

The Construction of Security : Challenges and Options for Bangladesh

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[Abstract : In the global political structure, security is the primary concern of every state. There are many parameters to determine the concept of security and methods to achieve security. Though the approaches vary from country to country, the underlying goal remains the same. Availability of resources is of paramount importance to ensure security. The more resourceful states enjoy significant flexibility in the formulation and implementation of security policy while the scenario for the less resourceful is precisely the opposite. As a small and developing country, Bangladesh has been troubled to formulate its security policy addressing all sorts of security threats simultaneously. As a result, it is important to formulate a policy which would suit best to preserve the national interest. This paper analyzes the construction of security concept, prevailing global practices, identify the challenges to Bangladesh and possible ways to ensure security and promote position in the current global political environment.]

Key words : International Security and Politics, Comprehensive Security, Smart Security, Adaptive and Progressive Security Framework.

01. Introduction:

The idea of security has always been characterized by its ever-evolving nature. Security as a concept, has always been one of the fundamental and dominant concerns in conducting and managing international relations. Hence, the scholars of international relations invested their intellect to develop various approaches to facilitate better understanding of security. In the course of time, we have seen numerous schools of thought defined security from different points of view. Generally, there has been two major ideas, moderating the discussion; the traditional approach towards security. This approach is directly centered around the security threats which are perceived as more direct and needs immediate attention. On the other hand, the non-traditional approach towards security is broader and more inclusive. In many cases this approach is concerned with long-term solution of any given challenges and needs cooperation among the concerned stakeholders. Both approaches are important and relevant in the discussion of security. In order to championing the national interests, the political actors (states) must ensure the subtle use of the resources available to them. In this connection, it is important to note that the resources available in the international system is scarce and there are

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multiple variables active simultaneously. Hence, states are unable to address all the security challenges instantaneously and need to prioritize the issues at hand. The more resourceful states enjoy significant degree of freedom to choose options whereas the countries with lesser resources have limited freedom in that regard. This paper is an attempt to analyze the contesting approaches towards security and balancing between the approaches in the context of a developing country like Bangladesh.

02. The Construction of 'Security':

Security has always been the primary concern of all countries. Though the approach towards security varies from state to state, but the central concern remains the same. Each country is concerned to enhance its security position further. The idea of security is multidimensional and multifaceted. Security is one of the most ambiguous, contested, and debated ideas in the conceptual framework of international relations (Tome, 2010). There are many schools of thought in the study of security and they provide divergent views about the concept of security. In the contemporary complex global security environment, all schools seem important. Although, the approaches might seem to be in contrast to each other; they all have the one underlying objective; to enhance the security situation and position. In this connection, it is imperative to have a general understanding about the prevailing and dominating theoretical approaches that construct the idea of 'security'. To keep the discussion precise and focused two major contesting schools of thought is discussed here.

Throughout the history of global politics, realism most probably has been the more dominating school of thought in the security discourse. The school of thought is based on three core assumptions, which are '*Groupism*', '*Egoism*' and '*Power-Centrism*' (Wohlforth, 2010, p.9). There are various sub-schools of realist schools like Neo-realism, Offensive and Defensive realism, Neoclassical Realism. In a nutshell, realist school primarily focuses on the web of social and political life spun out of inclinations and incentives, deterrent threat and punishments (Waltz, 1979).

Contrary to realism, the liberalist approach towards security is more inclusive and adaptive. Liberalism is an expensive concept that carries a variety of meanings for students of politics (David, Rousseau and Walker, 2010). The liberal school focuses on the levels of analysis to understand and explain the idea to achieve security. The levels of analysis are: individual level of analysis, the state-society level and the systematic level. Based on these levels of analysis the liberal school expects the following outcomes: Firstly, democracy reduces military conflicts. Secondly, economic interdependence reduces military conflict and lastly, international institutions reduce military conflict (David, Rousseau and Walker, 2010, pp.21-33).

