.<sup>6</sup> So, a referent object can be declared from a single individual to all individuals, to a single state to all states and from a single international system to all international systems.

## **Security for which values?**

There are many types of values of individuals, states and of other social actors like physical safety, economic welfare, psychological well-being and so on. Traditionally the concept of national security denotes to political independence and territorial integrity as values to be protected. Again, non-traditional security emphasizes especially on human security as values to be secure first. But there are sometimes other types of values to be added. Baldwin cites in this case the former American Secretary of Defense Harold Brown as Brown referred national security as the maintenance of economic relations with the rest of the world on reasonable terms. Baldwin also states that failure to specify which value to be included in conception of national security, often generates confusion.<sup>7</sup> For instance, if Bangladesh fails to specify in what time which dimension of security—military or non-military—should get priority, there will arise a security dilemma in overall securitization of the country.

Besides above two types of specifications, Baldwin provides some other specifications for making alternative security policies comparable with each other and with other policies for pursuing other goals. These specifications are below:

## **How much security?**

Some analysts argue that security is not a matter of degree rather a sole and complete process. Scholars like Wolfers, Bernard Brodie observed that not everyone views security as a matter of degree. Bernard Brodie cited, for instance, a statement by General Jacob L. Devers—National security is a condition which cannot be qualified. We shall either be secure, or we shall be insecure. We cannot have partial security. If we are only half secure, we are not secure at all.<sup>8</sup>

Brodie, Wolfers and others criticized views like stated by General Jacob. Despite Baldwin argues that the idea of security as a matter of degree cannot be granted. In order to emphasize his claim, he cites Buzan that security itself implies an absolute condition—something either secure or insecure and does not lend itself to the idea that which fills the space between hot and cold. Baldwin drags the idea to the point that it is ordinarily

common to say about the varying degrees of security. He argues that since the absolute security is unattainable, it is important to specify the degrees of security a state has or seeks. Buzan recognizes this problem, but as the concept of security is contested in nature, he treated it as a 'logical problem'. Buzan observes that if security is considered as a matter of degree, 'then complicated and objectively unanswerable questions arise about how much security is enough'.<sup>9</sup> Baldwin adds that such questions should not be described as 'objectively unanswerable.' These question is such type of questions that the economists have been addressing for a long time—how to allocate scarce resources among competing ends. He further gives stress that there is nothing peculiar about the non-attainability of absolute security. For Baldwin, one cannot escape from a question—how much is enough?—whereas scarce resources must be allocated among competing objectives and none of which is completely attainable in this world.<sup>10</sup>

### **From what threats?**

It is good to specify threat dimension clearly as to threats might emerge from many sources to acquired values. For example, during the Cold War, 'Communist threat' was not specified by many capitalist western countries whether the threat referred to the military threat, economic threat, ideological threat or the combination of all of these. This problem of specification in that time impeded the rational debate on the nature and magnitude of threats.<sup>11</sup> Specifying the threat dimension is helpful to securitize a referent object in a more specific way. Vague perceptions of threats often lead to derail the securitizing process.

Threat perception differs from one individual to another. Different persons have different types of threat perception in their minds. Some scholars refer threat as the actions that imply a conditional commitment to punish unless one's demands are met. In general, one often refers to epidemics, floods, earthquakes, or droughts as 'threats' to acquired values. Ullman and others have given stress that such phenomena should be included in the concept of threat.<sup>12</sup> A threat may be emanated from either an inward or outward sources. Securitization therefore largely depends on specifying the nature of threat.

### **By what means?**

Military solutions are not always appreciated to the security problems. Some scholars tend to define the security studies grossly in terms of threats by military force, use of military force to face the threat and control of military force to maintain security. Such tendency usually leads to confusion about the proper solution of security problem raised at the given time.<sup>13</sup> Since threats vary by nature, the means of security are to vary to secure an existence anyway. These means can be referred to the use of military force, or to sustainable development, or merely to diplomatic mechanism.

### **At what cost?**

Pursuing security always deserves costs. The sacrifice of other goals that would have been pursued to the resources, has to be devoted for security. This dimension of security policy is important because some writers think that such costs do not matter. But it is undeniable that cost always matter. Baldwin has cited Ullman in such words: there is in fact no necessary conflict between the goal of maintaining a large and powerful military establishment and other goals such as developing independence from Persian Gulf oil, promoting self-sustaining development in poor countries ... and promoting greater public tranquility and a more healthful environment at home. All these objectives could be achieved if the American people choose to allocate the resources to do so.<sup>14</sup> For example of Ullman's statement one can mention the War on Terror in Afghanistan and subsequent Iraq War waged by U.S.A. These two wars cost America billions of dollars and thousands of invaluable lives of American soldiers. Some analysts argue that Gulf war and subsequent Iraq war were intended to assure an uninterrupted oil supply and to secure oil trade of American multinational companies respectively.

Baldwin argues that it was possible to imply that the costs do not matter only when the assumption of cost-free world would eliminate the conflict among the above mentioned goals as these compete for scarce resources. Another way it is possible to imply the fact that costs do not matter, that is by silence. For instance, he mentions that during 1990s, neither realists/neo-realists nor their critics had not paid heed to costs. Although critics frequently stated that there were too much spends on armament, this type of criticism was self-evident rather than requiring evidence and argument.<sup>15</sup>



Wolfers suggested a good reason for specifying this dimension of security by arguing against those who would like to keep national security policy beyond moral judgment. He implies that the sacrifice of other values for the purpose of security inevitably makes security policy 'a subject for moral judgment'.<sup>16</sup> Wolfers suggestion is a well reminder for those who commit crimes in the name of national security, Baldwin argues.

### **In what time period?**

Security policies in the long run may differ from the policies for the security in short run. In the short run, as Baldwin argues, a high fence, a fierce dog, and a big gun may be useful ways to secure oneself from the neighbours. But it may preferably good to befriend them. Short-run security policies and long-run security policies may sometimes become conflicting each other.<sup>17</sup> It is very hard for Bangladesh, for example, to maintain a good relation with India in the long run, if water disputes between the countries reach a danger point in short run.

## **2.2 Traditional and Non-traditional Security**

Traditionally the concept of security implies that threats arising from the external sources are more devastating for a state than the threats raised within it. In traditional sense, non-military aspects of security like poverty, climate change, environmental degradation, epidemic diseases, socio-political unrest are not perceived as concrete and tangible. During the Cold War era, a massive change in the intellectual enlightenment results in a epoch making call for non-military security that includes human environmental security, economic sustainability, overpopulation problem, infectious diseases and so on.<sup>18</sup> Soon after the end of Cold War, the concept of non-military security eventually gained momentum.

The state centric and military aspect of security has gradually been losing its appeal in both practical relevance and intellectual credibility due to some historic changes and events. These changes and events predominantly refer to the end of Cold War, globalization, global economic integrity, rapid environmental catastrophe and climate change, erosion of national identities and cultural values, increasing competition for

scarce resources and the declining roles of states in international politics. Furthermore, many diverse issues have been emerged ranging from increased poverty in the Third World countries to ecological imbalance, to cyber terrorism, to increased level of natural disasters.<sup>19</sup> Threats to all these issues and values generally cannot be addressed through military forces rather require non-military policies and strategies to be securitized.

Traditional security refers to military security and non-military security refers to non-military security. In other words, the concepts of traditional and non-traditional security are synonymous with military and non-military security respectively. The conceptual frameworks of both traditional and non-traditional security are precisely and briefly discussed below.

### **a) Concept of Traditional Security**

Traditional security is referred to the terms of state centric military security meaning the protection of political independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of state. This view, in other words—national security, has become the core value of realist thinking of security. One of the vital notions in understanding traditional security is as follows: “a nation is secure to the extent to which it is not in danger of having to sacrifice core values, if it wishes to avoid war, and is able, if challenged, to maintain them by victory in such a war”.<sup>20</sup> Arnold Wolfers, in both objective and subjective sense, defines traditional security precisely: “Security, in an objective sense, measures an absence of threats to acquired values, in subjective sense, the absence of fear that such values will be attacked”.<sup>21</sup>

It is widely believed in traditional formula of security that if the political independence, territorial integrity as well as sovereignty of a state are threatened by any external enemy, the security of the citizens of the state is also endangered. Even this believe and argument of realist thinkers were so tangible that they thought citizens should have not been hesitated to sacrifice their material and non-material interest to protect homeland.<sup>22</sup> Actually security of state and security of its citizens were synonymous in old realist thinking of security discourse.

In the traditional thinking, by the by, the relationship between state security and the security of citizens was inexplicit, unclear and intangible at all. State security, only before the Cold War era, was achieved at the expense of citizens' individual, political and economic independence and state apparatus became the means of coercion and exploitation in the name of ensuring national security. In case of inter-religious, inter-ethnic and inter-sectarian conflicts, authoritarian states often defended the dominant groups and took coercive measures against dissenting minorities violating their all kind of human rights. Such crimes of state were committed often in the name of maintaining law and order system and/or national security.<sup>23</sup> One of the main causes of increasing advocacy for human security and tendency among citizens to reject state centric security mechanism originated from state's such coercive and suppressive roles played over mass people.

It is approximately estimated during the last century that 7 million people were killed in civil wars, 30 million people were killed in international wars including the First and Second World Wars, but a chilling number of people, about 170 million, were killed by their own governments. Although such brutal and ruthless roles of states were criticized violently by different citizen groups, civil societies and other donor communities, this worst condition was become literary unchanged until the end of Cold War.<sup>24</sup> Traditional security, however, has not lost its importance in large scale as military power remains unscathed till date. Nevertheless, the coercive roles of states have remarkably been diminished worldwide by the begging of 21<sup>st</sup> century.

State centric security, however, has its own implications. The most terrifying threats to state emanate from external aggression and internal secessionist movement that risks its territorial integrity and thereby. A second order of threats endangers state's sovereignty since political and/or economic coercion refrain it from pursuing its best national interests. State's survival is endangered by both types of threats. A state is therefore given sublimity to enhance its political, economic, and military capacity to secure national security under the circumstances.<sup>25</sup> Although the concept of national security is merged with some ambiguity and intangibility, the question of national security is very important for a state as its absence poses serious threat to state's existence.

National security, a concept promoted by the Realist school of thought, privileges armed forces on the ground that the survival of a nation state requires military security to be continued in the international system which is anarchic in nature. This basic perception of national security encourages a state to invest in armed forces, their constant modernization and logistical arrangements and training. Armed forces therein get priority in national defense planning and hence the military-industrial or military-industrial-bureaucratic complex enjoy primacy in the national economy.<sup>26</sup> Traditional security, however, is being restricted from overwhelming authoritarianism exercised by state to militaristic subject matter.

## **b) Concept of Non-traditional Security**

An influential trend has been emanated in the Western world to redefine security due to several historic events and changes. These include the end of Cold War, massive surge of ethno-religious wars and conflicts in Eastern Europe and Balkans, environmental degradation and climate change and their cross-border nature, a quick shift in techno-industrial advancement and globalization, followed by all of the events and changes. As western concepts and ideas spread out fast across the world, scholars and analysts in developing countries are competing to snap those concepts and ideas.<sup>27</sup> Redefining security has brought a revolutionary change in the security studies and focuses mainly on non-military security factors. It also repairs the traditional concept of security to turn it out into adaptability with the recent trends.

Some post-modernists tend to define or redefine security in three levels: the state, the community and the individuals. Security threats may be extended to political, economic, environmental in nature emanated from within the state and/or from the external sources. The concept of security therefore can expand to both vertical and horizontal levels. In this era of globalization, there is a super trend among security experts and analysts to secure every referent object whereas the referent is an individual person, or an organization, or a state or even merely a non-living material. This is happening because states often fail to guarantee the safety and well being of their citizens in the context of socio-economic and political complexities and realities of new world order. Security has become a relative idea after getting out of unilateral traditional sense of

security. Now it is important to maintain a better military security to counter conventional threats and at the same time the security mechanism has to be moderate enough to contain certain nonconventional threats to individuals and communities that cannot be necessarily addressed through militaristic means.<sup>28</sup> Nowadays security management requires a combination of conventional and nonconventional security that is generally called comprehensive security.

After the end of Cold War, comprehensive security was one of the responses to face threats, but the focus still remained on military security. Non-military security discourse was introduced at the mid 1980s. Perhaps military security is still in dominant position but it is being discerned by many that military security is not enough to address some of burning issues like freedom from poverty and want, threats to climatic ambience as well as to individuals and communities.

Mills identifies five types of threats as comprehensive approach : *territorial threats* (some in traditional sense but mostly in the sense of sovereign incursions by population groups, resource extractions, fishing, diversion of waters), *economic threats* (economic globalization and the sheer weight of international financial transactions provide opportunities to financial criminals to play fouls that affect developments and macro-economic stability, marginalization of the geographically disadvantaged countries, intellectual property rights, demographic issues, *pandemic threats* of AIDS, malaria and water borne diseases), *political threats* (corruption, piracy, illegal narcotics and small arms, extra-parliamentary agitation and street violence, money laundering), and *environmental threats* (trans-boundary pollution, global warming and nuclear waste, depleted natural resources including water, prospecting of trans-boundary mineral and marine resources).<sup>29</sup>

Non-military factors obviously delineate a vast area to incorporate a lot of issues as a matter of security concerns. These issues range from domestic and regional instabilities, violence, death and deprivation. Political violence, decay in democratic norms and values, ethno-religious and communal conflicts, terrorist activities and militancy, sectarian movements, corruption, conflicts over scarce resources, cybercrime, environmental degradation, climate change, deforestation, river erosion, air, water, soil

and marine pollution, transnational crimes, poverty and sanitation problems, illegal migration—all these vary degrees of intensity and scale making a complex matrix of conflicts, instabilities and threat perceptions to individuals, communities and states. It is worth noting that some scholars tend to broaden the concept of security indiscriminately and therein posit the concept in subaltern context that is very susceptible to basic state formation.<sup>30</sup> After all, non-military security dimension has to be precisely defined whether it is to be extended or not to be.

In the contemporary world, the increasing attention paid to collective security, cooperative security and comprehensive security has upheld the matter transparently that the concept and idea of national security are no longer restricted to military security rather they include political, social, economic and environmental dimensions of security discourse. Notwithstanding the fact, it will be overpayment for non-military security thought that military security, due to newly emerged dimensions, should be devalued in the security planning. Rather it will be good enough for security mechanism if military securitization is adapted well in a balanced way to non-military securitization. The radical changes, followed by the collapse of USSR, prioritize the security of individuals to the security of states. Primarily three referents are being considered to be analyzed with security studies—the individual, the state and the international system. If the security of any one of these three referents is threatened anyhow, the security of other two referents is affected too. For instance, apart from individual security concerns, sea level rise caused by global warming, will lead to create climatic refugees and these refugees will eventually create big migration problems that will definitely affect national security in the international system.<sup>31</sup> It is not enough, for any individual actor, to deal with one or two security related issues since securitizing process is now more complex and badly requires a comprehensive approach to secure a referent object.

## **2.3 Securitization: Conceptual Framework**

Since existential threats require emergency measures, securitization conceptually denotes to the classification of and consensus about certain phenomena, persons or entities. The consensual establishment of threat moreover requires enough primacy so

that it can produce substantial political effects. While posing an existential threat to a referent object, in empirical sense, an issue is securitized by a securitizing actor whether the actor is government, international organization or civil society. A referent object refers to the thing that has been existentially threatened and that has legitimate claim to be survived. Referent objects and the type of existential threats are varied in their degrees of intensity and scale. A referent object can either be a state (military security) or a national sovereignty or an ideology (political security), can be either the collective identities (societal security) or species/habitats (environmental security).<sup>32</sup>

The process of securitization becomes successful and complete only when the securitizing actor succeeds in convincing a specific audience (public opinion, politicians, military officers or other elites) that a referent object is existentially threatened. In the Copenhagen school of thought, what originates an existential threat is a matter of subjective question that essentially depends on a universal understanding of how the emerged danger is defined to be securitized. Substantial political procedures in this milieu are viewed appropriate and adequate measures to counter threat(s). In the emergency situation, constituencies manipulate counteractions beyond the normal political procedures.<sup>33</sup>

Speech act is very important in the process of securitization. Speech act influences the perception of reality and affects the human behaviors and their consequences. Thus speech act is more important than just presenting the 'reality.' Securitizing actors articulate an issue in terms of security and persuade relevant audience about the possible threat to the issue. Such articulation gathers public opinions and provides security actors the proper right to mobilize state power and move beyond traditional political procedures. Consequently, a security concern is turned to an existential threat once articulated. This important factor urges Barry Buzan and Ole Waever to redefine security as a widened concept. Concisely the Copenhagen school asks the following three questions:

1. Who and what are the referent objects? These can be individuals and groups (refugees, victim of human abuses, etc.) as well as issue areas (national sovereignty, environment, economy, etc) that possesses a

'legitimate' claim to survival and whose existence is ostensibly threatened.

2. Who are the securitizing actors? These can be government, political elite, military, and civil society—those actors who securitize an issue by articulating the existence of threat(s) to the survival of specific referent objects. Conversely, who are the desecuritizing actors—those who reconstitute an issue as longer an existential threat, thereby moving it from the securitized (and hence depoliticized) realm into the ordinary public arena.
3. How is a process of securitizing completed? This focuses on how securitizing actors use the language of security (the so-called 'speech act') to convince a specific audience of the existential nature of the threat. The act of securitization is complete once the relevant audience is convinced of the existential threat to the referent object.<sup>34</sup>

In the renowned book, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*, securitization has been viewed analytically. In this book security is defined as a move that takes politics beyond established rules of the game and frames the issue as a special kind of politics or as above politics. Hence securitization can be considered as the more extreme version of politicization. Any public issue can be placed on the breadth ranging from non-politicized through politicized to securitized public issue. Here non-politicized public issue means the issue state does not deal with and is not a issue of public debate and decision in other way. Politicized public issue means the issue that is part of public policy and requires government decision and resource allocations and rarely some other form of communal governance whether the securitized public issue means the issue that has been articulated as an existential threat and requires emergency measures and justifying actions beyond the established bounds of political procedure.<sup>35</sup> The placement of issues, in principle, depends on circumstances and any issue can end up on any part of the breadth. In practice, placement of issues varies substantially from state to state and from time to time. Some states like Iran, Saudi Arabia or Myanmar politicize religion and some states like France or United States does not. Some states like former USSR, Iran securitize culture and some states like United Kingdom or Netherlands does not. There arise double questions in case of dramatically moved non-politicized issues that whether they have



just been politicized or have also been securitized. Such link between securitization and politicization does not mean that the process of securitization always run through the state. Securitization as well as politicization can be enacted by other entities.<sup>36</sup> Securitization, practically as well as theoretically, can therefore be exercised by either state actors or non-state actors to the extent of individual or public issues of security concerns.

## **2.4 Contested Concept of Security: Six Schools of Thought**

The concept of security is contested by different Schools of Thought. I would like to describe most essential six Schools of Thought concisely that have broadened and widened the definition and conception of security soon after the demise of Cold War.

### **A. The Copenhagen School and Security**

Barry Buzan has contributed enormously to the development of security studies. His work on security has modified the security discourse fundamentally that is known as the Copenhagen School. The key factor of his work is to involve five sectors as a wider agenda of security studies including the remaining one military sector. Other four sectors include political, economic, societal and environmental sectors. The discussion over these new sectors was very important due to changed socio-economic milieu in the 1980s. In Buzan's analysis, state was given salience in the discussion about security as he found that state importantly has to cope with the sub-state level and international level of security. Buzan also discusses individuals in terms of security analysis. But necessarily he states that an individual cannot be a referent object in international system due to three reasons—it is state that has to cope with sub-state and international security problematic, secondly state is a primary agent for rooting out insecurity and finally state is a dominant securitizing actor in the international system.<sup>37</sup> Despite the fact, he stresses the incorporation of individual and organizations in non-traditional security analysis.

### **B. Constructivist Security Studies**

The constructivist security studies have brought social constructivism in security studies. Alex Wendt's significant quotation is relevant in the discussion of this approach to security—'anarchy is what states make of it'. In the constructivist approach, it can be stated that 'security is what we make of it' or 'security is what states make of it'. Two major issues will be focused in the spectrum of thought.

Firstly, security communities are determining factor here in the sense that security communities are constructed and have both material and normative bases. This approach importantly focuses on the fact that state might find out that security is best achieved through social community rather than through power. The perception of security as well as security can communally or socially be constructed. In the constructivist approach, security is not only the given condition of international system, rather states and communities have a greater role to shape the dynamics of security in the system for a stable peace building. This approach emphasizes on the reformulating international structures and security politics by the enhancement of knowledge.<sup>38</sup>

Secondly, the constructivist approach of security focuses on work on security culture of different states. The core portion of the approach is that national security mechanism is substantially defined by the actors who respond to cultural dimension. Power, dubbed as a physical capacity, is not important for the analysis of national security, nevertheless states and other political actors seeking power to counter threats to national security and such tendency of actors explore their behaviors in terms of security.<sup>39</sup> Constructivist approach of security is not widely followed by securitizing actors and is more theoretical in nature.

### **C. Critical Security Studies**

Critical security studies is the most effective and consistent critique of traditional security. There are two main approaches to the studies. The first approach is associated with the work of Keith Krause and Micheal Williams. They have popularized the concept of security in more broad and deep spectrum. Actually they both tended to criticize the state centric security agenda and were devoted to reexamine the prevailing notions of security in a reasonable analysis. Critical security studies are significantly employed in

encouraging a shift from the emphasis on state centric military dimension of security to the emphasis on individuals, identity and community based securitization. This approach substantially urges to study and practice a variety of approaches to security. Ultimately, critical security studies, after the end of Cold War era, nourishes the dissatisfaction with traditional security system and the disillusionment with the mainstream security agenda.<sup>40</sup> With the introduction of the approach, the dynamics of conventional security thinking has turned to a moderate thinking with nonconventional discussion in security studies.

The second approach of critical security studies has been dubbed as Welsh School. At this stage, the second approach clarifies its own definition more transparently. This approach stresses the human emancipation and the defenders of the approach think that only emancipation can explore the true meaning of security. Human emancipation and Westernization, however, are not necessarily synonymous in the approach. Human emancipation means in this sense, 'the freeing of people (individuals and groups) from the physical and human constraints which stop them from carrying out what they would choose to do'. War and threat of war are some of those constraints. Others constraints include poverty, poor access to education, housing, health facilities, minority oppression, political coercion, wants and fears etc.<sup>41</sup> The critical security studies are tangibly coherent with the agenda of human security and thereby both studies facilitate each other in flourishing themselves.

## **D. Feminist Security Studies**

Feminist approach of security is an extensive critique of gender assumption of traditional International Relations. Feminist International Relations indicate indeed how women are deprived and ignored in the International Relations even after being a central portion of the system. In security studies, women are not recognized appropriately making security issue masculine one. Women have been discussing security matters since at least at the beginning of the last century. One of the reasons of such early awareness of women security is that women are more vulnerable than men in terms of any devastating consequences of conflicts, violence or of wars. About 80-90 percent of casualties of war are civilians and crucially most of them are women and children. It is found that domestic

violence against women is higher in militaristic societies that are importantly indicator of state centric security system. It is argued that when the concept of security extended to economic and environmental dimensions, then the insecurity of women are further explored to a large extent. For example, women are half in number of total world population and they are responsible for about one third of total paid labour force and for two third of all working hours. But unfortunately they receive only one-tenth of total income and earn merely less than one percent of global property.<sup>42</sup> In this milieu, security studies in terms of gender equality is very important to preserve women rights and to ensure their safety.

Traditionally it is argued that state is the foremost guarantor of citizens' security. But this view has become a fallacy since state often fails to provide security neutrally to all of its citizens. As to state tends to take side of the dominant groups, state centric security usually emphasizes on security with masculine view. Some scholars argue that there are the concrete relationships between militarism and sexism and both isms are viewed in a similar manner that men are inherently aggressive and dominant and women are inherently non-violent and weak and inferior to men.<sup>43</sup> This kind of views is extremely criticized by the defenders of feminist approach of security as well as feminism. In fine, feminist security studies has been emanated from feminist views with regard to women security.

## **E. Poststructuralist Security Studies**

The traditional concept of referent object as well as security is significantly challenged by the poststructuralist school of thought. There are two main works on poststructuralist security studies.

First work is developed by Bradley Klein specially by his book *Strategic Studies and World Order: The Global Politics of Deterrence*. The first work demonstrates that how the insights of strategic studies is not just a neutral evaluation of international anarchic situation. Rather the core portion of strategic studies is actually an apparatus to legitimate the process of state formation and its maintenance by focusing on 'threats', 'fears' and 'security'. If there are no 'threats', 'fears' and 'dangers' indeed, then the

state's legitimacy comes to an end to exist anymore since state is considered as a supreme security provider. Strategic studies therein aims at 'finding', 'producing' and 'reproducing' the perception of threats that retains the state in its business.<sup>44</sup> In other words, strategic studies is a mechanism that helps state to legitimize its existence in international system.

The second work is associated with David Cambell's empirical book in poststructuralist security studies—*Writing Security*. This work finds how the identity of U.S.A is constructed by its foreign policy mechanism. The book finds that United States of America through its foreign policy serves to uphold certain 'threats' and 'dangers' to construct its specific identity in the international system. In his book, Cambell has raised questions about the eternal separations of inside/outside, self/other, and domestic/foreign dichotomies based on territorial boundaries of states, followed by the moral or ethical bounds of 'citizenship' and 'national identity'. This kind of separations and boundaries are technically maintained by state actors through the act of 'identifying' threats.<sup>45</sup>

The poststructuralist approach contributes to policy analysis in two ways. Firstly, contradictions in policy options and their outcomes are not viewed as constraints, instead, are viewed as a part of the process of reaching the policy decisions. Secondly, 'every policy proposal is *preceded* by the qualification of a 'perhaps' and *followed* by an insistent and persistent questioning'.<sup>46</sup> Finally it can be argued that poststructuralist security studies tries to prove that states' attempt to identify 'threats' and/or 'dangers' in the name of strategic studies is a kind of fallacy to legitimize its authoritative existence.

## **F. Human Security**

The origin of the concept of human security can be traced back to the publication of the Human Development Report of 1994, issued by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP 1994). The Report includes seven areas as the scope of human security: i. Economic security (assured basic income), ii. Food security (physical and economic access to food), iii. Health security (relative freedom from diseases and infection), iv. Environmental security (access to sanitary water supply, clean air and a

non-degraded land system), v. Personal security (security from physical violence and threats), vi. Community security (security of cultural identity), vii. Political security (protection of basic human rights and freedoms).<sup>47</sup>

Although most of the understandings of human development traced back to the Human Development Report of 1994 of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the roots of human security can be found in debates over disarmament-development nexus taken place in different United Nations forums in response to the cold war arms race. Transforming the focus from national and state centric to security for people was accelerated by the works of several independent commissions such as the Brandt Commission, the Brundtland Commission, and, later the Commission on Global Governance. Such debates were eventually followed by the growing recognition of non-military threats in global security arena. Finally, human security was unexcavated in its full shape in the publication of the Report of 1994. It is worth noting that an Asian scholar, Mahbub ul Haq contributed much to the UNDP'S works on human security.<sup>48</sup> Introduction of human security in its full shape however has brought a revolutionary change in nonconventional security dimension and significantly repairs the concept of traditional security analysis. The concept of human security, like some other modern schools of thought, challenges strictly to the state centric security discourse by stressing the individual as main referent object. In short, human security is all about security for people rather than the security of states. Hence a lot of debates have been raised in the discussions of security. Critics of human security have questioned whether this approach broaden and widen the concept of security or whether the individual security can address the challenges emerged from the direct force of globalization and faced by international communities. On contrary, defenders of human security focus on its extensive importance since human security unveils the threats and dangers to human well being and survival posed by various non-military threats like poverty, diseases, violation of human rights, minority oppression, environmental degradation and so on.<sup>49</sup> The prevailing definition of human security almost covers 'everything from physical security to psychological wellbeing' of the people.<sup>50</sup> Human security becomes turning point in security analysis after the Cold War era.

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# Chapter III

# **Military and Non-Military Threats to Bangladesh: Potentialities and Existing Scenarios**

Bangladesh is vulnerable to some non-military as well as military threats to its existence. Although there is currently no tangible military threat to Bangladesh, potentialities of such threats emerged from especially external sources are always a matter of concern. On the other hand Bangladesh is a bare example of victimized people threatened by poverty, hunger, diseases, insanitation, natural disasters and other non-military threats.

## **3.1 Military Threats to Bangladesh: Potential Sources**

Bangladesh is surrounded by India by three sides and partially linked with Myanmar by its south-eastern land territory. Border and maritime disputes as well as enclave issues between neighbouring India and Bangladesh have been resolved. Maritime disputes with Myanmar have also been solved by the international tribunal. Nevertheless, India and Myanmar, especially in geostrategic and geopolitical point of views, are of two main sources of external military threats to Bangladesh.

The country faces some formidable security challenges emerged from India as both countries share natural and geographical resources and an international border of 4025 kilometers. These security challenges are below:

- a) Water sharing of 54 common rivers.
- b) Provocation for insurgency in Chittagong Hill Tracts from Indian side.
- c) Despite the expression of political goodwill and good neighbourhood from Indian leaders, Bangladesh faces huge trade imbalance due to reluctance of India to allow the exports of Bangladeshi goods non-tariff grounds.
- d) Smuggling and illegal cross border activities and push in of Bengali speaking Indian people towards Bangladesh at times.
- e) The unprecedented illegal killing of Bangladeshi people at border despite repeated assurance and agreements between both countries.

- f) India's common tendency to use its capability to impair Bangladesh's image directly or through proxy agents whenever the country wants to do so.<sup>1</sup>

Bangladesh tries to respond to all these disputed issues with the help of diplomatic mechanism and international law so as to resolve the disputes peacefully with a mutual satisfaction. In other words, based on a ground reality, Bangladesh cannot stand militarily against India. In case of Myanmar, push in and push back of Rohingya populations raise tensions between the countries. Socio-economic and political conditions of Bangladesh are often destabilized by Myanmar's indiscriminate Rohingya push in. Before the resolution of maritime boundary, Myanmar attempted to explore oil and gas in the boundary claimed by Bangladesh. There is no certainty, despite the maritime boundary being resolved, that Myanmar will not pursue the same attempt in future.

The size of Bangladesh Armed Forces is less than half of Myanmar and one-twentieth of that of India. In case of resource endowment, it is one-seventh of Myanmar and one-twenty-fourth of that of India. Moreover, a substantial number of members of armed forces are employed in UN-peacekeeping mission.<sup>2</sup> Besides the size matter, armed forces of Bangladesh are not modern enough in terms of technological advancement. All these weaknesses lead Bangladesh to be existentially vulnerable to perennial potential threats and dangers posed by its bordering countries.

### **3.1.1 Natural Resource as a Source of Conflict: Regional Perspective**

A close linkage between natural resource scarcity and national, regional and global security is being identified by researchers. There is a growing consensus around the globe that environmental degradation, inequitable access to scarce resources, extracting and controlling limited commodities are significant determinants of conflicts. It is argued that environmental degradation and scarcity of natural resources are posing threats increasingly to public health that sometimes fuels up violence. The security and development nexus is associated with the access to natural resources and vulnerabilities that makes the relationship between security and environment more complex one. The existing conflicts among and within the states are being intensified due to scarcity of

natural resources, environmental degradation and over exploitation and completion over those resources.<sup>3</sup> The conflicts and hazards emanating from non-traditional sources, cannot be addressed through the employment of military power.

Although the works of Gleditsch and de Soysa are contrary with the Toronto Groups to some extent, works of both parties are similar in the sense that there is little chance for human adaptation to scarce resources. Researchers have found out that environmental degradation even in a short time can cause political collapse directly. They also have found that environmental stress runs through the intervening variables of quality of life to generate conflict. Their studies show that scarcity of resources which is one of the main components of poverty decreases agricultural productions and thereby leads to conflict. Scarce resources also lead to negative social outcomes that becomes a reason of conflict.<sup>4</sup>

‘Conflict is a natural and inseparable part of human social relations’. Conflicts occur almost every level of society that range from interpersonal to international level. Conflict therefore can shortly be defined as a natural competition between two or more parties over the scarcity of resources, power and prestige. Conflict can also be termed as a struggle between two or more opposing forces over values, ideologies, interests, desires and perceptions. A conflict occurs when one seeks its interests at the expense of other’s interests.<sup>5</sup> Conflict becomes inevitable when there is a strict competition between individuals, groups or states over scarce resources.

### **Interstate Conflict over Water: Bangladesh Context**

As a lower riparian country, Bangladesh is a worst victim of environmental degradation, climate change, and mostly of water crisis. Bangladesh has to bear the major brunt of water related negative consequences since most of the Eastern Himalayan Rivers ultimately discharge into Bay of Bengal. Intensive and deleterious consequences are already being detected because of huge gaps in demand and supply chains of water in the country. Although Bangladesh is a riverine country, the country is gradually turning to a water-scarce country due to severe shortage of surface water provided mainly from rivers, lakes, marshes. Once about 250 rivers were followed in full volume across the

country. Now most of the rivers are virtually becoming unusable and polluted. As to shortfalls of surface water, irrigation system, daily uses of water, navigability are being seriously affected.<sup>6</sup> Not only interstate water crisis, increasing population, poverty, energy deficiency, rapid urbanization and industrialization are predominantly responsible for river pollution and river extinction.

Water-related challenges are contemporarily numerous, diverse and inevitable. Several worldwide statistics compiled from the recent publications of the World Bank and the United Nations highlight the following issues:

- Human water use has increased more than 35-fold over the past three centuries.
- Worldwide, 69 percent of water use is for agricultural purposes, 23 percent for industrial and 8 percent domestic.
- One third of the world's food crops are produced by irrigated agriculture.
- In the past 30 years, 50 percent of food supply growth was attributed to agricultural expansion, a rate which is no longer sustainable.
- Per capita water consumption in North and Central America is twice that of Europe, three times that of Asia, and seven times that of Africa.
- About one billion people in developing countries do not have access to potable water and approximately 1.7 billion have inadequate sanitation facilities.
- Unsafe water is implicated in the deaths of more than 3 million people annually and causes about 2.4 billion episodes of illness each year.
- The world's population, now 5 billion, is expected to increase to at least 8 billion by 2025 and 10 billion by 2050, which would dramatically raise the demand for water and food.
- According to United Nations' projections, by 2050 almost half of the world's population will live in 58 countries experiencing either water scarcity (less than 1,000 cubic meters of renewable water per capita per year) or water stress (between 1,000 and roughly 1,700 cubic meters).
- The financial requirements to meet future demands for irrigation, hydropower, water supply and sanitation investments in developing countries are estimated to be \$600 billion to \$800 billion over the next decade. These daunting facts are evidence of a global water resources crisis with the potential for escalating conflicts.<sup>7</sup>

The socio-economic implications of water crisis are intrinsically to be viewed in terms of traditional dimension of security. Severe water crisis might arise different socio-economic and political instability in Bangladesh. There is a substantial number of examples of conflicts over water among different international actors. Turkey, Syria and Iraq have

been embroiled in conflicts over Euphrates and Tigris rivers while Israel, Lebanon and Jordan are ruthlessly engaged in conflicts over the Jordan River. In Africa, Nile River has become a source of rivalries among Egypt, Ethiopia, and Sudan. South Asia is not an exception in this case.<sup>8</sup> India and Bangladesh are likely to go for a conventional warfare in future if the intensity of water crisis reaches the highest scale since both countries share 54 common rivers and since there appears no fruitful outcome by diplomatic efforts in resolving the dispute over a quarter of a century.

**Table 1: Water Resources in South Asia (Availability and Requirements)**

Country	Area (sq. km.)	Population (million)*	Average Annual Water Potential (BCM)**	Present Use of Water (BCM/year)#	Projected Demand in 2025 (BCM)###
Bangladesh	1,47,570	149.7	373	40	161
India	32,87,240	1210	1870	629	1060
Nepal	1,47,181	26.49	237	39	60
Pakistan	8,03,940	177.1	236	158	337.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>43,85,931</b>	<b>1563.29</b>	<b>2716</b>	<b>866</b>	<b>1618.9</b>

\*Population as per latest census.

\*\* Source: Water Needs in South Asia: Closing the Demand Supply Gap, Toufiq A. Siddiqui and Shirin Tahir-Kheli (coordinators and editors), (Honolulu, Hawaii: Global Environment and Energy in the 21st Century, 2004), p. 8.

# Source: *ibid.*,35

## Source *ibid.*, 79

Despite the concerns of water experts and environmentalists, India is more likely to implement its prior announced river-linking project. This project is considered to be directed to divert water from water-surplus areas of its eastern region to water-deficit areas of south western regions. India's river linking project is another area of concern for Bangladesh. This potential manmade water diversion will severely affect the natural flows of rivers of India as well as of Bangladesh leading existing water scarcity of the latter to be worst one.

Besides water issues, other natural resources like marine resources may be a determining factor of conflict in near future. The demand for marine and coastal resources has been remarkably increasing day by day due to the growing increase in world population, world trade and economy. The World Resources Institute reveals a statistics showing that at least one-third of human population lives close to the coastlines and the number is expected to be three quarters by 2025. It goes without saying that the competition over maritime territory and marine resources among litoral countries will surpass the existing level and the increasing competition will usually trigger conflicts centering the scarcity of resources.<sup>9</sup> According to Günther Baechler, overuse of renewable resources, overstrain of the sink capacity of environment, and impoverishment of living space characterize, by the principle importance of degradation, the environmental conflicts. He argues that “violent conflicts triggered by environment due to degradation of renewable resources (water, land, forest, vegetation) generally manifest themselves in socioeconomic crisis regions of developing and of transitional societies if and when social fault lines can be manipulated by actors in struggles over social, ethnic, political, and international power”. There is a crucial linkage between environmental degradation and the scarce resources that eventually becomes a risk factor for a state as well as a society. Scarcity leads to create more demands for and competition over natural resources turning ultimately environmental damage to conflict.<sup>10</sup>

### **3.1.2 Geo-Strategic and Geo-Political Sources of Conflict: Regional Perspective**

On the ground of geo-strategic and geo-political realities, Bangladesh is said to be vulnerable to perennial threats emanating from India and Myanmar. In realist of point of view, states become more vulnerable to neighbouring and bordering countries in the anarchic international system. Though friendly coexistence is always expected by neighbouring countries since they are considered to come first with the helping hand in dangers and calamities, they can existentially be threatened by each other. Bangladesh therefore becomes critically threatened by both bordering countries—India and Myanmar to some extent. It is worth noting that Bangladesh, in similar view, can be source of threats to these bordering countries to some extent. As this research



endeavour is directed towards Bangladesh perspective, the scope of the study is limited to the potential threats posed to only Bangladesh.

### **Potential Military Threats to Bangladesh: India Context**

It is widely argued that it was not possible for Chakma leaders to continue their armed warfare in Chittagong Hill Tracts without external assistance. Indian intelligence agencies are thought to be involved in Chakma insurgency in the region. Another important factor is that communist government in Tripura state (India) helped Chakma insurgents and secessionists to take refuge in the state. It is argued by many experts that Indian intelligence agencies tend to keep the internal socio-economic milieu of neighboring small states instable if these states are failed to maintain a good relationships with India on a reasonable ground.<sup>11</sup> In future, territorial integrity as well as communal amity of Bangladesh might be impaired by Indian anti-Bangladesh activity.

The sources of external threats are of two-fold—international and regional. In regional level Bangladesh has to face a critical dimension in threat perception because of *India Factor*. Physical threat perception of the country in regional level is mainly uni-dimensional in nature since it is surrounded by India and partially by Myanmar. Territorial integrity and sovereignty of the country, in conventional sense, are likely to be threatened only by India. A number of contentious bilateral issues highlight the threat perception of Bangladesh in a crucial stage. Three reasonable factors in bilateral relationships that raise security concerns for Bangladesh are as follows: a) The common tendency of India to keep retain its predominance in South Asian region, b) Geo-strategic, economic and political vulnerabilities of Bangladesh as a small developing country, and c) A widespread public sentiment in Bangladesh that India wants to exploit Bangladesh by manipulating its growing regional power.<sup>12</sup>

Indian interventions in Sri Lanka (1987) and in Maldives (1988) have raised massive dubieties about Indian naval power among the small South Asian countries. Such interventions indicate that India is intended to meet its further political objectives in the region even by using its military might if necessary. Bangladesh is not an exception with regard to Indian hegemonic attitude in maritime affairs. The bitter experience of Indian

trade embargo against Nepal in 1988 reminds Bangladesh that the latter might be a victim of such Indian embargos since the country is geo-strategically vulnerable in case of contacting with outside world if India anyway blockades its sea routes—only means to contact territorially with outside worlds other than Indian adjacent territories. The threat perceptions of Bangladesh in terms of maritime security have been fueled up further by its own vulnerabilities in the sea to Indian mighty naval power—‘Bangladesh has rather a small Navy, virtually having no trade defense and sea denial force as well as no convincing EEZ (Exclusive Economic Zone) protection capability and no sea lines of communication protection force, and possessing only a small maritime surveillance capability’.<sup>13</sup> There is no alternative to modernize the naval power of Bangladesh and to expand the force to the level so as to contain any threat emanated from external maritime sources.

Although remotely possible, China-India rivalry may embroil Bangladesh into conflicts due to regional security complexities. Regional security related tensions arise while China, after Sino-Indian War in 1962, still claims *Arunachal Pradesh* of India to be a part of China and in order to response especially this issue, India has stationed special troops in the Northeastern part along China’s border. In his book *Prepare or Perish*, former Indian Army Chief Rao stated that Bangladesh, in case of Chinese offensive, may attempt to capture strategic Siliguri Corridor known as Chicken Neck and Silchar area as to Chumbi valley in Tibet connects Northern Bangladesh through Chicken Neck and Northern Myanmar connects Silchar area. Mr. Rao therefore suggests that Indian Eastern Command should earmark for Bangladesh to take care of such contingencies.<sup>14</sup> Such perception of Indian General proves that India views Bangladesh with a dubious look.

### **Potential Military Threats to Bangladesh: Myanmar Context**

It would not be incorrect to say that some geo-political imbroglios in bilateral issues might turn to cause armed conflicts between Bangladesh and Myanmar. Rohingya issue is one of the burning problems that often harms the friendly relationship between the countries.

Due to ethnic conflict, ethnic cleansing, and sectarian violence in Rakhine state Rohingya people started to come in Bangladesh soon after its independence. In different periods of time Bangladesh has witnessed a huge inflow of hundreds of thousand Rohingya people on its own land territory. Approximately there are 28000 documented and 2-5 lacs of undocumented Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh who gradually push Bangladesh in deep security concerns in socio-economic and political sphere. Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh, however, are involved in various crimes such as smuggling, human trafficking, transnational organized crimes and so on. The most important security implications, in this case, for Bangladesh is the change in demographic or ethnic composition particularly in Teknaf where the number of Rohingya refugees is expected to surpass the number of local people in near future.<sup>15</sup> Recently in 2016 bilateral relations between the countries has been worsened following unprecedented Rohingya inflows in Bangladesh due to ethnic cleansing procedure designed by military backed so called democratic government of Myanmar. Despite diplomatic initiatives have improved the difficult conditions to some extent, it can be argued that diplomatic measures do not appear enough to resolute Rohingya issue permanently.