03. Understanding Security Approaches:

In the study of international relations, security has primarily been associated with the military-political dimension. This particular dimension has dominated the security studies for a long time. In other words, this means security by the state and for the state (Tome, 2010). Later in contrast of this traditional realist perspective of security, the liberal approach arrived. In contrast to realism, the liberal approach focuses on the human security as an approach to ensure state security. As new issues are surfacing on a regular basis regarding state security, a state must consider to enhance its security position using available resources. No static approach is solely sufficient to reach the ultimate goal to ensure the security of a country in the long run. A state must be adaptive to the changes in the international politics and adjust its strategy along with the changes happening. Some

countries might be blessed with some natural advantages to ensure and maintain its security, while some other states might not be in the same position. In many cases, there are conflicts among the neighboring countries regarding national boundaries. At the same time, there are numerous instances in the contemporary world where the states are cooperating with each other to ensure their national security as well as regional security in the broader perspective. Hence, it might be assumed that some threats are best countered through cooperation and some are to be dealt alone by a state only. The concept of state sovereignty, in this regard, plays an important role to decide which method to be followed. As the political system varies, the outlook towards security also varies from country to country. In the following section a comparative discussion is presented to understand the current practices to enhance security.

04. Current Practices at the Global Level to Enhance Security:

In the current political structure, we see that the more resourceful states with an intent to increasing involvement in global politics are eager to enhance their security through traditional methods like increasing defense budget, making alliances, counter-alliances and so on. On the other hand, countries with limited resources tend to keep themselves away from the uneven power-race and promote security focusing on alternative approach like human resource development, achieving economic sustainability, preserving the environment, forming alliance, promoting mutual gains thorough regional institutional platforms and so on. However, a country cannot solely divert all its resources to this particular approach. A country also needs to adapt to the prevailing political structure and strengthen its military-political position. In order to understand the global practice, it is imperative to analyze the current global practices. In this connection, the examples of the USA, India and Bangladesh are analyzed here.

4.1. The Hegemon—the United States of America

In simple vernacular, hegemon refers to a country who is capable to dominate the international system. A hegemon can be characterized by superabundance of military strength, technological advantages, a strong economy—all the prerequisites to dominate a system. In the present context, the USA is the country which possesses such capabilities to dominate the global politics. As a method of ensuring its dominance, the USA in many cases resorts to the use of military measures. In this connection, it is worthy to mention here that the country is involved in many conflictual situations at present. According to the Global Conflict Tracker, the USA is now directly or indirectly involved in more than twenty global conflictual situations in different parts of the world, including, Asia, Europe, Africa, Central America and Latin America (Global Conflict Tracker, 2024). The following map shows the geographical locations of the conflict the USA is currently involved in.



Map 01 : The US Involvement in Global Conflicts

As the conflict situations intensify, so does the expenditure. To ensure global dominance, the country is investing more in its defense budget. The following chart shows the increasing defense budget on the USA in the last five fiscal years. In the chart we see a steady rise in the defense budget allocation with an exception only in 2023 fiscal year. In the following year the budget increased than the previous years at a higher ratio (Agency Profile: Department of Defense, 2024).

Data through 3/31/2024

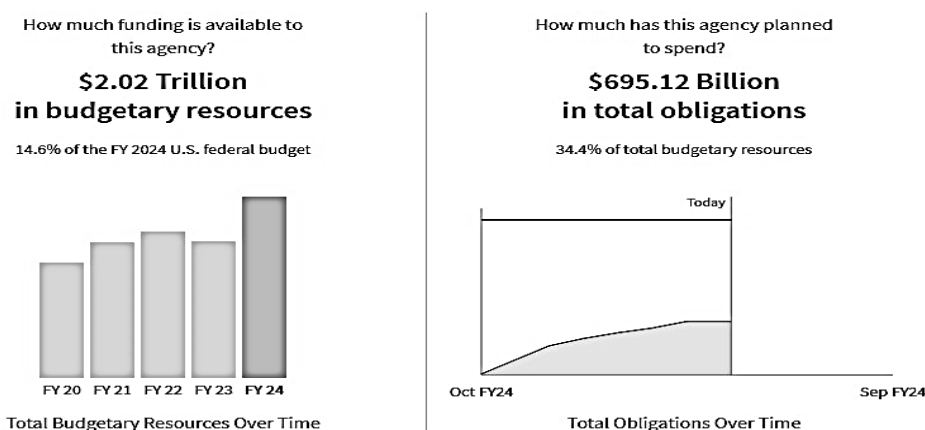


Chart 01 : US Defense Budget Summary (DoD Agency Profile 2024)