Bangladesh and Myanmar share about 275 kilometers land border which is well known for criminal activities such as human trafficking, arms, and drug smuggling etc. Moreover, gathering of improvised explosive devices in the border areas creates mistrust between the countries. Borders guards of both countries are often accused of being involved in corruption and exploitation of common masses living in the bordering areas and such illegal activities bringing serious chaos sometimes go beyond minor border tiffs.<sup>16</sup>

**Table 2: Brief Overview of the Security Concerns Generated by Rohingyas in Bangladesh.**

Security Concerns	Facts
Demographic Change	The high growth rate of Rohingyas (4.3 per cent) causing demographic change particularly in Teknaf. They produce more children to get more rations from the UNHCR and other international organisations in the camps.
Environmental Threats	Rohingyas are destroying forests near the camps and other areas wherever they inhabit. They also destroy mountains causing landslides in nearby

	areas.
Human Trafficking	Rohingyas are involved in human trafficking, smuggling, and abduction etc. There is a trafficking network sending Rohingyas to Malaysia. Their network extends from Dhaka to Chittagong.
Drug Trafficking	Rohingyas are involved in drug trafficking. 80 per cent of undocumented Rohingyas are carriers of drugs (yaba). Recently, a Rohingya was caught with 150000 piece yaba. Strong nexus between unregistered Rohingyas and some Myanmar people exists. They use mobile networks on both sides of the border to conduct the crimes.
Unemployment	Rohingyas are occupying local job market. Local women are also vulnerable as they are losing household jobs. 90 per cent rickshaw pullers of Cox's Bazaar district are Rohingyas. Even day labourers are losing their jobs as Rohingyas provide cheap labour.
Threat to Tourism Industry	Cox's Bazar is the hub of tourism industry in Bangladesh. And security is precondition for promotion of tourism. However, the activities of Rohingyas are threatening the industry.
Deteriorating Law and Order Situation	Rohingyas commit various crimes including professional killing, theft, robbery, etc.
Hampering the Labour Market	By using fake Bangladeshi passport, Rohingyas are going to Middle East, Malaysia and other countries, and for their unlawful activities, Bangladesh is losing its image.

**Source: Water Needs in South Asia: Closing the Demand Supply Gap, Toufiq A. Siddiqui and Shirin Tahir-Kheli (coordinators and editors), (Honolulu, Hawaii: Global Environment and Energy in the 21st Century, 2004), p. 8.**

Although the frequency of border killing in Bangladesh-Myanmar borderline is lower than that in India-Bangladesh borderlines, tensions arise in the border areas at times. In January, 2001, a war-like situation was appeared when the government of Myanmar attempted to construct a controversial dam on a river along Teknaf (a part of Bangladesh) and Nasaka (border guards of Myanmar) demonstrated their hostile activities. The month long tensions were relieved when Yangon (the then capital of Myanmar) decided to quit the programme of controversial dam construction. Another event triggered tensions in border when Myanmar started fencing about 40 kilometer long area across the Bangladesh-Myanmar borderline in 2009 assuring Bangladesh that the fencing was only to prevent illegal activities in the border and would not affect the bilateral relationships anyway. At last, Bangladesh allowed Myanmar to do so. However, border guards of Myanmar sometimes express their provocative attitudes in the border

area. For instance, a concrete security concern spread out in Bangladesh- Myanmar border when the later amassed special troops in the border following the announcement of verdict on Bangladesh-Myanmar maritime boundary in 2012.<sup>17</sup> Since the balance of power of both countries are nearly equal in the regional system, minor misgivings, mistrusts, and provocative actions are likely to turn into major armed conflict. In other words, minor tiffs between the countries may lead to major conventional warfare as to military powers of both states do not differ effectively to a large scale, although armed forces of Myanmar quantitatively greater than that of Bangladesh.

### **Potential Nuclear Threats to Bangladesh**

Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction in South Asia is a great concern for Bangladesh. India and Pakistan both possess devastating nuclear weapons and both countries continue scheduled tests of mass destructive weapons targeting each other. Nuclear exchange and/or use of WMD between these two hostile countries could also passively affect Bangladesh since the impacts of exploration of such weapons transcends the barrier of national boundaries.<sup>18</sup> If a total war breaks out between China and India, nuclear exchange becomes one of the possibilities. If that happened actually Nepal and Bhutan would be the worst victims of Sino-Indian nuclear war because these two countries exist along Sino-Indian border areas. Besides Nepal and Bhutan, Bangladesh could be victim of such war being a hostage to the nuclear forces.<sup>19</sup> Two countries of South Asia possess nuclear weapons, deleterious consequences of these weapons would affect all the countries in the region through radioactive emissions once the weapons explored as a part of total war.

Apart from the above mentioned potential threats, Bangladesh is strategically vulnerable to dangerous geographical setbacks. Although the country has largely been successful to build up an effective and well organized armed forces, such geographical drawbacks undermine its national security leading to a non-influential actor in regional and extra regional system. Bangladesh has no natural barrier like mountains or vast water bodies that could secure it from external aggression. National security of Bangladesh is therefore more vulnerable to foreign invasions than that to the countries that have so. Furthermore territorial depth is one of the prerequisites to win in a modern warfare.

Soviet Union was able to defeat Nazi forces due to its territorial depth like harsh weather and extreme coldness. Bangladesh in this perspective incapable of pursuing a geo-military strategy for protracted warfare since it lacks territorial depth. Though the country has a good number of rivers providing effective defence network, limitation in territorial depth discourages the country to pursue national security through military means.<sup>20</sup> National security policies should thereby be in conformity with its geo-strategic and geo-political realities.

## **3.2 Non-Military Threats to Bangladesh**

Non-military threats are associated with problematic issues that cannot generally be addressed through military actions. Non-military security discourse has largely been replaced by military dimension of security and is being used to contain threats emerged from non-military sources. Soon after the end of Cold War, non-military aspects of security have gained momentum and contemporary security analysts earmark the discussion of security for non-military security. Like many other countries, especially developing Third World countries, Bangladesh faces a substantial number of non-military threats in different fields requiring non-military policy measures to address them. Socio-economic, political, and environmental threats remind Bangladesh for a timely rearrangement in national security policies to maintain a latest and updated comprehensive security system.

### **3.2.1 Threats to Environmental Security**

In this section, concept of environmental security, nature of environmental threats, environment-security nexus, relations between environmental stress factors and security as well as different environmental threats to Bangladesh are discussed.

#### **a. Concept of Environmental Security**

Realist understanding of security traditionally does not deal with environmental security, but post-realist schools of thought take environmental security concern as a major issue. Environmental security introduces an interdisciplinary thinking into security discourse

exploring interactive dynamics of the relationship between human and nature. Furthermore, environmental issues have a great significance for modern nation states since these states largely depend on natural resources like water, oil, gas and other minerals to generate their powers. Increasing pressures on natural resources result in manmade catastrophes such as demographic fall, undue migration, and human casualties, followed by devastating environmental degradation. The Copenhagen School of thought introduces a theoretical basis of environmental security and thereby changes the nature of national and international responses to address environmental threats. Through the contribution of the school, environment is now considered a foremost referent object almost in national, regional, and, international levels. Nations face a wide range of negative consequences of environmental degradation to certain level. It is argued that environmental stresses can decrease economic growth of a nation, impair its social cohesion, and destabilize its political structure. Environmental catastrophes are said to lower economic opportunities, increase competition over scarce resources, bring unnatural demographic changes, and cause intra-state and inter-state conflicts leading to raise insecurity in regional as well as national level. Even severe environmental disorders contribute to increase insurgency, civil war, and political turmoil within the states. Moreover, environmental concerns have turned to 'Environmental Politics' and are often manipulated by dominant powers to their advantages.<sup>21</sup> A number of African states are already suffering from intensive adverse impacts of environmental disorders across the region.

Under its Millennium Project, The American Council for the UN University has adopted an environmental security study which implied to link environment and security. This study showed that the elements of the definition of Environmental Security clustered around two central concepts:

- 1) Repairing damage to the environment (a) for human life support and (b) for the moral value of the environment itself; and 2) Preventing damage to the environment from attacks and other forms of human abuse. Of the five suggested definitions presented to the international panel, the following two received the highest ratings: a) Environmental security is the relative safety from environmental dangers caused by natural or human processes due to ignorance, accident, mismanagement or design and originating within or

across national borders; and b) Environmental security is the state of human-environment dynamics that includes restoration of the environment damaged by military actions, and melioration of resource scarcities, environmental degradation, and biological threats that could lead to social disorder and conflict.<sup>22</sup>

There are two kinds of threats emanated from the environment—the threats from environmental degradation itself and conflicts arising out of such degradation. The first affects the humankind as a whole in various degrees and the later fuels up the already existing problems in the developing countries. The consequences of the later are extreme ones affecting the human society, its economy, and polity. It also hits the physical structure of certain developing countries including the physical survival of or of a part of their populations. The newer threats unveiled by such environmental degradation are outstandingly complex and national defense strategies are considered to be useless to counter these threats. A leading world resource analyst Lester Brown states, ‘external aggression may be relatively simple compared with stopping the deterioration of life support system of the environment.’ In comparison with military threats, it is argued that the worst environmental crisis may pose a threat to national security that is greater than well armed hostile neighbours and unfriendly alliance.<sup>23</sup>

All countries or regions are not affected by environmental threats in the same way. The best policy response therefore to the threats is ‘preventive defense’ so as to address them with the preemptive measures. Environmental security, as a complex phenomenon, cannot be ensured by individual state alone, rather requires a collective efforts of all states. However, although it is difficult to draw up an agreed upon definition of ES to conceptualize it, the following issues tend to summarize the definitions stated in diverse contents:

1. Natural life support systems are already under threat;
2. Environmental security has the potential to ignite intra and inter-state conflicts;
3. Sources of threat vary in space and time;
4. Defense buildup and the role of the conventional military is a negative to ES;
5. ES is global in nature and ensuring it depends on willing cooperation of all states, and Sustainable development is the strategy that can lead to ES.<sup>24</sup>

## **b. Environmental Stress Factors and Security**



Incorporation of environmental factors into conflict analysis dates back to 1960s and 1970s. Countries, that had rapidly growing populations, environmental stress, and food limitations, were viewed as a major threat to international security. At that time, researchers and environmentalists attempted to draw attention of policy makers by 'securitizing' environmental concerns. Using largely case studies, a lot of academic works have been conducted since the time. For instance Robert Kaplan, a leading scholar in the field, argues in his 'The Coming Anarchy' that overpopulation coupled with environmental scarcity, crime, and disease are 'rapidly destroying the social fabric of our planet.' He also argues that 'West Africa is becoming the symbol of worldwide demographic, environmental, and societal stress.'<sup>25</sup>

Former US Vice President Al Gore formed the State Failure Task Force to examine the environmental, social and economic causes of state failure. The researchers of the Task Force analyzed the factors that brought instabilities in the post Cold War era. The research findings with regard to environmental issues argue that 'environmental change does not appear to be *directly* linked to state failure,' but environmental stress affects the quality of life on the basis of infant mortality rate as a measure. The researchers identified a substantial linkage between infant mortality and environmental degradation and hence they indicated a linkage between environmental problems, social problems, and violence. The important studies, among other studies, were conducted by the Environment and Conflicts Project (ENCOP), run jointly by the Centre for Security Studies and Conflict Research at the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology in Zurich, and the Swiss Peace Foundation in Bern. Findings of the project implied a typology of conflicts induced by environmental degradation but did not necessarily link environment to violence.<sup>26</sup>

According to Professor Thomas Homer Dixon, one of the most well known scholars in this debate, environmental scarcity has social scarcity increasing the risk of internal violence. He also argues that environmental scarcity influences agricultural and economic systems causing migration and poverty. His differentiation between three categories of *scarcity* helps define scarcity. These three categories of scarcity are i. structural scarcity, ii. Demand-induced scarcity, and iii. Supply-induced scarcity. Among the three, structural

scarcity includes the analysis of poverty and discriminatory pricing structure of renewable goods. Therein, institutional setting with regard to preserve natural resources is recognized as an important fact of discussion.<sup>27</sup>

Conflicts as the complex factors with many intervening variables, are difficult to model since the relationships between ecological and political systems are complex ones. As to researchers often are reluctant to work on comparing case studies that do not demonstrate violence, most of the case studies on environmental scarcity and conflict involve lower degree of violence causing one of the main methodological weakness to the approach.<sup>28</sup> Nevertheless, a wide range of consensus about the negative impacts of severe environmental degradation has been drawn from a large number of studies conducted in this context.

### **c. Threats from Natural Disasters**

Two phrases—‘Freedom from want’ and ‘Freedom from fear’ are often quoted in terms of human security. These two phenomena are associated with the terrifying consequences of natural disasters and calamities in Bangladesh. A large number of people of the country have to suffer much from these disasters almost every year. Many household surveys reveal that natural disasters are one of the serious perennial threats to Bangladeshi people causing death, damage, and suffering in large scale. Environmental threats involve both short-term and long-term dimensions of impacts. In short-term, natural disasters like cyclone, flood, or earthquake can cause massive deaths and damages to mankind. As long-term consequences, environmental changes like climate change or river erosion lowers the productivity of lands and other resources, reduces the quantity and quality of cultivable lands and lands for human settlement, thwarts the efforts to alleviate poverty and alarmingly increases the frequency of natural disasters. In short-term cases, for instance, historic cyclone of 1991 and cyclone Sidr in 2007 brought a huge deaths and damages across the country while horrible floods of 1988 and 1998 caused a major destructions and sufferings in Bangladesh including deaths to some extent. On the other hand, in terms of long-term consequences, climate change and river erosions in the country result in demographic displacement, emergence of landless people, and decreased agricultural productions often leading to boost up crimes through

the competition for resources, land grabbing, environmental pollutions etc.<sup>29</sup> In comparison with many other countries, as lower riparian and deltaic country, Bangladesh is more vulnerable to natural disasters and calamities that pose perennial threats to especially its socio-economic and demographic spheres.

Bangladesh is a land of a lot of large, medium and small rivers that have crisscrossed across the country. Some of the large rivers of the country are Padma, Meghna, Jamuna, Teesta, Karnaphuli, Surma, Kushiara and their tributaries and distributaries sustain life, livelihood, and ecosystem of the country.

The total catchment area of Ganges (Padma), Brahmaputra (Jamuna), and Meghna (GMB) river systems is about 1.75 million square kilometers (km), of which India accounts for 63%, China 9%, Nepal 9%, Bangladesh 7%, and Bhutan 3%. 54 rivers, out of 57 international rivers flowing through Bangladesh have originated in Himalayan region and some other parts of India. The rain water of Bangladesh accounts for only 7% of total fresh water resources and remaining 93% of fresh water derives from transnational river sources fed with rain and ice-melting. Bangladesh exists at the bottom of GBM river systems and thereby faces the brunt of both excessive and low water flows which occur alternately during the monsoon (June to October) and the dry season (January to May).<sup>30</sup>

**Table 3: Natural Disasters in Bangladesh, 1900–2008**

<b>Event</b>	<b>No. of events</b>	<b>Approximate total killed</b>	<b>Approximate total affected</b>
Flood	49	48,451	219,517,204
average per event		989	4,479,943
Unspecified flood	20	3,143	52,495,778
average per event		157	2,624,789
Cyclone	66	610,069	66,340,260
average per event		9,244	1,005,156
Storm	58	6,670	3,322,510
average per event		115	57,285
Tropical storm	9	312	2,886,200
average per event		35	320,689
Drought	6	1,900,018	25,002,000
average per event		316,670	4,167,000
Earthquake	6	34	19,125
average per event		6	3,188

**Source: The International Emergency Disasters Database ([www.emdat.be](http://www.emdat.be))**

Such excessive and low water flows are one of the main reasons that causes disasters like floods and droughts in Bangladesh. All of these realities indicate that Bangladesh is extremely dependent on upper riparian countries in terms of water resources making the country vulnerable to the fields of agriculture, forestry, fisheries, and ecosystem. Perceived River Linking Project (RLP) and undue constructions of dams on transnational rivers by India add further manmade disasters in Bangladesh causing various socio-economic crisis and environmental stress.

The economy of Bangladesh largely depends on agriculture and about two-thirds of total population of the country depends, directly or indirectly, on agriculture. The impact of environmental degradation, climate change, and natural disasters directly affect the economic development of the country. Extreme temperature, excessive rainfall and flood, severe drought, salinity intrusion, destructive cyclones—all these disastrous phenomena contribute to decrease agricultural production and hamper socio-economic aspects of lives, since. Natural disasters intensified by climate change cause heavy damages to crops of the country every year. Severe drought in the north western part of the country caused a shortfall of rice production of 3.5 million tones and remarkable flood in the *haor* areas had accounted for a loss of about 1,50,000 metric tones of rice at the beginning of 2010. Particularly Boro rice production is predominantly affected due to extreme climatic events. Maximum temperature significantly influences Boro rice yield that reduces about 2.6 to 13.5 per cent due to increase of 2° C maximum temperature and 0.11 to 28.7 per cent for 4°C maximum temperature. Apart from the maximum temperature, minimum temperature also negatively contributes to reduce Boro rice yield that amounts for 0.40 to 13.1 per cent due to increase of 2°C minimum temperature and 0.11 to 15.5 per cent for 4°C minimum temperature.<sup>31</sup>

Coverage of inundation and damage caused by major floods in during the period 1954 to 1998 is presented in the table.

**Table 4: Inundation area and damage caused by various floods during 1954-1998**

Year	Area Inundated	Proportion Of Total Area	Cost of Damage (Aprx)	Population Affected	Deaths
	Square km	%	Million Taka	Million Persons	Number of Persons
1954	36,920	25	1,200	N/A	112
1955	50,700	34	1,290	N/A	129
1956	35,620	24	900	N/A	N/A
1962	37,440	25	560	N/A	117
1963	43,180	29	580	N/A	N/A
1968	37,300	25	1,160	N/A	126
1970	42,640	28	1,100	N/A	87
1971	36,475	24	N/A	N/A	120
1974	52,720	35	28,490	30	1,987
1984	28,314	19	4,500	20	553
1987	57,491	38	35,000	30	1,657
1988	89,970	62	>100,000	47	2,379
1998	>100,000	74	>120,000	>55	1,050
2004	>58,000	~40	>200,000	>36	~750

**Source: Ahmed, Ahsan Uddin, Bangladesh Climate Change Impacts and Vulnerability: A Synthesis, Climate Change Cell, Department of Environment, Comprehensive Disaster Management Programme, Bangladesh, 2006, pp. 17-18.**

Note: N/A means data not available in common sources. Please note that the available flood damage information is not always complete and consistent. The high intensity floods, in terms of extent of flood, are shaded.

Adverse incidents like demographic displacement, forced migration, and poverty, followed by environmental stress, natural disasters, and extreme weather conditions tend to destabilize socio-politico and socio-economic situations that eventually turn to generate conflicts. For instance, shortage in the availability of water impairs the hydrological system increasing competition for scarce resources among growing number of citizens. Fisheries sector also faces difficulties due to unnatural changes in water conditions. Many fish species are about to be extinct as they become susceptible to water conditions and quality. A study shows that the number of fishermen in the south west of the country has fallen from 6 per cent to only 0.5 per cent while the number of rickshaw pullers has been raised from 1.3 per cent to 5.9 per cent. These jobless, landless people and victims of climate change migrate to the

cities for their livelihood imposing excessive pressure on the limited resources and facilities of the urban areas.<sup>32</sup> In fine, it can be argued here, as mentioned above in the point of 'environmental stress factors and security' that Bangladesh is one of the bare examples of the countries having conflicts, violence, and degraded quality of life due to environmental stress factors.

#### **d. Threats from Climate Change**

Climate change is one of the most dangerous challenges of the twenty first century. Its scale of the problem, global nature of its origin, and long-term impact on Earth and mankind make the challenge drastic one and difficult to be met. It's true that the Earth climate has been changing for millions of years as a natural phenomenon, but it is a matter of concern that contemporary climate change is occurring due to undue activities of human being. Climate change is associated with mostly green house gas emissions, of which carbon dioxide (CO<sub>2</sub>) is the main, largely originated from fossil fuels, deforestation, forest degradation and land use change. Other major green house gases responsible for anthropogenic forcing are methane, and nitrous oxides. Top most industrial developed countries are responsible for most emissions of the concentration. The climate will soon reach a critical point being unabated. Consequences account for huge damaging effects and events on Earth such as loss of all sea ice in the Arctic together with the disintegration of the West Antarctic and the Greenland ice sheet, leading to an unprecedented sea level rise. Lower riparian and low-lying countries like Bangladesh will be first and foremost victims of the Sea Level Rise (SLR). Other consequences include biodiversity loss at a fast rate, more heat waves and stronger storms, a changing hydrologic cycle with more floods, intense rains, droughts, and forest fires.<sup>33</sup>

Oceans have risen by 3.1 mm between 1993 and 2003, of which thermal expansion of the ocean accounts for majority 57 percent, the loss of ice caps and glaciers account for 28 percent and the melting of polar ice sheets account for the rest. The following trends have been occurred over the past years.

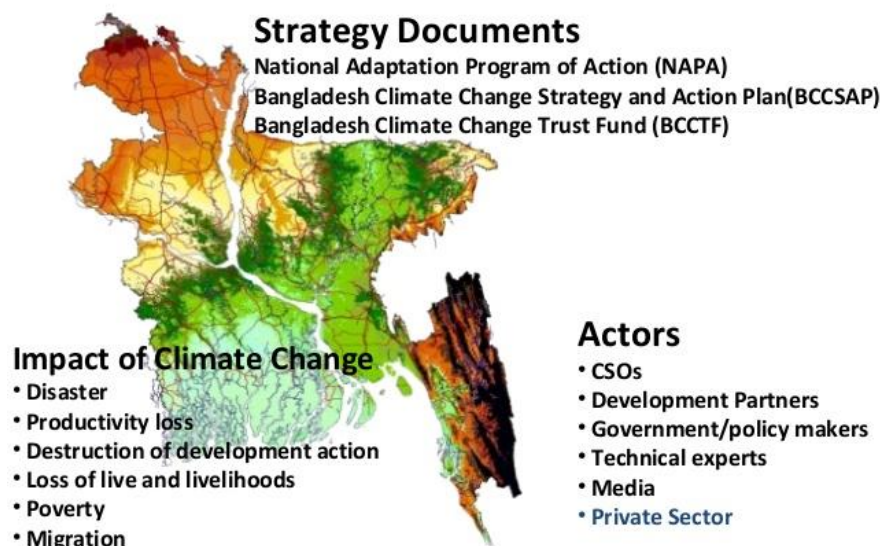
- It is very likely that cold days, cold nights, and frosts have become less frequent over most land areas, while hot days and hot nights have become more frequent.

- It is likely that heat waves have become more frequent over most land areas.
- It is likely that the frequency of heavy precipitation events (or proportion of total rainfall from heavy falls) has increased over most areas.
- It is likely that the incidence of extreme high sea level has increased at a broad range of sites worldwide since 1975.<sup>34</sup>

Green house gas emissions in the atmosphere have been increased steadily over the past years. The current level of green house gases in the atmosphere equals around 430 parts per million (ppm) CO<sub>2</sub> that is almost twice the preindustrial level or stock of only 280 ppm. The stock in green house gases would continue to rise and reach double preindustrial levels (around 1,750) by 2050, even if the flow of green house gases would stabilize today and thereby climate change will be inevitable.<sup>35</sup> Climate change is associated with the interactions of many systems like the atmosphere, hydrosphere, cryosphere, and biosphere, making the linkage between climate change and security very complex. This complexity becomes escalated when human system is added.<sup>36</sup> It is a matter of hope that climate change can be mitigated at certain level by the use of technologies, individual and collective actions, sustainable development policies, increased level of public awareness, and mostly by an international consensus among all of the international actors to securitize the issue.

**Figure 1: Climate Policy Situation in Bangladesh**

## Climate Policy Situation in Bangladesh



Source: Bangladesh Climate Change Strategy and Action Plan (BCCSAP).

Bangladesh is one of the most vulnerable countries in the world to the effects of climate change. The recurrent natural disasters intensified by climate change damages the normal life of the people and cause a huge economic degradation. For example, Cyclone Sidr (2007) affected the livelihood of 8.9 million people and brought a loss of US\$ 1.67 billion and Cyclone Aila (2009) affected 3.9 million people and caused a loss of US\$ 270 million. 'Economics of Adaptation to Climate Change: Bangladesh', a study conducted by World Bank, shows that a warmer and wetter future climate will exacerbate the existing climatic risks and increase vulnerability increasing the extent and depth of inundation from flooding and storm surges and reducing arable land due to sea level rise and salinity intrusion. The median predictions from the General Circulation Models (GCMs) are to be 1.5°C warmer and 4 per cent wetter for Bangladesh by the 2050s.<sup>37</sup> If unabated, climate change will create destructive effects on Bangladesh like submerging the southern part of the country causing a drastic demographic change. Poverty, deforestation, decrease in agricultural productions, pollutions are of other major consequences of climate change in the country.

#### **e. Threats to Marine Environment**

Like other environmental factors, marine environment is also seriously threatened by a combination of human activities. Bangladesh, as a littoral country, is not an exception in this perspective. Not only because of various pollutants and toxic substances, many of factors are associated with the marine degradation in the Bay of Bengal as well as in other South Asian maritime boundaries. The major factors include the following issues:

- i. Depletion of marine resources, both renewable and non-renewable, due to over exploitation;
- ii. Damage to marine ecology and habitat by natural disasters;
- iii. Presence of various dangers due to maritime boundary disputes, piracy, non-state political violence, transnational crimes etc;
- iv. Dumping of toxic and hazardous materials in the oceans by clandestine agents; and finally,
- v. Encroachment over the resources of the others for economic and profit motives by the powerful ones.<sup>38</sup>



Among others, various land based and coastal activities especially of the littoral countries, are responsible for the degradation of marine environment through discharge of chemicals used in agriculture, construction along the coast, drainage from port areas, deposit of domestic and industrial effluents, and tourism activities, dumping of solid waste, discharges through outfalls and different contaminants from ships, sea-based activities, including offshore mineral exploration, marine transportation, and production activities and accidental oil spills.<sup>39</sup> Marine pollution in Bangladesh has been accelerated due to dumping of rotten food grains, cement dust, fertilizer, torn bags, mats and broken dungarees into the marine water along the port areas of the country. In addition, ships breaking and repairing activities, ballast and bilge water discharge, and refinery waste products contribute to pollute marine environment in a wide range.<sup>40</sup> With the increase of competition for marine resources and marine transportation, marine water is getting polluted rapidly in a deleterious way. Degradation of marine environment is to reach a critical point, unless the continuous harmful human activities in the sea are controlled so soon.

### **3.2.2 Economic Threats**

Despite the recent progress in economic growth, Bangladesh, as a country of developing world, faces a number of economic threats arising from internal and external sources. Economic threats to Bangladesh are mainly associated with economic globalization, trade deficit, smuggling, dependency on foreign aid, corruption, money laundering and tax defaulting etc. Some threats hazard the economy in short term and some threats take comparatively long time to affect the economy gradually. In nonconventional point of view, national economy is an important referent object to be securitized while being threatened. But weak and developing countries become also incapable of securing their economic vulnerabilities due to other dominant international actors and global economic system designed by them in their own advantages.

#### **a. Economic Globalization**

Globalization is not a fate, rather a politics. Politics of globalization refers to politics which threatens to confer a lethal status on economic forces freed from all controls or

constraints. It is a politics which secures the submission of governments and peoples to those very economic and social forces it claims must be 'liberated'.<sup>41</sup> The term 'globalization' is simultaneously descriptive and normative. Globalization is a result of a conscious and calculated politics, not of economic inevitability, that has been led by several economically advanced countries to divest the powers of weak countries to control economic forces. Globalization has been oversold to developing countries and urges these countries to integrate with the world economy to the maximum extent possible.

The emerging economy of Bangladesh is vulnerable to some external forces followed by economic globalization. The strong growth viewed in developing economies since 2009 is not sustainable since the growth is dependent on certain policy responses whose effects have been obsolete. The excess liquidity creates bubbles in commodity markets, asset, and equity markets in the developing world. These bubbles are a major factor behind rapid growth in emerging economies, like the economy of Bangladesh. As to there is still considerable vulnerability to destabilizing factors such as capital flows, with the ending of these bubbles rapid growth is likely to disappear. Developing and emerging market economies are still operating on the basis of the agenda set by the Northern countries in response to the crisis. In Addition, GATT always served as an apparatus for setting rules and regulations and the negotiating processes which was helpful to establish an international trade regime in line with the interests of the developed countries. It also consistently ignored the concerns of the developing countries. With a slight modification, The Uruguay Round is continuing the tradition of GATT, actually. The Uruguay Round, unlike the seven previous rounds, tends to negotiate an international trade regime with a pretext to attack the economic independence of the developing countries or to deprive the developing countries of the legitimate sovereign powers to exercise so far in the interest of their people to impose constraints and obligations on transnational capital.<sup>42</sup> The economic globalization involves also some costs, most important of which is a higher sensitivity to crisis and contagion. The costs of globalization are more prevalent in the short run while, the gains are likely to be materialized in the long run.

Developed countries sought to integrate the developing countries in the global economy. In order to preserve their vested interests, these economically advanced countries are now trying to limit such integration and impose barriers to free trade by raising one issue after another having no direct links necessarily with trade. Analysts argue that The Uruguay Round has vested a big power to the North in its advantage by bringing the services and investments under the jurisdiction of the WTO. At the beginning of the round, most of the countries of the South opposed GATT's expansion of power in the new fields such as services investment and intellectual property rights. The North's motives for introducing Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) were to enable their firms to grab more profits from the sale of technology products and to place sift barriers preventing potential new rivals in the South. Such motives were detected by almost all Third World delegates and hence they tried to resist its introduction. They expressed their concerns that TRIPS would disallow farmers of the Third World countries to save seeds, as a traditional practice, for next planting forcing them to buy these from transnational companies (TNCs).<sup>43</sup>

Most of the contemporary economists argue that financial integration of developing countries with rest of the world is beneficial and some economists disagree with the argument. However, the process of integration should be full, not partial. The recent experience of crises and contagion has generated strict debates on how to integrate and on the policy recommendations. There are different views on what governments should do with regard to financial integration. Governments of developing countries can also manipulate these views to minimize negative effects of globalization. The action or inaction of governments of developing countries is important in all aspects of globalization.

## **b. Corruption and Economy**

Many Analysts distinguish corruption between two types—i. Needs-based, and ii. Greed-based. 'Needs-based' corruption is associated with lower level officials who think that they do not earn enough to carry out their livelihood and to support their family. Some of them also believe that they do not have enough resources or financial capacity to run their legal duties. They turn therefore to petty corruption for the purpose of

supplementing their 'lower' income. On the other hand greed-based corruption is motivated by economic greed and hunger for greater political and/or social power. This type of corruption is more intense, grander, and deeply rooted especially at top level officials. Although the relationship between the two types of corruptions is complex, it is widely argued that both types of corruptions feed off each other and works as a supplement to each other. The existence of 'greed-based' corruption at the higher positions of authority leads petty corruption to be acceptable and to 'legitimate' informally the officials accepting bribes and the public paying them. If good governance prevails, it is opined that combating high-profile greed based corruption is more feasible than rooting out needs-based corruption.<sup>44</sup> Corruption is one of the determinants to confer security concerns on national economy, directly or indirectly. With its own pervasiveness, corruption in long run has been a major threat to non-military security in Bangladesh, since the country is one of the most corrupt countries in the world. It is perceived by some intellectuals that building a Padma Bridge in every year would be possible, if corruption in Bangladesh had been abated in a tolerable level. The revised construction cost of Padma Bridge is Tk. 287.93 billion (28,793.38 crore of Taka).

**Table 5: Ways of Malpractices in Different Government Sectors in Bangladesh**

Sectors	Forms of corruption
Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Students at the primary level pay admission fees whereas it is supposed to be free;</li> <li>• Students engage private tutors from the same institution where they enrolled;</li> <li>• A primary school student who is entitled for government stipend has to pay to receive the stipend;</li> <li>• Girl students at the secondary level has to make similar payments;</li> <li>• Deducting a portion of government stipend by the authority;</li> <li>• Paying annual fee whereas it is supposed to be free;</li> <li>• Absence of teachers and students.</li> </ul>
Health sector	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Outdoor patients pay bribes to doctors for receiving medical treatment at the public hospital;</li> <li>• Patients who has to undergo surgery in public hospital pay bribes;</li> <li>• Patients who needs diagnostic tests in public hospital pay bribes;</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Absence of staff and doctors.</li> </ul>
Land administration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Buyers of land pay bribes for land registration;</li> <li>• Illegal payment for land mutation;</li> <li>• Illegal payment for collecting land related documents;</li> <li>• Illegal payment for land survey;</li> <li>• Illegal payment to receive <i>Khas</i> land.</li> </ul>
Police department	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Illegal payment to lodge FIR to the police station;</li> <li>• Illegal payment for registering GD to the police station;</li> <li>• Illegal payment for getting clearance certificate from police;</li> <li>• Payment by accused person.</li> </ul>

Banks	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Illegal payment in collecting loans;</li> <li>• Illegal payment in clearing remittance.</li> </ul>
Taxation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bribes during payment of income, transport and holding taxes.</li> </ul>
Service for electric supply	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Payment to use illegal connection;</li> <li>• Payment for getting electric line;</li> <li>• Payment for tempering meter reading to avoid paying the due amount.</li> </ul>
Local Government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Payment to elected local government representatives holding <i>shalish</i> (mediation);</li> <li>• Payment for enrolling to receive relief;</li> <li>• Giving less quantity.</li> </ul>
Pension	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Payment for processing pension.</li> </ul>

**Source:** Based on “Corruption in Bangladesh: A Household Survey, 2005”, conducted by Transparency International Bangladesh, released on 20 April, 2005, available at: <http://www.ti-bangladesh.org/documents/HouseholdSurvey200405-sum1.pdf>, accessed on 28 April 2007.

### c. Dependency on Foreign Aid

The deficiency of foreign trade is geared up by foreign aid in Bangladesh. Foreign aid has become an effective instrument used by the North and Western led international institutions and organizations like World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Trade Organization (WTO) to intervene directly in the decision making policies in economies of developing countries like Bangladesh. In most of cases, it is a method of new colonialism designed by economically advanced countries to run a hegemonic control over the management, development of the economy and economic policies of Bangladesh. Many Bangladeshi economists have agreed upon that international institutions like World Bank, IMF etc have become an ultimate custodian of the governmental power exercised over socio-economic and political affairs. Thus, the

economic sovereignty and independence of the country is threatened by foreign aid in the long term in the name of financial assistance.<sup>45</sup>

Compulsory advices and conditions by most of the donors prescribed for Bangladesh were proved to be almost ineffective in economic development. Country's overriding aid-dependence is to be viewed as a major threat to its growing economy. 'Foreign aid produces security concerns as a result of its intrinsic nature of domination and manipulation by a strong partner.'<sup>46</sup> Although the recent trends indicate that the aid-dependence of the country has been decreased contemporarily to some extent, the overall situation centering the foreign aid issue still remains detrimental to the sustainable economic growth. Foreign aid maybe viewed seemingly as a mean to harbor the economy of a Third World country like Bangladesh, but persistently the reverse happens. Bangladesh, for instance, has to carry a huge burden of debts to be paid from its scarce foreign exchange.

#### **d. Smuggling**

Smuggling is quite detrimental to national economy of Bangladesh since it is harmful for domestic industries with its damaging impacts. It causes huge losses in public revenues contributing to budget deficit. Sometimes, smuggling threatens conventional security as well as nonconventional security of Bangladesh, followed by the smuggling of arms and explosives that bring national, regional, and global implications and may escalate secessionist activities within the state. It is a matter of great concerns that smuggling syndicate is becoming more powerful day by day with the help of technologies and newer techniques. Traditional measures therefore have been failed to tackle smuggling properly.<sup>47</sup>

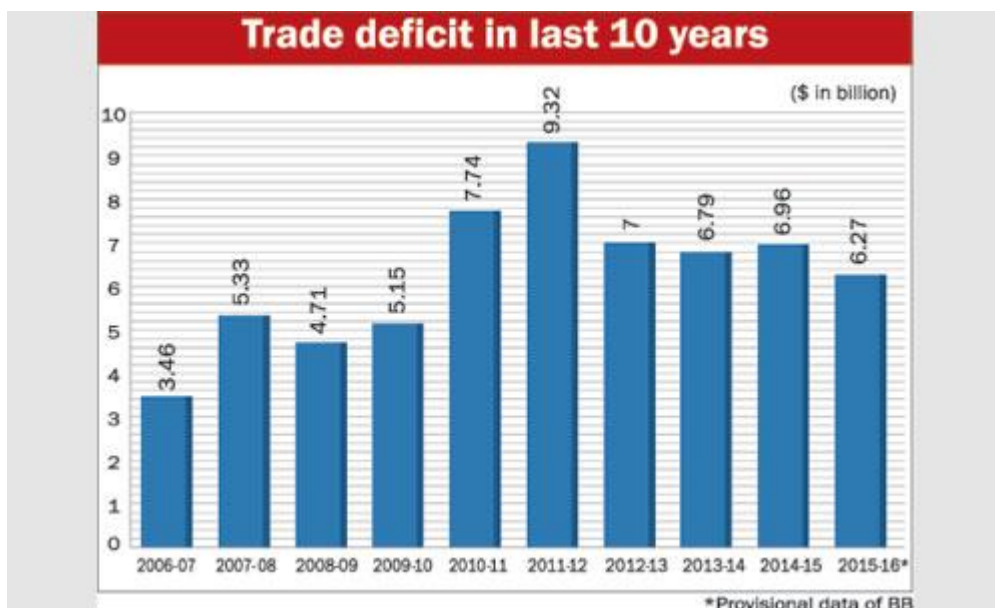
The following negative impacts of smuggling in Bangladesh have been detected.

Evasion of taxes and duties, as a result of smuggling, cause the huge loss of public tariff and tax revenues that leads to increase the cost of government services. Smuggling of foreign goods reduces the demand for similar types of goods produced locally. Process of industrialization is therefore hampered severely. Domestic industries are also endangered by the massive flows of smuggled goods that are sold in the local markets at

the price far lower than the price of goods imported legally with due duty payments. Smuggling also adversely affects the substitution policies taken by Government of Bangladesh (GOB). Moreover, smuggling impairs the terms of trade since legal traders have to import goods from higher cost sources and since trade of smuggled goods is more profitable to legal importation.<sup>48</sup>

Smuggling substantially leads to flight of capital that refers to the process of running away of money and to abnormal flows of capital especially from one country to another. Capital flight is mainly occurred due to over-invoicing of import and under-invoicing of export, smuggling of gold, cash, other financial asset, and commodities, and money laundering. Bangladesh holds already a lower level of domestic saving rate. Capital flight causes an abnormal exportation of this scarce savings and foreign exchange. It also adversely affects the balance of payments and fiscal structure of the country. Capital flight, caused by smuggling, is responsible for the intrusion of black money, in other words, illegal money. Black money curbs the growth of industrialization, and export promotion, affecting the economic infrastructure.<sup>49</sup> National economy of Bangladesh faces threats by all the above factors caused by smuggling.

**Figure 2: Trade Deficit of Bangladesh from 2006 to 2016**



Source: Bangladesh Bank, [www.bb.org.bd](http://www.bb.org.bd), accessed on 14.03.2017.

Among other economic threats, trade deficit and money laundering is the two of major concerns for Bangladesh. Trade deficit occurs when import payments are more than export payments. Bangladesh constantly faces a vast trade gap with many countries mostly India and China increasing thwarting the efforts of economic development taken by governmental and non-governmental commercial organizations. However, in recent years, overall trade deficit of Bangladesh has been decreased slightly following higher export growth than imports payments. According to the central bank's latest statistics, in fiscal year (FY) 2015-2016, the overall trade deficit came down to US\$ 4.06 billion from US\$ 4.07 billion.<sup>50</sup> Though the decrease is like a drop of water in a swimming pool, the change is positive for the economy. On the other hand, money laundering, one of the root causes of capital flight, is also detrimental to economic growth of Bangladesh.

### **3.2.3 Socio-Political Threats**

Economic threats are intertwined with socio-political threats and vice versa. Notwithstanding, socio-political threats can be detected through their own characteristics. These threats are characterized by some distinct features. As days pass, perception of threats to social and political spheres of Bangladesh has been changed in their dimension, scale, and intensity.

#### **a. Globalization**

Apart from economic instability, adverse impacts of globalization shed light on social and political factors. Globalization is associated with cultural aggression, cyber crime, transnational crime etc, by which social values and norms, and political stability of the country are influenced drastically in negative ways.

***Cultural Dilution:*** World is now deeply interdependent with new, powerful, and influential technologies by accelerating the movements of goods, services, ideas, and capital across the borders. Traditional security concerns are being displaced by newer concerns like organized crime, international terrorism, drug trafficking, and environmental degradation. Societal security can be threatened in various ways like migration or horizontal competition. Cultural identity of Bangladesh is being faded by



powerful cultural influence emanated from external sources such as from neighbouring country India. Protecting its own cultural values and identity becomes more and more difficult, while adopting ideas, culture, fashions, and trends are sometimes inevitable since the process of modernization requires a borderless interdependence with the use of satellite technology.<sup>51</sup>

**Cyber Crime and Cyber War:** Cyber crime and cyber exploitation add a new dimension of threats to national sovereignty and security. In some cases, it turns to more malignant threats than many other non-military threats to state security since there is no demarcation between civilian and military aspects in a cyber war. Civilian computer system such as broadband networks and electric grids can be used to wage an offensive cyber war against hostile country. And legal action against such cyber attack is very hard to be taken as transcendent nature of cyber attack goes beyond the national boundaries. Technologically advanced countries like United States, China, and Israel are routinely engaged in cyber attacking to other states and often among themselves.<sup>52</sup> Although the scale, intensity, and frequency of cyber attack to national level, are not same in the case of Bangladesh, with the successive technological advancement, Bangladesh may face serious threats to its national security posed by malignant state as well as non-state actors such as organized crime networks and fringe extremist groups.

**Transnational Crimes:** Transnational crimes in Bangladesh have been fueled up by the forces of globalization in association with the availability and advancement of technological sophistications. Transnational crimes can be defined such crimes committed by organized networks involving international drug cartels, arms smuggling groups, human trafficking, maritime piracy groups etc. Bangladesh is menacingly vulnerable to transnational crimes since such crimes usually mushroom and thrive in underdeveloped and developing countries like Bangladesh. Bangladesh often becomes incapable of combating transnational crimes for a number of reasons. Organized networks, involved in the crimes, are non-state actors and are not assorted with international laws and treaties. They are not limited to territorial boundaries or recognize the concept of sovereignty of a state. In order to meet their evil purposes, they manipulate sophisticated technology as the risk management strategies. As Bangladesh is

a corruption prone country, criminal non-state actors are often privileged by paying bribes to corrupt law enforcement agencies employed to combat such crimes. Besides, ineffective government control, poor law and order control situation, weak regulatory framework for protecting business activities and a corrupt judiciary contribute to flourish transnational crimes in Bangladesh.<sup>53</sup>

## **b. Terrorism and Insurgency**

There are fundamental differences between the objectives of terrorist and insurgency groups, and transnational organized criminal groups. While drug cartels and arms smuggling networks tend to augment their wealth, terrorists and insurgents have their own political goals. On the other hand, terrorist groups differ from insurgency groups in the quest for self determination and occupying territory, especially through the fighting established government and foreign power. Terrorist groups generally target civilian population for attacking to draw attention and to meet their political demands, while organized crime networks use state machinery to continue their businesses. There is some commonalities between terrorist groups and organized crime groups on the ground that both are non-state actors and do not recognize the sovereignty, state boundaries or international norms and regulations on the use of force.<sup>54</sup>

The impacts of terrorism have their own social implications, though terrorism is political in nature. Terrorism leads to political and social instability directly or indirectly through the violence, sufferings, and affecting socio-political fabrics. As social implications, terrorism violates personal security through targeting civilians. Terrorists select mostly light and small arms, and explosives including Improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs) as their main weapons. There are mainly two types of terrorism in Bangladesh—i. Left-wing militancy, and ii. Fundamentalist terrorism.<sup>55</sup> Once left-wing militancy was a terrific security concerns for Bangladesh in terms of internal security management. Although it has a more or less prevalence still now, fundamental terrorism in Bangladesh has been focused significantly due to its pervasiveness and drastic impacts in recent years. Dhaka Grenade Attack on August 21 in 2004 and Holey Artisan Attack on July 1 in 2016 are two of most vivid examples of deleterious terrorist attacks in Bangladesh.

Bangladesh-Myanmar border areas have been a safe home for the cross-border movements of terrorists, saboteurs, and insurgents. Terrorists, insurgents and smugglers continue their activities commonly in hill track districts of Bangladesh like Cox's Bazar, Bandarban, or Rangamati districts. Due to poor patrolling system in the southeastern part of Bangladesh, there is virtually no effective surveillance and watchdog to keep track of terrorists, insurgents, and transnational organized crime groups entering into the country. 'Cross-border insurgents take advantage of the situation by trespassing into Bangladesh territory to take hiding in the hilly terrain.' It is worth noting that there is a strictly formed network between the underworld criminals, insurgents, terrorists, arms traffickers, and smugglers existing on both sides of the border.<sup>56</sup> Secessionists and insurgents originated from tribal groups of Chittagong Hill Tracks are perceived to get access to conveniently join with the networks making a great security implication for territorial integrity of Bangladesh.

### **c. Overpopulation Problem**

Almost every national problem of Bangladesh in socio-economic and political arena is rooted in overpopulation problem. Contemporarily a common phrase is frequently quoted in Bangladesh that 'Transforming Man Power into Human resources.' But this motto does not refer to an effective policy measure in long run for a permanent solution in terms of overpopulation problem. Population problem is pervasively associated with most of the burning problems emanated from social crimes to political instability to poverty to unemployment and to other major problems like environmental degradation, deforestation, scarce resources and lands etc. Among others, overpopulation in the small countries like Bangladesh is mainly responsible for poor life quality of the people, less per capita, insanitation and illiteracy problems, public health hazards, malnutrition etc. It can therefore be argued that overpopulation problem in Bangladesh is the mother of all problems. Rapid growth of population leads to perennial threats to non-military security of the country. Two major non-military security concerns are poverty and unemployment in the country originated from mainly overpopulation problem and produces a lot of human security concerns stated above.

**Figure 3: Population Growth in Bangladesh (2006-2016)**



Source: [www.tradingeconomics.com](http://www.tradingeconomics.com)., accessed on 5.03.2017.

One of the root causes of poverty is said to be rapid population growth. Other major issues behind the fact have been recognized as the Defective Land Ownership, Over Dependence on Agriculture, and Inequality in Income Distribution. If one goes for a thorough quest, he/she might find that the later three causes are actually bi-products of overpopulation problem.

Bangladesh is one of the most poverty stricken countries in the world. About 40 percent people are absolute poor at the national level whose per capita daily calorie intake is less than 2122 kilocalorie and 25.5 percent are ultra-poor or hard-core poor whose per capita daily calorie intake is less than 1805 kilocalorie. The rural people are more poverty stricken than the urban people.

**Table 6: Poverty Reduction Rate during 1991/92-2005.**

	2005(%)	2000(%)	Annual Change (%) (2000-2005)	1991-92 (%)	Annual Change (%) (1991/92-2000)
<b>Head Count Index</b>					
National	40	48.9	-3.9	58.8	-1.8
Urban	28.4	35.2	-4.2	44.9	-2.2

Rural	43.8	52.3	-3.5	61.2	-1.6
Poverty Gap					
National	9	12.8	-6.8	17.2	-2.9
Urban	6.5	9.1	-6.51	12	-2.5
Rural	9.8	13.7	-6.48	18.1	-2.8
<b>Squared Poverty Gap</b>					
National	2.9	4.6	-8.81	6.8	-3.8
Urban	2.1	3.3	-8.64	4.4	-2.7
Rural	3.1	4.9	-8.75	7.2	-3.8

**Source: GOB, 2009, P.178 cited in Raihan, Md Abu, Rural Poverty in Bangladesh: Trends, Determinants and Policy Issues, BISS Journal, Vol. 31, No. 2, April, 2010, p. 213.**

Although there has been made a commendable progress in poverty reduction through various measures taken by the Government of Bangladesh (GOB) and other Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs) such as poverty reduction strategies set in Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), Five Year and One Year plans, micro-credit programs etc., there are still now 41.2 million rural people live in absolute poverty and 18.7 million live in hardcore poverty.<sup>57</sup>

In Bangladesh, a large number of workable persons are being added to the labour force every year due to high rate population growth. The economically active population of age 15+ years (labor force) increased from 36.1 million in 1995-96 to 49.5 million in 2005-06, out of which 37.8 million live in the rural area. As agriculture is the main source of most of the people living in rural areas, a large number of workable persons remain unemployed or underemployed in non-agricultural sectors. Moreover, disguised unemployment has been created since too many people are unnecessarily engaged in agriculture. The unemployed labour force was 1.3 million in 1995-1996 that increased to 2.1 million in 2005-2006.<sup>58</sup>

Process of sustainable development is also adversely affected by overpopulation problem. Sustainability basically refers to justice with regard to future generations. The idea of sustainability implies the amount of consumption that can be continued indefinitely without degrading the capital stocks including natural capital stocks. A nation needs the idea of carrying capacity seeking sustainable development. Carrying capacity is considered as a principle of sustainable development as operational starting point and a sufficient challenge to present order. Carrying capacity presents the idea about the level

of population conformed to the sustainable use per capita of a resource.<sup>59</sup> Consequences of overpopulation problem results in emergence of both types of threat—military and non-military, following their detrimental impacts on almost every aspect of social, economic, and political life.

#### **d. Problem of Integration**

Bangladesh has been experiencing the problem of integration since soon after its independence. A resolution passed with the majority of votes in the National Parliament of Bangladesh in 1973 declaring Bangladesh a unilingual and mono-cultural nation state. CHT (Chittagong Hill Tracts) Resolution of 1900, introduced by the British for the administrative control of the tribal people, was abolished by the government of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. As an MP, Manabendra Larma raises his voice in the parliament to preserve their distinct identity and to attain the lost rights set in the CHT resolution. He argues, 'You cannot impose your national identity on others. I am a Chakma, not a Bengali. I am a citizen of Bangladesh—Bangladeshi. You are also Bangladeshi but your national identity is Bengali. They (tribal) can never be Bengali'.<sup>60</sup>

The Bangladesh Constitution of 1972 made no provision for a special status of the CHT which is enjoyed under the British Regulation of 1900. The Chakmas, however, stepped up efforts to secure a constitutional guarantee to maintain their distinct tribal identity. A group of tribal leaders under the leadership of Manabendra Narayan Larma met Prime Minister Sheikh Mujibur Rahman on January 15, 1972 and set forth for basic demands of the tribal peoples. These demands were: (1) autonomy for the Chittagong Hill Tracts, including its own legislature, (2) retention of the 1900 Regulation in the constitution of Bangladesh; (3) continuation of the tribal chief' offices; and (4) a constitutional provision restricting the amendment of regulation 1900 and imposing a ban on the influx of the non-tribal people to the tribal areas. Sheikh Mujib rejected all these demands downright and advised them to do away with their ethnic identities.<sup>61</sup>

It is argued that one of the main causes of Chakma insurgency was to preserve their ethnic identity. They demanded for an autonomous status rather than a separate political identity. Their allegation was centered in threats to their cultural entity, de-tribalization and changing the demographic and ethnic balance through Bengali settlement and economic underdevelopment.<sup>62</sup> Indian intelligence agencies were accused of provoking

Chakma leaders to boost up the insurgency. Such insurgency, fueled up by a militarily powerful bordering country, really poses a major threat to the territorial integrity of Bangladesh.

The Chakma Insurgency launched in 1976 unanimously cost Bangladesh a large number of men and materials. With the CHT Peace Treaty, unprecedented changes have been taken place in the existing CHT administration with a much wider scope of participation by the tribal. The core portion of the treaty highlights that the political demands of tribal people have been considered without compromising the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Bangladesh. Although the implementation of the Peace Treaty goes forward, there are growing allegations from a segment that the Government of Bangladesh (GOB) is not sincere enough to implement the peace accord.<sup>63</sup> This type of dissatisfaction of tribal indigenous people may trigger the insurgency again and thereby the internal security with regard to territorial integrity may be threatened in future. The country requires a permanent resolution with the tribal groups that might secure its sovereignty be impaired by the problem of integration.

#### **e. Problem of Confrontational Politics**

Underdeveloped state of political institutions results in chronic political instability and crisis of governance. Whether the party is ruling or opposition, parties and their organizational set ups lack democratic values and the leadership carters to maximize the interests of the influential political elites at the expense of the interest of common people. Actually in Bangladesh, party politics is starkly characterized by faction and parochial interests. Instead by specific political issues or alternative political programmes, political postures, activities and performances are determined by factors of personalities, influences, patronage and prestige. In most of the cases, the value orientation and activism of the political elites reflect on their urges for enhancing their social prestige, political power, and economic status at the cost of national interest.<sup>64</sup>

**Political Violence:** Political violence refers to violence and insecurity that directly relate to the political system, and factional political competition between the main political parties. The nation has experienced massive instability and insecurity around

almost all national elections in the history of Bangladesh. Almost all national elections have been more or less criticized for the misuse of the resources, vote rigging, corruption, boycotting or threats of boycotting the election by the oppositions etc. Some key informants argue that existing political system generates a certain level of violence against minorities turning to be scapegoats in the political turmoil. Sometimes street demonstrations lead to clashes between party activists from ruling and opposing parties.<sup>65</sup>

***Hartal (Politically motivated strike):*** The emergence of *Hartal* dates back to the colonial periods when it was used as an instrument of political resistance. *Hartal* is quite a common phenomenon in South Asia as well as in Bangladesh. The country has faced a lot of *hartals* during its political history that were malignant to its economic growth, daily life of its citizens and brought drastic damages and sufferings to the people of all walks. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) defines *Hartal* as: *'The temporary suspension of work in business premises, offices and educational institutions and movement of vehicular traffic nationally, regionally or locally as a mark of protest against actual or perceived grievances called by a political party or parties or other demand groups'*.<sup>66</sup>

The UNDP study also estimates that the average cost of *Hartals* to the economy of Bangladesh during the 1990s was about three to four percent of GDP. *Hartals* are quite detrimental not only to the economy and social life, but also to many aspects of human security.

***Student Politics:*** It is undeniable that student politics has played an important role in historic events in pre-independent Bangladesh, following Language Movement in 1952, Mass upsurge in 1969, and contributed much to the independence of Bangladesh. But it is a matter of sorrow that student politics has started to become deteriorated after the independence of Bangladesh, though it played once again an important role to restore democracy in 1990s. Nowadays, the higher education system is being adversely affected by the malpractice of student politics that thwarts the academic efforts pursued by the common students unwilling to involve in the party politics. It is true that contemporarily the utility of student politics has been decreased largely by its narrow activities around



the quest for the individual interests and improper gains. Major political parties seek their own political interests through the manipulation of their student wings. Students involved in the student politics sometimes become scapegoats of party politics on the ground that they often deviate from their fundamental duties of study attentively. This politics is now well known for its involvement in socio-economic and political crimes resulting often in instability and insecurity in different parts of the country.

**Blame Game:** Increased level of practicing blame game in party politics sometimes triggers political turmoil in the political sphere. Ruling political parties criticize the oppositions with undue blames and vice versa. As a result, a proper political culture of criticism among parties faces difficulty to be practiced. Another example of diluted political culture in Bangladesh is that leaders of major political parties often criticize the prominent political leaders of other political parties in a shameless way. For example, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman (Founding father of the nation, leader of Bangladesh Awami League, and former President of Bangladesh) and Ziaur Rahman (Freedom Fighter, founder of Bangladesh Nationalist Party, and former President of Bangladesh) are often criticized and blamed violently by the opposing major parties. Leaders and activists of major political parties often forget that the good wills and images of their prominent political ancestors are not their own assets, rather assets of the nation.<sup>67</sup> This kind of narrowly practiced blame game contributes to misunderstandings, mistrusts among the political parties, and creates hurdle in the way of mutual cooperation and tolerance, as a part of worst political culture.

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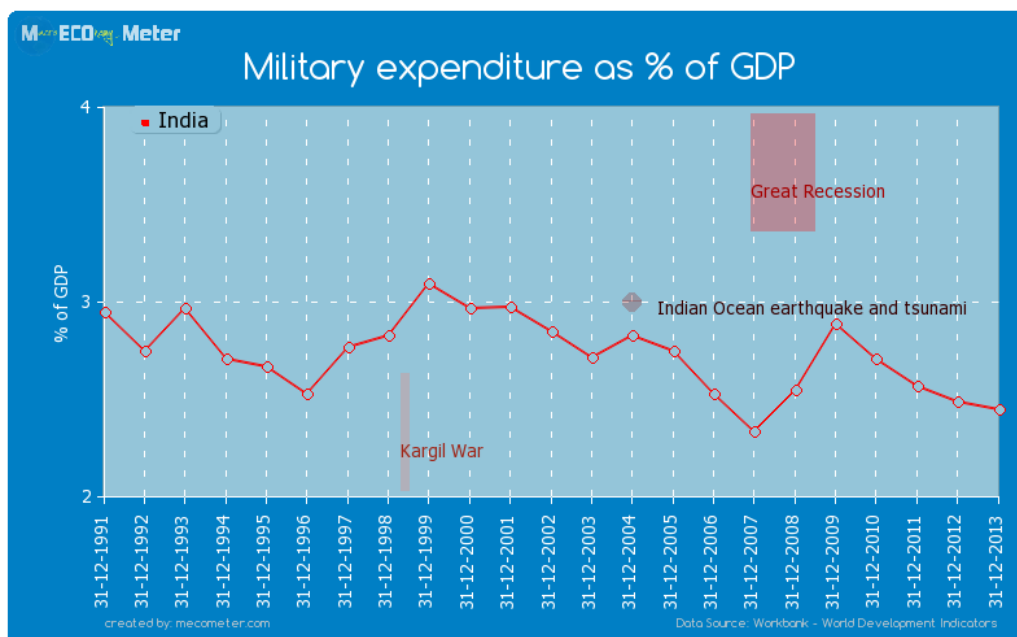
# Chapter IV

# Military Strengths of Three Bordering Countries—India, Myanmar and Bangladesh: A Comparative Point of View

In South Asia, India has undoubtedly possessed the supremacy in regional balance of power. Except Pakistan, no country of South Asia is perceived to win a total warfare against India if militarily waged. Pakistan is next to India in capturing the balance of power in the region. Although Myanmar is not a South Asian country, Security implications of Bangladesh is outstandingly related with the country as being geo-strategically adjacent to Bangladesh. This section has been written with the purpose to bring a comparative view of military capacity of Bangladesh with two of its adjacent bordering countries India and Myanmar since the countries are perceived as common threats to the interests of Bangladesh on the basis of ground reality. Pakistan might also pose a threat to Bangladesh, but I have not enlisted Pakistan in this brief comparison as I think India and Myanmar, in my own overall perception, should get priority over Pakistan in terms of potential military threats posed to Bangladesh.

## 4.1 India

Figure 4: Military Expenditure in India as % of GDP (1991-2013)



Source: [www.mecometer.com](http://www.mecometer.com), accessed on 8.03.2017.

Although Bangladesh is not a primary target of the increasing military might of India, it will be prudent for Bangladesh not to fling its security concerns to the winds in Indian perspective. Contemporarily Indian armed forces are ambitiously being prepared to be global military power having been already a regional super power.

### 4.1.1 Indian Army

Indian Army has a rich and diversified historical background. Its different units and regiments have participated in many battles and campaigns across the world and have achieved battle and theatre honours before and after the independence of the country. Indian army originated from the armies of East India Company that eventually turned to British Indian Army and finally became the Indian national army after the independence of India in 1947. Indian Army is a land-based largest component of Indian Armed Forces and President of the country is Supreme Commander of the force being commanded by Chief of Army Staff (COAS), a four-star general. Two officers have also been conferred with five star rank referred to the rank of Field Marshal. The Indian Army is operationally and geographically is divided into seven commands, though it has a regimental system. It is the 2<sup>nd</sup> largest standing army in the world comprising of 1,200,255 active troops and 990,960 reserve troops.<sup>1</sup>

### Equipment of Indian Military

**Table 7: Infantry Weapons (India)**

Name	Type	Caliber	Origin
Pistol Auto 9mm 1A	Semi automatic pistol	9×19mm Para bellum	Canada India
Glock 17	Semi-automatic pistol	9×19mm Para bellum	Austria
Franchi SPAS-15	Combat Shotgun	18.5 x 76 mm NATO	Italy
SAF Carbine2A1	Sub-machine gun	9×19mm Para bellum	India UK
Micro-Uzi	Sub-machine gun	9×19mm Para bellum	Israel
Heckler & Koch MP5	Submachine gun	9×19mm Para bellum	Germany
Brügger & Thomet MP9	Machine Pistol	9×19mm Para bellum	Switzerland
IMI Tavor TAR-21	Assault rifle	5.56×45mm NATO	Israel



AKM	Assault rifle	7.62×39mm	Russia
AK-103	Assault rifle	7.62×39mm	Russia
M4A1 Carbine	Assault rifle	5.56×45mm	USA
M16 rifle	Assault rifle	5.56×45mm	USA
Steyr SSG 69	Sniper rifle	7.62×51mm NATO	Germany
Mauser SP66	Sniper rifle	7.62×51mm NATO	Germany
SIG Sauer SSG 3000	Sniper rifle	7.62×51mm NATO	Germany
Heckler & Koch PSG1	Sniper rifle	7.62×51mm NATO	Germany
IMI Galil 7.62 Sniper Denel NTW-20	Sniper Rifle Anti-material rifle	7.62×51mm NATO 14.5×114mm, 20×82mm, 20×110mm Hispano-Suiza	Israel South Africa
IMI Negev	Light machine gun	5.56×45mm NATO	Israel
MG 2A1	General purpose machine gun	7.62×51mm NATO	Belgium India
M2 Browning	Heavy machine gun	.50 BMG	United States
Dragunov SVD59	Sniper rifle	7.62×54mmR	
PKM	General purpose machine gun	7.62×54mmR	Soviet Union
NSV	Heavy machine gun	12.7×108mm	Soviet Union
KPV	Heavy machine gun	14.5×114 mm	Soviet Union
Vidhwansak	Anti-materiel rifle	12.7×108mm, 20x82mm	India
Multi Caliber Individual Weapon System	Assault Rifle	5.56×45mm NATO 7.62×39mm 6.8×43mm SPC	India
Excalibur	Assault Rifle	5.56×45mm NATO	India
1B1 INSAS	Assault rifle	5.56×45mm NATO	India
INSAS LMG	Light machine gun	5.56×45mm NATO	India

Source: <https://www.scribd.com/document/139922545/Equipment-of-the-Indian-Army>. Accessed on 04.08.2017.

**Table 8: Explosives, Rockets and Mortars (India)**

Name	Type	Quantity	Origin
Grenade 36mm	Hand Grenade	1.8 million	India
Multi Mode Grenade Shivalik	Hand grenade		India
GP-25	Grenade launcher (40mm)		Soviet Union
Multi Grenade Launcher 40mm	Grenade launcher (40mm)		India
AGS-17 Plamya	Automatic grenade launcher (30mm)		Soviet Union
AGS-30	Automatic grenade		India

	launcher (30mm)		
RCL Mk II	Recoilless rifle (84mm)		India Sweden
RCL Mk III	Recoilless rifle (84mm)		India Sweden
106mm M-40A1	Recoilless rifle	13000+	United States
B-300 Shipon	Rocket Launcher		Israel
RPO-A Shmel	Rocket Launcher		Russia
OFB E1 51mm	Mortar		India
OFB E1 120mm	Mortar		India UK
OFB E1 81mm	Mortar	5000+	India

Source: <https://www.scribd.com/document/139922545/Equipment-of-the-Indian-Army>,  
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**Table 9: Vehicles (India)**

Name	Type	Quantity	Origin
Mahindra 550 DXB	Light Utility Vehicle		India
KrAZ-6322	Heavy Utility Truck		Ukraine
Swaraj Mazda	Medium 4X4 Truck	200+	India
Mitsubishi Pajero	Light Utility Vehicle		Japan
Maruti Gypsy	Light Utility Vehicle	31,000	India
Windy 505	Fast attack vehicle	700	India
VFJ LPTA 713 TC	Medium 4X4 truck		India
Ashok Leyland Topchi	Medium 4x4 truck		India
Sisu Nasu	All-terrain transport vehicle		Finland
VFJ Stallion Mk III	Medium 4x4	60,000	India
VFJ Stallion Mk IV	6x6 Truck		
Ashok Leyland Crash Fire Tender	Fire Tender		India
Tata LPTA 1615 TC	Artillery Tractor Truck		India
Tata Prima 4038S/4938S	Tractor truck		India
Tatra 8x8 Mobile Decontamination	Mobile Decontamination Vehicle		India
Tata LPTA 1621	Medium 4x4 truck		India
Isuzu F-Series	Medium 4x4 truck		Japan
BEML Tatra	Heavy 4x4, 6x6, 8x8 10x10 and 12x12 trucks	7000	India Czech Republic

Source: <https://www.scribd.com/document/139922545/Equipment-of-the-Indian-Army>.  
 Accessed on 04.08.2017.

**Table 10: Engineering and Support (India)**

Name	Type	Quantity	Origin
Kartik ABL	Armoured vehicle launched bridge	34	India
Bridge Laying Tank MT-55	Armoured vehicle launched bridge		Soviet Union
T-72 BLT	Main battle tank	12	India
Sarvatra	Main battle tank		India
CEASE	Main battle tank	6	India
AERV	Military Engineering Vehicle		India
BMP-2	Armoured Amphibious Bulldozer		India
FV180 Combat Engineer Tractor	Armoured combat engineering vehicle	39	United Kingdom
VFJ Light Recovery Vehicle	Light Recovery Vehicle (4x4)		India
Yuktirath Light Recovery Vehicle	Armoured Light Recovery Vehicle (4x4)		India
Mat Ground Surfacing CL-70	All Terrain vehicle		India
Armoured Vehicle Tracked Light Repair	Armoured recovery vehicle		India
WZT-2	Armoured recovery vehicle	196	Poland
WZT-3M	Armoured recovery vehicle	352	Poland
VT-72B ARV	Armoured recovery vehicle	200+	Slovakia Poland India

Source: <https://www.scribd.com/document/139922545/Equipment-of-the-Indian-Army>.  
 Accessed on 04.08.2017.

**Table 11: Mine protected, Mine clearing and Mine laying (India)**

Casspir	Armoured personnel carrier	255	South Africa
Tarmour AFV	Armoured personnel carrier	900	India
Hydrema	Mine clearing Vehicle	24	Denmark India
T-72 FWMP	Mine plow		India
Aditya	Mine protected Vehicle	1300+	India
DRDO Daksh	Bomb disposal robot	190+	India

Source: <https://www.scribd.com/document/139922545/Equipment-of-the-Indian-Army>.  
 Accessed on 04.08.2017.

**Table 12: Armoured Combat Vehicles (India)**

Name	Origin	Quantity
Arjun MBT	India	248(Mk1)/118(Mk2)
T-90S "Bhishma"	Russia	1650
T-90M(50mt/840hp)	India	
T-72 Ajeya(41Mt/780hp)	Soviet Union	2410
Combat Improved Ajeya	Poland India	
BMP-2 "Sarath"	Soviet Union India	2691
Abhay IFV	India	
BTR-50	Soviet Union	100+
TATA Kestrel	India	
NAMICA	India	0
BRDM-2	Soviet Union	
CMT	India	
OT-62 TOPAS	Czechoslovakia	Armoured Personnel Carrier
OT-64 SKOT	Poland	
DRDO Armoured Ambulance	India	Armoured Ambulance
NBC Reconnaissance Vehicle	India	CRBN Reconnaissance vehicle 16
Mahindra Rakshak	India	Armoured Vehicle
PRP-3	Soviet Union	Battlefield surveillance system
TATA LAMV	India	Light Armoured Multipurpose Vehicle

Source: <https://www.scribd.com/document/139922545/Equipment-of-the-Indian-Army>.  
 Accessed on 04.08.2017.

**Table 13: Artillery (India)**

Name	Type	Quantity	Origin
Dhanush Howitzer	Howitzer	6	India
M777 howitzer	Howitzer	-	USA
Haubits FH77/B	Howitzer	200	Sweden
M-46	Howitzer	900	Soviet Union Israel
D-30	Howitzer	550	Soviet Union

180 mm gun S-23	Heavy Gun	100	Soviet Union
Indian Field Gun MK 1/2/3	Field gun	1700	India
Light Field Gun	Field gun	700+	India
FV433 Abbot SPG	Self-propelled artillery	~80	United Kingdom
2S1 Gvozdika	Self-propelled artillery	110	USSR
K9 Thunder	Self-propelled artillery	0	South Korea
Smerch 9K58 MBRL	Multiple rocket launcher	62	Russia
Pinaka MBRL	Multiple rocket launcher	54 units	India
BM-21	Multiple rocket launcher	150+ units	Soviet Union

Source: <https://www.scribd.com/document/139922545/Equipment-of-the-Indian-Army>. Accessed on 04.08.2017.

## Missile systems

**Table 14: Anti-tank (India)**

Name	Type	Quantity	Origin
Amogha-1	Anti-tank guided missile		India
Nag Man-Portable Missile	Anti-tank guided missile		India
Spike (missile)	Anti-tank guided missile	5,500 (on order)	Israel
Nag missile	Anti-tank guided missile	40+ (400 on order)	India
MILAN	Anti-tank guided missile	30000+	France India
MILAN 2T	Anti-tank guided missile	4100	France
9M133 Kornet (AT-14 Spriggan)	Anti-tank guided missile	3000	Russia
9M113 Konkurs (AT-5 Spandrel)	Anti-tank guided missile	15000+	Russia India
9K114 Shturm (AT-6 Spiral)	Anti-tank guided missile	800	Russia
9M120 Ataka-V (AT-9 Spiral-2)	Anti-tank guided missile		Soviet Union
9M119 Svir (AT-11 Sniper)	Anti-tank guided missile		Russia
3UBK-Invar	Anti-tank guided missile	25000	Russia India
Helina	Air launched Anti-tank missile		India

Source: <https://www.scribd.com/document/139922545/Equipment-of-the-Indian-Army>, accessed on 04.08.2017.

**Table 15: Ballistic and Cruise (India)**

Name	Type	Origin	Range
Brahmos	Cruise missile	India Russia	300 km
Nirbhay	Cruise missile	India	1,000 –1500 km
Prahaar	Tactical ballistic missile	India	150 km
Prithvi-I	Short-range ballistic missile	India	150 km
Prithvi-II	Short-range ballistic missile	India	250 – 350 km
Prithvi-III	Short-range ballistic missile	India	350 – 600 km
Shaurya	Medium-range ballistic missile	India	700–1900 km
Agni-I	Medium-range ballistic missile	India	700 – 1250 km
Agni-II	Intermediate-range ballistic missile	India	2000 – 3500 km
Agni-III	Intermediate-range ballistic missile	India	3500 – 5000 km
Agni-IV	Intermediate-range ballistic missile	India	4000 – 6000 km
Agni-V	Intercontinental ballistic missile	India	Inducted in 2014
Agni-VI	Intercontinental ballistic missile	India	8,000 – 10,000 km (Ready By 2018).
PAD	Ballistic missile defence system	India	250–350 km
Advanced Air Defence (Ashwin Anti Ballistic Interceptor Missile)	Ballistic missile defence system Surface-to-air missile	India	150 km range. (Ready By 2016)
PDV	Ballistic missile defence system	India	150 km and above (Ready By 2018)

Source: <https://www.scribd.com/document/139922545/Equipment-of-the-Indian-Army>. Accessed on 04.08.2017.

**Table 16: Air Defence (India)**

Name	Type	Quantity	Origin
DRDO QRSAM	Surface-to-air missile	0	India
FIM-92 Stinger	MANPADS/Air-to-Air Version	245	United States
Advance Air Defence	Surface-to-air missile Ballistic missile defence system	0	India
Akash	Surface-to-air missile	40 TELs	India
S-400 Triumf	Mobile surface to air missile system	0	Russia
Kub (SA-6 Gainful)	Surface-to-air missile	180 (as of 2012)	Soviet Union
S-125 Neva/Pechora	Surface-to-air missile		Soviet Union
S-200	Surface-to-air missile		Soviet Union
9K33 Osa (SA-8 Gecko)	6x6 amphibious Surface to air missile system	80	Russia
9K35 Strela-10 (SA-13 Gopher)	Surface-to-air missile	250 (as of 2012)	Soviet Union
9K22 Tunguska	Self-propelled anti aircraft weapon	132–184	Russia
ZSU-23-4M 'Shilka'	Self-propelled anti aircraft gun	75 (as of 2010)	Soviet Union
ZSU-23-2	Anti-aircraft artillery	800	Soviet Union
Bofors 40 mm gun	Anti-aircraft artillery	2,000+	Sweden
SA-18 Grouse	MANPADS		Russia

Source: <https://www.scribd.com/document/139922545/Equipment-of-the-Indian-Army>. Accessed on 04.08.2017.

### 4.1.2 Indian Navy

The Indian Navy is the naval branch of Indian Armed Forces, which is commanded by the Chief of Naval Staff in the rank of Admiral with the status of four-star. Like Indian Army, the President of Indian is the Supreme Commander of the force. Indian Navy has its root in the Marine Force of East India Company founded in 1612 to protect British merchant shipping in the region. Royal Indian Navy was renamed to Indian Navy in 1950. The Maratha emperor (17<sup>th</sup> century) is called the 'Father of Indian Navy'. The force is fifth

largest navy in the world. Indian Navy played an important role in the War of Independence of Bangladesh in 1971.<sup>2</sup>

According to an estimate of 2017, there are 79,023 personnel in the Indian Navy and it has a large operational fleet consisting of 2 aircraft carriers, 1 amphibious transport dock, 9 landing ship tanks, 10 destroyers, 14 frigates, 1 nuclear-powered attack submarine, one ballistic missile submarine, 14 conventionally-powered attack submarines, 24 corvettes, 7 mine countermeasure vessels and various other auxiliary vessels.<sup>3</sup>

**Table 17: Submarine Fleet (India)**

<b>Nuclear-powered submarines</b>			
<b>Class</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Boats</b>	<b>Origin</b>
<b>Nuclear-powered attack submarines (1 in Service)</b>			
Chakra (Akula II) class	Attack submarine (SSN)	INS Chakra (S71)	Russia
<b>Conventionally-powered submarines</b>			
<b>Class</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Boats</b>	<b>Origin</b>
<b>Conventionally-powered submarines (13 in Service)</b>			
Sindhughosh class	Attack submarine	INS Sindhughosh (S55) INS Sindhudhvaj (S56) INS Sindhuraj (S57) INS Sindhuvir (S58) INS Sindhuratna (S59) INS Sindhukesari (S60) INS Sindhukirti (S61) INS Sindhuvijay (S62) INS Sindhurashtra (S65)	Soviet Union Russia
Shishumar class	Attack submarine	INS Shishumar (S44) INS Shankush (S45) INS Shalki (S46) INS Shankul (S47)	Germany

Source: [http://www.21pw.com/dictionary/List-of-active-Indian-Navy-ships\\_100126](http://www.21pw.com/dictionary/List-of-active-Indian-Navy-ships_100126). Accessed on 02.08.2017.

**Table 18: Surface Fleet (India)**

<b>Aircraft carriers</b>			
<b>Class</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Ships</b>	<b>Origin</b>
<b>Aircraft carriers (2 in service)</b>			
Kiev class (Modified)	Aircraft carrier	INS Vikramaditya (R33)	Russia



Centaur class	Aircraft carrier	INS Viraat (R22)	United Kingdom
<b>Destroyers</b>			
<b>Class</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Ships</b>	<b>Origin</b>
<b>Destroyers (10 in service)</b>			
Kolkata class	Stealth guided missile destroyer	INS Kolkata (D63) INS Kochi (D64)	India
Delhi class	Guided missile destroyer	INS Delhi (D61) INS Mysore (D60) INS Mumbai (D62)	India
Rajput class	Guided missile destroyer	INS Rajput (D51) INS Rana (D52) INS Ranjit (D53) INS Ranvir (D54) INS Ranvijay (D55)	Soviet Union
<b>Frigates</b>			
<b>Class</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Ships</b>	<b>Origin</b>
<b>Frigates (14 in service)</b>			
Shivalik class	Stealth guided missile frigate	INS Shivalik (F47) INS Satpura (F48) INS Sahyadri (F49)	India
Talwar class	Stealth guided missile frigate	INS Talwar (F40) INS Trishul (F43) INS Tabar (F44) INS Teg (F45) INS Tarkash (F50) INS Trikand (F51)	Russia
Brahmaputra class	Guided missile frigate	INS Brahmaputra (F31) INS Betwa (F39) INS Beas (F37)	India
Godavari class	Guided missile frigate	INS Ganga (F22) INS Gomati (F21)	India
<b>Amphibious warfare ships</b>			
<b>Class</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Ships</b>	<b>Origin</b>
<b>Amphibious warfare ships (1 in Service)</b>			
Austin class	Amphibious transport dock (LPD)	INS Jalashwa (L41)	United States
<b>Landing ships (9 in Service)</b>			
Shardul class	Landing ship tank (LST)	INS Shardul (L16) INS Kesari (L15) INS Airavat (L24)	India
Magar class	Landing ship tank (LST)	INS Magar (L20) INS Gharial (L23)	India
Kumbhir class	Landing ship tank (LST)	INS Cheetah (L18) INS Mahish (L19) INS Guldar (L21) INS Kumbhir (L22)	Poland
<b>Landing craft (10 in Service)</b>			
Mk. III LCU	Landing craft	INS LCU 34 (L34)	India

	utility (LCU)	INS LCU 35 (L35) INS LCU 36 (L36) INS LCU 37 (L37) INS LCU 38 (L38) INS LCU 39 (L39)	
Mk. IV LCU	Landing craft utility (LCU)	INS LCU 51 (L51) INS LCU 52 (L52) INS LCU 53 (L53) INS LCU 54 (L54)	India
<b>Corvettes</b>			
<b>Class</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Ships</b>	<b>Origin</b>
<b>Corvettes (24 in Service)</b>			
Kamorta class	Stealth ASW Corvette	INS Kamorta (P28) INS Kadmatt (P29)	India
Kora class	Corvette	INS Kora (P61) INS Kirch (P62) INS Kulish (P63) INS Karmuk (P64)	India
Khukri class	Corvette	INS Khukri (P49) INS Kuthar (P46) INS Kirpan (P44) INS Khanjar (P47)	India
Abhay class	Corvette	INS Abhay (P33) INS Ajay (P34) INS Akshay (P35) INS Agray (P36)	India
Veer class	Corvette	INS Nirbhik (K41) INS Nishank (K43) INS Nirghat (K44) INS Vibhuti (K45) INS Vipul (K46) INS Vinash (K47) INS Vidyut (K48) INS Nashak (K83) INS Prabal (K92) INS Pralaya (K91)	India
<b>Mine countermeasure vessels</b>			
<b>Class</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Ships</b>	<b>Origin</b>
<b>Mine countermeasure vessels (6 in Service)</b>			
Pondicherry class	Minesweeper	INS Karwar (M67) INS Cannanore (M68) INS Cuddalore (M69) INS Kakinada (M70) INS Kozhikode (M71) INS Konkan (M72)	Soviet Union
<b>Torpedo recovery vessels</b>			
<b>Class</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Ships</b>	<b>Origin</b>
<b>Torpedo recovery vessels (1 in Service)</b>			
Astradharani class	Torpedo recovery vessel	INS Astradharani (A61)	India

<b>Offshore patrol vessels</b>			
<b>Class</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Ships</b>	<b>Origin</b>
<b>Offshore patrol vessels (10 in Service)</b>			
Saryu class	Offshore patrol vessel	INS Saryu (P54) INS Sunayna (P57) INS Sumedha (P58) INS Sumitra (P59)	India
Sukanya class	Offshore patrol vessel	INS Sukanya (P50) INS Subhadra (P51) INS Suvarna (P52) INS Savitri (P53) INS Sharada (P55) INS Sujata (P56)	South Korea India
<b>Patrol vessels</b>			
<b>Class</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Ships</b>	<b>Origin</b>
<b>Patrol vessels (17 in Service)</b>			
Car Nicobar class	Patrol vessels	<b>Fleet I</b> INS Car Nicobar (T69) INS Chetlat (T70) INS Kora Divh (T71) INS Cheriyam (T72) INS Cankaraso (T73) INS Kondul (T74) INS Kalpeni (T75) INS Kabra (T76) INS Koswari (T77) INS Karuva (T78) INS Karuva (T78) <b>Fleet II: FOWJFAC</b> INS Tarmugli (T79)	India
Bangaram class	Patrol vessels	INS Bangaram (T65) INS Bitra (T66) INS Batti Malv (T67) INS Baratang (T68)	India
Trinkat class	Patrol vessels	INS Trinkat (T61)	India
<b>Patrol boats</b>			
<b>Class</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Ships</b>	<b>Origin</b>
<b>Patrol boats (110 in Service)</b>			
Super Dvora class	Patrol boats	T80 T81 T82 T83 T84 T85 T86	Israel
Solas Marine fast interceptor boat	Patrol boats	80 in service	Sri Lanka
Immediate Support Vessel	Patrol boat	23 in service	India

Source: [http://www.21pw.com/dictionary/List-of-active-Indian-Navy-ships\\_100126](http://www.21pw.com/dictionary/List-of-active-Indian-Navy-ships_100126).  
 Accessed on 02.08.2017.

**Table 19: Auxiliary Fleet (India)**

<b>Replenishment ships</b>			
<b>Class</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Ships</b>	<b>Origin</b>
<b>Replenishment ships (4 in Service)</b>			
Deepak class	Replenishment oiler	INS Deepak (A50) INS Shakti (A57)	Italy
Jyoti class	Replenishment oiler	INS Jyoti (A58)	Russia
Aditya class	Replenishment oiler & Repair ship	INS Aditya (A59)	India
<b>Support ships</b>			
<b>Class</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Ships</b>	<b>Origin</b>
<b>Support ships (6 in Service)</b>			
Nicobar class	Troopship	INS Nicobar INS Andamans	
Lakshadweep Class	Hospital ship	INS Lakshadweep	
Nireekshak Class	Diving support vessel	INS Nireekshak (A15)	India
<b>Research and survey vessels</b>			
<b>Class</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Ships</b>	<b>Origin</b>
<b>Research and survey vessels (10 in Service)</b>			
Sagardhwani	Research vessel	INS Sagardhwani (A74)	India
Sandhayak class	Survey vessel	INS Nirupak (J14) INS Investigator (J15) INS Jamuna (J16) INS Sutlej (J17) INS Sandhayak (J18) INS Darshak (J20) INS Sarvekshak (J22)	India
Makar class	Survey vessel	INS Makar (J31)	India
<b>Training vessels</b>			
<b>Class</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Ships</b>	<b>Origin</b>
<b>Training vessels (4 in Service)</b>			
	Training vessel	INS Tir (A86)	India
	Training vessel (sail)	INS Varuna INS Tarangini (A75) INS Sudarshini (A77)	India
Mhadei class	Training boat (sail)	INSV Mhadei (A76)	India
<b>Tugboats</b>			
<b>Class</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Ships</b>	<b>Origin</b>
<b>Tug boats (19 in Service)</b>			
Gaj class	Ocean-going	INS Matanga (A53)	India

	tugboat		
	Ocean-going tugboat	INS Gaj (2002)	India
Bhim class	Tugboat	INS Bhim INS Balshil INS Ajral	
Madan Singh class	Tugboat	INS Madan Singh INS Shambhu Singh	
Balram class	Tugboat	INS Balram INS Bajrang	
Bahadur class	Tugboat	INS Bahadur	
Anand class	Tugboat	INS Anand	
B.C. Dutt class	Tugboat	INS B. C. Dutt INS Tarafdar	
Nakul class	Tugboat	INS Nakul INS Arjun	
Arga class	Tugboat	INS Arga INS Bali INS Anup	
	Tugboat	INS Sarthi	India
<b>Miscellaneous</b>			
<b>Class</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Ships</b>	<b>Origin</b>
<b>Miscellaneous (24 in Service)</b>			
Ambika class	High sulphur diesel oiler	INS Ambika	
	Fuel carrier (barge)	INS Poshak	India
Modest class	Fuel carrier (barge)	INS Purak INS Puran	
Hooghly class	Fuel carrier (barge)		
Vipul class	Water carrier (barge)	INS Pamba INS Pulakesin-1 INS Ambuda	
GSL class	Small ferryboat	INS Manohar INS Modak INS Mangal INS Madhur INS Manorama INS Manjula	
Manoram class	Small ferryboat	INS Manoram INS Vihar	
Shalimar class	Small ferryboat	INS Neelam	India
Corporated class	Sullage (barge)	INS SB-II INS SB-II INS SB-V INS SB-VII	

Source: [http://www.21pw.com/dictionary/List-of-active-Indian-Navy-ships\\_100126](http://www.21pw.com/dictionary/List-of-active-Indian-Navy-ships_100126), accessed on 02.08.2017.