However, the important issue here to notice here is that the USA has a separate budget for promoting liberal democratic practices as well in many parts of the world. It happens to be shaped and regulated by the national interest of the country which changes over the course of time. According to the 'Fact Sheet: The President's Budget Confronts Global Challenges and Defends Democracy' published on March 11, 2024 states, 'The Budget provides over \$3 billion for bolstering global democracy, including \$345 million for the President's Initiative for Democratic Renewal to foster transparent and accountable governance' (The White House, Fact Sheet: The President's Budget Confronts Global Challenges and Defends Democracy, 2024). Here comparing the allotted budget over the years, we see that a much larger portion of the budget is invested in the traditional political-military measures to ensure security, whereas the share of the non-traditional approach is significantly lesser.

4.2. The Regional Power—India

India is a regional power in South Asia. The country is the largest one in the South Asian region. Moreover, India shares the title of nuclear power along with Pakistan in South Asia. The rivalry between the neighboring countries is an underlying cause of arms race in the region. From the perspective of enhancing security, India has a large defense budget. Apart from the military expenditure, India consistently is trying to promote her interest using alternative methods using Confidence Building Measures (CBMs). For its vast geographical expansion and cultural diversion, a considerable size of resources is also invested in this regard. The following self-explanatory chart represents the Indian defense budget over time.

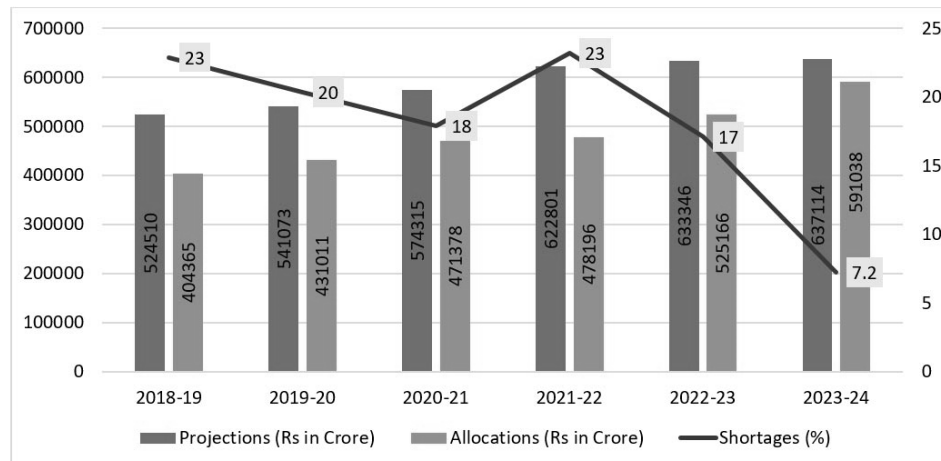


Chart 2 : Indian Defense Budget (ORF 2024)¹

As a regional power and sharing the boundaries with the neighbors, India also tends to promote cooperation through bilateral and multilateral initiatives. In this regard, Pakistan has been the primary concern for India. As both the neighbors have nuclear capable, they both need to keep the possibility of escalation of any kind conflict to the minimum. At the same time, India tries to expand its sphere of influence on the other neighbors. Interestingly, the Indian Ministry of External Affairs, which is an extremely important ministry in working for enhancing security environment of the country is one of the least funded ministries in India (Center for Social and Economic Progress, How India Budgets to Become a Leading Power, 2024).

05. General Categorization of Security Threats to Bangladesh:

Bangladesh faces numerous security challenges of traditional and non-traditional origins. In the popular academic discussions, a comprehensive approach is used to divide the security threats to a country. One of the categories is the traditional security threats or approach, which mainly focuses on the state as a primary concern of ensuring security. On the other hand, the non-traditional security threats provide a different approach to ensure security. The traditional security threats are highlighted as the impacts are more visible i.e., border conflict, war, arms race, nuclear proliferation and so on. On the contrary, a number of non-traditional security threats do not create immediate impact. If we consider the example of ozone layer depletion, which is a grave threat, does not exert immediate impact. Rather, it takes a long time. Hence, in most of the cases the traditional security threats are taken into consideration with utmost importance. As a geographically almost surrounded by the large neighbor India, burdened with a large population, numerous impediments to achieve sustainable economic growth, less scientific and technological advancement, Bangladesh is baffled both with traditional and non-traditional security threats. At the same time, the limitation of resources impedes

1. Observer Research Foundation, 2024, Examining India's Interim Defense Budget 2024-25, Available at: www.orfonline.org/research/examining-indias-interim-defence-budget-2024-25, Accessed on February 28, 2024

Bangladesh to deal with various threats simultaneously. The following discussion analyzes the traditional and non-traditional threats to Bangladesh and in the latter part it also provides policy options to improve the security environment of the country.

5.1 The Traditional Security Threats to Bangladesh:

As a South Asian country with less geographical vastness and least direct connectivity with other neighbors in the region, Bangladesh faces diverse security threats. Many of the traditional security threats are related to border management with India and Myanmar. In a broader spectrum, Bangladesh has to deal with other forms of security threats from the regional neighbors. Moreover, close geographical proximity and strong presence of influence of China in the region is an important consideration here. It regulates and shapes the regional politics in the region. Therefore, the constantly changing regional politics is also a source of security threat towards Bangladesh. The maritime boundary of Bangladesh is vast and resourceful. This is a blessing as well as a difficult task to ensure security. Broadly speaking, the traditional security threats to Bangladesh are mainly deriving from two neighbors: India and Myanmar.

India Factor: India is one of the oldest civilizations in the world with a kaleidoscopic variety and rich cultural heritage (Know India, 2020). It has achieved all-round socio-economic progress since its Independence. It covers an area of 32,87,263 sq. km (1,269,346 sq mi), extending from the snow-covered Himalayan heights to the tropical rain forests of the south. India is the 7th largest country in the world. Bounded by the Great Himalayas in the north, it stretches southwards and at the Tropic of Cancer, tapers off into the Indian Ocean between the Bay of Bengal on the east and the Arabian Sea on the west. Lying entirely in the northern hemisphere, the mainland measures about 3,214 km from north to south and about 2,933 km from east to west. It has a land frontier of about 15,200 km. The total length of the coastline of the mainland, Lakshadweep Islands and Andaman & Nicobar Islands is 7,516.6 km (National Portal of India, India at A Glance, 2023). Bangladesh shares a border of 4096.7 kilometers with India (Introduction, Indian Land Border, 2023).

It is imperative that a powerful neighbor always has an influence over a less powerful neighbor(s). While many powers are concentrated within a region, a balance of power comes into effect automatically. However, if there is an imbalance in the distribution of power among the states in a region, the most powerful state asserts its influence on others. The connection between Bangladesh and India is historical and both countries share many similarities. However, the rise of India as a regional power has always been influencing the policies and perspectives of Bangladesh in various ways. Situated at the heart of South Asia, the enormous geographic depth has provided India with so many strategic advantages. However, the seven-sister states (Arunachal, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland and Tripura) region constantly remain as a source of trouble to India. The ethnic diversity and cultural divisions within the country together have contributed to the adoption of different policies in different times. Bangladesh continued to accommodate many of those changes in the Indian foreign policy during the formulation of its own.

China, as a major ally to Pakistan, played a negative role during the liberation war of Bangladesh. As a result, the inception of the bilateral relations with China was not very smooth as Bangladesh emerged as an independent, sovereign state. Many of the political parties in Bangladesh are highly influenced by the political ideologies of China. After the independence, Bangladesh mainly relied on India and former Soviet Union for the

reconstruction of the war-torn country. This reliance paved the way for many to believe that Bangladesh had been allying with the Indo-Soviet sphere. As a result, China kept a minimal bilateral relationship with the new born country. Moreover, the conflict between China and India, also had tremendous impact on Bangladesh. Gradually, the bilateral relationship prospered and Bangladesh started to maintain a balanced policy towards India and China. However, the balancing policy had to be modified from time to time considering so many issues surfacing in the bilateral relations with both the countries.