### 4.1.3 Indian Air Force

The Indian Air Force is one of the three components of Indian Armed Forces. It was first officially established as an auxiliary air force of the British Empire on 8 October, 1932. The Indian Air Force has been involved in five wars since the independence of India, of which four wars were conducted with Pakistan and one was conducted with the People's Republic of China. The force is commanded by the Chief of Air Staff, an Air Chief Marshal who is a four-star officer, while the President of the country serves a Supreme Commander of the force. Indian Air Force is the world's fourth largest air force in both categories—personnel and aircraft.<sup>4</sup>

**Table 20: List of Active Indian Aircraft**

Type	Origin	Version	Number
<u>Sukhoi Su-30MKI</u>	Russia India	Su-30MKI	230
<u>HAL Tejas</u>	India	Mk.1 Trainer	2 1
<u>Mikoyan MiG-29</u>	USSR	MiG-29UPG	
<u>Dassault Mirage 2000</u>	France	M2000H M2000TH M2000I/TI	39 9 2
<u>SEPECAT Jaguar</u>	UK India	M/S T	115 30
<u>Mikoyan MiG-27ML Bahadur</u>	USSR	MiG-27ML	87
<u>Mikoyan-Gurevich MiG-21</u>	USSR India	MiG21Bison MiG21MF	245
<u>Boeing C-17 Globemaster III</u>	USA	C-17	10
<u>Ilyushin Il-76MD</u>	USSR	Il-76MD	17
<u>Lockheed C-130J Super Hercules</u>	USA	C-130J-30SH	5
<u>Hawker Siddeley HS 748</u>	UK India	HS 748-100	59
<u>Antonov An-32</u>	Ukraine	An-32 An-32RE	60 40
<u>Dornier Do 228</u>	Germany India	Do 228-201	40
<u>Boeing 737-2A8 Adv</u>	USA	737-2A8 Adv	1
<u>Boeing 737-700</u>	USA	737-700	3

<u>Embraer ERJ 135</u>	Brazil	ERJ 135	4
<u>Embraer ERJ 145</u>	Brazil	ERJ 145	4
<u>Ilyushin Il-78 MKI</u>	Russia	IL-78MKI	7
<u>Beriev A-50E1</u>	Russia	A-50E/1	3
<u>Embraer ERJ-145 AEWCS</u>	Brazil		2
<u>Gulfstream III</u>	USA	IV SRA-4	3
<u>Bombardier Global 5000</u>	Canada	Global 5000	2
<u>Israel Aircraft Industries Astra</u>	Israel	G100	2
<u>BAE Hawk</u>	UK India	Hawk 132	90
<u>HAL HJT-16 Kiran</u>	India	HJT-16 HJT-16II	81
<u>Pilatus PC-7 MkII</u>	Switzerland	Mk II	75
<u>Zenith STOL CH 701</u>	Canada	STOL 701	85
<u>Pipistrel Virus</u>	Slovenia	SW 80 Garud	2
<u>Mil Mi-35</u>	USSR	Mi-35	20
<u>HAL Rudra</u>	India	ALH-WSI	7
<u>HAL Light Combat Helicopter</u>	India	LCH	3 prototypes
<u>Mil Mi-26</u>	USSR	Mi-26	3
<u>Mil Mi-8</u>	USSR	Mi-8	400+
<u>Mil Mi-17</u>	Russia	Mi-17V5	400+
<u>HAL Dhruv</u>	India	Dhruv	66
<u>HAL Cheetah</u>	India	Cheetah	14
<u>HAL Chetak</u>	India	SA316B SA319	74

Source: [https://infogalactic.com/info/List of active Indian military aircraft](https://infogalactic.com/info/List_of_active_Indian_military_aircraft).  
Accessed on 02.08.2017.

**Table 21: Indian Naval Air Arm**

Type	Origin	Version	Number
<u>Mikoyan MiG-29K</u>	Russia	MiG-29K MiG-29KUB	45

<u>Boeing P-8 Poseidon</u>	USA	P-8I Neptune	8
<u>Tupolev Tu-142</u>	USSR	Tu-142M	8
<u>Ilyushin Il-38</u>	USSR	Il-38SD	5
<u>Dornier Do 228</u>	Germany India	Do 228-101 Do 228-201	25
<u>Britten-Norman Turbine-Islander</u>	UK	BN-2T	8
<u>BAE Hawk</u>	UK	Hawk 132	11
<u>HAL HJT-16 Kiran</u>	India		20
<u>Pipistrel Virus</u>	Slovenia	SW 80	
<u>Kamov Ka-31</u>	Russia		14
<u>Kamov Ka-28</u>	Russia	Ka-28 (Ka-27PL)	14
<u>Westland Sea King</u>	UK	Mk42B Mk42C	22 5
<u>Sikorsky SH-3 Sea King</u>	USA	UH-3H	6
<u>HAL Dhruv</u>	India		8
<u>HAL Chetak</u>	India	SA316B SA319	30

Source: [https://infogalactic.com/info/List\\_of\\_active\\_Indian\\_military\\_aircraft](https://infogalactic.com/info/List_of_active_Indian_military_aircraft).  
Accessed on 02.08.2017.

**Table 22: Army Aviation Corps (India)**

<b>Type</b>	<b>Origin</b>	<b>Role</b>	<b>Version</b>	<b>Number</b>
<u>HAL Rudra</u>	India	<u>Attack</u>	ALH-WSI	20
<u>HAL Light Combat Helicopter</u>	India	<u>Attack</u>	LCH	are being built
<u>HAL Dhruv</u>	India	<u>Utility</u>		78
<u>HAL Cheetah</u>	India	<u>Utility</u>	Cheetah	23
<u>HAL Cheetal</u>	India	<u>Utility</u>	Cheetal	4
<u>HAL Lancer</u>	India	<u>Attack</u>	Lancer	12
<u>HAL Chetak</u>	India	<u>Utility</u>	Chetak	4
<u>HAL Chetan</u>	India	<u>Utility</u>	Chetan	4

Source: [https://infogalactic.com/info/List\\_of\\_active\\_Indian\\_military\\_aircraft](https://infogalactic.com/info/List_of_active_Indian_military_aircraft).  
Accessed on 02.08.2017.



## Unmanned Aerial Vehicles

Note: The Indian Armed Forces operate a number of Unmanned aerial vehicles split between the three service branches.

**Table 23: Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (India)**

Type	Class	Role	Version	Number
<u>IAI Harpy</u>	Israel	<u>Attack</u>		5+
<u>IAI Harop</u>	Israel	<u>UAV</u>	<u>Attack</u>	10
<u>IAI Heron</u>	Israel		Heron I Heron II	50+
<u>IAI Searcher</u>	Israel		Searcher II Searcher I	100+
<u>DRDO Nishant</u>	India			12+
<u>DRDO Lakshya</u>	India	<u>Aerial target</u>		39

Source: [https://infogalactic.com/info/List\\_of\\_active\\_Indian\\_military\\_aircraft](https://infogalactic.com/info/List_of_active_Indian_military_aircraft). Accessed on 02.08.2017.

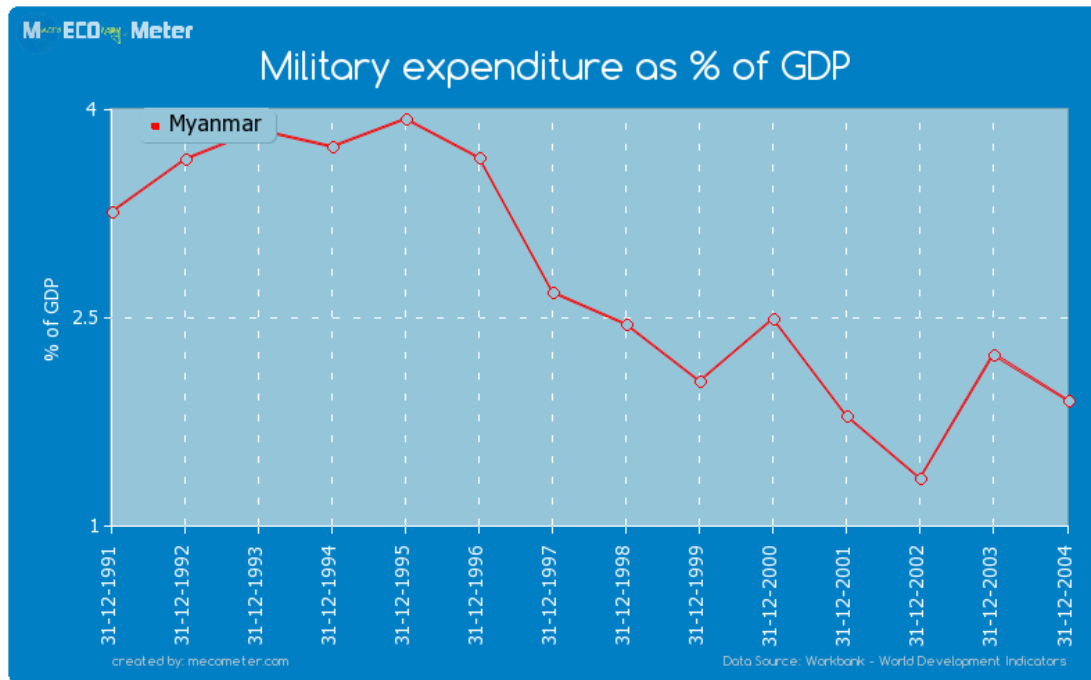
## 4.2 Myanmar

Myanmar is getting growing importance from both China and India as to strategic interests of both countries, are deeply intertwined with Myanmar. Both China and India can have an access to get transits from Myanmar for their poor landlocked provinces in their southeast and northeast to the Indian Ocean respectively. Myanmar has already manipulated the opportunity through boosting up strategic and defence ties with both neighbouring countries. Myanmar has purchased, as part of a long time and effective defence cooperation with China, a lot of radars, missiles, fighter planes, light and heavy arms, warships, and other military hardware from China to modernize and strengthen its military power. On the other hand, Myanmar has also developed a defence cooperation especially in naval cooperation with India. Both countries have a sound defence tie in exchanging naval officers, training, and material supports.

Defence capability of Myanmar, however, has been unprecedentedly developed between 1988 and 1998 under the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC).<sup>6</sup> By this time, Myanmar has experienced a dramatic change in its army, navy and air force following a modernization programme. Although a modernization process in the armed forces of Bangladesh has been initiated and the country has now a moderately modern armed

forces, Myanmar’s increasing defence power under the Junta supervision, has introduced a new security concern for Bangladesh.

**Figure 5: Military Expenditure in Myanmar as % of GDP (1991-2004)**



Source: [www.mecometer.com](http://www.mecometer.com), accessed on 03.04.2017.

#### 4.2.1 Myanmar Army

Myanmar Army is the land-based largest force of the country’s armed forces (*Tatmadaw*). The Force is the second largest army in Southeast Asia just after the People’s Army of Vietnam. As of 2006, there are 350,000 army personnel in Myanmar Army with a primary responsibility of conducting land-based military operations. The force gathered a rich combat experience by conducting non-stop counter insurgency operations.<sup>7</sup> Myanmar Army, however, is infamous for taking coercive actions against and brutally killing ethnic minorities such as Rohingya people in the name of counter insurgency.

#### Equipment of the Myanmar Army

**Table 24: Armoured vehicles (Myanmar)**

Model	Type	Quantity	Origin
<b>Tank</b>			
MBT-2000	Main battle tank	148	China / Pakistan
T-72S	Main battle tank	139	USSR
Type 69-II	Main battle tank	80	China
Type 59D	Main Battle Tank	160	China
T-55	Medium tank	10	USSR
Type 62	Light tank	105	China
Type 63	Light tank	50	China
<b>Armoured Vehicle</b>			
BTR-3U	Infantry fighting vehicle, Armoured personnel carrier	522 (1,000 on ordered)	Ukraine
Type 90 AFV	Armoured personnel carrier	55	China
Type 85	Armoured personnel carrier	250	China
MT-LB	Armoured personnel carrier	98	Ukraine
Ferret	Armoured car	45	UK
Panhard AML	Armoured car	50	France
Humber Pig	Armoured personnel carrier	40	UK
BAAC or MAV-1	Armoured personnel carrier	44	Myanmar
Panhard M3	Armoured personnel carrier	10	France
WZ551	Armoured personnel carrier	144	China
MPV	Mine-Resistant Ambush Protected	10	India
EE-9 Cascavel	armoured reconnaissance vehicle	150	Brazil
Type 84	Armoured vehicle-launched bridge	16	China
Type 653	Armoured recovery vehicle	18	China

Source: [http://military.wikia.com/wiki/Myanmar Army](http://military.wikia.com/wiki/Myanmar_Army).  
 Accessed on 02.08.2017.

**Table 25: Artillery (Myanmar)**

Model	Origin	Quantity
<b>Self-propelled artillery</b>		
Norinco SH1	China	78
Nora B-52	Serbia	30
BM-21/BA-84/Type-90	USSR	84
<b>Towed artillery</b>		
D-30M	USSR	560
Type 59-1	China	16
Various 105 mm guns	Yugoslavia & Various	100+

Type 63	China	30
M48	Yugoslavia	212
M101 howitzer	US	242
Ordnance QF 25 pounder	UK	50
KH-179	South Korea	100+
Soltam M-845P	Israel	72
BL 5.5-inch Medium Gun	UK	230?

Source: [http://military.wikia.com/wiki/Myanmar\\_Army](http://military.wikia.com/wiki/Myanmar_Army)  
 Accessed on 02.08.2017.

**Table 26: Air Defence (Myanmar)**

Model	Origin	Quantity
<b>Missile systems</b>		
BaE Dynamics Bloodhound Mk.II	UK	60
SA-2	USSR	48
KS-1A	China	4 Battalions
SA-6	USSR	24
Hwasong-6	North Korea	11
9K38 Igla (SA-18 Grouse)&(SA-16)	USSR	100 x SA16 400 x SA18
SA-19	USSR	24
Pechora-2M	Russia	24
<b>Gun systems</b>		
Type-74	USSR	24
Anti-Aircraft Guns Various model	Various	200
KPV heavy machine gun	USSR	

Source: [http://military.wikia.com/wiki/Myanmar\\_Army](http://military.wikia.com/wiki/Myanmar_Army).  
 Accessed on 02.08.2017.

**Table 27: Anti Tank (Myanmar)**

Model	Origin	Quantity
<b>Systems</b>		
M40 recoilless rifle	USA	200
Carl Gustav recoilless rifle	Sweden	1000

### Weapons

Name	Type	Ammunition
<b>Small arms</b>		
Browning Hi-Power		9×19mm Parabellum
Heckler & Koch G3		7.62×51mm NATO
MP5 submachine gun		Multiple (9×19mm Parabellum, 10mm Auto MP5/10, or .40 S&W M5/40)
EMERK-3		5.56×45mm NATO

Heckler & Koch HK33		5.56×45mm NATO
SIG Sauer P226 (MA-6)		9×19mm Parabellum
FN FAL		7.62×51mm NATO
Type 81 assault rifle		7.62×39mm
SPAS 12		12 Gauge
Barrett M82		.416 Barrett
M249 machine gun		5.56×45mm NATO
Rheinmetall MG3		7.62×51mm NATO
M2 Browning machine gun		.50 BMG

Source: [http://military.wikia.com/wiki/Myanmar\\_Army](http://military.wikia.com/wiki/Myanmar_Army).  
 Accessed on 02.08.2017.

## 4.2.2 Myanmar Navy

Myanmar Navy is the naval branch of the armed forces of Myanmar, consisting of 19,000 naval troops. After 1988, the force began to enhance its capability to large extent. The naval force with 122 vessels, has been given an important role in maintain the country's security in the maritime boundary. In recent years, its defence activities in the sea have been expanded due to the involvement of latest naval equipment.<sup>8</sup> The Myanmar Navy may embroil in future with Bangladesh Navy, as experienced earlier by Bangladesh, centering the conflict over newly gained marine territories and Rohingya influx through the sea route. It can be argued that the recent development of Bangladesh Navy with the inclusion of two Chinese diesel class submarines, is expected to be helpful to maintain a balance of naval power with the Myanmar Navy's surpassing influences.

**Table 28: Active Ships and Equipment of Myanmar Navy**

<b>Frigate</b>			
<b>Class</b>	<b>Builder</b>	<b>Serial Number</b>	<b>Year</b>
<u>Kyan Sittha Class</u>	Naval Dockyard (Myanmar)	F12 - Kyansittha F14 - Sinbyushin	2014 2015
<u>Aung Zeya Class</u>	Naval Dockyard (Myanmar)	F11 - Aung Zeya	2008
<u>Jianghu-II Class</u> <u>Type 053H1</u>	Hudong Shipyard (China)	F21 – Mahar Bandoola F23 – Mahar Thiha Thura	2012
<b>Corvette</b>			
<u>Anawrahta-class</u>	Myanma Shipyar (Sinmalike)	771 - UMS Anawratha 772 - UMS	1997-2007

		Bayinnaung 773 - UMS Tabinshwehti	
<b>FAC Stealth</b>			
<u>Stealth ship</u>	Naval Dockyard (Myanmar)	491 492	2012-2013
<b>Mine Sweeper</b>			
<u>Admirable-class minesweeper</u>	United States	<b>42 - Yan Gyi Aung</b>	1967
<b>FAC Missile</b>			
<b>Class</b>	<b>Builder</b>	<b>Year</b>	
<u>Houxin class</u>	Qixun Shipyards, <u>Shanghai</u> ,	1995,1996,1997	
5-Series class	Naval Dockyard (Myanmar)	2004	
5-Series class	Naval Dockyard (Myanmar)	2008, 2012	
<b>FAC- Submarine Chaser</b>			
<u>Hainan</u>	Dalian, Qixun and Huangpu Shipyard	1991,1993	
<b>FAC-Gun</b>			
5-Series class	Naval Dockyard (Myanmar)	1996,2013	
<b>Large Patrol Combatants</b>			
Osprey Class-50	Danyard A/S, <u>Frederikshavn, Denmark</u>	1982	
<b>Coastal Patrol Craft</b>			
PGM 43 class	<u>United States</u>	1959–1961	
Y311 class - modified Y301	<u>Sinmalaik, Burma</u>	1967	
Y Series class	Uljanik SY, <u>Pola,</u> <u>Yugoslavia</u>	1957–1960	

<b>Cruiser Patrol Craft</b>			
<b>Class</b>	<b>Builder</b>	<b>Serial Number</b>	<b>Year</b>
Swift class	Swiftships, <u>Morgan City, LA / Vosper,</u>	422 423	1980
<b>Coastal Land Craft Mechanized</b>			
LCM	Naval Dockyard, Burma	709 710	1967
LCM	Naval Dockyard, Burma	1611	2005
LCM	Naval Dockyard, Burma	1612 1613	2013
<b>Coastal Land Craft Utility</b>			
LCU	Naval Dock, Burma	605	1984
LCU	United States	603	1963–1968
<b>Coastal Survey Ship</b>			
Survey ship	Tito SY, <u>Belgrade,</u> <u>Yugoslavia</u>	801 Thutaythi	1965
<b>Coastal Logistics and tanker Ship</b>			
Coastal tanker	Watenabe Zosen K.K., Hakata, <u>Japan</u>	608	1991

Coastal tanker	Shimoda Dockyard, Shimoda, <u>Japan</u>	609 class	1986
Coastal logistics ship	<u>Germany</u>	601 Pyi Daw Aye (1)	1975
Coastal logistics ship	<u>Japan</u>	602 Pyi Daw Aye (2)	2002
Coastal logistics ship	A/S Nordsovaerftet, Ringkobing, <u>Norway</u>	Ayidawaya	1991
Coastal transport	<u>Myanmar</u>	612, 613 615,618	1990
Yadanabon	<u>Myanmar</u>	VIP Transport	1990
<b>Patrol Craft</b>			
<b>Class</b>	<b>Builder</b>		<b>Year</b>
Carpentaria class	<u>Australia</u>		1978–1980
412 class	Burma Naval Dockyard, <u>Rangoon</u>		1983–1984
PB-90	<u>Yugoslavia</u>		1990

Source: [https://readtiger.com/wkp/en/List\\_of\\_equipment\\_in\\_the\\_Myanmar\\_Navy](https://readtiger.com/wkp/en/List_of_equipment_in_the_Myanmar_Navy). Accessed on 02.08.2017.

### 4.2.3 Myanmar Air Force

Myanmar Air Force is an air branch of Myanmar Armed Forces (*Tatmadaw*) and it was renamed to Burmese Air Force in 1989. After its inauguration, the primary mission of the force was to provide transport, logistics, and close air support to the Myanmar Army in assisting counter-insurgency operations. It is mainly used in internal conflicts and in relief missions in some scale.<sup>9</sup>

**Table 29: List of Active Aircraft of Myanmar Air Force**

Aircraft	Origin	Type	Variant	In Service
<b>Combat Aircraft</b>				
JF-17 Thunder	China Pakistan	multirole		
MiG-29	Russia	multirole		31
Nanchang Q-5	China	attack	A-5	19
Chengdu J-7	China	fighter	F-7M	24
<b>Maritime Patrol</b>				
Britten-Norman Islander	United Kingdom	maritime patrol	BN-2	5
<b>Transport</b>				
ATR-42	France	VIP	500,322	2
Shaanxi Y-8	China	transport		6

Harbin Y-12	China	transport		2
Fokker F-27	Netherlands	transport		2
PC -6	Switzerland	Transport	pc-6	4
Beechcraft 1900	United States	utility / transport		6
<b>Helicopters</b>				
Mil Mi-2	Poland	utility / liaison		19
Mil Mi-17	Russia	utility		14
SA 365 Dauphin 2S	France	utility		5
H120 Colibri	France	utility		4
Mil Mi-24	Russia	attack	Mi-35P	9
Bell 205	United States	utility		13
Alouette III	France	utility		9
PZL W-3 Sokół	Poland	utility		9
<b>Trainer Aircraft</b>				
Chengdu J-7	China	Conversion trainer	FT-7	7
Hongdu JL-8	China Pakistan	jet trainer / light attack	K-8	18
Pilatus PC-7	Switzerland	light trainer		15
Pilatus PC-9	Switzerland	trainer		9
Soko G-4	Yugoslavia	trainer / light attack		4 4
G 120TP	Germany	basic trainer		20
Yak-130	Russia	Advanced trainer / Light fighter		3
Bell 206	United States	trainer / utility	206B-3	7

**Source:** [http://military.wikia.com/wiki/Myanmar Air Force](http://military.wikia.com/wiki/Myanmar_Air_Force).  
**Accessed on 02.08.2017.**

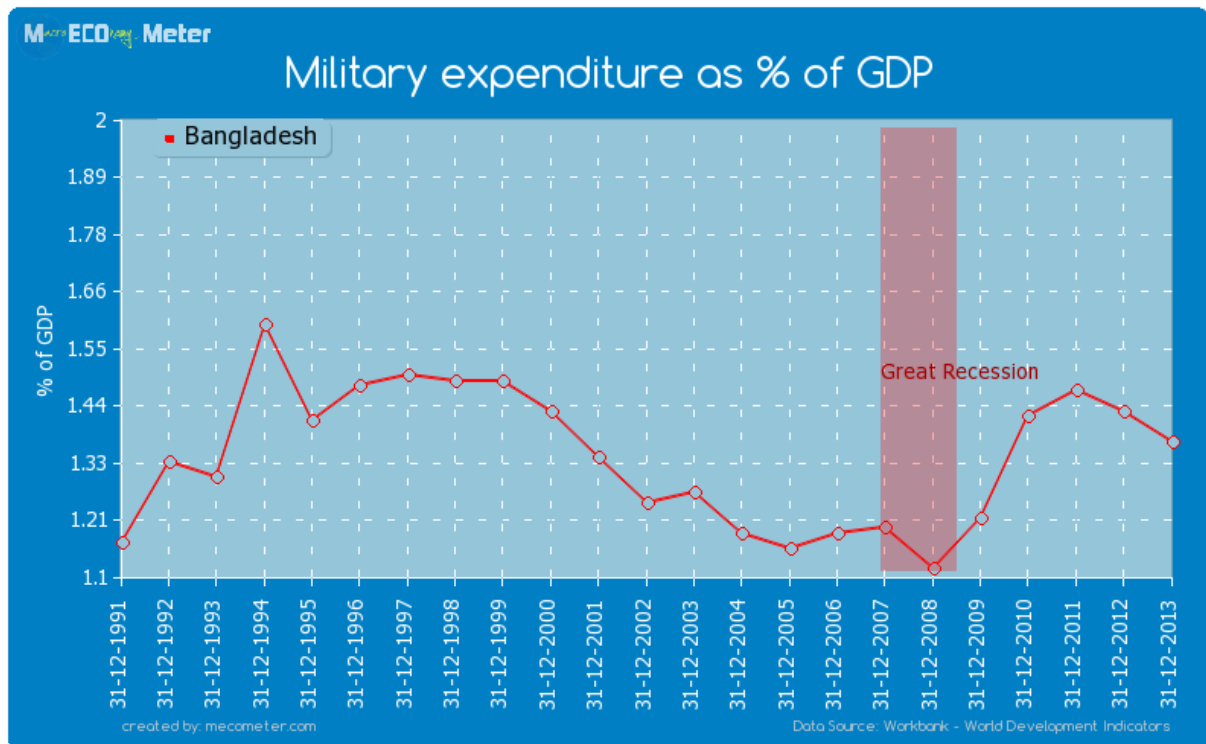
## 4.3 Bangladesh

Bangladesh is an emerging economic power in the region. In the changed world order of 21<sup>st</sup> century, a dramatic change, modification, and latest technological advancement have been accomplished in its closest neighbouring countries' armed forces like the armed forces of India and Myanmar. The country has taken a 'Forces Goal-2030', following the process of modernization in its armed forces. Under this process, various old missile and radar systems, combat aircrafts, warships and vessels, and other military hardware are being orderly decommissioned, replaced and declared obsolete in facing of the inclusion of newer ones in the defence management. This is expected that this



modernization process would help build up the up-to-date defensive forces, and thereby strengthen the geo-strategic position of Bangladesh in the region.

**Figure 6: Military Expenditure in Bangladesh as % of GDP (1991-2013)**



Source: [www.mecometer.com](http://www.mecometer.com), accessed on 03.04.2017.

### 4.3.1 Bangladesh Army

Bangladesh Army is the land-based largest branch of Bangladesh Armed Forces. It was first officially established on 15 April, 1971 during the War of Independence, followed by the oath of newly born Bangladesh Government at Meherpur, Kushtia. Bengali soldiers and officers, defected from the Pakistan Army, joined the force and continued the War of Independence. The structure of the force is consistent with many other armies of Common Wealth nations. There are over 150,000 troops currently with 75,000 retired personnel. Moreover, at the state of war, Bangladesh Army can be reinforced by the BGB (Bangladesh Border Guard), Ansar, VDP (Village Defence Parties), and other paramilitaries account for about one million trained personnel.<sup>10</sup> Bangladesh Army is famous for its outstanding contribution in peacekeeping operation worldwide under the UNDPKO (United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations).

**Table 30: Equipment of Bangladesh Army**

<b>Tanks</b>			
<b>Name</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Origin</b>	<b>Quantity</b>
MBT-2000 VT-1A	Main battle tank	China	44
Type 59	Main battle tank	China	255
Type 62	Light tank	China	36
Type 69II MK2G	Main battle tank	China	235
<b>Armoured Vehicles</b>			
<b>Infantry fighting vehicle (IFV)</b>			
BTR-82A	MT-LB		330
<b>Armoured personnel carrier (APC)</b>			
<b>Name</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Origin</b>	<b>Quantity</b>
BTR-80	Armoured personnel carrier		1030
MT-LB	Armoured personnel carrier		66
<b>Self Propelled Artillery</b>			
Nora B-52	Self-propelled artillery		18
WS-22	Multiple rocket launcher system		08
<b>Air Defence Missiles</b>			
FM-90	Surface-to-air missile		2 Regiments of FM-90
FN-16	MANPADS		
<b>Anti Tank Weapons</b>			
Metis-M	Anti-tank missile		
PF-98	Anti-tank missile		
Kornet	Anti-tank missile		1,250 missiles & 146 launchers
Spike(missile)	Anti-tank missile		
<b>Aircraft</b>			
<b>Aircraf</b>	<b>Role</b>	<b>Origin</b>	<b>Quantity</b>
<b>Fixed-wing Aircraft</b>			
Cessna 152	Primary Trainer	United States	5
Cessna 208B Grand Caravan	Utility aircraft	United States	1
Airbus C-295W	Transport aircraft	Spain	1
<b>Helicopters</b>			
Eurocopter AS365 Dauphin	Utility helicopter	France	2
Bell 206	Utility helicopter	United States	3
Mi-171Sh	Utility helicopter	Russia	6

Source: [http://sandpages.com/en/Equipment of the Bangladesh Army](http://sandpages.com/en/Equipment_of_the_Bangladesh_Army). Accessed on 4.08.2017.

**Table 31: Small Arms and Light Support Weapons (Bangladesh)**

<b>Name</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Origin</b>
Heckler & Koch G3A3	Battle rifle	Bangladesh
BD-08 Assault Rifle	Assault rifle	Bangladesh
M16A4 rifle.	Assault rifle	United States
Type 56 semi automatic carbine	Semi-automatic carbine	China
Accuracy International AWM	Sniper rifle	United Kingdom
Type 85 sniper rifle	Sniper rifle	China
PSL	Sniper rifle	Socialist Republic of Romania
M249 SPW	Light machine gun	United States
BD-09 light machine gun	Light machine gun	China
Type 53 Medium Machine Gun	Medium machine gun	China
BD-14	General purpose machine gun	Bangladesh
FN MAG	General-purpose machine gun	Belgium
M240B machine gun	General-purpose machine gun	United States
Heckler & Koch HK 21A1	General-purpose machine gun	West Germany
DShK	Heavy machine gun	Soviet Union
STK Compact Personal Weapon	Submachine gun	Singapore
Pistol Mitralieră model 1963	Submachine gun	Socialist Republic of Romania
Cobra Special Tactical Shotgun	Shotgun	Turkey
MP-131K Shotgun	Shotgun	Russia
Heckler & Koch MP5	Submachine gun	West Germany
L2A3 submachine gun	Submachine gun	United Kingdom
Glock 17	Semi-automatic pistol	Austria
SIG Sauer P226	Semi-automatic pistol	West Germany
SIG Sauer P228	Semi-automatic pistol	Switzerland/Germany
SIG Sauer P229	Semi-automatic pistol	Switzerland/Germany
Type 92 pistol	Semi-automatic pistol	China
Type 54 pistol	Semi-automatic pistol	China
Beretta 8000	Semi-automatic pistol	Italy
Walther P22	Semi-automatic pistol	Germany
Walther PPK	Semi-automatic pistol	Germany
Bersa Thunder 9 Pro	Semi-automatic pistol	Argentina
Milkor MGL	Grenade launcher	South Africa

Source: [http://sandpages.com/en/Equipment\\_of\\_the\\_Bangladesh\\_Army](http://sandpages.com/en/Equipment_of_the_Bangladesh_Army). Accessed on 4.08.2017.

### 4.3.2 Bangladesh Navy

Bangladesh Navy is the naval force of Bangladesh Armed Forces. It has become a three dimension force with the commission of two of Chinese Ming class diesel electric submarines recently. The President of Bangladesh is the Commander-in-Chief and the force is commanded by a four star officer in the rank of Admiral. The force has been established first during the War of Liberation of Bangladesh in 1971 and officially launched on July, 1971. Currently there are 16,900 personnel on active duty and 8,000 in the reserve. As a part of 'Forces Goal 2030', a long term modernization programme of armed forces, Bangladesh Navy is going to be a Three Dimensional Force and to develop blue water economy and enhance its position in the region.<sup>11</sup>

**Table 32: Bangladesh Navy Ships/Establishments**

<b>Submarines</b>			
<b>Name</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Origin</b>	<b>Class</b>
BNS Nabajatra	Attack Submarine	China	Type 035G (Ming Class)
BNS Joyjatra	Attack Submarine	China	Type 035G (Ming Class)
<b>Frigates</b>			
<b>Name</b>	<b>Pennant Number</b>	<b>Class</b>	
BNS Khalid Bin Walid	F25	Ulsan class frigate	
BNS Osman(ex-Xiangtan)	F18	Type 053H	
BNS Umar Farooq(ex-Llandaff)	F16	Type 61	
BNS Abu Bakar(ex-Lynx)	F15	Type 41	
BNS Ali Haider(ex-Jaguar)	F17	Type 41	
<b>Large Offshore Patrol Vessel</b>			
BNS KAPATHAKHAYA	P912	Island Class	
BNS TURAG	P714	Island Class	
BNS KAROTOA	P913	Island Class	
BNS GOMATI	P914	Island Class	
BNS SANGU	P713	Island Class	
<b>Fast Attack Craft (Missile51)</b>			
<b>Name</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Class</b>
Durdasha	P8125	21	(Soviet Osa-I) class missile boat
Durdanta	P8126	21	(Soviet Osa-I) class missile boat
Durnibar	P8127	21	(Soviet Osa-I) class missile boat
Durdanta	P8128	21	(Soviet Osa-I) class missile boat

Anirban	P8131	21	(Soviet Osa-I) class missile boat
Durbar	P8111	24	(Type 024) class missile boat
Duranta	P8112	24	(Type 024) class missile boat
Durvedya	P8113	24	(Type 024) class missile boat
Durdam	P8114	24	(Type 024) class missile boat
Utpal	P8141	24	(Type 024) class missile boat

Source: <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/bangladesh/navy-equipment.htm>.  
Accessed on 14.03.2017.

**Table 33: Bangladesh Navy Ships/Establishments-1**

<b>Fast Attack Craft (Torpedo)</b>			
<b>Name</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Class</b>	<b>Type</b>
TB 35	T 8235	Chinese Huchuan (Type 025) class Torpedo Hydrofoil	26
TB 36	T 8236	Chinese Huchuan (Type 025) class Torpedo Hydrofoil	26
TB 37	T 8237	Chinese Huchuan (Type 025) class Torpedo Hydrofoil	26
TB 38	T 8238	Chinese Huchuan (Type 025) class Torpedo Hydrofoil	26
TB 1	T8221	Chinese P 4 class torpedo boat	123K
TB 2	T8222	Chinese P 4 class torpedo boat	123K
TB 3	T8223	Chinese P 4 class torpedo boat	123K
TB 4	T8224	Chinese P 4 class torpedo boat	123K
<b>Fast Attack Craft (Submarine Chaser)</b>			
Nirbhoy	P 812	Hainan class submarine chaser	Type 037
Barkat	P 711	Haizhui class submarine chaser	Type 062/1
Karnaphuli	P 314	Ex Yugoslav Kraljevica	Karnaphuli
Tista	P 315	Ex Yugoslav Kraljevica	Karnaphuli
<b>Fast Attack Craft (Gun)</b>			
<b>Name</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Class</b>	<b>Type</b>
Shaheed Daulat	P 411	Chinese Shanghai II Class	062 II
Shaheed Farid	P 412	Chinese Shanghai II Class	062 II
Shahhed Mohibullah	P 413	Chinese Shanghai II Class	062 II
Shaheed Akhtaruddin	P 414	Chinese Shanghai II Class	062 II
Shaheed Tawheed	P 611	Chinese Shanghai II Class	062 II
Shaheed Tawfiq	P 612	Chinese Shanghai II Class	062 II
Shaheed Tamjeed	P 613	Chinese Shanghai II Class	062 II
Shaheed Tanveer	P 614	Chinese Shanghai II Class	062 II
Titas	P 1011	South Korean Sea Dolphin	Kiruki
Kusiyara	P 1012	South Korean Sea Dolphin	Kiruki
Chitra	P 1013	South Korean Sea Dolphin	Kiruki
Dhansiri	P 1014	South Korean Sea Dolphin	Kiruki

Source: <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/bangladesh/navy-equipment.htm>.  
 Accessed on 14.03.2017.

**Table 34: Bangladesh Navy Ships/Establishments-2**

<b>Minesweepers</b>			
<b>Name</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Class</b>	<b>Type</b>
Shapla	M 95	Shapla	Ex-British River (HMS Waveney)
Shaikat	M 96	Shapla	Ex-British River (HMS Carron)
Surovi	M 97	Shapla	Ex-British River (HMS Dovey)
Shaibal	M 98	Shapla	Ex-British River (HMS Helford)
Sagar	M 91	Sagar	Type 010 class minesweeper
<b>Auxiliaries</b>			
<b>Name</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Class</b>	<b>Type</b>
Khan Jahan Ali	A 515	Tanker	
Shahayak	A 512	Repair ship	
Shah Jalal	A 512	Tender	
Shanket Harbor		Tender	
Shah Amanat	L 900	Landing Craft Logistic	LCU
Shah Paran	L 901	LCU 1646	LCU
Shah Makdum	L 902	LCU 1646	LCU/LCP
Darshak	A 581	Yuch'in 068/069	LCU/LCP
Tallashi	A 582	Yuch'in 068/069	
<b>Riverine Patrol Craft</b>			
<b>Name</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Class</b>	
Pabna	P 111	Pabna	
Noakhali	P 112	Pabna	
Patuakhali	P 113	Pabna	
Rangamati	P 114	Pabna	
Bogra	P 115	Pabna	
<b>Training Ship</b>			
BNS Shaheed Ruhul Amin	A 511		Island Class

Source: <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/bangladesh/navy-equipment.htm>.  
 Accessed on 14.03.2017.

### 4.3.3 Bangladesh Air Force

Bangladesh Air Force is the air branch of the Bangladesh Armed Forces that also provides air support for the land-based troops. The force was officially formed on 21 September, 1971 during the War of Independence of the country.

**Table 35: Active Aircraft of Bangladesh Air Force**

<b>Aircraft</b>	<b>Origin</b>	<b>Role</b>	<b>In Service</b>
<b>Combat Aircraft</b>			
Mikoyan MiG-29	Russia	Multirole fighter	6
Chengdu F-7	China	Fighter /Interceptor	16
<b>Trainer Aircraft</b>			
Nanchang PT-6	China	Primary Trainer	24
Aero L-39 Albatros	Czechoslovakia	Advanced Jet Trainer	7
Hongdu K-8	China/Pakistan	Advanced Jet Trainer	9
Yakovlev Yak-130	Russia	Lead in Fighter Trainer	16
Let L-410 Turbolet	Czech Republic	Transport Trainer	3
Bell 206 Long Ranger	USA	Rotary Wing Trainer	2
<b>Transport Aircraft</b>			
Lockheed C-130 Hercules	USA	Special Ops	4
Antonov An-32	Ukraine	Tactical Transport / Converted Bomber	3
<b>V.I.P. Transport Helicopter</b>			
Mil Mi-17V-5	Russia	V.I.P. Transport helicopter	2
<b>Attack Helicopter</b>			
Mil Mi-171	Russia	Battlefield Close Air Support	6
<b>Helicopter</b>			
Mil Mi-17	Russia	Air Assault, MedEvac, Battlefield Close Air Support	12
Bell 212	USA	Air Assault, Special Ops, SAR, MedEvac	13
AgustaWestland AW139	Italy	Search and rescue	2

Source: [http://research.omicsgroup.org/index.php/Bangladesh Air Force](http://research.omicsgroup.org/index.php/Bangladesh_Air_Force). Accessed on 04.08.2017.

Like Bangladesh Navy, Bangladesh Air Force played an extraordinarily important role in the Liberation War. There are 22,000 personnel in Bangladesh Air Force including 3,200

officers. At its initial stage, the force was consisted of less than hundred officers and airmen.<sup>12</sup> President of the country is Commander-in-Chief of the force and it is commanded by Chief of Air Staff, a four star rank officer—Air Chief Marshal.



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# Chapter V

# Securitization to the Existential Threats: Military Policy Options for Bangladesh

21<sup>st</sup> century has launched a new era of warfare and brought sophisticated technological strategies in defense system. Capital ships and fixed bases are now threatened by advanced missiles, while Unmanned aerial vehicles or remotely piloted air systems are now part and parcel in many modern militaries' intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance (ISR) tool kits increasingly serving as weapons platforms. 21<sup>st</sup> century ISR significantly includes the harnessing big data and employing advanced analytic techniques. Nowadays cyber warfare has become another source of threats to national sovereignty as well as personal security. Contemporary militaries have to learn a broad spectrum of tactics to combat with various unconventional threats as well as conventional ones. For example, foot soldiers have to learn advanced tactics to tackle insurgency, while modern navies have to face some nontraditional enemies and asymmetric threats such as Somali pirates and terrorist suicide speedboats respectively. Investing in fifth-generation fighter planes is now a common phenomenon in many advanced air forces in the world. With the enhancement of air power, airmen are increasingly involved in providing logistical support to land-based forces.<sup>1</sup>

As up-to-date Western military practice rapidly spreads out in the Third World military, Bangladesh has not been an exception in this perspective. The Armed Forces of Bangladesh have adopted a number of modernization programmes following the adaptability with the contemporary militaristic development. In this modernization process, Bangladesh might have to face different impediments since Third World militaries lack many of most sophisticated factors followed by those of Western militaries. Besides, security concerns in developed world and developing world are not same in degrees and dimensions. Pursuing westernization blindly therefore may raise hazards and unexpected consequences in the process taken by Bangladesh Armed Forces. Considering the fact, in this chapter, some military policy options for Bangladesh, in regard with existential threats and modernization process, have been suggested concisely that are suitable for the armed forces of a small developing country like Bangladesh.

## **5.1 Concept of Military Security**

Military security is the earliest form of national security. Military security denotes the capability of a nation-state to defend itself, and/or deter military aggression against it. In other words, military security is defined by the capability of a nation-state to enforce its policy choices by use of military force. According to many military dictionaries, 'military security' is often portrayed as synonymous with 'security' in most of its usage. The scope of military security has been expanded from state actors to non-state actors concerning with conventional and nonconventional threats.<sup>2</sup>

Although the profound changes have been introduced in security agenda in contrary to the military security, military force is still one of the most significant instruments of international policies carried out by the states to protect their important and less important interests. Hence, military power shapes the security level of a country and affects the possibility of its uninterrupted existence and development. Previously military questions focused on different aspects of existence and use of armed forces. Earlier military science predominantly dealt with the art of war, investigated and sought optimal rational "technologies" of fighting, methods of applying force that would ensure a higher probability of victory. At that time, strategic studies discussed the general concepts and methods of using military forces to meet policy objectives. Recently a wide range of researches have been conducted in security discourses and many research findings focus on military aspects of security suggesting well adaptations with other non-military security issues.<sup>3</sup> An appropriate combination of military and non-military security refer to the concept of comprehensive security and thereby rearrangement and redefinition in many militaristic term and terminology have been necessarily brought in contemporary military science, technology, and studies.

## **5.2 Concept of Existential Threat: Military Perspective**

In the famous book on security, 'Security: A New Framework for Security Analysis', it is argued that existential threat can only be understood in relation to the particular character of the referent object in question. As the essential quality of existence varies greatly across different sectors and levels of analysis, the nature of existential threats will also vary. In military sector, states are mainly viewed as the referent objects and thereby any threats to the survival of the state can be defined as the existential threat. Threats to the survival of armed forces may elevate other kinds of political entities to the status of

referent objects.<sup>4</sup> Therefore threat to such political entities merging with the threat to armed forces, can also be viewed as existential threat in militaristic perspective. In the military point of view, it is my own view that existential threat refers to such an external and/or internal military threat by which a sovereign state or any of its components is threatened to its very existence.

### **5.3 Modernization of the Armed Forces: Prioritizing Quality over Quantity in Bangladesh Perspective**

Armed forces are the government sponsored defense, fighting forces, and organizations of a country they represent. They defend their governing body and the nation they represent from external and internal aggressors. They also further the foreign and domestic policies of their governing body. The terms 'armed forces' and 'military' are often synonymous in broad usage, but in technical usage, 'armed forces' may include 'military' and 'paramilitary forces'.<sup>5</sup>

Bangladesh Armed Forces have their own glorious history. The forces have come into prominence from a small guerilla force to today's large, skilled, and well trained modern forces. Like many other modern military, Bangladesh Armed Forces are not limited to their primary role of defending the nation and its interests, rather the forces have dispersed their role into other non-military tasks during peacetime such as nation building, rescue and relief missions etc. Bangladesh Army is well known worldwide for its peacekeeping missions across the world. However, with the 'Forces Goal-2030', armed forces are going to expand their power and therein to enhance its geo-strategic importance in South Asian region. As a developing small country, Bangladesh has to be aware enough of spending defence expenditure in modernizing its armed forces and utilizing the hard-earned money properly allotted for its defence.

If Bangladesh were a neutralized country like Switzerland, it would be able to dismantle its military establishments. But geostrategic reality urges the country to have a well effective and strong armed forces to contain potential rivalry emerged from neighbouring hostile powers. Moreover, national security of Bangladesh is vulnerable to the fact that the country is surrounded by three sides by Indian territories and the other side—the Bay of Bengal is not free from external threats since its maritime security is

also at risk through Indian and Burmese growing naval power in the adjacent maritime territories. However, some analysts argue that Bangladesh should opt for a small but highly skilled defence force since the country does not have required resources to maintain reasonably a large, even a medium army. Alternatively, qualitative development should get priority over quantitative expansion of armed forces.<sup>6</sup> Maintaining a large standing army certainly stress the economy of a small state like Bangladesh. Rather it would be prudent enough to have a small but well equipped, well trained, well skilled, and professional military supplemented by a large paramilitary or reserve force that can be inducted into the active service in time of need, in other words, in the state of war.<sup>7</sup>

Bangladesh can go, if its economy permits, for a deterrence strategy by continually modernizing its small but robust armed forces. Through such a strategy of deterrence, potential aggressor would be realized that the cost of using military force against Bangladesh would outweigh the benefits. Bangladesh should not carry out the concept of Non-offensive Defense (NOD), suggested by some of the intellectuals of the country. This concept is inconsistent with professionalism and realism since both offensive and defensive strategies require the same type of arms procurement. Bangladesh should go for more updated versions of air defense, anti-armor, anti-blockade and electronic warfare capability as these would make a warfare highly costly for any potential aggressor. Such selective modernization programme, however, may be undertaken through a perspective plan and commensurate in line with the growth rate of the economy.<sup>8</sup>

Despite long-term loan interest, the huge quantity of arms purchase from Russia at the cost of US\$ 1billion, has been criticized by different quarters. Some Indian analysts like Rahul Bhonsle argue that there are no viable threats to Bangladesh that can justify the procurement of submarines, fighter planes, and a large number of tanks. They also argue that this type of heavy military equipments have limited value to counter insurgency or in UN peacekeeping missions concluding that Bangladesh no doubt intends to plan to be a consequential power in the Bay of Bengal region with acquisition of Russian and Chinese equipment and joint exercises with the US Navy.<sup>9</sup> The argument is partially true, but it is completely true that Bangladesh needs to equip its armed forces with latest weapons

and military hardware to consolidate its future security that may come under threats posed by hostile powers. It is noteworthy here that before purchasing heavy military equipment like submarine or fourth/fifth generation combat aircraft, Bangladesh should must reexamine the cost-benefit analysis on a broad spectrum.

### **5.3.1 Singapore's Defense Policies and Strategies: Lessons for The Qualitative Changes in Bangladesh Armed Forces**

All states embedded in the competitive system of international politics intend to protect their resources by increasing their military might, since economic growth leads to expand the national interests of a country. The relationship between the economic growth and military strength is qualified by some factors such as a country's size, its geographical location, historical burdens, the salience of its immediate threats, regime character and state structure, and the structure of the larger regional or international system. Physical or economic size of a big country facilitates it in immediate command over more resources than small states. A strategically placed state employs relatively more military personnel to protect their privileged position. Hence, the geographical location is important. Historical burdens of a state, in this case, are important because its experience of past threats, wars, or defeat often affect the military investments. The salience of immediate threats is most important, since the degrees of security concerns help a state to determine what amount of military resources it has to allocate for neutralizing the threats through internal balancing or external resources. Regime character and state structure are significant whether they determine how the state is able to process information accurately with regard to external environment. They also shape the resource allocation for internal and external defense and conditions of fear, ambitions, and ideology of a country. The structure of larger regional and international system is important because it protects the system of action within the international system that describes the distribution of power.<sup>10</sup>

Despite dissimilarities, there are a considerable number of similarities between Bangladesh and Singapore on the basis of above factors. It is likely for Bangladesh to pursue Singapore as a role model for the modernization of its armed forces. Although Bangladesh is experiencing an emerging economy, while Singapore is already one of the

most economically advanced countries in the world, both countries are Asian small states. As to this research paper advocates for a small, but well equipped, well skilled, and well qualified military force, taking the armed forces of Singapore as a role model is a suitable option for Bangladesh Armed Forces. Bangladesh makes a difference with Singapore in almost every aspect of socio-economic, demographic, historic, and strategic ground. Nevertheless, the method of modernization and development of Singapore Armed Forces (SAF) is considered to be more adaptable to the modernization process of Bangladesh Armed Forces. Bangladesh is largely different from Singapore in account of economic power, but this difference is not a big hindrance for Bangladesh to follow defense policies and strategies taken by the Singaporean armed forces.

Singapore's defense philosophy is to create a highly trained force with technically advanced weaponry including relying mostly upon conscripts and reservists. The country intends to have first class armed forces with advanced training provided by the exploitation of technology. As deterrent forces, armed forces of Singapore are best trained and equipped force in Southeast Asia. They have the best air-strike capability and UAVs in the region. The defense system of the country has also been laced with its friendly defense relation with other regional powers. In terms of 'Total Security', Singapore can be a best example for Bangladesh. The country's national security strategy implies to the Total Security—an approach that involves different matters of national strength like political, diplomatic, economic, sociological, and psychological foundations for the security of a nation. Total security approach is one of the secrets of Singapore's success in armament strategy and defense industrial policy. Like Singapore, Bangladesh is expected to create a balanced system of acquisitions, logistics, and local defense industrial capability in regard with the long term plan to counter perceived threats.<sup>11</sup>

Singapore pursues collaborative approach to solve its security complexities. For the purpose of achieving advanced training, desired technology, and defense cooperation, the country maintains the good and effective relationships with United States, China, Russia, Australia, United Kingdom, France, Germany, Israel, New Zealand, Sweden, Taiwan, Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, Myanmar, Brunei, including Bangladesh.<sup>12</sup>



Singapore has a long time experience in establishment of defense industry that was launched prior to its independence from Britain in 1966, with the purpose of minimizing reliance on foreign countries for supply during wartime. By 1975, three government-owned corporations of Singapore assembled, rebuilt, and overhauled small arms, artillery, armour, military aircraft, and ships, while in 1979, the government began to promote the exportation of indigenously designed weapons abroad. The government also encouraged the foreign investments through the special incentives to produce military equipment that furthered the expansion of national defense industrial bases in Asian region. The Defence Technology Group and Singapore Technology are two of the giant National Defense Industrial bases that hold most of the companies related to produce military hardware and equipment. The Defence Technology group focuses on the research, development, enhancement, and customization of high-technology weapons, C3 systems, sensors, land, and naval platforms, whereas engineering area of Singapore Technology leads to many armaments industry such as Chartered Industries of Singapore, ST Aerospace, ST Shipbuilding and Engineering, Unicorn, Allied Ordnance, and ST Automotive.<sup>13</sup> As a part of long term defense strategy, Bangladesh can gradually also initiate the establishment of such national defense industrial bases to minimize the reliance on military hardware imports. Indigenous production of military equipments leading to reduce the average cost and employment rate in the area of higher technology would be accelerated by the establishment of such bases. If Bangladesh goes for advanced defense industrial bases, the country, at one stage, can earn foreign exchange through the arms trade in international markets.

Singapore manages import strategy, cooperative developments, and overseas training to enhance its military and defence capability. A deliberate part of the country's national armament strategy is the importation of foreign product and technological process that develop indigenous capabilities through Industrial Cooperation Programmes and technology transfers. Under the cooperative developments, Singapore intends to participate in international collaborative armaments programmes with militarily advanced countries like U.S.A or Israel. The country also emphasizes on overseas training to boost up the technology assimilation process. It continually refines its training procedures, and seeks for cost-effective and realistic training. Foreign technology assimilation has been

greatly facilitated by Singapore's investments in human capital, education, and training facilities.<sup>14</sup> In all these aspects, Bangladesh can no doubt follow Singapore to build a small, but well equipped and technologically advanced military force. Although Bangladesh is economically weak in comparison with Singapore, its emerging economic growth allows it to initiate Singapore-like defence strategies and policies requiring a qualitative change in its armed forces.

Bangladesh might face an extraordinary hardship in the way of modernizing its armed forces due to technological drawbacks that are commonly found in Third World militaries. Before attaining the Singapore-like standard, armed forces of Bangladesh need a prerequisite of building sustainable platform to suit the technological excellence in the defence system. Third World armed forces usually ill afford to manipulate advanced military technology due to certain number of tangible reasons. Armed forces of Bangladesh should take account all of these reasons, as they are going to reach their Forces Goal-2030, followed by the modernization process. Rodney W. Jones and Steven A. Hildreth analyze the issue thoughtfully in their words:

Although many Third World nations seem to be conversant with those advanced military technologies that are on the market, having garnered information through military fairs, commercial publications, and supplier briefings, their knowledge of these technologies actually remains superficial. They judge the value of weapon systems or technologies not on the basis of pure military utility against local threats but rather in terms of whether they are as modern technologically as the systems their neighbours are acquiring or even as modern as those the superpowers are deploying. They match technologies with threats in terms of equal modernity, that is, as a deterrent measure, but not necessarily as a combat match.

This tendency is due in part to the fact that developing nations lack the analytical staffs necessary to assess the true military value of weapon technologies or to determine how the new weapon can best be employed. Many developing nations also lack the knowledge and experience to support the new weapon adequately after it is procured. As a result, the recipient often relies on the supplier to recommend the force structure and means to support the weapon, and these recommendations are likely to be effective

only if a long-term relationship is adopted. Such a relationship is not always congenial or practical for political or economic reasons.

Other important factors in determining the ultimate choices of weapons or technologies are funds, access, and interest in promoting indigenous production capability. Financing constraints not only limit the procurable number of units of a weapon as such, but also the inclusion of enhancement technologies (components such as laser range-finders in a tank, for example) and the quantity of spare parts, training, and support stocks that would form an optimal package. In effect, this means that numbers, performance, and supportability are traded off. If no single source of finance is available for the entire hardware and support package that is required, the piecing together of funding sources may mean that the weapon system itself is a composite from different national sources. The buyer of a naval vessel, for example, may purchase the hull from Germany, the fire control systems from the Netherlands, and the weapons from Italy. As a result, internal standardization is often compromised.

Access is an important factor influenced by supplier policies. Uncertainty about success or anticipated delays in approval affects recipient decision making about which suppliers to rely on and fosters diversification of sources to minimize political dependence or supply unreliability.

A factor of increasing importance in choosing military technologies is the desire on the part of these nations to develop indigenous defense production capabilities, to reduce political dependence, further programme of industrialization, create jobs, and acquire hard currency savings from important substitution or through export sales. This faces the seller with the need to create a package that provides local fabrication or assembly, technical assistance and technology release. Procurement decisions are thereby made more complex by involving the military and finance ministries and also those ministries or agencies that deal with political, economic, and industrial issues. They may even involve local firms.

Further, less developed countries are often unaware of significant military technologies that are and will be available to them at reasonable cost, especially for upgrading existing weapon platforms. Even if these technologies

are acquired, those countries may not be able to realize their military potential.

In a time of worldwide recession and high levels of indebtedness, major weapon acquisitions may not be affordable. But without purchasing new weapon systems such as aircraft, tanks or frigates, hardware already in use can be upgraded with new technologies at much less cost. Aircraft and tanks can acquire new engines with longer range or increased payload; new guns, new ammunition, and new fire-control systems can make the lethality of older tanks competitive with new ones; improved munitions can magnify the utility of fixed-wing aircraft and helicopters. In addition, electronic-counter measure (ECM) equipment are now available can at least severely degrade if not neutralize all but the most sophisticated surveillance and weapon control systems.

But can developing countries use these technologies effectively? Usually they cannot. This is not to say that a few elite military personnel, as in the Falklands conflict, will not have the skill and daring to achieve dramatic results, but this is unlikely to be true of the military as a whole, because they will not understand the potential of the new technologies, develop the units and tactics to employ them, or equip themselves with the spare parts, training, and support to sustain operations and efficiently use information sources to focus their resources on threats. South Korea would perhaps be an exception.<sup>15</sup>

If Bangladesh Armed Forces are able to overcome the above complexities associated with the developing nation's militaries, following advanced systems are recommended for the qualitative improvement of Bangladesh Armed Forces:

- New mobile ballistic and cruise missiles (both anti-ship and land-attack)
- Imaging satellites
- Advanced satellite launch vehicles
- Access to GPS/GLONASS, differential GPS, and other terminal guidance systems as well as access to new sophisticated civilian imagery systems like SPOT and IKONOS
- Advanced sensor technologies capable of long-range, all-weather, battlefield target detection and acquisition, including UAVs

- Advanced battlefield free-management systems and advanced free systems such as artillery and rockets capable of delivering a variety of highly lethal, long-range, guided munitions
- Long-range transportation in the form of air and sea line capabilities
- Air-to-air refueling platforms
- Advanced combat aircraft equipped with active air-to-air missiles, advanced air-to-ground munitions, and secure tactical communications
- Special mission platforms that include electronic counter measures (ECM), suppression of enemy air defenses (SEAD), reconnaissance, and airborne warning and control systems (AWACS)
- Aircraft carriers; and advanced diesel-electric submarines equipped with air independent propulsion
- Modern mine warfare systems
- More generally, the progressive (if piecemeal) introduction of C4ISR, automated planning, and battle management systems that will increase the effectiveness and capabilities of any discrete component beyond its individual capability.<sup>16</sup>

Bangladesh Armed Forces, before launching above mentioned advanced systems, have to meet the requirements focused by the following questions. It is possible to assess, depending on the answers to these and other queries, the present and potential ability of a state to engage in different kinds of complex military operations:

- i. What is the quality of the doctrine, training, and organization governing the operations of the relevant combat arms in the country concerned?
- ii. Does the state maintain the requisite schools, infrastructure, logistics, and maintenance capabilities necessary to support the newly acquired technologies effectively?
- iii. Are state intelligence organizations sufficiently skilled to assess developments occurring abroad, and are they influential enough at home so as to be able to shape the manpower, organization, tactics, and training of its own armed forces?<sup>17</sup>

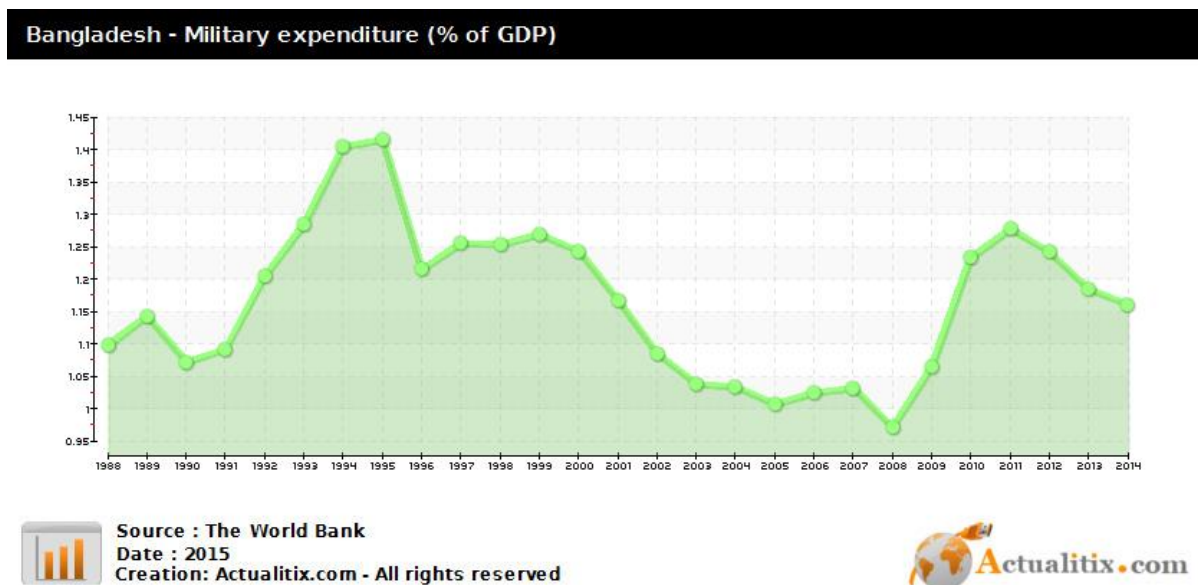
## 5.4 To Maintain a Moderate Military Expenditure

Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler's studies show that although developing countries have remarkable levels of poverty, their governments are interested to allocate a substantial portion of their resources for military spending that retards growth indeed and so

accentuates that poverty. They both have tried in their studies to find out the fact that why some countries spend a far higher proportion of GDP than other countries. Military spending around the world ranges from virtually zero to amazing 45 percent, though the global average for military spending is about 3.5 percent of GDP. They find that there are five factors behind such differences:

1. Active international warfare
2. Peacetime military budget inertia
3. Neighborhood effects (arms races)
4. Internal rebellion or civil war
5. Beneficiaries and vested interests<sup>18</sup>

**Figure 7: Military Expenditure of Bangladesh as % of GDP (1988-2014)**



Source: [www.actualitix.com](http://www.actualitix.com), accessed on 3.04.2017.

They also indicate that these are not only motivations for military spending. Military expenditure has beneficiaries as like as other forms of public expenditure. These beneficiaries are largely the industrial companies in the developed countries that produce military hardware, while in developing countries, which import such military hardware, military employees are the predominant beneficiaries. Where there are increasing level of influences of military employees over government decisions,

governments are usually persuaded to prioritize higher level of military spending. Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler argue that this tendency is natural because if professors, for instance, were in charge of government, they would prefer to spend unusual amount of money upon universities. Once the government is military dictatorship, the influence of military employees over government decisions is higher. They also have found out that in order to control the risks of internal and external conflicts, military dictatorship spends more 2 percent of GDP for military than democratic government. ‘But increased military expenditure does not minimize the risk anyway’. Their studies also show that increased military expenditure does neither decrease conflicts nor civil war. Paul Collier argues that the adverse consequences of both military expenditure and conflict for development are important, though these consequences are not surprising. According to him, significant portion of military expenditure could be reduced without jeopardizing the security interests. He argues that military expenditure is not effective deterrence of rebellion and if the expenditure is reduced in a coordinated manner, the external security becomes unaffected. Rather, the risk of internal conflict would gradually but effectively be diminished if the resources, released by reduced military expenditure, could be used to increase growth rates. Finally he concludes that not military deterrence, development is the best strategy for a safer society.<sup>19</sup>

**Table 36: Percentage of Gross Domestic Product on Public Expenditures by Country (1998-2001)**

<b>Country (Asia &amp; Oceania)</b>	<b>Military</b>	<b>Education</b>	<b>Health</b>
Afghanistan	*	*	2.7
Australia	1.9	4.6	6.2
Bangladesh	1.3	2.3	1.5
Brunei	7.6	*	2.5
Cambodia	3	2	1.8
China, PR	2.2	*	2
Fiji	2.2	5.5	2.7
India	2.3	*	0.9
Indonesia	1.1	1.3	0.6

Japan	1	3.6	6.2
Kazakhstan	1	*	1.9
Korea, North	*	*	1.8
Korea, South	2.8	3.6	2.7
Kyrgyzstan	1.4	3.1	1.9
Laos	2.1	3.2	1.7
Malaysia	2.2	7.9	2
Mongolia	2.5	*	4.6
Myanmar	*	*	0.4
Nepal	1.1	3.4	1.5
Pakistan	4.6	*	1
Papua N Guinea	*	*	3.9
Philippines	1.3	2	1.5
Singapore	5.1	*	1.3
Sri Lanka	4.9	1.3	1.8
Taiwan	2.6	*	*
Tajikistan	1.2	2.4	1
Thailand	1.4	5	2.1
Turkmenistan	*	*	3
Uzbekistan	0.8	*	27
Vietnam	*	*	1.5

**Source: The Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), 2001, cited in World Military Expenditures-An Overview, Coordination Office for the Decade to Overcome Violence, World Council of Churches, Geneva, Switzerland, 2005, p. 13.**

Military expenditure in a developing country stricken by internal or external conflicts requires long time to be decreased. Conflicts actually undermine the process of decreasing military expenditure and disarmament. If a country, with ongoing disputes, goes for a surprising cut in military expenditure in short term, the country might face several problems. The problems include political problems emanated from ongoing civil and regional wars, highly militarized security webs, military regimes, the use of military for internal repression, and ethnic/religious conflicts. However, international community suggests some options for dealing with such problems. These options include approaches



such as the provision of effective international mediation, the promotion of non military solutions to conflicts, and the support of democratization processes. Bangladesh can adopt such approaches to maintain a moderate military expenditure in long-term. Although Bangladesh has not severe internal and external conflicts contemporarily, a sudden cut, without any previously designed platform, may create adverse impacts on nature of government and policy responses. Such impacts are as following:

- Reducing demand in the economy leading to reduced output and unemployment, although the resources will be freed for alternative usages.
- Demobilization—that may lead to unemployment and destabilization.
- Any training, infrastructure, and national cohesion may need to be replaced due to the reduced role of army in the non-military sector.
- Importation of military hardware will be reduced and that can lead to reduce the employment of bureaucrats and workers involved directly or indirectly in the trade, although such reduction will save scarce foreign exchange of Bangladesh.<sup>20</sup>

All these factors, because of sudden reduction in military expenditure, will adversely impact on corporate sectors of the country following the closure of facilities, the demise of companies, and further unemployment. In order to avoid adjustment problems, some supply response, some alternative use of released resources are required in terms of reduction in military expenditure.

## **5.5 To Maintain Small Size Modern Armed Forces for the Defensive Purpose**

In case of small nations, nation building and identity resolving goals might be seriously impaired by the transformation a perception into offensive armed action. This kind of moves is historically and strategically dangerous. For the rich nations, the strategy of ‘might is right’ is somehow manageable to a certain level, but such strategy for a small nation in South Asia or elsewhere, which has a scarce resources, can spell disaster.<sup>21</sup> Bangladesh is a small developing country in South Asia and it does not appear to following an offensive strategy for internal and external securitization. For a peaceful

nation like Bangladesh, defensive strategy is the best policy options, though some security analysts argue that there is no effective difference between offensive and defensive strategies since military hardware and equipment provided for both offensive and defensive armed forces are same. Nevertheless, I, as a writer of this paper, think that military expenditure as of GDP percentage and size of military force can help determine whether the force is offensive or defensive one. Pursuing a moderate and precise military expenditure and a small size, but well equipped, well trained, and technologically advanced military force denotes its defensive purpose and differentiates it from other offensive forces.

Not only small states, one of the largest states of the world China is being tilted at cutting its troops. Recently President Xi Jinping has announced for a cut of 300,000 troops of PLA (People's Liberation Army). Although the announcement has been conducted in the name of peace, analysts think that this cut is a strategy of China for moving to modernize and strengthen the country's armed forces. Rory Medcalf, head of the National Security College at Australian National University, argues that Beijing's troop cut may be a plan "in the name of efficiency and cost saving so that the defense budget can be reallocated to 21st century capabilities." According to him, infantry is no longer a measure of power nowadays following the development of new and leading-edge technologies like cyber, hypersonic missiles and submarines.<sup>22</sup> Research shows lot of causes of conflicts, but does not indicate that building bigger armies is key factor to keep a country safe from warfare. Moreover, if the funds for weapons purchase were spared, resources would not be diverted from social, political, and economic development and thereby the spared resources could be used to root out the causes of conflict.<sup>23</sup>

Smallness of the armed forces is beneficial for their expected modernization. Australia and Singapore have achieved a great progress in this regard. Although there is substantial disparity in the size, they both have a common similarity that in comparison with the challenges faced by the larger Asian states, their modernization process is far more tractable because of having relatively small armed forces. Armed forces of both countries have gone forward remarkably in acquiring advancement in intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance capabilities. Both countries are interested to enhance the effectiveness of their armed forces through the relatively small forces by acquiring

various precision weapons delivered by multiple means. Despite at least another decade is required to achieve the goal, South Korea and Taiwan also seek for incorporating such capabilities.<sup>24</sup> Incorporation of such capabilities is rational as well as suitable for Bangladesh Armed Forces. Currently there are 150,000 personnel with 75,000 retired reserves in Bangladesh Army. It will be prudent not to expand the number of existing troops, rather equip them with high technologies and train them efficiently to become first class troops.

**Advantage of Small Air Force in a Small State:** The article *'Transformation of Airpower'* states that a new airpower equation has been defined by the advent of information and network systems, modern air/surface delivered stand-off, precision guided surface attack weapons, as well as unmanned aerial systems. Conceptually the terms "Network Warfare", "Precision Warfare" and "Unmanned Warfare", gaining popularity after Desert Storm, indicate that these are more about the emergence of new forms of warfare focusing on how airpower is constituted and employed than about the new technologies or better gadgets. Small states like Bangladesh can overcome the traditional limitations by the advent of such advances in their potential aerial warfare and also can maintain a technological superiority to their adversaries. However, smallness of small state's air force significantly enables them to rapidly introduce new technologies, aircraft platforms and weapon systems into their force, and to quickly retire old and obsolete ones. Comparatively larger air forces may take longer time to completely induct and operate advanced systems into their fighting units, while the smallness of Bangladesh Air Force will enable it to absorb new technologies quickly and develop new fighting concepts allowing its modernization process conducted at quicker pace. For this purpose, Government of Bangladesh (GOB) should maintain a steady and consistent budgetary investment for Bangladesh Air Force (BAF) in achieving the development of its airpower capabilities.<sup>25</sup>

## **5.6 Building Up an Effective, Trained and Semi-trained Citizen Army**

Building citizen army is one of the preceding options for militaristic move in a state of war. The mobilization of entire resources of a nation including psychological, social, political, economic, civil, and military resources is required for a total national defence. A war from its inception runs through conventional and unconventional measures of resistance. Despite training and arming all able bodied people of the country are difficult tasks and entail a number of complications, becoming the entire nation trained and armed is no doubt a highly powerful deterrent. As long as tactically possible, conventional armed forces are to continue their war in usual setting. They provide primary resistance through the organization of all able and trained men and women. The conventional armed forces are also to wage an unconventional warfare with the help of citizen army or a force consisting of a slice of conventional regular troops, BNCC battalions, Ansars, Village Defence Parties, Ex-freedom fighters and other volunteers basically to disrupt enemy lines of communication. As the war continues, this unconventional force will turn to a bigger force making a brigade or a division size force. The overall command of both conventional and nonconventional forces is laid down to the local conventional Army Area Commander. If the fighting conventional warfare is not convenient practically and economically, the conventional forces may disintegrate and move to organize resistance locally. At one stage they may go for a totally unconventional warfare like Vietnam War or The Liberation War of Bangladesh. If the war situation is favourable, they will again be reorganized for the conventional operations.<sup>26</sup>

Clausewitz said that arming a nation is a great means of defence awakening a thousand sources of resistance. The world has been experienced a good number of successes of citizen armies to resist aggressions. Bangladesh is itself a example of deterring aggressors by the means of citizen army or armed people devoted to free their homeland. Among other examples, the Finns fought hard and soul against Russian invaders during 1939-1944 and the Vietnamese formed an invincible resistance against American invasion. Israel and Singapore are also role models of militarily vigorous citizen armies. However, the formation of citizen army includes some form of conscription where every able bodied male and female citizen is trained to resist aggressors when a state of war arises.<sup>27</sup>

As Clausewitz also states that any nation using people's war intelligently, will gain superiority over those who disdain its use, existing armed forces may oppose the formation of citizen army for their personal and institutional interests. But building a citizen army does not mean the dissolution of existing armed forces, rather this kind of army is expected to be helpful for the conventional forces when needed. However, building up an effective citizen army requires political development of the country to certain level, a minimum level of consensus among the people about national goals and the means of achieving them, a degree of satisfactory life standard and the present state of affairs, and a reasonably skillful government. Moreover, the transformation of training for national resistance into a spontaneous celebration of the national spirit and independence require a sense of joy, pride, and hope among the citizen of the country. Conscription, as Prof. Talukder Maniruzzaman argues, would then really mean 'forcing the people to be free'.<sup>28</sup>

Since this paper advocates for small size, but technologically advanced armed forces for Bangladesh, an effective and well organized citizen army can supplement the prevailing small armies at the state of war. A good base for conscription has already been established in Bangladesh, Bangladesh National Cadet Corps (BNCC) is for instance. Such type of bases should be extended to large scale across the country through the efforts of Bangladesh Armed Forces. At the peacetime, officers from the conventional forces might take the role of trainers for all possible able bodied common people under specific rules and regulations passed by the national parliament of Bangladesh. These militarily trained citizen groups would surely strengthen the national defence power and as they would be non-regular and volunteer in nature, huge amount of military expenditure would be released in comparison with regular and paid military personnel.

## **5.7 Defense Cooperation**

The defence cooperation between Bangladesh and China is very sound and effective that started at the mid 1970s. Not only defence cooperation, now China is also one of the biggest trade partner of Bangladesh. Bangladesh Awami League and Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP), two major political parties of Bangladesh, both have a deep relation with China. During the visit of the then Prime Minister Begum Khaleda Zia to China in 2002, a strong and viable defence agreement was signed between the countries.

The defence cooperation with China has gained a momentum under the present government led by Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina. As a foremost provider, China has supplied almost all kinds of weaponries at different periods of time. Important Chinese military hardware and equipment supplied for Bangladesh Armed Forces range from small arms, artillery guns, Armoured Personnel Carriers (APCs), gunboats to different types of tanks, aircraft, and frigates. The country's only arms factory situated in Joydebpur, Dhaka, is also built with the help of China. Dhaka has already been topped as Chinese weapon importer.<sup>29</sup> Recently two Chinese 053H2 Frigates namely 'BNS Shadhinota' and 'BNS Prottoy' and two Chinese Type 035G diesel-electric Ming class submarines worth US\$ 203.3 million, have joined Bangladesh navy fleet.<sup>30</sup>

The China-Bangladesh defence agreement of 2002 is basically aimed at rationalizing the existing peace-meal agreements to enhance cooperation in training, maintenance, and in some areas of production. Although the then Foreign Minister Morshed Khan emphasized that the agreement was not directed against any country and would not affect the India-Bangladesh relation, Indian experts like Dr. Shubhash Kapila have expressed concerns finding a nexus developed among Bangladesh, Pakistan and China. He argues that Umbrella Defence Agreement with Bangladesh serves well strategic designs of both China and Pakistan against India by the following ways:

- Bangladesh's enhanced military capability would divert some of India's strategic attention from the West to the East, lowering the pressure on Pakistan.
- Pakistan could also supplement the Chinese efforts in terms of providing training, maintenance and production of some of the equipments.
- Rising Islamic fundamentalism would provide safe haven for Pakistan to intensify Pakistan's proxy war in India's North Eastern states.

Chinese strategic designs would be served in the following way:

- China would get a toehold on India's Eastern flank, thereby completing strategic encirclement of India.
- Soon China might have plans to develop Chittagong naval base on the lines of Gwadar in Pakistan.
- China might get naval base facilities in Bangladesh.<sup>31</sup>

Recently Dr. Shubhash Kapila's tone has again been echoed by many Indian experts, followed by Bangladesh's submarine purchase from China. Critics in India raise the points that Bangladesh has no dispute with its neighbouring countries and its economic capabilities do not permit itself to acquire submarines. And thereby they perceive that Bangladesh, through the strong defence cooperation with China, is trying to join the Chinese blueprint of encircling India in the name of protecting its marine resources and modernizing its armed forces.<sup>32</sup> Although Bangladesh is not willing to involve itself in any Anti-Indian design, India's concerns about Bangladesh –China close defence cooperation might be manipulated by Bangladesh in bargaining with India in various bilateral issues such as water disputes.

Following the Chinese President Xi Jinping's recent visit to Bangladesh and the heavy defence as well as trade agreement signed between the countries, Indian Defence Minister Manohar Parrikar rushes to Dhaka on November 30, 2016 to upgrade defence ties between India and Bangladesh and India tries to persist the later to sign such defence treaty that is perceived, by some Bangladeshi experts, not to be beneficial for Bangladesh. The hostility between China and India is embedded historically. Therefore, it is their own business that how they would encounter each other. But if India intends to contain China by making Bangladesh a scapegoat, Bangladesh cannot allow such Indian entailed act. Bangladesh should not develop any strategic relation with India that impairs the China-Bangladesh relations. Besides, purchase of Indian military hardware and equipment would not be beneficial for Bangladesh, since India itself is largely dependent on many developed countries for the development of its armed forces.<sup>33</sup> India is not sufficiently capable of producing high-tech military hardware whether Bangladesh needs latest and advanced high-tech weapons as part of qualitative change to equip its armed forces. Nevertheless, Bangladesh can go for defence agreement and cooperation with neighbouring India that is limited to goodwill visits, training and technology exchanges.

The theory of 'Comparative Advantage' by economist David Ricardo is pervasively followed in contemporary production of military equipment as well as commercial industrial productions. It is difficult for Bangladesh Armed Forces to reach its modernization goal by retaining defence purchase and cooperation with few countries.

As Singapore does, Bangladesh has to form a vast defence networks with a substantial number of militarily advanced states like U.S.A, UK, France, Russia, Germany, Australia, Italy, South Africa, Indonesia, and Turkey in terms of purchasing of military hardware, technology transfer, indigenous arms production, military training, and exchange of experience. It is noteworthy that Bangladesh has already purchased a good amount of military hardware from almost all the above mentioned countries. The country now just needs to expand and deepen the existing defence correlations with those of countries.

After the end of Cold War, many critics protruded the death of Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) as a viable principle of Third World solidarity movement. Some critics, terming NAM as ineffective, powerless, and disunited in the contemporary international political setting, argue that as the concept of NAM was redundant, it has lost its relevance in the present world. NAM has become irrelevant due to diminishing importance of politics of neutrality and the lack of visible role played by the NAM specially in regard with recent 'War on Terror'. So, two dimensions have raised from the post Cold War discourse over NAM:

1. **Contextual irrelevance:** It means the necessity of nonaligned front has not only been invalid by the end of bipolarity and patron-client proxies of Cold War, but also the ability of NAM has significantly been reduced to act in the changing polarity of power in the world.
2. **Functional irrelevance:** It means that solidarity movement exists only in declaration and the movement lacks the strength to uphold its cherished mission.<sup>34</sup>

Significance and relevance of NAM have been diminished because of several other reasons such as NAM members reduced commitment to the ideology of non-alignment and failure to achieve reasonably economic independence from developed countries, enhancement of regional associations e.g. South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), Arab Cooperation Council (ACC) and so on, splitting the Third World into many regional blocs, globalization, neocolonialism, transnational security threats.<sup>35</sup>

However, in contrary to the concept of NAM, alliances refer to formal associations of states bound by the mutual commitment to use military force against non-member



states to defend member states' integrity. Alliances vow for the commitment of all member states to adopt effective and coercive measures predominantly the use of military force against an aggressor. Small states usually form an alliance to balance against a rising hegemonic power.<sup>36</sup> If Bangladesh, therefore, finds a military alliance more beneficial, it would be better for the country to nullify the NAM membership and join the new military alliance. A reasonable military alignment would definitely enhance the conventional security of the country as well as ease the modernization efforts of the armed forces. Bangladesh is expected to find out or form a military alliance with countries having common security interests against a common hostile power.

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# Chapter VI

# **Securitization to the Existential Threat: Non-Military Policy Options for Bangladesh**

Some of the non-military threats lead to existential threats in long run. For example, impacts of climate change and environmental degradation trigger scarce resource, poverty, epidemic diseases, famine, and thereby causing inter-state and intra-state conflicts. Some non-military issues might be turned out to be the source of military threats such as water disputes between nations. It is argued by many analysts that wars among different states would be protruded from water crisis in near future. Non-military threat like terrorism patronized by particular state may create a sphere of military threats and insecurity to some extent. Military attack of United States, as part of War on Terror, against Afghanistan is a good example in this perspective. Therefore, it can be opined that military and non-military threats are somewhat supplementary to each other. Apart from military securitization, Bangladesh has to be more careful about non-military aspects of security. As to neocolonialism, negative impact of globalization, transnational crimes as well as climate change and environmental degradation have largely been replaced by military concerns, Bangladesh appears not to be aware enough of its non-military aspects of security.

## **6.1 Concept of Existential Threat: Non-Military Perspective**

In the famous book 'Security: A New Framework for Analysis' existential threat is well defined in terms of economic, societal and environmental sectors as well as political and military sectors. Here existential threat in terms of economic, societal, and environmental sectors, as non-military aspects, is concisely discussed below.

The referent objects and existential threats in the economic sector are more difficult to be stated. Bankruptcy and sometimes changes in laws make firms most commonly existentially threatened as such changes make them illegal or unviable. For example, firms that became unviable after the communist revolutions. With few exceptions, firms are expected to rarely try to securitize their own survival. While doing better or doing worse, national economy cannot be viewed as existentially threatened as long as the

survival of population is questioned. 'As in the political sector, supranational referent objects from specific regimes to the global market itself can be existentially threatened by factors that undermine the rules, norms, and institutions that constitute them.'<sup>1</sup>

The referent object in the societal sector is large-scale collective identities such as nations or religions that can work being independent of state. This type of referent object is peculiar in the sense that establishing a hard boundary that distinguishes existential threat from lesser threat is extremely difficult. In response to internal and external developments, collective identities evolve and change naturally. This kind of changes may be viewed dually—firstly as invasive and as sources of existential threats, and secondly as part of evolution of identity. Therefore, securitizing migrants of rival identities depends upon a relatively closed-minded or a relatively open-minded view of the holders of the collective identity of how their identity is constituted and maintained. 'The abilities to maintain and reproduce a language, a set of behavioral customs, or a conception of ethnic purity can all be cast in terms of survival'.<sup>2</sup>

In the environmental sector, possible referent objects range from relatively concrete things such as the survival of individual species like tigers, whales, humankind or types of habitat like rain forests, lakes to intangibly larger-scale issues such as maintenance of the planetary climate and biosphere. Emphasizing on most of these referent objects are basic concerns on the ground of the relationship between the human species and the rest of the biosphere. These concerns are also clustered 'whether that relationship can be sustained without risking a collapse of the achieved levels of civilization, a wholesale disruption of the planet's biological legacy, or both. The interplay among all of these factors is immensely complicated.'<sup>3</sup>

## **6.2 Economic Development and Technological Advancement**

The security interests of Bangladesh are embedded in consolidating its independence through the enhancement of economic development and modernization. Foreign policy of Bangladesh should aim at ensuring diplomatic and economic cooperation. Foreign policies of the country are expected to acquire successive socio-economic progress

through the proper use of human and other resources that would be helpful in maintaining national cohesion, international prestige, and influence.<sup>4</sup>

‘Security means development. Security is not military hardware, though it may include it, security is not military force, though it may involve it, security is not traditional military activity, though it may encompass it. Security is development, and without development, there can be no security.’<sup>5</sup>

**Figure 8: GDP Growth Rate in Bangladesh (2006-2016)**



Source: [www.tradingeconomics.com](http://www.tradingeconomics.com), accessed on 12.04.2017.

**Sustainability in Economic Development:** At last policymakers have come to a consensus that economic production cannot be measured without accounting for environmental concerns. A reasonable accounting representation of the process, where revenues have the potential investments in the industrial capacity, infrastructure, and education, recognizes that one type of asset has been exchanged for another. A more accurate level of income emerged from the identification of the depletion of natural capital and purged from income measurements can accelerate economic performance and provide a good basis for policy prescriptions. If a country goes for the exploitation of natural resources and environment to maintain economic growth, it would have to reinvest of the derived earnings from other sectors to compensate the decline in the natural wealth. If renewable natural resources such as forestry are not properly



managed, the resources still regenerate but decrease over time. After deducting off depreciation allowances for physical capital, this decline in natural capital is not counted nationally in the measurements of net domestic product (NDP) stemming from gross domestic product. The sustainability of the economy following timber harvesting can be assessed in the gross domestic product (GDP) after the adjustment of positive or negative natural capital consumption allowance. National economic welfare and its sustainability are better served by the incorporation of natural capital appreciation or depreciation.<sup>6</sup>

**Protectionism or Free Trade in regard with Bangladesh:** Bangladesh should not follow protectionist measures like the existing developed nations. Rather developing countries like Bangladesh are required to take a vigorous approach to all out protectionist policy. Bangladesh might not be a beneficiary by the pursuance of protectionist policy in the contemporary global economic order. After all, Bangladesh has largely been dependent on developed countries due to the lack of expertise, capital, technology, and skill making it difficult to be self sufficient in manufacturing sector.<sup>7</sup>

Trade Related Investment Measures (TRIMs) and Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) have been violently criticized by many analysts in regard with their harmful effects on the economies of developing countries. However, in response to TRIPS, Bangladesh should join other developing agriculture based countries to override the principles of such intellectual property rights deleterious to the agriculture and future of the economy of Bangladesh. But in response to TRIMs, Bangladesh can afford to manipulate its principles in its own advantage to serve the economy as well as its people. It would not be prudent for Bangladesh to allow government subsidy for those industries which could not compete with other multinational companies (MNCs) and transnational companies (TNCs) due to their own failures to be run in a free market economy. In order to resist the collapse of indigenous industries and companies, adoptions of economic labour cost, enhancement of productivity and skill of the labourers, effective marketing policy, transparency, and cast-iron endeavour to augment successively the quality of finished products and services should be the first and foremost policy options.<sup>8</sup>

**Technological Advancement:** Technological advancement has its own drawbacks as well as the benefits. On the one hand accelerating technological sophistication thwarts

the efforts of maintaining sustainable development, on the other hand, technological advancement sometimes help prevent environmental degradation and combat the further deterioration of climatic impacts. For instance, Bangladesh may take initiatives for generating hydro-electricity, establishment of windmill, usage of solar power, and so on across the country. As earlier said, natural capital of Bangladesh are better saved and stocked through the manipulation of such technologies in a large scale. If environment friendly measures and policies, in large, are adopted by Bangladesh, it would be easier to reach UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) apart from a sustainable development in almost every sector of the country itself. It is suggested that the country should be aware enough of the technologies related to polythene factories, tannery industries, chemical discharges, fossil fuel or coal based power plant etc.

Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) from multinational enterprises (MNEs) can play an important role in the economy of Bangladesh, since MNEs are equipped with most advanced technology resulting from their significant amount of investment in research and development (R&D). FDI may also serve the economy of the country through the attainment of a higher rate of growth in the production process following capital deepening. It is found that FDI has a viably positive effect on economic growth of host economies.<sup>9</sup>

**Clean Energy Technologies** have environmental, economic, and social implications for any country. On environmental ground, clean energy would eventually avoid and mitigate the adverse impacts of climate change, reduce environmental pollutions at local and national level. In economic perspective, such technologies would reduce the use of fossil fuel abating further deterioration of ecology and decrease the cost of clean energy technologies in the basis of life-cycle. As for social benefits, clean energy technologies prevent drain of local currency, generate employment, and essentially meet the growing demand of energies. Two separate energy regimes can be mentioned as the paradigm of clean energy technologies. Firstly, energy efficiency that refers to using less energy resources to meet the same energy needs, and secondly renewable energy that refers to the use of non-depleting natural resources to meet energy needs. In both cases, rather than the straightforward energy conservation measures, Bangladesh would have highly

potentiality in accelerating clean energy technologies for socio-economic and environmental development.<sup>10</sup>

As for a developed country, the transferability from existing technologies to the all out clean energy technologies is very difficult since the rearrangement of the whole technological base for merging with the newer technologies require huge cost, following a top-to-bottom orderly establishment of fossil fuel based elements. But it would comparatively be less costly for Bangladesh to build up a basement for clean energy technologies because the country has not yet experienced a full-fledged technological advancement based on fossil fuel and other unsustainable means of energy production.