The geographical position of Bangladesh has limited its flexibility in many cases. As Bangladesh is almost engulfed by India, Bangladesh carefully has to adopt many policies to keep India contained. There have been many problems between Bangladesh and India along the international borderline. In many areas, many Bangladeshi citizens were shot killed by the Indian Border Security Force (BSF). Bangladesh protested these killings following diplomatic norms. Flag meetings were arranged in the concerned border areas to settle the issues and promises were made not to initiate such heinous actions arbitrarily by the Indian counterpart. But unfortunately, they failed to keep their promises. The loose commitment undermines the bilateral relations and poses a serious threat to the national security of Bangladesh. Furthermore, the people from both side of the border are engaged in the informal trade as if there is no borderline. This also needs to be dealt with utmost priority to reduce the challenges to national security, as economic security is also a part of it in the broader sense. However, if the two neighbors facilitate this trading interaction under the state authority, that would bring more benefits for both as seen over the recent decades.

Myanmar Factor : Myanmar is another country sharing limited but troubled boundary with Bangladesh. Unlike India, Myanmar shares a much smaller borderline with Bangladesh. The total length of the Myanmar-Bangladesh boundary is 271 kilometers (168.7 miles). It consists of two parts, namely the Naaf River boundary 64 kilometers (39.5 miles) and the land boundary 208 kilometers (129.2 miles) (Basic Facts of Myanmar, 2023). The Bangladesh-Myanmar border is not vast compared to the Bangladesh-India international border. However, the terrain along the Bangladesh-Myanmar border is troublesome to access and maintain properly. The proper management of international border is imperative to ensure national security along the borderline. As a result, it remains as a manipulatable area of security concern for Bangladesh mainly.

Myanmar was one of the first few countries to recognize Bangladesh as an independent nation after its creation in 1971. Diplomatic relations between the two were formalized from 21 March 1972 and remained amiable with high-level visits from both sides (The Rohingya Crisis and its Impact on Bangladesh-Myanmar Relations, 2023). Both the neighbors share many commonalities, despite many prevailing differences. However, the policy of Myanmar government regarding the Rohingya population living in the Rakhine province of Myanmar has contributed in the deterioration of bilateral relations between Bangladesh and Myanmar. Many steps have been taken to improve the bilateral relations focusing on areas such as tourism and trade. Unfortunately, it seems that the neighbors lack opportunities to foster bilateral developments until the Rohingya refugee crisis settles permanently. Bangladesh has sheltered many Rohingya refugees on humanitarian ground. With a limited resource, it is not possible for Bangladesh to provide all supports to the refugees. Hence, a peaceful repatriation of the refugees is important in the development of bilateral relations between the neighbors. Bangladesh has been a sufferer of the massive influx of Rohingya refugees since the independence. It must be borne in mind that the role of China is important here to ensure the repatriation of the refugees. China has invested 21 billion USD in Myanmar as of March 2020

(Understanding the Relations between Myanmar and China, 2023). Both countries have signed many agreements under the Chinese Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). The Chinese investment is primarily concentrated in the Rakhine province, which is the home of the Rohingya people. It might be added in this connection that China is the largest arms supplier to Myanmar, according to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) report of 2017 (Trends in World Military Expenditure, 2017). As there are diverse interest of China is present in Myanmar it is very important to taken into cognizance that Bangladesh needs Chinese goodwill to ensure the peaceful repatriation of the refugees. Although, the Rohingya refugee issue is a humanitarian issue and hence might be included in the non-traditional security threat, but the impact of the issue transcends the boundary and exerts impact on traditional connotation of security.

The Maritime Security Dilemma : From the early development of global connectedness till the modern times, the concept of maritime voyage remains as an important concept in the security discourse. In the post Second World War world the importance of maritime security has been multiplied for the superpowers as a tool to global dominance. It is imperative that it is a mammoth task for any country to manage the maritime boundary and security is the country is not financially self-sufficient and possesses ample resources. If we look at the resourceful countries, we would see that it is easier for them to maintain maritime security compared to those countries with limited resources. If we take the example of Bangladesh and India, it is evident that India is more capable of maintaining their maritime boundary with much ease compared to Bangladesh. However, Bangladesh is putting much effort to modernize its Navy to enhance the level of security and management of maritime boundary.