### **6.3 Multilateralism and Regional Security**

Bangladesh has gathered rich experiences in multilateralism since it was admitted to the United Nations in 1974. The country has been elected to Security Council for two terms in 1978 and 2000. The country chaired the 'Group of 77', an association for most of the developing countries of the world. Bangladesh regularly participates in different international conferences particularly organized in regard with especially foods, poverty, gender, and environmental issues. It is argued that security of Bangladesh is better achieved through its involvement in multilateral institutions like UN, OIC, WTO, BIMSTEC etc. Bangladesh is also a founding member of South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC). The country's 'Look East' policy is viewed as a right decision in terms of two factors—firstly, avoiding and neutralizing conflict with external aggressor(s), and secondly, resisting the aggressor(s) through the timely support of the international community if the conflict actually develops into a war.<sup>11</sup>

**Co-operative Security:** Cooperative security indicates that security should be focused on the principle of inclusiveness rather than the military aspects of security. Inclusivity in this sense refers to like-minded and non-like minded participants, and subject matter. This is how cooperative security widens and broadens the security discourse to incorporate the non-military security issues such as environmental, ecological or demographic issue of security influencing inter-state relations as well as promoting sometimes the application of armed forces. This type of security includes a vast agenda

of co-operation, encompassing military confidence-building, political dialogue, and other forms of functional co-operation, whether this paradigm indicates that in the question of security policies, promotion of reassurance should get priority over deterrence remaining central to national and comprehensive security.<sup>12</sup>

As per the basic principle of the foreign policy of Bangladesh 'Friendship to All, Malice to None', cooperative security is one of the best security policies for the country. A peaceful nation usually seeks to pursue co-operative security since it relies on techniques and processes of conflict-prevention, management, and resolution, while balance of power policy ultimately relies on the ability of waging war. This security prioritizes transparency over secrecy and dialogue over confrontation. It also prefers to minimize the importance of militaristic measures in both domestic and interstate levels.<sup>13</sup>

**Management of Regional Security in South Asia:** There are three levels of regional security management.

**Domestic Level:** At this level, security management involves negotiated settlement of the existing armed and other conflicts, equitable economic development, participating in governance process, accommodating minorities, establishing the rule of law, respecting human rights, and mitigating environmental degradations. Socio-economic and political factors are expected to be expanded in order to generate economic opportunities, ensure social cohesion, and establish political order and stability.

**Bilateral Level:** Bilateral conflicts and crisis most commonly affect inter-state relations. Kashmir dispute, that led two vigorous wars between India and Pakistan, is a vivid example in South Asia. Water dispute between India and Bangladesh is another example of conflict at bilateral level in the region. Confidence building, channel of communications, and peace building would lead to conflict management and thereby ultimately to conflict resolution. Track I and Track II diplomacy also facilitate in negotiated settlement between the countries.

**Regional Level:** Two countries—India and Pakistan among seven South Asian countries possess nuclear weapons that results insecurity to all other nations in the region. There are also a substantial number of non-nuclear and non-military security threats in the

regional level, but no security forum yet. An effective and active security forum in the region could provide the basis for conflict management and conflict resolution among these regional actors. Security mechanism taken at domestic and bilateral levels might also be followed in solving security concerns at regional level such as political dialogue, confidence and peace building. Further it would be the timely action to draw a shift from conflict to cooperation through the steady and strong willingness to coexist peacefully with equitable rights of the individual nations in this region.<sup>14</sup> Bangladesh having highly contributions in international peacekeeping mission and in multilateralism, can play an outstanding role in building security forum for the interest of regional security management. It may take initiatives, as an emerging model of peace and development internationally, for mitigating nuclear threats and interstate conflicts especially conflicts between India-Pakistan that also creates a potential threat sphere for itself.

**Regional Conflicts Control Mechanism:** Most of the conflicts of South Asian countries having cross-border ramifications stem from within their boundaries. Domestic conflicts control mechanism, therefore, afford to supplement regional conflicts mechanism. Currently almost all of the South Asian countries including Bangladesh lack optimum constitutional and other mechanisms. Sometimes majority representing ruling elites pursue flawed nation-building strategies and discriminatory policies in economic and political arena leading to inter-ethnic violence and armed conflicts. When all classes of people would be democratically treated by the introduction of an authentic democracy, ethnic violence and armed conflicts are expected to be mitigated to certain extent. A true decentralization of power curbs the all out power to central government and thereby a true democracy is well served from top to peripheral level. Proper containment of domestic conflicts would help the governments in the region to justify the increased military expenditure that could be turned to control arms race in South Asian region.<sup>15</sup> Pervasively practice of corruption ranging from socio-economic to political life of almost every classes of people is another influential contributor to perpetuate discriminations and socio-political instabilities. A 'War on Corruption' is direly essential for Bangladesh.

## **Regional Agreement and Interdependence and Lessening the Possibility of Conflicts—Examples for Bangladesh:**

In the contemporary world, national economies are becoming more and more interdependent and interconnected than any time in the history. Nations get access to one another's resources through such interdependence by using the means of trade and commerce. Interdependence and interconnection among nations for their resources lessen the possibility of violence and conflicts since attacking a neighbouring economy means damaging one's own economy making a conflict more costly for the attacker. As multilateral and/or bilateral trade volume rises, hostilities and military disputes become less like among signatory countries. The governments of Egypt, Morocco, and Tunisia become conscious about the threats of spreading fundamentalism as they involve in negotiation (on trade and other issues) with European Union (EU). South American Economic Organization MERCOSUR (Spanish: Mercado Comun del Sur) was originally created to reduce tensions between Argentina and Brazil. But it helped prevent the possible military coup in Paraguay as to presidents of the MERCOSUR member countries reaffirmed that democracy is prerequisite for membership in the bloc. Some economic and trade agreements have been accomplished with the view to resist further conflicts between neighbouring countries. After the Balkan wars, for example, the Stability Pact for South-Eastern Europe was created in 2000 to promote integration and recovery of the economy devastated by conflict. With the support of U.S.A, Egypt and Israel agreed a trade agreement in 2004, by which they have got free access to US markets through the creation of five special zones.<sup>16</sup>

Although European Model of integration cannot suit to the case of South Asia, Bangladesh can afford to find out its beneficial trade and other deals in the region with the view to amplify its external security through interdependence and interconnection as mentioned above.

**India's Hegemony Factor:** The development of a common security framework in region requires a development of the sense of regional identity. The development of the sense of regional identity is better achieved when there is compromise between the

narrow sense of nationalism and the bare necessity of addressing regional disputes on regional basis. But in case of South Asia, divergences in the perceptions of security, nation-building strategies, foreign and defence policies put an obstruction on the way of developing such sense of regional identity. India, in line with its own vastness in geographical size, military and economic powers, and population, demands a predominant role in the regional geo-politics. On the other hand, India's all the neighbouring small countries including Pakistan attempt to spare themselves from the overt and covert Indian hegemonic practices in the region. Indian demand of its own assertive profile and the repudiation of its neighbouring countries to this demand lie in the root causes of regional identity crisis. India's neighbouring countries ask it to lessen its assertive profile to the level by which peaceful coexistence is possible among different regional actors holding hierarchical power structures. According to this countries India may pursue the regional role of Indonesia in ASEAN (Association of South East Asian Nations). Unfortunately India denies all these factors expected by its neighbours. At all, some analysts argue that, unlike Indonesia, India has geographical contiguity with its neighbours and has different security outlook and strategic values that do not conform to the others.<sup>17</sup> As a result, it is really difficult for South Asian small nations like Bangladesh to override Indian hegemonic attitude and thereby Bangladesh should look for alternative ways of escaping itself from such hegemony as well as building a so far win-win relation with India.

**Role of SAARC in Regard with Security Challenges of Bangladesh:** Each individual member country of SAARC may be beneficiary of collective security mechanism through SAARC on the regional basis. Bangladesh is to be better served in every aspect of human security deeply related with economic development, public health, literacy rate, environmental security, and climate change issues through the regional cooperation. The country might succeed in dealing with threats stemmed from terrorism and transnational crimes with the help of collective regional efforts.

Article X of SAARC's Charter disallows a member state to discuss bilateral disputes that impinge especially the unconventional securitizing measures. If the article is abolished from the SAARC Charter, the association could be more effective than ever before.

Potential intra-state armed conflicts like insurgency in Chittagong Hill Tract can be handled by establishing SAARC Task Force. The existing educational cooperation, scholarship to some extent for instance, might be amplified with further steps in accelerating higher education, researches, and education for underprivileged population of the region.<sup>18</sup> The existing economic growth of the country may be higher through the regional trade agreements. Such agreement and economic integration, as mentioned earlier, may diminish the possibility of conflict among signatory countries.

SAARC might facilitate Bangladesh in resolving water dispute with neighbouring India, increasing trade volume with other countries in the region like Nepal or Bhutan, and improving transport networks. While India needs Nepal's active participation in harnessing the water since Nepalese tributaries feed Ganges, Bangladesh needs both Nepal's and India's cooperation in developing any water related issue as these are upper riparian countries to Bangladesh. SAARC security framework may provide proper planning and consensus about equitable water sharing between its member states. The transport networks in South Asia were once highly effective and pervasively expanded throughout the region having been now disrupted after the partition of the region into seven independent countries. Bangladesh's connectivity with other countries requires rebuilding and reconstruction of highway, waterway, and railway encompassing from Bangladesh to Indian mainland to other South Asian and Southeast Asian countries. SAARC and ASEAN, in this subject matter, may take initiatives together. Bangladesh can afford to collect the required raw materials regionally for its readymade garment production as well as increase export and import within the region. Such regional trade and commerce, and resource exchanges may be introduced by the trade agreements facilitated by the discussion at SAARC summits.<sup>19</sup>

Through the assertively taken collective regional actions, Bangladesh is to encounter transnational security challenges more successfully including terrorism. The following are the some of the major transnational security challenges to the country:

- Transit of arms and drugs through Bangladeshi territory.
- Border Skirmishes – intrusions, abductions, forcible harvesting, shooting, and killing along the Bangladesh-India borders.



- Insurgency Problems in the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) continue to pose risks to Bangladesh security.
- Piracy and dumping in the Bay of Bengal is a common phenomenon today and it is likely to increase in the coming years.
- Water diversion in the upstream countries and climate change.<sup>20</sup>

If Bangladesh can manipulate regional cooperation accurately in its own advantage, regional efforts would supplement national efforts to contain threats originated from terrorism and various kinds of other transnational security challenges.

Member states of SAARC have already gone one step ahead in pursuing cooperative security mechanism. Cooperative security recommends dialogue and negotiations among nations on the ground of long-term and cast-iron reliance on confidence building measures to resolute the conflicts. Member states of the association have strong commitment to exchange information and intelligence, and forging cooperation among Liaison Officers (Anti Terrorist Law Enforcement Officers). Meetings are held time to time among the police chiefs of the countries agreeing upon the sharing information related to transnational crimes among police organizations. SAARC Police is going to be established through the initiatives taken by SAARC. In order to collect, analyze, and disseminate information about terrorist incidents, tactics, strategies and methods, the SAARC Terrorist Offences Monitoring Desk (STOMD) has been established in Colombo, Sri Lanka.<sup>21</sup> Possible terrorist attack on the Bangladesh mainland that is rooted and prepared outside the country might be traced through such regional initiatives. Bangladesh is also expected to provide other signatory countries necessary information and required help in combating transnational crimes, terrorism, and other threats to consolidate comprehensive security.

## **6.4 Diplomacy and Foreign Policy Mechanism**

Diplomacy and foreign policy facilitate the interstate relations. Security concerns of a state are also better addressed by its foreign policy and diplomacy mechanism. Track II diplomacy contributes substantially to conflict management and ultimately conflict resolution. There are many types of diplomacy in the world. Among those, economic

diplomacy, energy diplomacy, and climate diplomacy are most important in regard with maintenance security of a state whether the security is conventional or unconventional in nature.

### 6.4.1 Diplomacy Mechanism

**Economic Diplomacy:** A state is facilitated by economic diplomacy in numerous ways. It helps to understand international trade and investment regimes. State is guided sometimes by this diplomacy in taking foreign policy initiatives to advance its international economic interests. In order to accelerate a country's international economic interests, economic diplomacy helps to contact with overseas trade, business institutions, regional and multilateral organizations. All these factors turn into enhancement of a nation's image and branding globally. Economic diplomacy and economic security are intertwined to large scale and it goes without saying that gaining economic security is unlikely without economic promotion. Hence, economic diplomacy has been a key component of economic globalization and foreign policy.<sup>22</sup>

The BRICS countries (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa), distinguished by their large and fast-growing economies and significant influence on regional economic affairs, are the vivid example for Bangladesh in terms of economic diplomacy and therein economic development. Bangladesh could learn lessons from this economic alliance in the following areas:

1. To coordinate the country's goals and strategies of economic diplomacy.
2. To boost up the functions of the country's economic diplomacy.
3. To market the 'Brand Bangladesh' globally.
4. To negotiate Bangladesh's economic affairs in world stage.
5. To build economic alliances bilaterally and regionally.
6. To train the diplomats and civil servants of the country on the issues of commercial and economic diplomacy.
7. To engage multi-stakeholders in the economic diplomacy of the country.<sup>23</sup>

Large number of capitalists and workers of Bangladesh are tied up with the developed economies since garment industries of the country have become the lifeline of the exportation of readymade garments to most of the Western countries including U.S.A as a prime importer. The gradual and contemporary meltdown in the US economy have brought a great opportunity for Bangladesh in terms of its garment sector—the largest sector of foreign exchange earnings. While US government prioritizes the ‘Main Street’ people instead of the bosses of ‘Wall Street’, ‘Made in Bangladesh’ is usually exported for the middle class and low-income groups of people of U.S.A. Not only textile products, pharmaceutical and other likely products may be enlisted to meet the demands of US middle class.<sup>24</sup> There is little doubt that economic diplomacy is one of the best policies for Bangladesh to utilize the opportunity with the view to widen its market in U.S.A. The recent economic growth and development remind the country to clutch at the markets of developed economies in order to sustain its growing economic power.

**Energy Diplomacy:** As the economic growth of Bangladesh rises plausibly, it has to look for sustainable sources for energy requirement to secure its economy and environment. Any ignorance, failure, or slippage to manoeuvre energy diplomacy for its long-term energy requirement, would cost Bangladesh in near future. As to fossil fuel is depleting too fast in the world and is not also an environment friendly source of energy, Bangladesh should go for clean energy technology other than coal or oil based energy production. The proposed Rampal Power Plant, a result of the agreement between Bangladesh Power Development Board (BPDB) of Bangladesh and National Thermal Power Corporation (NTPC) of India, would be turn to be heavily disastrous to world’s largest mangrove forest Sundarban, as experts argue. Therefore, Bangladesh would benefit environmentally from canceling the project at any cost. It had better go for civilian nuclear energy as immediate supplementary to fossil fuel based energy. Although Bangladesh has been successful in taking initiative for the establishment of country’ first nuclear power plant in Rooppur, Pabna, the country has to walk a long way to technological sophistication, bilateral and multilateral relations in terms of energy related agreement and trade, exchanges of experts and training, and accelerating the specialization in the respective fields. Energy diplomacy is one of the most viable and effective apparatuses in dealing with above factors.

**Climate Diplomacy:** For Bangladesh, there is no alternative to climate diplomacy to drive the global key actors in order to take collective actions under a common framework in combating climate change. According to the international NGO—Germanwatch, Bangladesh among 170 countries tops on the Global Climate Risk Index. Bangladesh played an important role at the Copenhagen Climate Summit of 2009 in bringing compromise and consensus among global key actors.<sup>25</sup> As Maldives and Nepal along with Bangladesh are mostly vulnerable to the consequences of climate change like more severe and frequent flood, cyclone, drought, and subsequent tsunami, and sea level rise, these countries may form 'Big Three' climate alliance in maneuvering climate diplomacy to sustain their survivals. It can be argued that it is really impossible for any individual country to resolve climatic challenges since climate change has its own cross-border nature and originates from the impacts of collective actions of the international actors.

#### **6.4.2 Foreign Policy Mechanism**

Strategic and geo-political importance offer Bangladesh a unique opportunity of the quest for the ground of its national interests in South Asia and pacific region through foreign policy mechanism. Being centrally located in the South Asia, Bangladesh has become a crucial player in the region on the question of regional security. Under the geo-political realities, foreign policies of Bangladesh are better to be reviewed and revised with the view to increasing its bargaining power with other regional and intra-regional power like U.S.A.

The contemporary China-Bangladesh sound bilateral relations (trade, defence and others) have become a headache for neighbouring India as there is a interstate rivalry between the countries making security implications for both. Moreover, India barely needs the support of Bangladesh to access to its Northeast region as well as deal with threats stemmed from insurgency problem there. Similarly, China also seeks the geo-strategic supports from Bangladesh to contain India and U.S.A in the region.<sup>26</sup> As a result China, world's second largest economy, has a keen interest to build up a boost and viable relation with Bangladesh. By this time, the country has showed its interest to build deep sea port in Bangladesh from which the latter would highly benefit from economic

advantages and security interests to some extent. Likewise, U.S.A as a global super power is strategically decisive whether Bangladesh might serve the super power to contain China especially in the balance of naval power. As to Bangladesh lies within the internal and external security matrix of global powers, the country is expected to manoeuvre its geo-strategic position into its own advantages. Foreign policies enacted on the basis of such realities would serve the purpose in this regard.

In his book 'Indo-Bangladesh Relations: An Insider's View', Harun ur Rashid, former Bangladesh ambassador to UN, analyzed with depth views how the national interests of Bangladesh are better served on the ground of external and foreign affairs. These are as follows:

1. Firstly Bangladesh should maintain the preservation and defence of its political independence in regional and global context. Bangladesh necessitates to have its neighbouring countries peaceful, stable, and friendly to it. For the overall well being of the country, Bangladesh should be conscious enough about the fact that no country is unfriendly or poses threats to it. The old maxim 'live and let live' is to be reflected on the foreign policy of Bangladesh.
2. Dominance ultimately leads to hegemony. It is Bangladesh's vested interest not to see any country being dominant power in South Asia. All countries of the region should be able to decide an issue being independent of any external intervention of any country.
3. Bangladesh needs reliable friend countries that have common interests to each other. Friendship is a matter of being nurtured, not of being granted and therefore Bangladesh needs to seek proven friendship nurtured in long-term.
4. Maintaining the sound and friendly relations with neighbouring countries, donor-countries, and Islamic countries is one of the priorities for Bangladesh to capture its national interests.
5. Since economic instability links with the threats to security of Bangladesh, country's economy must be non-volatile and stable.<sup>27</sup>

If these suggestions were followed in forming foreign policy of the country, national interests, from the external point of view, would be achieved at the optimum level.

Regionally and globally, Bangladesh sometimes faces difficulties in pursuing clear foreign policy priorities having shortage of its capability of clutching at the national interests. Notwithstanding the fact, the country gains notable diplomatic progress in foreign affairs in regard with its geo-political and economic interests. Bangladesh has widely been recognized by international communities for its praiseworthy efforts in terms of climate change. On behalf of the Least Developed Countries (LDCs), Bangladesh leads the thematic debate on climate change organized by the United Nations General Assembly in February 2008. Bangladesh has already enhanced its national prestige and internationally accepted image by the means of some soft powers, such as Nobel Prize winning by Dr. Muhammad Yunus and Grameen Bank due to their outstanding contributions in the field of microcredit attracts many international organizations and governments to appreciate Bangladesh positively. Bangladesh national cricket team, for another example, upholds the image of Bangladesh in international arena, while some renowned NGOs like BRAC plays vital role not only in national socio-economic development but also in many other developing countries around the world.<sup>28</sup> Bangladesh has proved that foreign policy mechanism is quite effective in some cases to retain its self interests in a chaotic international politics and thereby further newer foreign policies should be formulated on the basis of national consensus and international realities.

Keeping the sovereignty, cultural identity, ideology, economic interest, which are the major objectives of Bangladesh foreign policy, are sometimes challenged by the forces of globalization. It sometimes becomes impossible for the country to securitize the referent objects threatened by these forces in a preemptive measure because of complexities of those forces that makes difficulties for the country to determine when and how such forces would pose threats to its security.<sup>29</sup> However a foreseeable outlook is essential to formulate and manipulate foreign policy of the country that may shift the country from a developing status to a developed status with the advancement of its all existing socio-economic and political conditions.

## 6.5 Political Stability and Good Governance

**Political Stability:** The security of Bangladesh is at risk if the political stability is not ensured in the near future. Following measures would be helpful to embed a desired level of stability in political arena of Bangladesh. Firstly, political maturity is required among the political leaders of the country in order to sustain a political culture of tolerance. The values of democracy should be discerned and practiced by the all classes of people of the country, while the practice of inner democracy is important one. Secondly, if a sound political ambience is possible with the help of civil society and media, then political leaders individually or collectively should go for building up national consensus on major issues like national economic development, national identity, defence and foreign policies. Thirdly, oppositions as well as ruling political parties should consider some major issues first such as internal democratization of the political parties, proper institutionalization of the parliament, amplification of the institution of the President, ensuring the freedom of press, making the anti-corruption commission completely independent of any unexpected intervention or lobbying emanated from any public or private source, and neutrality of the armed forces. Fourthly, political actors might be guided in right direction by the good suggestions of civil society and media.<sup>30</sup>

**Good governance:** The inherent link between good governance and security is well acknowledged. In the words of scholar Heiner Hanggi of the Geneva Center for Democratic Control of the Armed Forces—‘Though the issue of ‘security’ and ‘governance’ can be distinguished for analytical reasons, and are very often distinguished for political reasons, too, they are both closely intertwined - increasingly so.’<sup>31</sup>

The International Crisis Group (ICG) identifies the following aspects of security:

- a. **National security** – or freedom from the fear of military conflict.
- b. **Community security** – or freedom from the fear of violence: with law and order, and a decent justice system.
- c. **Personal security** – freedom from the fear of want: with income and employment, housing, health and educational opportunity.

**d. Environmental security** - freedom to enjoy decent physical conditions in which to live and work and play; and

**e. Personal liberty** – freedom to move, and speak, and assemble, to live in dignity and without discrimination, and to participate in the political process, at least of selecting those who make the decisions that affect our lives.<sup>3</sup>

As the capacity and will to deliver and ensure the above aspects directly refer to good governance, the interrelation between good governance and security is well understood.

If governance is to direct the just utilization of resources and the state institutions are to the benefit of the people, any phenomenon impinging the process of governance leads to the flux of instability that would consequently turn to affect the national security. The objectives of good government are to promote constitutionality, decentralization of power, protection of human rights, consolidate legal instrument, and combat corruption, and therefore attaining such good governance to certain level would accelerate peace. The OECD finds the link in its words, ‘Security is important for improved governance. Inappropriate security structures and mechanisms can contribute to weak governance, and to instability and violent conflict, which impact negatively on poverty reduction.’<sup>33</sup> Philosopher Emanuel Kant had found the link about more than 200 years ago. As he said, ‘People who feel secure and free, governed by the rule of law and not of men, are much less likely to go to war with each other either within or across borders than those who don’t.’<sup>34</sup>

It therefore can be argued that insecurity and lack of peace are the consequences of violence emerged from social or political instability. If there is causal interlink between instability and violence adversely affecting the good governance, then the severe causality is possible in the sense that the lack of good governance triggers violence, and hence instability and insecurity.<sup>35</sup> Good governance, as argued, is prominently intertwined with the security matter surpassing the common concept that good governance is inevitable for Bangladesh to ensure socio-economic, and political development. Therefore, members of civil society, media, and especially policymakers of Bangladesh should take necessary initiatives in ensuring good governance at desired level as soon as possible.



## 6.6 Neutrality

It is a good option for small states, under the system of balance of power, to stay neutral relying on diplomacy and/or deterrence. But getting the status of neutrality is difficult since a small state has to be recognized as neutral by neighbouring and big powers. A neutral state has to convince major powers that no other power will get access to their territory. Importantly, it must have the well equipped military to defend itself and deter from any external aggression.<sup>36</sup>

The record of would-be neutral states in the Indian sub-continent does not show desired success. In the history small states in Asia, Prince Sihanouk of Cambodia, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman of Bangladesh, and King Birendra of Nepal attempted to pursue the policy of neutrality but were failed to achieve the status due to the hardships of meeting the conditions of being neutral state. However, renowned scholar and political scientist of Bangladesh—Prof. Talukder Maniruzzaman stated the preconditions for a small state that may help achieve neutrality in the international community. Firstly, it has to establish the credibility as neutral state over a long period of time through the avoidance of active involvement in war and through refraining itself from pursuing any policy or action that would contribute to be involved in future war. Secondly, its geographical position is important in the sense that its neutral position would be advantageous to the major powers, and thirdly, the state should be militarily capable of defending itself from possible aggression. As Prof. Maniruzzaman claims, Switzerland and Sweden have achieved their widely recognized neutrality after meeting the above criteria.<sup>37</sup>

Given the difficulty of gaining neutral status, it is unlikely for a small state to achieve the recognition of a neutral status by mere declaration, let alone acquire the guarantee by the regional states and big powers. In historical perspective, India is big constraint before Bangladesh in the path of getting its neutral status. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, founding father of Bangladesh, was keenly interested to neutralize Bangladesh. But it is India, which forced him to give up the policy of neutrality through the partially signed 25 years Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Peace between the countries as a ransom of withdrawal of Indian Army from newly independent Bangladesh.<sup>38</sup> On the way of

becoming a neutral state, Bangladesh should first manage India for its formal and informal recognition for Bangladesh's neutrality. As mentioned above, the geographical position of the country is somewhat an obstruction to this purpose as vested security interests of several superpowers like U.S.A, China, and India are swirled around Bangladesh. If Bangladesh was able to convince the major powers that it would not allow any power (regional or global) to use its territory for any military purpose, the country would go one step ahead to the neutrality. Bangladesh already meets above mentioned third condition as it is now militarily well equipped to make an attempt to deter possible aggression. It is noteworthy here that if Bangladesh takes the option of being neutral state, it has to override the option of joining any military alliance as suggested in this paper before under the 'Defence Cooperation' point.

## 6.7 Engagement

Randall L Schweller defines engagement as the 'use of non-coercive means to ameliorate the *non-status quo elements* of a rising major power's behavior. The goal is to ensure that this growing power is used in ways that are consistent with peaceful change in regional and global order. The primary objective of an engagement policy is to minimize conflict and avoid war without compromising the integrity of the existing international order.' If a rising power cannot be satisfied and vital interests are so crucially threatened that war knocks at the door, then engagement is an effective apparatus for especially a small state to buy time and increase its strength, and to gain allies. Engagement is said to be most cost-effective solution to tackle a rising dissatisfied power.<sup>39</sup>

Bangladesh should pursue engagement policy not only in terms of its closest neighbour India and Myanmar, but also in terms of China, Pakistan and U.S.A. South Asian countries, all of which are plausibly rising powers, might be engaged through the effective role of SAARC, signing and operation of SAFTA, BIMSTEC, Joint economic and river commissions, interactions between civil societies, people to people contacts, track-II diplomacy, and so on. These options and measures may not always be effective in normalizing the existing rivalry and disputes between countries, but may serve not to let the issues of disputes go beyond uncontrolled level; in other words, to turn to the conventional threats. The most

devastating possible threats to Bangladesh is the implementation of India's proposed river-linking project of Ganges-Brahmaputra-Meghna (GBM), which is supposed to spill over disastrous effects on agriculture, economy, and most importantly ecological balance of Bangladesh. Being an upper riparian country, India is depriving Bangladesh of its equitable share of water from 54 common rivers of both countries. It is suffice to say that if Bangladesh was not a 'Soft State', India would be compelled to resolve the prevailing water disputes in accordance with international conventions and laws regarding the share of water of common rivers. Bangladesh should try to engage India in bilateral relations encompassing all possible areas of cooperation and thus gain maximum level of benefit from this 'Regionally Big One'.<sup>40</sup>

**Alliance:** If it is not feasible for Bangladesh in attaining the neutral status, the country should go for alliance to secure its national interests. Alliance, having several advantages for developing countries, may enhance the power of Bangladesh to deter the threats posed to it by balancing the opposing state(s). Bangladesh could purchase its required military hardware easily at cheaper price from such an alliance and thereby save its scarce resources. Alliances, however, have their own disadvantages too. As involved in alliance to a comparatively more powerful neighbouring state, Bangladesh may lose its sovereignty to some extent. For instance, India controls largely the defence and foreign policies of Bhutan, as India has stationed its troops in the latter. So, Bangladesh had better form an alliance with the countries having nearly equal balance of power, or with the big power(s) that would not turn to be a threat to its sovereignty anyway. Moreover, when the balance of power shifts, threats to a weaker state may arise from opposing groups, if the state is tied with an alliance.<sup>41</sup> Bangladesh should be aware of the drawbacks of joining alliance in case the developing small states.

## 6.8 Balancing or Bandwagoning?

Balancing denotes opposing the stronger side in a conflict and balancing can be conducted in two ways. Firstly, internal mobilization of resources to conform with those of adversaries. Secondly, external balancing through the formation of formal and informal alliances directed against the rising power. Both forms of balancing can be

employed at the same time to counteract any threat. Balancing involves projection of military power often turning to be offensive, while it also involves the allying with weaker state(s) in the region. Bandwagoning is the opposite of the balancing that implies joining the stronger coalition. Balancing is viewed by Karsh as the best policy for small states. However, in terms of balancing, threatened state should be aware of changing the distribution of capabilities whether allies or adversaries are getting stronger or weaker.<sup>42</sup>

Under the geo-strategic considerations, Bangladesh should adopt the policy of balancing and not bandwagoning. Although there is a possibility of vulnerability, Bangladesh should draw a cost-benefit calculation of a posture which is likely to antagonize India. Bangladesh should follow the policy of submission and antagonism especially in terms of India and China to ensure that its national interests are not jeopardized. Through different mechanisms, Bangladesh is expected to look for the option of deriving maximum benefit from China in terms like military and economic support. By the way, 'Bangladesh needs to balance its relation with India and China. Both countries are important to Bangladesh and it may not have the luxury to annoy or offend either of them unnecessarily'. Both types of balancing are suggested for Bangladesh—harnessing internal resources to promote its resistance and looking for allies whether they are strong or weak in order to counter any threat and contentious issues between nations.<sup>43</sup>

The general decline of Third World security arising from the disequilibrium in the balance of power among the super powers engenders failure to evaluate the alliance between Third World states and super/great power as a method of augmenting the former's security. Third World small states entering into an alliance with higher risk and cost are provided no guarantee super/great power would respect its commitment to defend its smaller ally when needed. In the words of Nicolo Machiavelli, 'a prince ought never to make common cause with one more powerful than himself, unless necessity forces him to it', while Gamal Abdul Nasser just rephrased it, 'An alliance between a big power and a small power is an alliance between the wolf and the sheep and it is bound to end up with the wolf devouring the sheep'.<sup>44</sup> Bangladesh ought to abide by this phrase while going for determining its security policy.

## 6.9 Producing Soft Power

Hard power is familiar to almost everyone. Military or economic power often gets others to change their position. Hard power actually focuses on the inducements (carrots) or threats (sticks). But it is possible sometimes to get the outcomes one wants without threats or payoffs. This indirect way to get something one wants is called 'the second face of power' referring to the 'Soft Power'. As other countries admire its values, emulate its example, aspire to its level of prosperity and openness, and finally want to follow it; a country might get the outcomes it wants in world politics. It needs not, in this view, to force others to be changed by the means of military threats or economic sanctions. Soft power co-opts people instead of coercing them through getting another to want the same outcomes that one wants. There are primarily three sources of soft power of a country: a) its culture placed in the level where it becomes attractive to others, b) its political values when it lives up to them at home and abroad, and c) its foreign policies they are viewed as legitimate and having moral authority.<sup>45</sup>

The true strength and pride of the people of Indian subcontinent do not lie either in political being or in economic being rather in cultural being. On regional perspective, countries lag behind political development, while violence and contentious elements spoil the *democratic culture*. Countries of the region are not fared well in economic development, in compared with developed West, to the satisfactory level. But when it is a matter of *cultural democracy*, the subcontinent is more rich and diversified fruitfully than many other developed societies. Rabindranath Tagore and Mirza Ghalib are two of vivid evidence, whereas Lata Mangeshkar, Sabina Yasmin, Muttiah Muralitharan and Monisha Koirala uphold the soft power of the respective nations to the international arena.<sup>46</sup>

Bangladesh, in comparison with geographical size, is mostly bestowed country with cultural resources in the region. But due to the lack of proper measures by and consciousness of the concerned people, Bengali culture has not widely dispersed influences throughout the world as other rich cultures do have. If highly prosperous Bengali literary works, reflected largely by the core values of Sufi, Hanafi, Marfati, Bhakti,

and Baul traditions and philosophies, could be translated into most influential international languages like English, Spanish, French, German or Russian languages to the optimum level, cultural values and national spirit of the country would be indubitably highlighted in the fields of world literature. Besides, images and influences of internationally recognized Bangladeshi jewels like Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, Kazi Nazrul Islam, Fazlur Rahman Khan (FR Khan), Fazle Hasan Abed, Muhammad Yunus, and Sakib Al Hasan could be maneuvered to maximize the national interests from different states and international organizations. Through cast-iron public and private initiatives, global marketing of indigenous food stuffs (like Rashgollas), native fruits (like jackfruit, palmyra palm), traditional products (like Jaamdani Saaris), and Geographical Indication product (GI product) of Bangladesh (like Hilsa fish) would surely contribute to national economy through foreign exchange earnings, enhancement of tourism, and foreign direct investment (FDI) as well as accelerate the soft power of the country. Traditional sports (like Cabadi or Ha-Du-Du) and entertainment (like Jatrapala, Kabhi Gaan) may also be leading determinants of generating soft power of the country.

Attempts on a large scale might be pursued initially through the sponsoring Bangladesh Parishad or Bangladesh Cultural Centre in different cities of the world, managed and run by the well qualified and well induced Bangladesh diaspora. It is notable that there is a qualitative difference between post-globalization diaspora and the old diaspora. Such councils and cultural centres, becoming information-gathering/delivering bodies and informal lobbies, could help Bangladesh in getting access to people and things more creatively than possible by the formal diplomatic missions, instances of such efforts are already precedented, though.<sup>47</sup>

## **6. 9.A Maritime Security: Nonconventional Perspective**

The maritime matrix of Bangladesh comprises three zones. Of which the first comprises four successive maritime zones namely—i. Territorial sea (12 nm), ii. Contiguous zone (24 nm), iii. Exclusive Economic Zone (200 nm), and iv. Continental shelf (350 nm), all of these are determined from a fixed baseline as per UNCLOS. The second is the coastal zone, identified as a 719 km long land connected to the Indian Ocean via the Bay of Bengal.

This zone comprises an area of 36,000 sq. km and world’s largest littoral mangrove belt lies in this region. Moreover, the zone is very rich with bio-diversity and different kinds of renewable/non-renewable environmental resources. The third is also the Coastal zone, identified as the zone consisted of small off-shore inlands (more stable) and char land masses (less consolidated and characterized by hydro-morphological dynamic).<sup>48</sup>

Non-military aspect of maritime security of Bangladesh remains ignored due to excessive emphasis on conventional or military dimension of maritime security. This negligence is followed by several causes—i. the nature of non-traditional threats is variegated and thus difficult to be identified, ii. These threats emanate at uncertain time, iii. In this era of globalization, the dimension of such threats shifts from classic to non-classic nature ranging from inshore waters to the waters in the high seas, iv. Threats are splintered and originated from non-state actors, v. Due to ‘chaos of littorals’, many non-traditional threats emanated from land, vi. Unconventional threats to maritime security are asymmetric, and vii. Any unified response to these threats becomes underestimated and discouraged since the threats are asymmetric.<sup>49</sup> As a small littoral country, Bangladesh needs to be aware much of the non-traditional aspect of threats to its maritime security. The Bay of Bengal and its adjacent maritime areas are becoming successively important hub in the sea and therefore, it is time for the country to amplify the security of marine resources, abate the further deterioration of marine environment, and tackle non-state actors committing crimes within its maritime boundary.

## Options for Bangladesh

Different kinds of problems are marked by the three oceanic zones of Bangladesh. The following table shows the human security issues and their impacts across the zones.

**Table 37: Marine Zones of Bangladesh, Human Security Issues, and their Impacts**

Zones	Human Security Issues	Impacts
Coastal Zone	Threat to traditional means of livelihood, abysmal poverty, poor	Loss of agricultural production (due to shrimp cultivation), perennial

	level of services and poorly developed infrastructures, coastal pollution, natural disasters (cyclones, storm surges, coastal erosion), absence of political organizations, ineffective law enforcing agencies.	unemployment, conflict over scarce resources, loss of human lives and property, damage to health, displacement and sufferings of human population, loss of marine bio-diversity, over exploitation of coastal resources, threats to the poor by the outsiders (investors in shrimp cultivation, private agencies), absence of law and order
Offshore Islands and Chars	Natural hazards of oceanic origin, lack of employment opportunities, various crimes, discrimination against women, ineffective law enforcing agencies	Loss of life and property, sea erosion, abysmal poverty, kidnapping, killing, domestic violence, trafficking, rape and sexual abuse, absence of law and order
Maritime Zones	Piracy, illegal fishing and poaching, smuggling, pollution	Loss of life and property at ships, loss of fishermen lives, looting, loss of fish stocks, increase in poverty of the fishermen, threat to physical security, deterioration in law and order situation, degradation of marine eco and bi diversity system

**Source: Abul Kalam Azad, The Marine Dimension of Human Security: Implications for Bangladesh, BISS Journal, Vol. 29, No. 1, January, 2008, p. 36.**

Possible measures to address the critical issues identified in the three distinct maritime zones of Bangladesh are narrated here. To this end, problems and possible measures are to be analyzed at three different levels on the basis of contemporary ocean governance—national, regional and international.

**National Level:** At the national level integrated coastal zone management (ICZM) would be the most appropriate approach for Bangladesh to address the problems



encompassing mentioned three zones. Traditional forms of development planning in four ways are sought by ICZM, an important component of contemporary ocean governance. These ways are: i. Augmentation of a thorough understanding of natural resource system being unique to the coastal areas and their sustainability with regard to wide variety of human activities, ii. Optimizing multiple uses of natural resource system by gathering ecological, social, and economic information, iii. Promotion of interdisciplinary approaches and inter-sectoral cooperation and coordination to deal with developmental issues and formulation of integrated strategies to expand and diversify economic activities, and iv. Improvement of efficiency of capital investment, human and natural resources in order to reach economic, social and environmental goals as well as meet the international obligations regarding coastal and marine environment. Large number of people of Bangladesh depends on natural resources derived from land and water. Therefore main objectives of ICZM in Bangladesh are to reduce poverty, ensure sustainable livelihood, and guarantee physical safety of the people. Three prime objectives—conservation, protectionism, and development are relevant to Bangladesh in this perspective. Among other, awareness among common people about ocean and its possible uses, well management of maritime enforcement agencies, and substantial political will are important at national level.<sup>50</sup>

**Regional Level:** In the maritime zone of Bangladesh, problems like piracy, illegal fishing, trafficking of small arms, drugs and human are regionally linked with maritime security, and thereby regional cooperation is very important in the system of ocean governance. Through the regional cooperation, fisheries management, protection and preservation of marine environment, marine scientific research, marine safety, enforcement responsibility, and disaster management are better solved among littoral states. However, regional cooperation on the ground of maritime security and environment is not fared well in South Asia due to political tensions and mistrust in the region. For instances, operations taken by regional organizations such as Regional Seas Program under the aegis of UNEP (United Nations Environmental Program, Bay of Bengal Program initiated by FAO (Food and Agricultural Organization), Indian Ocean Initiative, are yet to reach optimum level. Bangladesh had better go for further and effective Joint

Management, Joint Surveillance, and Joint Disaster Management Program with a view to accelerate the welfare of the country and its people.<sup>51</sup>

**International Level:** As an apex level, the international level in this maritime perspective is of vital importance. The entire local, national, and regional levels end up at this level. Bangladesh is expected to take legal assistance from a good number of international organizations related to oceanic fields. The country by this time has acquired its claimed maritime areas by the verdict of International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea (ITLOS) against both neighbouring countries India and Myanmar. Therefore it is optimistically expected that Bangladesh is supposed to get aid, advice, and legal assistance from such organizations on any possible maritime dispute, conflict, or security in future. The UNCLOS sets the central regime for ocean governance through a system of treaty and several sub-regimes. Among these sub-levels, the most important one is International Maritime Organization (IMO) based on a number of UNCLOS articles leading at the global level in formulating and coordinating the battle against piracy and armed robbery at sea. IMO coordinates in combating crimes of respective nature with International Drug Control Program (UNDCP) and the Global Program against Trafficking in Human Beings. It is notable here that the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission (IOC) of UNESCO, International Hydrographic Organization (HO), and United Nations Environmental Program (UNEP) function at global level regarding oceans and seas in preserving marine environment, its source of food, regulating its climatic conditions and so on. International Sea-bed Authority, the Commission on the Limits of the Continental Shelf (CLCS), and the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea (ITLOS) are there to watchdog that nothing wrong goes in the oceans.<sup>52</sup> With the newly achieved vast size maritime areas, the concerned authorities of Bangladesh are vested with great responsibility to secure its marine resources and lead oceanic management with utmost mechanism and technologies. States now tend to move to seas, which are comparatively less utilized, for increasing demand of their people for resources and thereby Bangladesh might embroil into conflict with other littoral countries on the ground of dispute over marine resources and sea-route demarcation in future. It would be prudent for the country to take preemptive measures in countering any possible threat emanated to its maritime border.

## Building Soft Capabilities

A comprehensive capacity building requires intense attention towards soft capabilities apart from hard capabilities. Bangladesh notably lacks effective management and initiatives in terms of building soft capabilities. In this perspective, there are at least three areas where special cares and efforts are badly needed by private as well as public institutions and organizations. Firstly the development of resource exploration and extraction capacities is to be referred. In Bangladesh, hydrographic survey and oceanic research are sought to be widen and broaden in order to measure the feature that affects maritime navigation, marine construction, dredging, offshore oil exploration, drilling and relevant activities. Reliable and updated information on marine environment are currently collected and analyzed by the Hydrographic Department of Bangladesh Navy. Effective and profitable exploration, drilling, and extraction of seabed marine resources necessitate more advancement in technological and technical sphere. Secondly, the construction of critical infrastructure at sea is of crucial importance in facilitating uninterrupted seaborne trade, combating sea-induced disasters, and controlling piracy and marine pollution. For Bangladesh, the construction of deep sea port in Sonadia, augmentation of the capacity and high performance of existing Chittagong and Mongla ports, building strategic communication facilities in certain coastal islands are of major priorities now. Finally and thirdly, studies, research and management of maritime governance are important ones. As mechanism of maritime governance accelerates, the positive results of maritime policy may reach at optimum level. In Bangladesh, the coast guard, Maritime Fisheries Department, Department of Shipping,

Shipping Corporation, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, port authorities, custom authorities, Bangladesh Petroleum Exploration and Production Company Limited, including Bangladesh Navy are involved in maritime related activities and operations. Unfortunately, there is no central coordinating body might be utilized to serve highly effective coordination among above bodies. To this end, Bangladesh can establish a central coordinating body under the relevant ministries or can establish a distinct Ministry of Maritime Affairs to centrally deal with all of maritime issue related organizations and institutions .<sup>53</sup> If managed in a right direction, marine resources and

increased level of seaborne trade can lead to introduce a developed national economy of the country. Besides, sea with its utmost utilization may become as valuable as land in terms of employment, food security, and blue economy.