Bangladesh is blessed to have access to the high sea through the Bay of Bengal on the south of the mainland. Moreover, the geographical location is important and an advantage for the country to establish deep sea port which in turn would facilitate regional and international sea trade. In turn, that would ensure an overall development of the country over the course of time. Many regional neighbors like Nepal and Bhutan would be benefitted if the maritime trade is expanded across South Asia. Unfortunately, the bilateral relations between Bangladesh-India and Bangladesh-Myanmar have multiple problems which are still to be settled. As a result, it is difficult for a country like Bangladesh to protect the vast maritime boundary while the bordering neighbors are more powerful in terms of military power. Bangladesh had been facing the proper delimitation of maritime boundary. As a member of United Nations and respectful to the peaceful settlement of disputes, Bangladesh went in for arbitration over the delimitation of maritime boundary under the United Nations Convention on Law of Sea (UNCLOS) on October 8 2009. The judgement was delivered on 14 March, 2012 (ITLOS, Press Release, 2012). The court concluded its hearings on December 18, 2013 in The Hague (The Hindu, 2014 (Updated on November 16, 2021), Bangladesh Wins Maritime Dispute with India). Bangladesh had been facing the delimitation of maritime boundary issue with India since the independence. As India assisted Bangladesh during the liberation war, the initial initiatives are marked by bilateral negotiations. The first official negotiation was initiated back in 1974 (Manocha, 2014). However, the bilateral negotiation was not enough to settle the dispute over a long period of time. As time passed the issue started exerting influence on the bilateral relations between the neighbors. Bangladesh as the last resort took the issue to the United Nations International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea in 2009. The matter further was taken to the Permanent Court of Arbitration at the Hague in May 2011. Finally, in July 2011 the UN tribunal awarded 19,467 square kilometers, four-fifth of the total disputed area of 25,602 sq km in the Bay of Bengal, to the latter. This was

important for both parties to reduce the tension in the bilateral relations. Nonetheless, Bangladesh still needs to develop its capabilities further to ensure the maritime security along the boundary and protect the available natural resources and minerals. As the challenges to the maritime security are constantly changing and the concerns are on the rise due to its geopolitical importance, Bangladesh needs to contribute more resources here. As a country with limited resources and a vast population to manage, it is a difficult task for Bangladesh. Hence, it remains as a traditional security threat to Bangladesh.

5.2. The Non-Traditional Security Threats to Bangladesh:

Non-traditional security threats to Bangladesh are diverse in nature. With a limited resource with a huge population concentrated within a small territory Bangladesh is not in a position to deal with the challenges all at the same time. The aforementioned challenges become more complex due to influence of other unforeseen challenges like global pandemic or political turmoil or rise of other issues. As the list is quite long, this paper will provide an overview about the challenges categorizing them into different themes in the following section.

The Environmental Challenges: As a lower riparian country in the Ganges delta, Bangladesh faces many environmental challenges. The geographical position of Bangladesh makes it more vulnerable to cyclones as well. The unplanned development is causing deforestation across the country. Forests are shrinking day by day. It is an ideal estimate that a country should have at least twenty-five percent of its total territory covered with forest. The total area of forest land is 2.53 million hectares representing about 17.5% of the country's area (Arannyak Foundation, 2023). The desertification is also a major challenge to Bangladesh. The northern part of Bangladesh is mostly affected due to desertification. At the same time, the intrusion of saline water due to the rise of sea-level is causing much trouble in the southern part of the country. A lion portion of the cultivable land has lost fertility in the process. Moreover, the intensity of natural calamities is increasing due to the global changes. Heavy flood, higher tides during cyclones, rise of sea level, river bank erosion are some examples of environmental challenges to Bangladesh. At the same time, the increasing dependence on the mangrove forest is causing destruction of natural protection along the coastal line. Due to the adverse effects of the environmental changes, the ecology is changing rapidly as well, actively contributing to the loss of biodiversity. Moreover, the cropping pattern is changing, soils are overused causing loss of fertility. If not checked, these changes will have adverse impact in the near future. Bangladesh with a limited tract of land is facing the adverse impact of environmental changes.

Economic Challenges : Bangladesh is a developing country with various prospects. The national economy is stable and prepared to absorb small economic shocks. It is imperative to mention here that the economy of Bangladesh is mainly stands on the contribution of the expatriate worker. It is unfortunate that a large portion of manpower Bangladesh exports are unskilled and semi-skilled. If Bangladesh had focused on the creating skilled manpower, it would have been more contributing to the national economy. In addition, the overall development is still largely dependent on the foreign sources like loans and grants. If we look at the export-import statistics of Bangladesh, we would find it disappointing in many ways. The bilateral and multilateral trade within the South Asian region and beyond are not in favor of Bangladesh. The global political crises caused many of the expatriate workers coming back to Bangladesh. As a result, the earnings from the remittance are on the fall. This is having an adverse impact on the

overall national economy of Bangladesh. In turn, the development process is slowing down in many perspectives.

Health Challenges : Health sector is one of the most important sectors of a country and it requires constant development. Apart from the other basic services, health sector needs to be prioritized and maintained properly. Bangladesh is one of the few countries which showed remarkable development in the health sectors. Bangladesh has been able to reduce the mortality rate during the child birth, providing more people the access to safe drinking water and sanitation. Women health has been provided much importance in the last decades. Reproduction health related awareness has been widely promoted. Child marriage percentage has fallen sharply. As a result, the mortality rate has gone down significantly. The overall life expectancy has increased. The Bangladeshi pharmaceutical industry is highly appreciated around the globe. In many cases Bangladesh is able to produce the necessary medicines within the country. However, there are many medicines which still need to be imported from different countries. If we look at the present COVID situation we would see that the country is currently dependent on the import of vaccines. The technological know-how is still inadequate to face the prevailing threats arising from the spread of Corona virus in the country. However, Bangladesh has been able to tackle the spread of Corona virus importing various types of vaccines from different sources. This must be regarded as one of the major achievements in the sector. In this connection, it is worthy to note that dependance on importing such a life-saving vaccine is not conducive to the health sector of a country like Bangladesh. Hence, it should be regarded as one of the major threats to the overall non-traditional security of Bangladesh.

Political Challenges : in spite of being a small country, Bangladesh hosts a diverse political and social norm. the political culture of Bangladesh usually is marked by political violence, intolerance, aggressive expression of ideas and so on. However, the present situation is much more accommodative. However, we still see sporadic clashes between different political parties on subtle issues, which is not a good political practice. In many cases the political parties of Bangladesh are influenced by different ideologies of foreign origin. There is a lack of development of political ideologies of our own. We see divisions among the political parties even regarding national interests. It might be argued that the national interests are defined by the government. But it is imperative that there should be a consensus on national interests irrespective of government and opposition. At the same time, the law-and-order situation is not flawless. There are many loopholes within the system. In many cases, political involvements and influences obstructs the proper execution of existing legal system. In turn, it becomes an opportunity for the miscreants to involve further in heinous activities.

Social Threats : It is important to notice that the society is an everchanging concept as it goes through changes of many kinds constantly. The social values change in the course of time. It also embraces the concept of localization. However, the connectedness of societies all over the globe is growing due to the intense process of globalization. Bangladesh is not an influencer in this regard but vastly affected due to this process. In context of Bangladesh, human trafficking is a major societal problem. Unfortunately, human trafficking has become very common in the country. It is often termed as migration. Many people are cheated to migrate with a dream for a better life by the fake migrant manpower exporters. A large portion of this cheated people usually sell all their belongings to meet the cost of migration. As a result, they lose the future and the present at the same time. For the sake of survival, they turn into miscreants as they are not left with any other option usually. Though the government and various international and local non-governmental entities are working to eliminate such problems, the success is still far

away. The spread of drugs of various types is also causing social disturbance and unrest. Recently, we have seen the intrusion and spreading of various synthetic drugs. It is not possible for the law enforcing agencies only of the country to curb the threat. Social motivation and upholding social values are also important players in this regard. Another crime source is a bit new in nature in the context of Bangladesh, cyber-crime. It is slowly on the rise. The cyber-terrorism taskforce has been created by the government of Bangladesh to deal with this type of crime with precision. However, the spectrum of cyber-crime or cyber-terrorism includes so many issues. Bangladesh is now facing this social threat along with the aforementioned ones.