## **Maritime Diplomacy**

Maritime diplomacy denotes a spectrum of activities ranging from co-operative measures like port visits, exercise and humanitarian assistance to persuasive deployment and coercion. This type of diplomacy is not only limited to navies but also is followed by coastguards, civilian vessels, and non-state groups. China and India, as developing and rising powers, have obtained exemplary success in increasingly use of this form of hard and soft power. Prospects of maritime diplomacy, however, are largely unexplored in Bangladesh. The country may manipulate maritime diplomacy in its great advantages, since maritime forces are unique to be engaged in diplomatic missions for a number of reasons. Navies and maritime agencies do not necessarily require access to sovereign territory as they can operate on the global commons. They may be deployed for several weeks with longer-term pressure being applied. The agencies may pursue military options leading to higher or lower tensions and they can run their diplomatic missions in a location inaccessible to independent media.<sup>54</sup>

Maritime forces are more geographically flexible than other forces as they are able to transit to close to arrival's shore without asking for permission, and approach and retreat from a nation's shoreline legally and with comparative ease. They are also geographically sustainable than other forces. For example, land forces require extensive supply lines for remaining well stocked. They can remain in situ for long term, but their mobility is restricted to the scheduled supplies and resupplies. In comparison with air forces, aircrafts are not self-sustainable too. On the other hand, ocean-capable vessels are often like the floating towns or cities containing human population ranging from one hundred to several thousands, with enough foods, supplies and ammunition so that forces in the vessel can remain for weeks at a time. This facilitates the vessel to be engaged in co-operative, persuasive, and coercive maritime diplomacy during a long period of time.<sup>55</sup> Following this advantages, Bangladesh would benefit at large scale from pursuance of well managed and effective maritime diplomacy as part of non-military aspect of

maritime security. Naval forces of Bangladesh may learn primarily, under bilateral defence cooperation, theoretical and practical knowledge about maritime diplomacy from Chinese and Indian naval forces.

## **6. 9.B Climate Change Adaptation and Combating Environmental Degradation**

A number of Bangladeshi researchers have conducted researches on climate change and projected the issue in many international forums. Besides, civil society organizations are proactive to raise awareness and consciousness among people about the special vulnerability to climate change. A holistic approach is recommended to combat climate change as the severe adverse impacts of the change may mar socio-economic and demographic conditions by affecting agriculture, livelihoods of people and ecological balance. Mainstream adaptation to climate change requires improved institutional guidelines providing mechanism on how inter-ministerial coordination would be obtained and on how inter-ministerial conflicts would be resolved. These guidelines would also be helpful to determine who are supposed to mainstream adaptation in which direction. Environmental diplomacy is also sought to draw negotiations to increase the lean water flows of the common rivers of Bangladesh mostly originated from upper riparian India and Nepal. Currently, there are two national institutions on the climatic issues, which have been found to lead impassive conditions in terms of integrated and coordinated approach to mainstream adaptation.<sup>56</sup> These institutions including NAPA should turn to be 'impressive' from 'impassive' ones.

### **Policy Recommendations**

In their article namely 'Climate Change, Disasters and Adaptation in Bangladesh: Role of Micro Financial Services', Mahfuz Kabir and Dilruba Yasmin Chowdhury have stated some broad-based recommendations for Bangladesh suggested for introducing new micro finance products and improving the existing ones towards better in terms of climate change adaptation. These are as follows:

- **Introducing cheaper and convenient products:** Microfinance Institutions (MFIs) should design for introducing new microfinance products and improving the existing ones for poor people more vulnerable to climatic risks because of their residence at remote areas like *char*, *haor*, and hilly areas. Micro financial services would be more available in those inaccessible areas by increasing the number of MFIs there.
- **Flexible repayment:** Severely vulnerable poor quarters and communities may not be able to repay their installments timely due to adverse impacts on their livelihood caused by climate change. It is very difficult for them to repay installments weekly or monthly because their source of income is not multidimensional rather depends on seasons since they are agro-based poor households. Therefore, designation of provision for seasonal, semi-annual and yearly installments is always appreciated for the interests of poor people who are not capable of repaying installments timely due to their financial restrictions.
- **Crop insurance:** Agro-based poor households face dilemma in financial hardships. When their crops are marred due to natural disaster, they cannot pay their debts on the one hand, and they become hardly able to get new loans especially from formal and quasi formal source(s) on the other hand. They are, therefore, expected to get benefit from crop insurance services through offsetting their crop loss due to natural disaster(s) induced by climatic impacts.
- **Matching services with client needs:** When poverty, livelihood characteristics, and relief from disasters are positively affected by microfinance services, such services are considered to deal their business successfully to the end. Microfinance products and services are usually useful for emergencies and planned investments, but poor people prefer services based on low-risk savings with many small transactions. In this case, vulnerable groups of poor people prioritize microfinance products and services which lead to secure their productive assets and lower their livelihood risks.
- **Climate-orientation:** There is a contradiction between short-term MFI funded income and responses required for getting reliefs from adverse impacts of climate change in the sense that this funded income does not necessarily supplement to

long run resolution to climatic impacts. In order to tackle the problem, MFIs are expected to adopt sustainable measures in their economic activities in long run.

- **Initiatives for Greening taken by the MFIs:** Many poor people, because of their unawareness and lack of proper enlightenment, directly depend on ecosystem in an unsustainable way for their livelihoods. They might also be involved in income generating activities that cause depletion of natural resources too fast to their natural re-growth leading to impairing ecological balance and degrading environment and thereby engender natural disasters like landslide, flood, or storm surges as the long-term consequences. So, greening MFIs is required for providing incentives for sustainable resource utilizations among those people. The optimum trade-off between short-term loan repayment schedules and long-term sustainable natural resource management is also required to this end.<sup>57</sup> Spreading awareness and providing practical training among concerned people for the purpose of their sustainable livelihood and development are of crucial importance.

Mohammad Towheedul Islam, a Bangladeshi scholar, suggested some other good adaptation policies for Bangladesh in regard with climate change. These are as follows:

- **Financial Resources:** The importance of financial measures regarding disaster is well understood by the McKinsey Report titled '*Shaping Climate-resilient Development: A Framework for Decision-making.*' It is transparently identified in the report that 'cash reserve' and 'contingent capital' are most cost-effective measures in increased flood-related adaptation in Guyana. This concept is also applicable for Bangladesh because poor people who are vulnerable to climatic disasters lack sufficient access to financial resources. Remittance inflow is one of the major determinants of 'cash reserve' and 'capital contingent'. For instance, when Indonesia was heavily stricken by Tsunami in 2004, the remittance inflow, through providing adequate financial resources, contributed much to the affected households in the aftermath. Remittance also provides the basis for meeting basic needs such as food, housing, or health.

- **Social Resources:** Many Mexicans residing in the U.S form hometown associations and develop their home region by sending financial support. T. Siddiqui and Abrar have found out the similar tendency among Bangladeshi migrants in terms of community development. They also have found that, through the remittance, community development and charity in Bangladesh are geared up by the Bangladeshi migrants living in the United Kingdom and United States. *Nandan Group* of Bangladesh is the vivid example of large investment by non-resident Bangladeshi people. The group potentially indicates the possible uses of social networks to fund community-wide climate adaptation initiatives. In a word, migration triggers social network building, leading to increase social capital necessary for community investment. International labour migration also mitigates the burden on natural resources in the critical areas laid by unconscious poor people.
- **Infrastructural Determinant:** According to Bangladesh Census data of 2001, 99 percent of the houses of Barguna district, heavily hit by cyclone, are not brick-built rather majority of those are *kutcha* houses often made of clay and bamboo. As most of houses of the regions vulnerable to climate change are not suitable for coping with the impact of floods and storms, changing the housing pattern in the concerned areas is one of the most important adaptation strategies. IOM study shows that one of the main sectors of remittance expenditure in Bangladesh is the construction and repairing of houses. It is found in the study that as much as 30 percent of the remittance income is spent by the families to consolidate their shelter security. Researchers also explored similar findings in other developing countries on the ground of remittance expenditure. Studies conducted over a village of Vietnam, show construction/infrastructure ranked fourth out of seven categories based on importance of remittance expenditure and contribution to capital assets. Infrastructural development in agricultural sector might be fruitful in adaptation measures in Bangladesh especially in drought-prone areas of the country.
- **Governmental Intervention:** In its Five-Year National Plan, Bangladesh should incorporate international labour migration policy as a long-term adaptation



strategy. The long-term goal of such policy would be to send at least one member from every household overseas with a total of .05 to 1 million of migrants over a period of ten years. Such migration should primarily be undertaken as temporary and circular labour migration.

- ***Private Sector, NGOs and Community Level Intervention:*** Since international migration is a vital apparatus in adaption to climate change, private sector, NGOs and communities' role to the fact is of crucial significance. Similarly, by introducing new productive programmes and providing easy access to credits for poor individuals living in the vulnerable areas, microfinance institutions (MFIs) can play important role in household adaptation in respect to climate change.<sup>58</sup>
- ***Role of Developed Countries:*** Now it is open secret matter of fact that developed countries are mostly responsible for global climatic disaster due to their unscrupulous industrial, economic, and development strategies leading to ozone layer depletion and green house effects. These countries should, on the basis of climate justice, discern the worse conditions of developing countries vulnerable to negative impacts of climate change. Under this consideration, politicians and policymakers of developed industrialist countries should reform their migration policies to ease migration of the people from vulnerable regions into their countries. These countries can also provide basis for training the human resources of developing countries to make them skilled as per their skill requirements. Developed countries should also provide adequate financial and technological supports to vulnerable nations like Bangladesh in combating climatic disasters. It is noteworthy here that technical solution like carbon trade is not permanent solution to address climate change. Sustainable options should be pursued in the case by developing as well as developed countries.

### **Combating Environmental Degradation: Bangladesh Context**

The overall scenario of recent development of Bangladesh seems that the country is more attentive to economic and infrastructural development that other criteria of the development. Development is a comprehensive process. If there is no equality in all sectors of development like education, health, environment, security, law and order

system, and socio-political stability, the gross national development will not be fared well by pursuing merely economic development. Many countries now are counting natural resources and environmental losses in terms of counting their Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and Gross National Product (GNP), while in the name of development, Bangladesh indirectly pushes *Sundarban*, a vital lung of the subcontinent, into existential threat through the endeavour of implementing proposed Rampal Power Plant near this world's largest unique mangrove forest.<sup>59</sup> The country is expected to adopt development policies that sustain ecological balance and do not harmfully affect the environment.

Due to increasing population pressure, Bangladesh is already in a predicament in terms of natural resource endowment. It is argued that this type of biotic pressure will surely increase in future since the country is passing through the development trajectory. Through the introduction of sustainable development, Bangladesh can mitigate the unnatural pressure on limited environmental resources to large extent. Experience in Bangladesh indicates that government policies are not necessarily effective in the management of natural resources because of many reasons. Implementation of environment friendly development policies are expected to be fruitful in this case. In case of Chittagong Hill Track (CHT), there is a severe contradiction between communal system of resource management and customary rights of tribal people, and government policies regarding the matter. Government policies distinguish both within the tribal and between them and the Bengali settlers. Therefore, when the matter of land settlement arises, the land commission established in accordance with Peace Accord should deal the fact in advantage of environmental sustainability. The management of natural resources by local communities and local government with autonomous power is also suggested.<sup>60</sup>

Bangladesh needs to introduce environmental security-oriented foreign policy. In developing countries like Bangladesh, poverty reduction is essential not only from humanitarian perspective, but also from the perspective of environmental protection. It is suffice to say that the increasing shortage of fresh water will bring serious consequences over the poverty reduction strategy as well as ecological sustainability. India as a militarily mighty neighbour is indifferent to the right of Bangladesh in achieving equitable share of water from 54 common rivers. Apart from diplomatic actions and

mechanism, Bangladesh should, in this regard, build up a coalition with Nepal, Bhutan, and Indian environmentalists whose interests logically suit to that of this country. On the account of bilateral talk between India and Bangladesh, it may be recalled that the Dhaka Declaration of the 13<sup>th</sup> SAARC Summit emphasized on regional cooperation highlighting the issue of water resources. However, Bangladesh's focus on Riparian Rights and Equitable Utilization would meaningfully create diplomatic pressure on regional hegemony India.<sup>61</sup>

As one of the most vulnerable countries to climate change, international community draws special attention to Bangladesh. Many multilateral environmental agreements including UNFCCC containing the principle of common but differentiate responsibility, have been recognized by the international community. Bangladesh can provide, based on the principle, the basis for an intellectual hub consisting of developing countries as well as least developed countries (LDCs) for the purpose of climate negotiations. The preparation and implementation of National Adaptation Programs of Action (NAPA) can be facilitated by the UNFCCC and LDC funds. Since the adversities of human-induced climate change prevail a long period of time, building capacities at different levels would be appropriate measure in addressing recurring disasters resulted from climate variability and such capacity building would significantly prepare Bangladesh for consolidating environmental security. However, increased level of environmental protectionism worldwide might trigger conflicts among various trading nations. Therefore, especially the ministries of foreign affairs and commerce should be responsive enough to address the aroused crisis.<sup>62</sup>

The vulnerability to climate change and environmental degradation are the infamous threat to the security of human being and total ecosystem of the world. Although the degree of intensity varies from country to country, now the threats have reached in its severe form crossing the safe zone to be tolerable level. The root causes of climatic and environmental stresses lie mostly in unsustainable development policies, overpopulation problems, rapid industrialization, scientific and technological advancement, lack of public awareness about the facts, extensive burning of fossil fuels, and over consumption mentality of humans. It is a matter of hope that different segments of conscious global

commons have come forward in addressing these serious hazards. Statesmen, policymakers, environmentalists, media men, scientists, and other aware and wise people are hopefully involved in finding how it is possible to sustain human being 'without risking the collapse of achieved level civilization' and suggesting options thereby.

Effective measures and actions in combating climate change and environmental degradation are expected to be spearheaded by Bangladesh, being a worst victim of climate change and recurrent disasters, at national, regional and global levels while it becomes possible for the country. Like many other countries, Bangladesh has to face the 'development' and 'environment' dichotomy. In this perspective, Bangladesh can follow Bhutan in terms of sustainable development. Bhutan ranks first in the world in holding highest percentage of forest in comparison with total land territory of a country. As like as Bhutan, Bangladesh had better accept the policy of counting 'Happiness' as a measurable index of GDP growth and run its development activities without hampering the sustainability of nature, environment, and ecosystem.

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# Chapter VII

# The Comprehensive Security Policy Options for Bangladesh: An Analytical Point of View

*'Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired signifies, in the final sense, a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed. The world in arms is not spending money alone. It is spending the sweat of its laborers, the genius of its scientists, the hopes of its children... This is not a way of life at all, in any true sense. Under the cloud of threatening war, it is humanity hanging from a cross of iron.'*—**Dwight D. Eisenhower, Former U.S. President, April 16, 1953.**

## 7.1 Security and Development Nexus

Despite defence expenditure is important for achieving optimum level of national security from external threats that also contributes to the economic development, high military expenditure for defence or civil conflicts harms the economy and may impede growth. Data on military expenditures as per Gross Domestic Product (GDP) indicate that how over military expenditure impairs the national economy through using the national resources for military puposes.<sup>1</sup> Some studies show that as there is a direct relation between investment and economic growth, it is reasonable that military spending would have negative effect on economic growth if the spending has negative effect on investment. Another study argues that military spending restricts export growth as well as economic growth as military expenditures compete for the same resources used in export production.<sup>2</sup>

As evidenced, there is a correlation between the levels of underdevelopment and the levels of insecurity. The higher level of development lowers the likelihood of insecurity. However, unveiling the relationship is not clear. While it is difficult to determine how developmental factors contribute to conflict, it is not obviously clear to what extent conflict is the source of a country's developmental problems and consequences. The generality of the concept of security-development nexus obscures the facts in determining the causal connections between the two and hinders in drawing proper policy guidelines in different contexts regarding the relevance of the combination and

sequence of policies. The casual lags, disconnects, blowbacks, tensions, and trade-offs involved in addressing multifaceted security and development challenges in diverse circumstances are not adequately reflected due to highly abstraction of the concerted call for integrated policies. Better understanding of trends and pressures leading to conflict and thwart development and addressing these trends and pressures by the means of exactly policy responses are helpful to achieve the twin goals of security and development in diverse circumstances. As evidenced by shortcomings of many efforts, the task is not easy, though.<sup>3</sup>

In responses to the complex nature of the crisis of human rights, development, and security soon after the Cold War, the convergence between security and development policies were stemmed. During the 1990s, bilateral and multilateral donors as well as international institutions called for concerted international actions in addressing these complexities and by the 2000s, the connection between security and development was asserted to the point of monotony by numerous UN documents and policy reports. For instance, the UN High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change stated that ‘development and security are inextricably linked. A more secure world is only possible if poor countries are given a real chance to develop.’ While Jeffrey Sachs, director of the UN Millennium Project, focused on investing in development, he argued that ‘many world leaders in recent years have rightly stressed the powerful relationship between poverty reduction and global security’. Former UN Secretary General Kofi Annan reasserted the fact in his report *In Larger Freedom*, ‘development, security and human rights go hand in hand.’<sup>4</sup>

At the early post Cold War, security scholars had conventionally focused on interstate conflicts and their approaches were primarily about state centric perspective, while development scholars had emphasized on the sources of economic growth and socioeconomic development concerning societal conflicts. Interstate conflicts became the forefront in international affairs at the immediate aftermath of Cold War and researchers in the both arena had to importantly endure and design retooling to address these conflicts. Although a lot of innovative researches have been conducted in the concerned field, the dominant approaches are still manipulated to exploit poor and

unstable countries like Bangladesh through divergent disciplinary perspectives and discriminate policy prescriptions. Therefore, policymakers often have to face difficulties to make sense of competing and sometimes contradictory interpretations of complex problems in such societies.<sup>5</sup>

## **7.2 Development and Military Power in Third World States**

Third World states like Bangladesh invest considerable shares of their resources to national security systems. The real effectiveness of Third World military forces is a matter of continuing interest. At first, the capability of forces must be measured against the seriousness of contingencies reflected in the degree of hostility and fighting capabilities of potential adversaries. But significant determinants of military effectiveness rely upon the degree of development in economic, educational, societal, political and cultural spheres. The ability of militaries to operate and support modern weapons or micro-competence, and to organize and manage forces for militaristic purposes or macro-competence, is adversely affected by the lags in such components of development. It is clear that there is complex correlation between military inputs like numbers of weapons, the size of armies, the hours devoted to training and military outputs like the ability to prevail on the battle field. In Third World states like Bangladesh, certain societal features impede the process of transforming inputs into outputs and resources into capabilities. But at any stage of development, deliberate policies taken by the national leaderships can increase both micro-competence and macro-competence.<sup>6</sup>

## **7.3 Democracy and Military Power**

Renowned scholar Arnold Wolfers made a difference between countries' 'possession goals' and broad and wide 'milieu goals' such as preparing an ambience helpful for democracy. Both types of goals are very important for any country and for its foreign policy mechanism. In terms of American national interests, one may find soft power less relevant in preventing attack, policing borders, and protecting allies, but soft power is particularly relevant to reach 'milieu goals'. This type of goals is crucial one for promoting democracy, human rights and open market economies. It is easier to attract people to

the values of democracy than to coerce them to be democratic. Moreover, arms, bombs, or battle tanks are not conducive when humans need to prevent the spread of infectious diseases, threats of global warming, and to flourish democracy in their societies.<sup>7</sup>

Evidently, social changes in large democracies increase the cost of using military forces and postindustrial democracies focus more on welfare of their people than achieving glory. They also dislike high casualties. All these facts do not mean that these democracies will not use forces or war remains impossible for them. For example, U.S.A, UK and France were directly involved in the Gulf War of 1991, whereas U.S.A and UK led the Iraq War of 2003 in the name of destroying Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD). But in modern democracies waging such wars require elaborate moral justification to ensure public support of the concerned country. This requirement and other costs of modern wars make the violence and wars less acceptable than it was a century or even half a century ago. Actually contemporary powerful states have lost their lust for and greed of conquering to large extent.<sup>8</sup> Instead of territorial expansion, global power now use 'neocolonialism' to invade intangibly many of the Third World states like Bangladesh.

While militarily super powerful states are noticeably careful in attaining their 'milieu goals', Bangladesh, as a militarily weaker country, should be more careful and attentive to reach successfully this goals. For Bangladesh, flourishing a true democratic culture in the whole society, poverty alleviation to the optimum level, ensuring improved life standard of all classes of its citizens, free access to medical services especially for the poor people, combating environmental degradation, and pursuit of sustainable development policies are to get priority over excessive military spending other than that is required for country's bare defence from external conventional threats.

## **7.4 Non-Material Determinants of Military Power**

Many of the classic realist texts, for example, consider the relative quantity of material resources – troops, defense expenditures, GDP, population, industrial base – to be the main determinant of state behavior. Material factors may represent a state's potential level of military power, but non-material factors affect the true level of its military power. In this sense, the higher the level of territorial vastness, wealth or military expenditure

does not mean the higher the level of possessing military power. Although ethnic divisions and international relationships are important to be included in analysis of non-material determinants of military power, four major variables are emphasized here—regime-type, culture, civil-military relations, and human capital. After providing statistical evidence about the linkage between democratic political institutions to superior leadership and initiative on the battleground, research findings by Dan Reiter and Allan C. Stam show that democracies win more battle than non-democracies. According to some scholars, as armies reflect the norms and structures of their societies, culture shapes military performance. Besides, the amount of usable military power is determined by the efforts taken to divorce militaries from societies. The Japanese concept of honour and shame, for instance, contributed much in atrocious and suicidal defence strategies of Japan during World War II. For another example, Arab's poor military tactical initiative, weak combined arms practices, intelligence failures, inability to perform tactical maneuvers, and systematic displays of individual bravery are largely affected by the Arab cultural pathologies, as argued by Kenneth Pollack. This argument is reiterated by Stephen Biddle and Stephen Long that states with Muslim and Buddhist cultures poorly perform in battles with Western adversaries. Some other studies show that civil-military relations of state have profound impact on the amount of military power it produces. Fragile and conflictive civil-military relations may lead civil leaders to pursue self-defensive measures and such pursuit eventually undermines unity and proficiency of the military. The final non-material determinant of military effectiveness is the human capital. Stephen Biddle and Stephen Long hypothesize that better educated troops may be more receptive to training, more skilful at operating and maintaining sophisticated machinery and using technology, and more capable of pursuing tactical maneuvers in the battlefields. On the basis of this hypothesis, these authors argue that developed countries with higher level of primary and secondary education outperform the less educated adversaries in the battlefields.<sup>9</sup>

In case of Bangladesh, efforts must be taken for the practice of true democratic norms and values in every sphere of the country that would accelerate the amount of its military power. The concept of imbalanced performance between states with Muslim and Buddhist cultures and Western adversaries in the battlefields is not completely

applicable for Bangladesh being a Muslim majority country. In the War of Independence in 1971, the 'concept of honour and shame', as the cultural variable of non-military determinant of military effectiveness, motivated freedom fighters with too little resources to fight heart and soul against Pakistani invaders. Bangladesh has already faced a degree of rancorous and combative civil-military relations as evidenced by several military coups, military rule and student-military confrontation. Although civil-military relations are recently normalized to some extent because of a number of social and public welfare activities adopted by military personnel, more extensive use of military power in civilian usage is suggested in promoting further civil-military relations. Finally, as this research paper suggests, qualitative changes are more preferable than quantitative changes in the pursuit of modernization of Bangladesh Armed Forces. Better and higher education is sought for the troops to make them more receptive in taking training, more skilful in operating sophisticated militaristic equipment, more advanced in tactical maneuvers in the battlefields.

## **7.5 Whether to Give Emphasis—Military or Non-military Aspects of Security: An Overview**

Every country needs a comprehensive security mechanism consisting of military and non-military aspects of security in consolidating its overall national security, but the degree of fusion of military and non-military securities varies country to country based on their socio-economic and geopolitical perspectives. This is an assumption that Bangladesh, on the basis of emerging and diversified threats to it, needs to prioritize non-military aspects of security over the military ones. Despite the fact, appropriate development and updating its military security system in line with the proper assessment of external threat sphere should not be repudiated, anyway.

As argued earlier in previous chapter under the subsection of 'Multilateralism and Regional Security', economic integration makes conflict more costly for individual states since attacking neighbouring economies is somehow like attacking own economy and thereby economic integration and interstate agreements make military disputes and conflicts less likely among the signatory countries. But economic integration, agreements, and interdependence in trade and finance are not always effective apparatus in preventing

conflict or war. Britain and Germany were each other's most important trading partners in 1914, but this strong trade interdependence could not prevent the conflagration of First World War that set back the global economic integration for a half-century. In the contemporary world, whether economic or military resources produce more power depends on context. Therefore, it is really difficult to assess whether and what amount of economic or military resources or their combination are needed. *'A carrot is more effective than a stick if you wish to lead a mule to water, but a gun may be more useful if your aim is to deprive an opponent of his mule.'*<sup>10</sup>

As to Bangladesh is a developing but still a poor country, the military forces of the country are expected to tackle various non-military threats to certain extent. Nowadays, Bangladesh is facing numerous and variegated challenges emanated from different sources other than any military. Bangladesh should immediately identify those of threats, design defence policies accordingly and finally take strict measures to thwart the threats. In 'Global Trends 2030: Alternative Worlds', the United States National Intelligence Council (NIC) foresees a transformed world wherein individual empowerment and the growth of a global middle class, diffusion of power from states to informal networks and coalitions, demographic changes, massive urbanization, migration, and increased demand for food, water and energy will become greater challenges.<sup>11</sup> Bangladesh has been facing these challenges already while the year 2030 is forthcoming. In that transformed world, national security and defence of the country will importantly depend on right combination of different degrees of military and non-military securitizations.

## **7.6 Reduction in Military Expenditure and Release Resources: Problems & Prospects**

*'One of the most difficult and complex problems in political science and economics is to try to calculate the costs of modern war.'*—**Joseph C. Farah.**<sup>12</sup>

According to the estimation of UNDP, in developing countries, the chances of dying from social neglect like malnutrition, preventable diseases are 33 times greater than from war introduced by external aggression. Notwithstanding the fact, some of the world poorest countries notably spend more of their scarce resources on military than on education or



health of the masses. In 1992, world military spending was equal to the income of almost half of world's population (UNDP). The cost of military security in terms of resources supposed to be invested in social and economic development is of huge amount and this sacrifice is not substantially justified in terms of national security. Since economic benefit of relocating military expenditures to other uses has been termed, some people believe that reductions in military expenditures will lead to 'peace dividend'. But some other people argue that such cuts in military expenditures are more likely to result in 'peace penalty' due to the costs of adjustment. Experience of developed countries indicates that they have been failed to benefit economically from the cuts in military expenditures.<sup>13</sup> This is may be because military expenditures have been well merged in their economies in long run and they can make profit from the fungibilities of their heavy military powers.

As developing countries are often failed to make optimum level of profit from their weaker military powers, these countries may benefit economically from the cuts in military expenditures. However, although circumstances differ between developed and developing countries in this case, issues like problems of relocation of resources might remain similar for both types of countries. If Bangladesh has to cut in its military expenditure to relocate the resources to other uses, the country should be aware enough of structural adjustment. Appropriate policy measures are required whether and how the resources released from military expenditures could be utilized for other purposes like thwarting major non-military threats to security of the country.

Another significant issue is that transparency and accountability are essential in the defence spending of Bangladesh. Defence sector ranks the single highest allocation in the budget next to education, but people of the country do not know how the money is spent. There is no parliamentary debate or strong parliamentary supervision on defence expenditure in Bangladesh. In the name of national security, much of defence spending remains obscured and outside knowing of masses. It is true that some of the spending being critical and sensitive to defence mechanism should must be secret, but pervasive obscurity about defence spending leads to make scope for corruption, mismanagement in defence sector, and waste of national resources. This tendency is also violation of the 'Right to Information' to the citizens who require to be assured that their taxes are being

used in best possible way in defence spending. Spending in pay, pension and administration make a large hole in defence budget, finally leaving very little for operational activities, equipment procurement or training. *'This is like tail wagging the head.'* Military forces of the country should be restructured so as to cut down on support activities and build an actual war fighting capabilities.<sup>14</sup>

## **7.7 Reasonable and Redundant Military Expenditures: An Argument in the Context of Bangladesh**

Possible existential threats to Bangladesh are more likely to be emanated from its bordering countries than that from other South Asian countries. India and Myanmar, in the case, are the only countries, which are bordering, neighbouring and geo-politically closest countries to Bangladesh. Although there is contemporarily no substantial geo-political conflict between Bangladesh and Pakistan because of huge territorial gap, Pakistan might be considered as an external threat to Bangladesh on the basis of historical perspective. Therefore, primarily, three countries in the region may be considered as external threats to Bangladesh—India, Myanmar and Pakistan.

Whatever military development is conducted by Bangladesh, the country generally cannot afford to encounter India and Pakistan in a total war. The reason behind the fact is not only nuclear power of these two countries, but also their much more non-nuclear military strength than that of Bangladesh. Even if Bangladesh adopts a policy of high ambitious military expenditure, the country cannot keep pace with India and Pakistan in terms of usual military expenditures of the later countries. Therefore it is expected that the regional balance of power would be maintained firstly by India and secondly by Pakistan. Now if India or Pakistan wages a war against Bangladesh, it is perceived that the later would generally be defeated in a total war. Bangladesh may be able to maintain a balance of power with Pakistan in future, but it is impossible for Bangladesh to maintain a balance of power with India.

Therefore, Myanmar should be a target country for Bangladesh in terms of its military development and modernization. Now the question arises, to what extent Bangladesh should determine its military expenditure to contain Myanmar? Is Bangladesh spending

more than that amount of money for its defence? It is an assumption that Bangladesh is not spending more defence expenditure than its requirement. Despite no state of war arises since its independence, Bangladesh has not spent, as figure 7 shows, more than global average 3.5% of GDP for military spending from 1988 to 2014.

However, if Bangladesh pursues an additional defence expenditure in time other than the state of war, that may be reasonable for the country for two purposes:

- i. In order to contain India and/or Pakistan.
- ii. In order to clutch at the regional balance of power through overtaking every other regional power.

Since meeting these purposes is not possible for Bangladesh (as earlier said), the additional defence expenditure should be considered as 'Redundant' defence expenditure in this perspective.

There are two options for Bangladesh as per the assumptions:

- i. Bangladesh should pursue development and modernization of its armed forces in conformity with maintaining balance of power with Myanmar and Sri Lanka. Although remotely possible, threats may be emanated from Sri Lanka to Bangladesh and thereby the later should count the former concerning balance of power between the two. It is notable here that Bhutan and Maldives of South Asia are not essentially relevant to this comparative analysis.
- ii. Bangladesh can reasonably spend defence expenditure more than what is required for maintenance the balance of power with Myanmar and Sri Lanka, while the country is capable of making a visible return of already spent money in its defence sector. For instance, visible return is possible through civilian usages of military power, increased level of troop deployment in international peace keeping missions, and arms trade through the establishment of proper arms industrialization as in Singapore.

National economies of some global powers like U.S.A, Russia, China, UK or France are directly or indirectly benefited from increased military spending. Apart from defensive

purposes, these countries invest more and more in military industrialization and production in order to earn profit from exporting military hardware and equipment throughout the world. Despite U.S.A has no uniquely true opponent in the world, the country increases its military spending time to time. But this additional spending is not viewed as 'national waste' or 'redundant' in the country because the 'Super Power' status of the country belonging to its incredible military might contributes to and reflects on US economy directly or indirectly. Now point is that Bangladesh has no 'Super Power' status and hence its economy cannot be benefited from additional military spending for the purpose other than its self defence. Therefore, any additional military spending without the policy of any visible return from spent money would be considered as 'national waste' or 'redundant' in terms of its economy.

As a small developing country, Bangladesh had better go for military expenditure to such a level that meets its defensive purposes including maintaining balance of power firstly with Myanmar and secondly with Sri Lanka. It would be prudent for Bangladesh to increase indigenous military productions through establishment of big as well as small military industries to decrease the volume of arms and other military hardware importation. In short run, huge establishments of military industries might be a strain on national economy, but such establishments would be the blessing in disguise in long run. Through massive indigenous productions, armed forces of Bangladesh would primarily begin to be self sufficient in terms of their required supplies and resupplies, technological efficiency, cooperation with other world class militaries and so on. Once military industrialization is fully fledged, the country could earn foreign exchange through technology transfers, militaristic inventions and innovations, export of military products.

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# Chapter VIII

## **Peacetime Uses of Armed Forces: Policy Measures for Bangladesh to Achieve a Visible Return of Defense Expenditure to the Maximum Extent Possible**

Military personnel mostly conduct administrative tasks, training and education activities, and technology maintenance during peacetime. Another important military task is to ensure the continuous replacement of departing servicemen and women through military recruitment, and the maintenance of military reserve. The next requirement of military is to identify possible threats it may be called upon to face. In order to serve this purpose, at once an organization, a system, and a process collectively called military intelligence (MI) is pursued by civil as well as military personnel.<sup>1</sup> Although main objective of Bangladesh Armed Forces is to protect the country's sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity from all sorts of physical threats, the armed forces have by this time contributed much in many peace support operations such as restoration of democracy in 1990 and subsequently in holding free and fair national election under interim government. The armed forces have the better training, experience and equipment to assist the efforts of the government of Bangladesh in the development of infra-structure and management of natural disasters. The armed forces of the country are also expected to establish a stable, vibrant and resilient social, political and economic order.<sup>2</sup>

Bangladesh Armed Forces have already upheld the precedence of making a visible return of defence expenditure in the form of many peace support operations (PSO) or Military Operation Other Than War (MOOTW). The role of Bangladesh Army in the remarkable flood of 1988 or the devastating cyclone in 1991 is the vivid example of such operations during peacetime. Besides natural disasters, the unremitting rescue operations of armed forces in Tazrin Fashion fire and Rana Plaza disaster add a new dimension in non-military activities. Indeed, the armed forces played an important role in holding national elections and national identity cards formation, rescue operations, disaster management, relief and human resource development programmes at times including the implementation of mega project of the country like Hatirjheel Project or Rayer Bazar Graveyard building that



contributed outstandingly in nation building and developing civil-military relations. Although the peace keeping mission is a militaristic operation, this mission carried out by armed forces is a resilient determinant in the economy of Bangladesh. Apart from above non-military roles, Bangladesh Armed Forces can make a good amount of visible return of defence expenditure through many other peacetime uses.<sup>3</sup>

New prospects have been raised in Bangladesh centering the newly acquired maritime boundary by the verdict of International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea (ITLOS). The well-disciplined and well-experienced Bangladesh Navy (BN) is expected to explore the prospects of blue economy through the securitizing, procurement and utilization of marine resources derived from the sea. As one of the peacetime uses, the naval force is also expected to cooperate the Civil Aviation Authority of Bangladesh (CAAB) in operating proposed radar systems and control towers in terms of collecting taxes from foreign airlines. As part of peacetime uses, Bangladesh Air Force (BAF) can assist RAB (Rapid Action Battalion) and police administration in their special operations. The Bangladesh Army is to be cooperated by the air force in urgent rescue operations and relief programmes through providing required aircrafts and other logistics. Bangladesh Air Force might also contribute in preventing possible extreme militancy and secessionist activities in Chittagong Hill Tracts. Finally along with increasing the existing level of peacetime role, Bangladesh Army is expected to play a vital role in countering cyber crimes, smuggling, human trafficking, money laundering, terrorism etc. Although these duties are conferred on law and order enforcement agencies, the peacetime involvement of well- trained and well- equipped military personnel would enhance the percentage of success in combating these challenges and thereby save the public money in an indirect way. Furthermore, this force can be called upon to face most important national issues like environmental degradation, poverty reduction, and achieving the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). If the suggested peacetime roles of the armed forces are properly pursued and managed, it is possible to retrieve a large portion of spent defence budget annually.<sup>4</sup>

## **Controversy over the Utility of Military Forces**

In the contemporary world, due to various factors, the utility of military force has been questioned by some scholars. The perceived huge destructiveness of modern warfare raises the dubiety whether military force is to be used proportionally in gaining political aims. War especially war for conquest now appears to be unprofitable in pursuit of economic goals, territorial gains, matter of international prestige, propagation of an ideology etc. While the expected value of the gains has been decreased notably, the military, political and moral cost of conquest has been raised. Many modern states rather prefer to gain political influence in the regional and international system through economic development like development of trade relations, access to profitable markets that are no longer sought by military force. The relationship between military might and political gains either by direct or indirect way is not proportional, while military strength cannot be conveniently transformed into political gains. The Vietnam War is the primary instance of political defeat suffered by the great power instead of having military superiority. However, the direct or indirect use of military strength by great powers especially in Third World has not only been more costly but also provokes counter-struggle, counter-productivity, and hostility.<sup>5</sup>

Nuclear weapons have multiplied the constraints over the use of military force. Actually these weapons have not true value in any type of armed conflict especially in Third World or even as an instrument of peacetime political pressure since the use of such weapons is incommensurate with any conceivable rational end. Nuclear overkill is viewed as the only example of Western failure to translate military power into diplomatic effectiveness. All the above factors declines the utility of military force in pursuit of some important national goals and this declining influences the policy measures of states which prefer economic development, social welfare, gaining prestige and soft power to the development of military towards exertion of military pressure or attempts at military conquests. The view of great powers that still consider military force as the basic component in maintaining balance of power in the world and hence ensure peace, stability and security is questioned by some scholars. These scholars argue that the enormous compilation of military forces in peacetime has been a destabilizing factor that leads to a volatile balance of power or in other words balance of terror. According to

British scholar, the declining utility of military force reflects on the decline of belief in its acceptability.<sup>6</sup>

On the contrary, some scholars argue that state must possess military force whether it uses the force in an open or covert way because without the military force it would be incapable of protecting its independence, territorial integrity and national interests. Military force may be used as the means of deterrence against external aggressor, but this purpose is even better served by having a powerful military force. Military forces have many other functions. In any negotiations between nations, the degree of military strength of each country plays a crucial role in determining their attitude, although there is no formal reference made to it. In this sense military force is a restraining factor on the military forces of other states. However military pressures are also used in pursuit of diplomatic goals. Michael Howard implies warning about two extreme views, firstly, military force is purely destabilizing factor on international scene, and secondly, it is the basic factor of international order. According to him, military force should be considered as the intrinsic feature of international relations.<sup>7</sup>

Two contrary conclusions and two corresponding proposals have been made in this British analysis. The proponents of unilateral, partial and complete disarmament who believe that military means has been obsolete and claim that strict efforts should be taken for gradual disarmament, are frequently criticized and such a position is exceptional in British military thought. The dominant view is that the role of military force would prevail by shifting its functions from war to peace. As argued, 'The modern military force,' tends to be threatened and manipulated in peacetime rather than used in war,' and again, 'military force may be most effective when merely latent.'<sup>8</sup>

## **Contribution of Bangladesh Armed Forces: Visible Economic Return of Defence Expenditure**

As earlier argued, this research paper indicated that non-military security should get more importance than military security and military security should not be repudiated in its continual development. Under the above controversies over the utilization of military forces, it is better for Bangladesh, as a developing Third World country, to attempt for

increasing the existing level of peacetime uses of its armed forces and hence make substantial visible return of defence expenditure contributing to national economy and social development. This section suggests new areas of peacetime uses like exploring the prospects of blue economy. Suppose, salary, training, accommodation and other facilities for 100 military personnel, and weapons and equipment, maintenance of these which are allotted for them cost 30,000,000 Taka (about US\$ 375,000) annually and financial values of the non-military services of those 100 personnel during peacetime worth 18,000,000 Taka (about US\$ 225,000) annually, then 60% of total defence expenditure is possible to be retrieved. This 60% money can be termed as visible economic return of annual defence expenditure and rest 40% money can be called as the price of securitizing physical or conventional threats emanated from external sources. Such visible return would contribute to mitigate the controversy over the utilization of military forces.

Bangladesh has been successful in engaging its armed forces in almost every area of peaceful uses. Increased level of involvement of armed forces in the existing peacetime uses and their engagement in some other new areas are expected to make an optimum level of return of defence expenditure. Bangladesh Armed Forces are already involved in numerous infrastructural development projects like constructions of roads, flyovers, underpasses, graveyard (Rayer Bazar Graveyard), and Hatirjheel project. The armed forces are also involved in country's ever made mega project Padma Bridge construction. Economy of Bangladesh is directly served by such involvement of the forces in infrastructural development. Repairs to damages of major infrastructures like airports, military bases, industries, ports, tourist spots, economic zones, other major public buildings are sought to be carried out by armed forces during their peacetime.

Some success stories of Bangladesh Armed Forces in terms of peacetime uses and recommendations in conformity with the augmentation of such successes eventually are as follows.

## **8.1 UN Peacekeeping Mission: Vital Source of Economic Gains**

Bangladesh has become UN member in 1974 and since then the country raised its voice in favour of global peace and security. The country strongly committed to follow the

principles enshrined in UN charter, peaceful settlement of international disputes, and policy of global peace and security. Bangladesh has contributed 54 out of total 69 UN peace keeping missions around the world where 126,489 Bangladeshi peacekeepers have participated. They have been conferred on 'Blue Helmet' through participation in UNIMOG (Iraq-Iran) in 1988 with 15 military observers from Bangladesh Army and Bangladesh Navy. Bangladesh Air Force joined United Nations Peacekeeping Operations (UNPKO) in 1993 while Bangladesh Police joined in 1989.<sup>9</sup> As on August 2015, 8,135 troops, 74 military experts and 1,223 police personnel have been deployed in various UN peacekeeping operations. Bangladesh's troop contributions have increased about 300% in the last 30 years, while the armed forces contributed 90% of this figure and the police contributed rest of 10%. Till date, 124 brave and valiant Bangladeshi uniformed peacekeepers have sacrificed their invaluable lives while serving under the UN flag.<sup>10</sup>

### **Direct Economic Benefits from Peacekeeping Missions:**

Although Bangladesh have been listed in the low-middle income country in July 2015 with the gross national per capita income of US\$1,314, the country still faces immense challenges from over population problems, poverty, and scarce economic resources. Since recent past decades, the economy of Bangladesh has been turned to be amplified with the good increase of GDP, followed by predominantly export earnings (especially from exports of readymade garments), and remittance of Bangladesh expatriates. Earnings from peacekeeping in this case are the significant contributor to the remittance and thereby peacekeeping missions conducted by Bangladeshi peacekeepers play a crucial role in the economy of Bangladesh.

Official sources indicate that during 2001-10, the government received \$1.28 billion from the UN as compensation for troop contributions, contingent-owned equipment, and other forms of compensation. Bangladesh Armed Forces earned US\$72 million from its peacekeeping operations in 2012-13, while the Bangladesh Police have reportedly earned BDT40 billion (\$513 million) in the last two decades from the same sources.<sup>11</sup> Another source from experts indicates that Bangladeshi UN peacekeeping forces involved in different troubled regions of the world are earning nearly Taka 38 billion (some US \$500 million) a year as pay and allowances.<sup>12</sup>

## **Indirect Economic Benefits from Peacekeeping Missions:**

Following issues are to be considered in generating indirect economic benefits from peacekeeping missions. Firstly, peacekeeping missions facilitate Bangladeshi troops in gaining professional skills, operational expertise and first-hand knowledge of advanced military equipment through the interaction with foreign armed forces and thereby Bangladeshi troops can share military experiences and knowledge. Secondly, peacekeeping helps financing equipment and weapons platforms that might otherwise be out of reach. Thirdly, peacekeeping augment professional skills of the military through language training, inter-personal skills, and opportunities to interact with foreign troops in military functions. Finally, institutional development has been promoted by peacekeeping at home. Bangladeshi peacekeepers indirectly benefit economy of Bangladesh through their high profile lobbying, contracts and military diplomacy for creating new markets for Bangladeshi businesses, especially in pharmaceuticals and agriculture.<sup>13</sup> One example is that some Bangladeshi entrepreneurs have been leasing lands in African countries to establish farms to help meet the food requirements of both Bangladesh and the host countries. Bangladeshi peacekeepers deployed in those countries can gear up such efforts through manipulating their influence and goodwill in the host countries.

Above issues indirectly contribute to economy through minimizing military expenditure. For instance, a lot of money was supposed to be spent on gathering professional skills, operational expertise, and first-hand knowledge acquired by the members of armed forces of the country. Moreover, Bangladeshi peacekeepers are being facilitated through operating and gaining some of the world class and latest military equipment often used by most advanced Western militaries. It is perceived that military personnel of Bangladesh Armed Forces, as Third World armed forces, would not get access to gather knowledge and experience over such up-to-date, sophisticated and more costly military equipment if they were not engaged in UN peacekeeping missions other than from some occasional joint military training and rehearsal among militaries of different nations.

## **Challenges and Recommendations**

Peacekeeping missions of Bangladesh influence the defence budget and procurement. For example, in January 2013, Bangladesh conducted a huge arms deal worth US\$1 billion with Russia which includes large-bodied Mi-17 helicopters, Armoured Personnel Carriers (APCs), pontoon bridges, trainer aircrafts and anti-tank missiles. Armed Forces Division of Bangladesh Army points out that this defence purchase is crucially necessary for UN peacekeeping missions and also indicates that UN suggested Bangladesh should procure modern weapons for its peacekeepers operating in troubled regions at different parts of the world where armed groups hold most advanced weapons in comparison with those of Bangladeshi troops use. However the large acquisitions of Russian arms and equipments might provide good utility for Bangladeshi peacekeepers in UN missions and other logistical supports, but such arms deal may adversely affect civil-military relations and economy of the country directly. Many analysts imply that Bangladeshi peacekeeping in UN does not necessarily provide any convincing argument for such a heavy and huge Russian arms purchase. Besides, defence purchases of the government of Bangladesh are not transparent enough. An international watchdog against corruption, Transparency International has enlisted Bangladesh as one of the 15 most corrupt countries in defence purchases. This US\$1 billion deal can create strain over economy by increasing defence budget following deprivation of other priority sectors. Additionally, there is no proper anticipated plan and programme about the fact that what and how would be done with this plenty of expensive equipment of special purposes after their immediate use in UN peacekeeping missions.<sup>14</sup>

Bangladesh is already a highest troop contributing country in UN peacekeeping missions (UNPKM) in the world. The country should hold the position anyhow and increase it gradually as per the requirement of UN. The more Bangladeshi troops in UN peacekeeping missions means the more foreign currency earnings and gaining other indirect economic benefits stated above along with the bringing more prestige and honour for the country. As to this paper suggests small size armed forces with high efficiency and qualitative improvements, it would be prudent for Bangladesh if more and more Bangladeshi troops could be transformed into human capital after being well-trained and suited for UN peacekeeping missions. The Bangladesh Institute of Peace Support Operations Training (BIPSOT) can play a crucial role in this context. Not only

members of Bangladesh Armed Forces, members of Bangladesh Police, Border Guard Bangladesh (BGB), Coast Guard, Ansar-VDP, Rapid Action Battalion (RAB) and other paramilitary forces should also be considered in providing peacekeepers to UN peacekeeping missions.

Bangladesh can opt for providing well-trained and well skilled military personnel and experts to other developed countries like Singapore or any of Scandinavian countries, which face scarce human resources in their armed forces. It is worth noting that human resources in the forms of military personnel should be provided under strict civil-defence treaties only for the purpose of peacetime uses in those countries required by their armed forces. In return, these personnel are expected to contribute to economy of the country as like as other Bangladeshi immigrants and expatriates through their remittance. If international law permits, Bangladesh can also opt for providing the members of its armed forces nationally in the troubled regions of the world beyond UN peacekeeping missions. If Bangladesh is successful to convert a large number of military personnel into human resources, and export them rightly to other nations, better amount of human capital would be come out from its armed forces making a significant visible return of defence expenditure. For instance, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (KSA) imports substantial number of foreign pilots and military experts in order to facilitate its military services

## **8.2 Disaster Management and Rescue & Relief Operations**

While armed forces are experiencing budget cuts globally, they tend to diversify their role in numerous non-military aspects. Responding of armed forces to disasters is one of those aspects. The increased scale and number of incidence of natural disasters urge the governments of different countries to employ their armed forces in playing significant role especially in large-scale disasters.<sup>15</sup> Bangladesh Armed Forces assist the government of Bangladesh in responding any natural calamity as soon as possible. As well-organized forces, the armed forces are capable of quickly providing important logistical and command-and-control supports during any disaster or emergency. By this time,



Bangladesh Armed Forces have showed their outstanding efficiency and effective experiences to respond various disasters at home and abroad which include Indian Tsunami in 2004, terrifying cyclone Sidr in 2007, Rana Plaza disaster in 2013, recent natural disaster in Chittagong Hill Tracts and so on. Engagement of armed forces in natural disasters is being widely recognized and accepted day by day since they are able to mobilize resources required to respond such events on very short time notice.<sup>16</sup> Through minimizing institutional, operational and disaster management cost, a good economic return of defence budget can be made by increased engagement of armed forces in responding such events like evacuation, rescue, relief and rehabilitation during disasters.

The role of militaries has been increased contemporarily due to the result of some factors. These facts include increase in scale and incidence of natural disasters, concurrent trend of militarizing the humanitarian responses; increased interest of military institutions in responding disasters etc. Some of the reasons behind the increased interests of military actors in responding disasters relate to public perception, staff morale, relevant training opportunities, and humanitarian operations as a means for armed forces to diversify their role and expertise. For instance, military resources were extensively manipulated in response to the 1991 cyclone in Bangladesh, in the aftermath of the Hurricane Mitch in Central America in 1998, subsequent Hurricane Katrina in 2005, in Indonesia after the Asian tsunami in 2005, in the UK during flooding in 2007, and in China after the earthquake in Sichuan province in 2008.<sup>17</sup>

Most recently, in South Asia, military responses to Ghorka Earthquake of 2015 in Nepal is the vivid example of rescue and relief operations conducted by armed forces. A magnitude 7.8 and magnitude 7.3 earthquakes struck Nepal on April 25, 2015 and May 12, 2015 respectively. The initial earthquake destroyed 489,000 homes and damaged to another 260,000 with over 8000 people died and more than 21,000 injured in the villages namely Sindhupalchok and Ghorka that also brought considerable damage to capital city Kathmandu. Quickly after the historic and mega earthquake, Nepalese Army in cooperation with other stakeholders conducted rescue and relief operations to their best in conformity to the National Disaster Response Framework.<sup>18</sup>

Bangladesh should be aware of such devastating earthquake in Nepal as to the country is geographically located in earthquake-prone zone. Dhaka, capital city of Bangladesh, is one of the most densely populated mega cities of the world where uncounted numbers of skyscrapers have been constructed without proper building codes and hence are at high risk of collapse by any earthquake over magnitude 7. If Dhaka city is inflicted by a magnitude 7.8 earthquake, the city would be ravaged by several times more destructive consequences than that in Ghorka and Sindhupalchok villages of Nepal with massive deaths and injuries. In addition, major cities of Bangladesh like Dhaka, Chittagong, Rajshahi or Sylhet lack required level of disaster management capability with high-tech and advanced equipments and therefore barely need military resources in responding any big disastrous event. Military personnel are expected to cooperate with and provide support to officials and workers of disaster management bureaus of the country. Through large-scale use of military resources in the processes of evacuation, rescue, relief and rehabilitation, budget allocation to the Ministry of Disaster Management and Relief might be reduced in considerable amount. Although material resources needed for disaster management and responding disasters require the same cost whether the resources under civil or military authority, operational cost, cost of manpower uses and other services conducted by military personnel would create a huge difference with the expenditure of responding the same disaster carried out by civil administration.

The sixth annual Pacific Resilience Disaster Response Exercise & Exchange (DREE) has been held between US Army Pacific (USARPAC) and the Bangladesh Armed Forces Division (AFD) from August 30 to September 3, 2015 in Dhaka, Bangladesh. The DREE is increasingly familiar with the Dhaka City earthquake response plans that enable participants to practice logistical and medical emergency scenarios, identify gaps in plans and procedures, increase coordination between emergency management and aviation stakeholders, and practice the incorporation of media in response planning. A venue has also been created by DREE for the evaluation of foreign humanitarian assistance procedures in Bangladesh.<sup>19</sup> Such exercises should be pursued by the Bangladesh Armed Forces as much as possible in accelerating their skill, experience and effectiveness in disaster management activities and related operations prior to, during and after the disasters.

Despite common goals in disaster responses, humanitarian approaches are distinguished from those of military approaches to security. Military approaches of security often focus on deterrence or physical (kinetic) security leading to fortified compounds and presence of arms at distribution points. On the other hand, humanitarians from particularly nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), International Red Cross including other humanitarian organizations focus on acceptance-based security seeking to acquire consent of all stakeholders and proscribe the presence of arms at the distribution points. Therefore civil-military relations in terms of responding to disasters are sometimes questioned since association with the military may increase security risks through carrying the risk of loss of acceptance, access, and legitimacy for humanitarian actors.<sup>20</sup> So, prior to deploy military forces in the operational areas affected by disasters, above limitations should be addressed as long as possible.

## **Combating Climate Change: Recommended Role of Bangladesh Armed Forces**

Most of the vulnerable countries to climate change are increasingly utilizing their armed forces in combating climate change. Mobilizing all types of national resources including military resources is now a call of time for the government of Bangladesh in this regard. Following roles of Bangladesh Armed Forces are recommended in combating climate change.

- Bangladesh Armed Forces should be mobilized along with other elements of government, NGOs, civil society, humanitarian organizations in planning disaster management and responding to climate-induced disasters.
- Adaptation to climate change can be facilitated by the armed forces along with other civilian agencies. A coherent civil-military relation is required for mitigating adverse impacts of climate change.
- Forces Goals-2030 might include well adaptation policies to climate change. The creation of a distinct 'directorate of disaster management' is suggested in the headquarters of Bangladesh Army, Bangladesh Air Force (BAF) and Bangladesh Navy (BN) in accelerating civil-military coordination in climatic perspective. Collective efforts in association with the armed forces should be adopted to initiate research

programmes and development activities on the issues of carbon emissions, green house effects, and adaptation policies.

- Capabilities of the armed forces are to be amplified in undertaking adaptation policies through military-to-military bilateral training and exercise programmes with development partners.
- In response to climate-induced disasters like floods, droughts, or cyclones, the armed forces should be well prepared and troops of the forces are expected to build up adequate shelters of and provide other supports to the victims of low-lying and affected areas vulnerable to the adverse consequences of climate change.
- Bangladesh Armed Forces, as part of their peace support operation (PSO), are to be engaged to repair and rebuild damaged infrastructures caused by natural disasters.
- Security assistance cooperation programme must include information exchange and technology transfer on the ground of adaptation strategies to climate change.
- Finally army administration and military resources should be necessarily merged with the authorities of national adaptation and mitigation responses to climate change.<sup>21</sup>

Despite the decreasing utility of modern militaries to get involved in conventional or military warfare, having military force is essential for a country in order to secure its sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and other national interests. Therefore 'lack of utility in conventional warfare' and 'essentiality' urges countries especially developing countries like Bangladesh to engage their armed forces more in non-military activities like disaster management or combating climate change than their conventional militaristic roles.

### **8.3 Combating Terrorism and Assistances to Maintain the Law and Order System**

Every year Bangladesh government has to spend a large amount of money from the public purse in maintenance anti terrorist activities as well as overall law and order system nationwide. If the engagement of increased number of military personnel is ensured in providing various kinds of supports to law enforcers and other related agencies, spent money in the defence sector could be utilized in diversified ways leading

to economic return of military expenditure. These supports include providing army manpower, cyber security support, logistical and training support, intelligence gathering including providing military resources such as high-tech and sophisticated weapons that common law enforcers do not possess.

### **Providing Leadership and Trained Manpower:**

Most of the command echelons and staff officers of Border Guard Bangladesh (BGB) (previously Bangladesh Rifles) are provided by Bangladesh Army. Trained manpower of RAB (Rapid Action Battalion) is also provided by the force. Bangladesh Air Force and Bangladesh Navy are also providing their supports. Naval ships are deployed in the territorial waters in countering smuggling, arms, drug and human trafficking through sea routes, and other types of piracy. Many tasks are gradually being taken over by Coast Guard due to some legal limitations that were supposed to do by naval personnel. However, increasing the existing level of providing leadership and trained manpower to law enforcers would be significant option for non-military uses of armed forces.

### **Intelligence Gathering Support:**

Military intelligence agencies of the country provide important intelligence to civil intelligence and share the information with them especially information on terrorist activities. There are some limitations in coordinating such exchanges of information. Identifying the problems and limitations and designing plan to solve those are of crucial importance.

### **Training Support:**

Bangladesh Armed Forces provide special training supports to Border Guard Bangladesh, Rapid Action Battalion and Bangladesh Police in carrying out their different operations. Paramilitary forces are facilitated by different schools of instructions of Bangladesh Army related to intelligence, adventure, specialist weapons training, explosives handling, rappelling training, physical efficiency, diving, and so on. This type of training support is important to encounter militants and/or terrorists carrying advanced weapons.

### **Back up and Logistics Support:**

Whenever called upon, troops from Bangladesh Armed Forces especially from Bangladesh Army provide the following back up and logistical supports to Police and RAB.

- Bomb disposal and neutralizing. RAB is in process of acquiring bomb disposal equipments.
- Providing military Dog Squads in assisting to detect drugs, illegal firearms, explosives, weapons and criminals. RAB has also its own Dog Squads.
- Detecting mines, booby traps, firearms and other arsenals.
- Protecting Key Point Installations whenever impending threat is appreciated.
- Providing helicopters in detecting terrorists' hideouts and monitoring their activities, and sometimes apprehending them.
- Providing watercrafts, vessels to catch up terrorists in river routes especially in the areas of coastal line, mangrove forest, and offshore islands.
- Providing military doctors for treatment services for the injured or ill members of paramilitary forces, RAB and BGB. Military doctors, in this case, also provide in-door medical support in the Combined Military Hospital.<sup>22</sup>

### **Role of Armed Forces in Cyber Security:**

Despite information technology has changed world, governments are facing new challenges emanated from cyber crimes. Cyber threats do not suit to traditional security framework in most modern states. Law enforcement often protects citizens from threats emanated from within societies, while armed forces are engaged in containing threats originated from external sources. By the way, threats from cyber world often originate from external sources and thereby it is very hard for law enforcement to address such threats. Though the severity and intensity of cyber threats towards Bangladesh is still not so high, government of the country should take appropriate measures to tackle existing and possible future cyber threats to its national security. Bangladesh Armed Forces might be conducive to the government in pursuance of such efforts. Before building national security strategies, following questions should be kept in considerations.

- Given all the variables, how involved should the military be in national cyber security?

- Given the factors in play, how should governments balance their cyber security investments across the military, law enforcement and the private sector?
- How, if at all, should the military be used to support the private sector?
- What can be done to facilitate international cooperation by non-military parts of the government?
- How can diplomatic initiatives reduce the need for the military to be used in domestic cyber security?<sup>23</sup>

## 8.4 The Military And Human Security

Human security is not about carrying out non-combat operations, rather considerations of this security should be made a part of all military activity. Through training and a change of military culture, the integration of human security is essential at operational level supported by accountability and resilient enforcement. For example, a civilian protection component could be included by every military operational plan for any unit size. This would be part of the planning procedure, combat operation orders and success evaluation. NGOs have been focusing on the clarification of the principles of humanitarian/military relationship since 1990s. Codes of conduct have been come out as the result of their thinking, in association with UN. The codes are not binding and there may be differences between principles and actions in this case. Nevertheless, they provide good indications of NGO approaches to the interaction with military. The following points are shared by them.<sup>24</sup>

- The separation of the humanitarian and military spheres is the basic principle.
- If the situation is either dangerous or civil logistic resources are inadequate, military forces may be used for the purpose of humanitarian aid as a last resort on a case by case basis.
- Support for humanitarian aid and securing the humanitarian space must be included in the military actions.
- Humanitarian tasks of military should be of limited duration and should have limited objectives.
- The mission must be under the civilian control.

The different positions of various aid agencies in terms of their cooperation with military can be simply described as the following:

***Principled neutralists:*** Those agencies who prefer to stay independent, do not like to collaborate with military and seek to nullify contact as a matter of principle.

***More or less pragmatists:*** Those who tend to keep balance their principles against extreme functionalist or instrumentalist considerations and seek to cooperate more or less intensively with military that depends upon the subject matter. And—

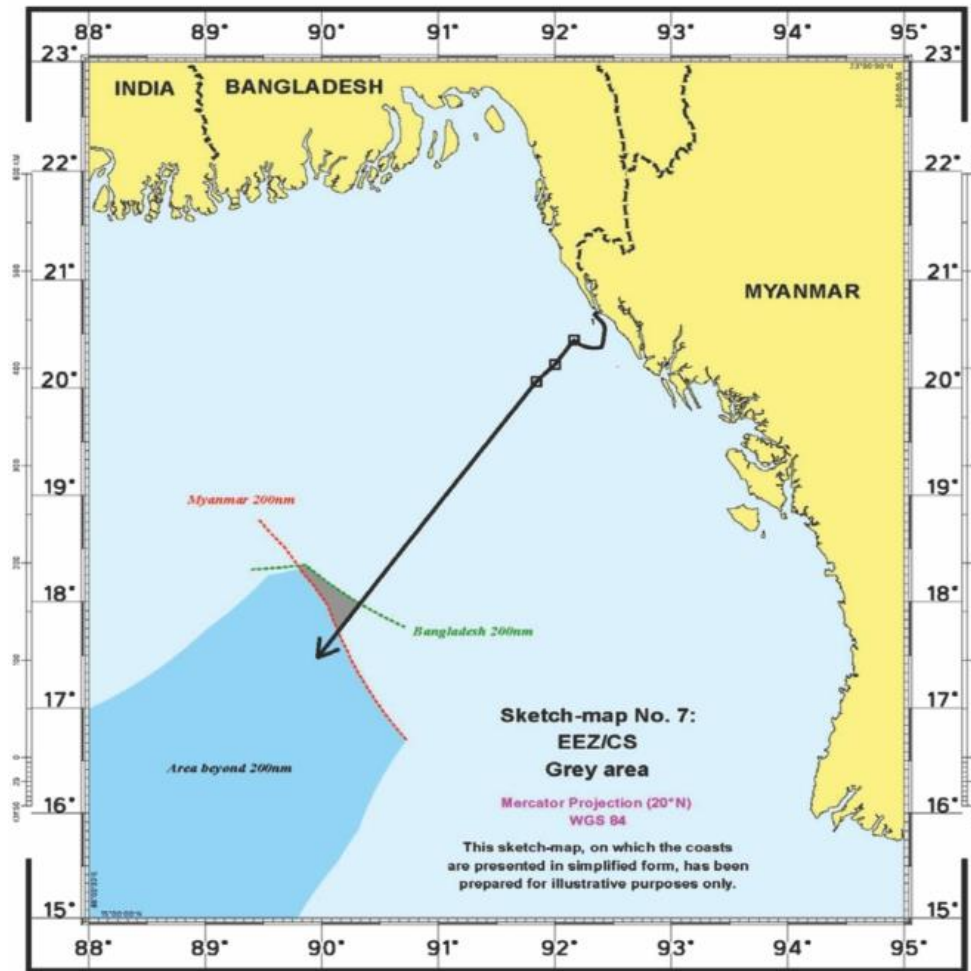
***Supporters:*** Those who defend the military actions necessarily, prepare to collaborate with and provide support to military, and have little objection to military principles.<sup>25</sup>

## **8.5 Multidimensional Role of Bangladesh Navy to Safeguard and Utilize the Maritime Interests**

Although certain services like police protection, fire protection have not financial turnover, these are significant parts of final output of economy and economists and statisticians evaluate them at what these cost. People and government both are very interested in visible return of expenditures in defence service sectors. Direct economic benefits of naval expenditures are expected by the masses of the country. Bangladesh Navy, as a service provider to the nation, is assorted to protect national maritime economic interests. 'Protection of maritime economy is the best economic benefit that nations can get from navies.'<sup>26</sup>



**Figure 9: Maritime Boundary in Bay of Bengal**



**Source: The Daily Star, 17.03.2014.**

A new horizon has been open toward Bangladesh due to the recent settlement of long-standing maritime boundary dispute with India and Myanmar. The both verdicts of international tribunal remove all legal constraints to Bangladesh to utilize its stipulated sea territory and maritime resources such as exploring oil and gas in the oceans. The national economy of Bangladesh is expected to be accelerated and expanded with the prospects of 'Blue Economy'. It is undeniable that the future development and economic growth of Bangladesh would largely be determined by the manipulation and utilization of marine resources and its sea. These utilization and manipulation are centered on expansion of international trade, use of marine mineral resources for long-term energy security, proper management of marine fish resources and protection of marine environment and bio-diversity. Bangladesh has now 1,18,813 sq km of territorial sea, 200

nm of Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) and a substantial share of the extended continental shelf *vis-à-vis* Myanmar and India. Therefore, Bangladesh's maritime zone almost equals to the size of the country itself. The maritime zone of the country fares opportunities of potential food security, aquaculture, biotechnology, climate adaptation, alternative energy source (oil and gas), marine transportation, shipbuilding, eco-system services and tourism, and so on. Since Bangladesh lacks adequate expertise and high-tech equipments to exploit its marine resources, the country has not yet been prepared to utilize the vast opportunities of marine resources. No survey has yet been conducted in recent past determining approximate amount of marine resources in the stipulated maritime boundary.<sup>27</sup>

Bangladesh Navy personnel can carry out such important survey work with required manpower and techniques to find out that how much marine resources are there to possibly be exploited. Initially they can also provide trained personnel and equipments to Petrobangla (Bangladesh Oil, Gas & Mineral Corporation) in exploring oil and gas in the sea. As coastal developing country, Bangladesh can shape its future economic sustainability through the maneuvering and utilization of marine resources with the required assistance of Bangladesh Navy.

Littoral states are contemporarily facing new and bigger challenges in their oceans. About a billion of people mainly from developing countries are directly or indirectly dependent on fisheries for their food, income and livelihood. They are under adverse consequences of depleting marine fish resources. Marine environment is being polluted increasingly by various pollutants in recent years with the serious impediments to marine bio-diversity and ecosystem. Addressing newer type of maritime crimes is being difficult as to criminals tend to manipulate information technology and sophisticated weapons that often surpass the advancement of coast guard and other law enforcement.<sup>28</sup> Bangladesh is not an exception in all this cases.

In order to face challenges stemmed from its maritime boundary and sea territory, the country should pursue good ocean governance along with governance in the terrestrial domain. In accordance with the similar importance, the country can, through appropriate management of ocean governance, accelerate its interests in the areas of food, health, environment, political security, community security etc. Unlike governance in the

terrestrial domain, ocean governance is free from geographical inhibition and is global in nature drawing its guideline mostly from international law as per UNCLOS and other soft law arrangements. Bangladesh Navy, with its manpower and resources, can be involved in managing ocean governance at local, national, regional and global levels through the coordination with civilian authority. At the local level, as a management framework, co-management is suggested for using local knowledge, blending of indigenous and new technologies, introduction of economic incentives etc. At national level, awareness programme, linkage between people and the oceans, a horizontal and vertical integration between the various ocean related agencies are suggested for an *integrated approach* toward ocean management. At regional level, cooperation and coordination should be sought by the country with other regional powers in terms of combating different ocean related problems and complexities as to ocean resources and uses are inherently transboundary in nature, and that not all of these are functionally manageable at a global level. Finally, at global level, problems like illegal fishing, unregulated and unreported fishing should be addressed, and assessing economic and social impact of pollution from land-based activities etc. should be pursued with the proper support of other international actors.<sup>29</sup>

## 8.6 Utilization of the Fungibility of the Military Power

The relationship between military power, political power, and economic power is symbiotic and one cannot grow and sustain without the other. As historical evidence, a country economically strong and with good leadership had often been successful to build its strong military to protect and secure its interests during war and peacetime. Such relationship prevails because of the fungible nature of military power. Military power becomes fungible at certain stages and its spillover effects are conducive to fuel up other instrument of state power to safeguard and preserve its important interests.<sup>30</sup> Through the fungibility of military power, national economy as well as political environment of a country are served directly or indirectly.

### **Economic Power is Symbiotic to Military Power:**

Economic power contributes to military power and military power serves economic power partly. Many scholars have theorized the issue—as Paul Kennedy states in his

book *'The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers'*, 'It was clear to a Renaissance prince as it is to the Pentagon today that military power rests upon adequate supplies of wealth, which in turn drive from flourishing productive base, from healthy finance, and from superior technology.' The Gross National Product (GNP), Gross Domestic Product (GDP), and per capita income of a country are now to grade a nation in any power index.<sup>31</sup>

### **Military Power Undergirds Political and Diplomatic Power:**

The interrelationship between military power and political power is viewed in terms of both war and peace. As Clausewitz argues, if war is an instrument of politics, military power is an apparatus to wage war. According to him, military power recognizes 'war' just 'an expression' of political power. In his words, 'Is war not just another expression of their thoughts, another form of speech or writing? Its grammar, indeed, may be its own but not its logic.' Hence the relationship between politics and military power remains invisible.

In the case of diplomatic power, diplomacy is often viewed, mainly in small states, as the 'first line of defence.' The tacit and implicit use of military power is mostly lies in the permissive ambience of diplomatic realm. The significance of military power, as a means of gaining necessary diplomatic leverage, can be explained from the realist perception of 'anarchy'. At the international level, states have to seek their interests through their own power or by forging alliance with the more powerful states. 'In international politics force serves, not only as the ultimate ratio, but indeed as the first and constant one'—as Kenneth Waltz, leading neo-realist, argued. There may have repudiation about such strong endorsement of military power, but the real fact is that the 'risk' and 'fear' are two of the most important components of almost every diplomatic negotiations. Perceptions like the fear of losing something or everything, isolation, boycott, embargo, tariff often drive the parties to the agreement for the diplomatic solution. Military power is one of the instruments to generate fear. The combination of force and diplomacy is often called coercive diplomacy and military power, as conducive to create such diplomatic effort, assist to enhance power to large extent.<sup>32</sup> Fungibility of military power may include also other peacetime uses.

## 8.7 Visible Economic Return of Military Expenditure: Role of Bangladesh Army

*'By focusing on peacetime operations, the Army can contribute to the alleviation of the conditions that have traditionally led to the employment of combat forces in conflict. Additionally, the Army can accomplish these missions without increases in numbers and materiel and without sacrificing its preparation for wartime missions.'*— **Cole C. Kingseed.**

As a national security policy, the Army has much to offer in developing peacetime engagement and it is the most capable institution in running most of the peacetime activities. Engineers, military police, civic affairs, disaster relief, and transportation units all possess unique capabilities of assisting a host country to strengthen its own infrastructural development and address the conditions leading to instability and violence. Forces that are allocated to unified commanders on the basis of war-fighting missions may not be most useful for the peacetime engagement or nation assistance role. In this case, combat support and combat service support forces are better suited for peacetime engagement.<sup>33</sup>

Singapore, as suggested in this paper in its earlier chapter, can be a role model for Bangladesh following qualitative changes in armed forces of the later. With a similar view, PLA (People's Liberation Army) of China can be a role model for Bangladesh Army in regard with peacetime engagement. PLA was involved in economic development from its inception and the Army, after 1949, became involved in economic reconstruction works such as building railroads and factories, reclaiming wasteland, digging irrigation canals, establishing state farms, and participating in disaster relief operations. National infrastructural development has highly been accelerated by different segments of PLA like the Engineering Corps, Railway Engineering Corps, Capital Construction Engineering Corps, Signal Corps, and Production and Construction Corps. 'From 1981 to 1985, the PLA contributed 110 million workdays to 44,500 construction projects including the diversion of river water from the Luan He to Tianjin, construction of the Shengli oilfield in

Shandong and the Huolinhe open-cut coal mine in Shaanxi, expansion of Zhanjiang port in Guangdong, and forestation work involving the planting of 290 million trees.<sup>34</sup>

Bangladesh Army personnel can learn more and gather experiences from PLA in pursuance of peacetime activities. The process of learning and gathering experiences from PLA would be easier to be pursued as to China and Bangladesh have now a strong bilateral strategic relationship. It goes without saying that Bangladesh Army has already gathered significant experiences to some extent in peacetime activities since the force has been involved in the construction of some heavy infrastructure like Hatirjheel or Padma Bridge project and humanitarian works like evacuation, rescue, relief and rehabilitation, followed by disasters.

Bangladesh Army from its inception has responded to all call whether it is a matter of national crisis or natural and manmade disasters, and cooperated with its civilian counterparts. Its notable contribution to the restoration of democracy and to respond disaster related operations has uniquely been exemplified especially in developing countries. Bangladesh Army played a viable supportive role to the civilian mechanism with the credentials of characteristics of professionalism, expertise, institutional self-awareness and organized and hierarchic structure. On average, Bangladesh spends 1.1 % of its GDP as defence expenditure and contributes a total of 6.7% of gross GNP on the economic development of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, peace support operations, education, viable economic projects, skilled labour earning from Kuwait, high way development projects, industrial sectors and power generation.<sup>35</sup>

Over the last 18 years, 72,984 members of armed forces took part in 37 missions in 26 countries under the United Nations peace support operation. Average earning from this sector rose from US\$26 million to US\$87 million per year. In the education sector, the military educates 67465 people annually at undergraduate and post graduate levels. A total of 72% of civilian students receive direct benefit from 54 colleges and universities providing a direct return of US\$22 million per year to government exchequer. The Medicare facility provided to civilians over the last 10 years in 19 military hospitals counted 22% of treatment out of a total 35,12,225 patients, thus earning US\$286 million with average of US\$28 million per year. The total income generated from industrial sectors, Army welfare trusts Projects, Bangladesh

Machine Tools Factory, ports anti-smuggling operations, drugs and fishery protection, is around US\$56 million per year, notwithstanding the fact that savings from port and power sectors will touch US\$1.7 billion and improve further in subsequent years, if the current pace is maintained. Moreover the rural agro-based economy of Bangladesh is shared by armed forces in the chain offering a direct and indirect benefit to 40 million of the population, as mostly are from 'Peasants in Uniform Class', sharing 6% of agricultural growth.<sup>36</sup>

Indian economist Amit Bhaduri, in support of such people oriented projects, emphasizes on the importance of remittance provided by military personnel in developing agricultural economy. Military expenditure in many developed countries like USA or UK plays also crucial role during consumption and stagnation phases of economy. Social economists like Paul Baren or Paul Suiji has also focused on the positive impact of military expenditure. Their theory shades light on the synchronization of military expenditure and reduction in unemployment rate by the rich countries during the period between the two world wars.<sup>37</sup> However, above mentioned direct return of defence expenditure by Bangladesh Army provides indications to substantial prospects of making visible economic return by Bangladesh Navy and Bangladesh Air Force if the forces are maneuvered and directed properly in accordance with the vivid example of Bangladesh Army in this field.

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## Conclusion

Defence expenditure is eventually being increased in Bangladesh in recent years. 'Forces Goals-2030' has been declared by the government. Bangladesh has started to import military hardware from Russia as part of the defence treaty between the countries that worth 1 billion US dollars. Contemporarily, importation of Chinese military equipments has been increased, followed by the modernization programme of Bangladesh Armed Forces. Efforts to build up new cantonment, air and naval bases have been pursued within very short time. On the other hand, though the present government is successful to some extent to reduce poverty across the country, poverty is yet to be alleviated in an optimum level. Economic development has hardly been reached at peripheral level. Large number of mass people at the root level is yet to get privileges of country's contemporary economic growth.

Political turmoil and unrest have turned to the common phenomenon that tend to destabilize socio-economic progress and pose a negative impact on people's well being. Lack of political consensus and trust between the ruling political parties and oppositions is making the situation worsen. Moreover, environmental issues are not addressed properly for which it would be very hard for Bangladesh to reach Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) declared by the United Nations. Bangladesh has made some very good efforts in terms of climate change factor both in national and international arena. Nevertheless, the country does not seem to pursue sustainable development mechanism on a gross scale. The country sometimes has been able to implement several environment friendly policies such as ban on the use of polythene bag, industrial waste disposal, tannery management etc but the governments of Bangladesh do not usually pay heed strictly to address major environmental issues such as river and air pollutions, deforestation, hill cutting or poaching of endangered wild animals. It can be argued that, after justifying recent trends, there is an imbalance between military and non-military aspects of securitization in the country. This type of imbalance is a rigorous hindrance toward the maintenance of comprehensive security.

It would be prudent for any developing country like Bangladesh to pay more attention to economic development than that to military development. Because economic power

serves military power directly, while military power serves economy often indirectly. A sound economy of Bangladesh can contribute to boost up its military power through direct investment in defence sector. But the positive role of fungibility of military power affects the economy indirectly such as through coercive diplomacy. Emphasizing on economic development is important in another view that securitization to other unconventional threats such as climate change, poverty or environmental degradation can be triggered by a sound and healthy economy. Notwithstanding the fact, policy of military securitization is an integral part of national security and defence strategies. Therefore, maintaining an appropriate balance between military and non-military security is the big challenge ahead for Bangladesh.

However, recent trends of increasing defence expenditure as part of meeting forces goals and modernization of the armed forces would be justified if the level of peacetime uses of military forces was enhanced with a view to augment economic return of increased defence expenditure in response to the trends. With their historical background in the field of civilian usage, Bangladesh Armed Forces have proved that they are well qualified to pursue any possible peacetime activity stated in the paper.

Peacetime role of PLA in accelerating economic development of China provides great inducement for Bangladesh Army. Despite their small size, Singapore's armed forces are much more effective than many other comparatively bigger armed forces in the world and possess first class war capability to confront any external conventional threat. This is because Singapore prefers qualitative improvement of its armed forces to quantitative expansion. It would be better for Bangladesh, as a small state, to follow Singapore in terms of qualitative excellence of the armed forces, though there is a considerable gap in economic strengths between the countries.

## Appendix

### Appendix 1: Allocation (Dev & Non-Dev) in the Social Sectors of Selected Ministries by Year 1998/99-2007/08 (TK in Crore).

Sector	98/99	99/00	00/01	01/02	02/03	03/04	04/05	05/06	06/07	07/08
Education, Science & Technology	4850	5430	7079	6063	6736	4878	7381	9373	11057	11654
Health & Family Welfare	2080	2363	2627	2649	2797	3445	3175	4112	4957	5261
Labour & Manpower	38	46	54	133	70	56	90	106	96	119
Social Welfare, Women's Affairs & Liberation War Affairs	255	294	322	354	484	713	1152	1353	1468	2028
<b>Total Allocation</b>	<b>7223</b>	<b>8133</b>	<b>10082</b>	<b>9199</b>	<b>10087</b>	<b>9092</b>	<b>11798</b>	<b>14944</b>	<b>17578</b>	<b>19062</b>

Source: GOB 2009, P. 157, Cited in Raihan, Md Abu, Rural Poverty in Bangladesh: Trends, Determinants and Policy Issues, BISS Journal, Vol. 31, No. 2, April, 2010, pp. 215.

### Appendix 2: Physical Map of South Asia



Source: <http://www.physicalmapofasia.com>, accessed on 7.08.2017.

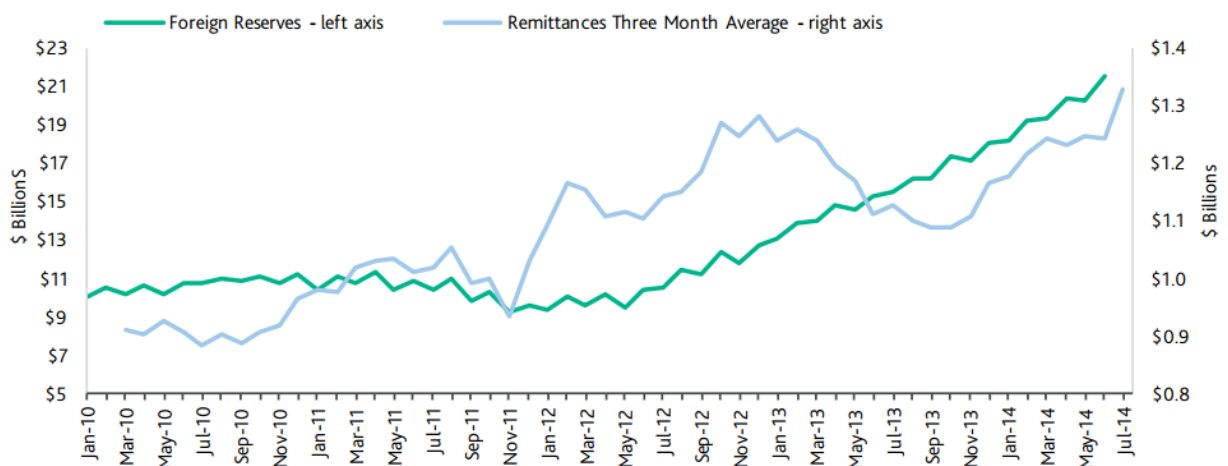
### Appendix 3: Basic Salary of Army Officers in Bangladesh: New Pay Scale

RANK	BASIC SALARY
General & equivalent ranking officers	Tk 1,00,000
Lt Gen & equivalent ranking officers	Tk 88,000
Maj Gen & equivalent ranking officers	Tk 80,000
Brigadier General	Tk 70,000
Colonel	Tk 60,000
Lt Colonel	Tk 52,000
Major	Tk 45,000
Captain	Tk 37,000
Lieutenant	Tk 32,000
Second Lieutenant	Tk 30,000

Source: The Daily Star, 2.01.2015.

### Appendix 4: Bangladesh Monthly Remittances and Foreign Reserves

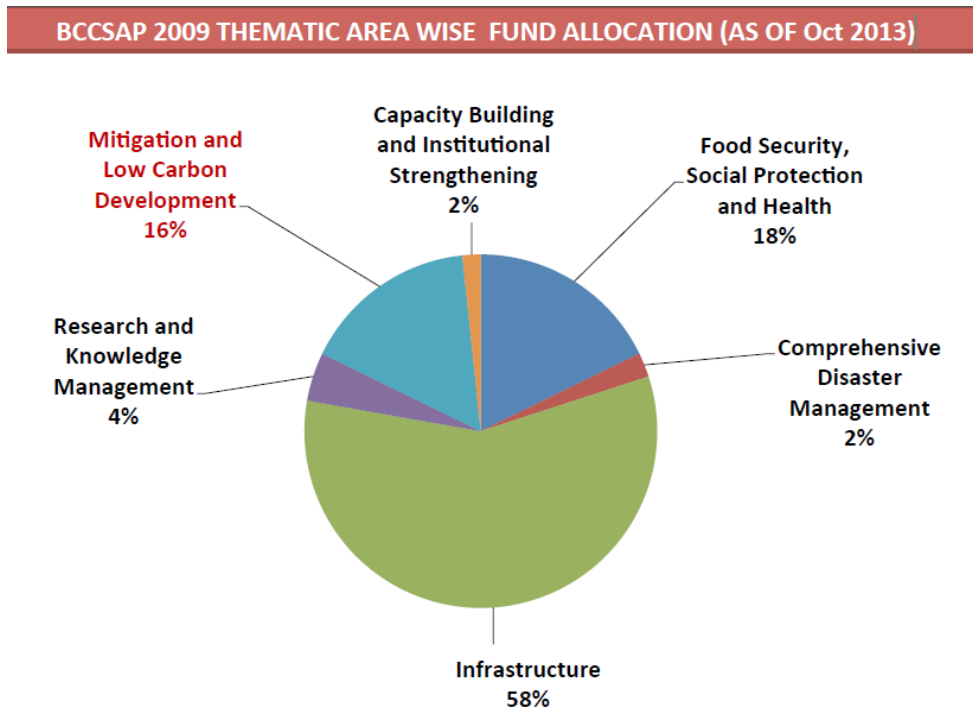
Bangladesh Monthly Remittances and Foreign Reserves



Source: Bangladesh Bank

Source: <https://www.bb.org.bd>, accessed on 4.03.2017.

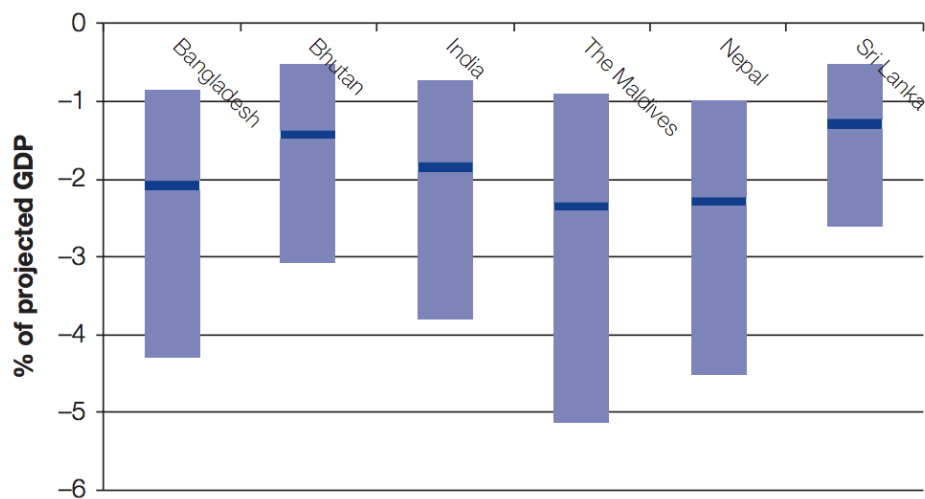
**Appendix 5: BCCSAP Thematic Area Wise Fund Allocation (As of 2013)**



Source: Bangladesh Climate Change Strategy and Action Plan, 2009.

**Appendix 6: Following Figure Shows the Total Economic Cost of Climate Change Scenario in 2050 in South Asia**

**Figure 27: Total Economic Cost of Climate Change under the BAU Scenario in 2050 in South Asia**



Source: Bangladesh Agricultural University, [www.bau.edu.bd](http://www.bau.edu.bd), accessed on 7.03.2017.