06. Finding the Security Nexus :

The threats Bangladesh faces at present are diverse in nature and multilayered. It is not enough to divide the existing threats in broad categories only but it is also important to assess the impacts from different angles. The distinction between traditional and non-traditional security threats are blurring in the course of time due to evolving nature of threats. The local security threats might have regional or global connection. In the like manner, any local incident might trigger catastrophic impact in the global arena. As we have seen over the recent decades, the world-wide connectedness has contributed heavily in the spread of security threats. The rise of extremism in the Middle East has influenced the spread of extremist idea within Bangladesh. Here, we face the difficulty to identify the nature of the problem. It seems that it is a local security threat to the Middle Eastern region. However, when the same incidents exert impacts in a South Asian country, that does not remain just a local problem of the Middle East. In the same way, if we categorize it as a traditional threat, that is not enough to describe it properly. We will face the difficulty to categorize it under the traditional views regarding security paradigms. Hence, the nexus is complex one to understand and a more comprehensive understanding about security threat is much required.

From theoretical perspectives, the notions of security can be divided in various different ways. However, the dominating classification divides the notion of security in two broad categories: traditional and non-traditional. The traditional security takes a state-centric approach whereas the non-traditional security approach primarily focuses on human security. In the prevailing global political structure, it is imperative to maintain the delicate balance between both approaches.

As mentioned before, the traditional notion of security is primarily concerned with the state itself. This notion promotes the ideas relating to the use of power and is based on the realist school of thought. This particular approach still dominates the international system. On the other hand, the non-traditional security approach is based on the idea that the human security should be the primary concern of a state and if the population is secured, then the state's security is ensured. Unlike the traditional approach towards security, this idea is considered more humane and gaining more acceptance gradually. These divergent views are often seen to be conflicting, but the truth is precisely the opposite. Single approach cannot ensure security neither of the state nor the population. In the contemporary world, we see that this traditional binary division is becoming increasingly blurred. The state-centric notion influences the human-centric notion of security and vice versa. Therefore, a comprehensive approach towards security incorporating both approaches is imperative.

As for a country like Bangladesh, it is a very difficult task to determine which approach should be taken to enhance the security situation of the country. It is undeniable that Bangladesh faces both traditional and non-traditional security threats and over the

course of time, it is becoming more acute. Compared to the traditional security threats, non-traditional security threats are more devastating. The geographical position and political realities of Bangladesh make the country more vulnerable to many non-traditional security challenges. At the same moment, Bangladesh does not have enough resources to adapt to evolving challenges. To worsen the scenario, Bangladesh is dependent on the external resources like foreign aid and assistance to enhance the adaptation capacity. Apart from these realities, Bangladesh is an area of attraction for major global powers for its geographic location. Hence, Bangladesh also needs to survive under this tremendous pressure from international politics. Due to the scarcity of resources, Bangladesh enjoys lesser degree of freedom to formulate any comprehensive security policy.

In the context of Bangladesh, it is important to deal with the security issues considering available resources and options. The traditional security challenges are equally important as are the non-traditional security threats. Bangladesh is dealing with border issues with both neighbors; India and Myanmar. Also, there are other challenges like terrorism, illegal trade, trespassing, distrust among the border security forces and so on in the relations among aforesaid neighbors. The natural calamities and environmental degradation are also adding more pressure on the available resources. This crosscutting nature of security threats puts Bangladesh in a precarious situation to deal with the challenges. Most importantly, these threats are influencing each other.

Considering the aforesaid circumstances, It is imperative that we should look beyond the traditional classification of security and focus more on a comprehensive approach. It is a luxury for a country like Bangladesh to mitigate all the security threats separately and simultaneously. At the same time, it should be borne in mind that we need to analyze and reach the root of the challenges. Then there comes a more difficult challenge; achieving the goal of enhanced security. If we contribute more resources to analyze each and every security aspect solely then there is a probability to overlook the broader aspect. On the contrary, taking comprehensive approach might hurdle our capacity to develop expertise on any given particular issue.

07. Options for Bangladesh

Under the aforementioned circumstances, there are several possible approaches which might be useful to adopt for a country like Bangladesh. Bangladesh needs to prioritize the security challenges. This approach would enable Bangladesh to mitigate the security challenges with more ease. As the resources available are limited, this might be the best option for Bangladesh. Moreover, there are some challenges which are to be dealt over a long period of time and on a regular basis. To deal with those, a significant portion of resources must be invested constantly. In many cases, if there is discontinuity in addressing these issues, the outcome may not be sustainable. Hence, the resources spent would be a waste. Moreover, it is a matter of high probability that, new challenges would surface over the course of time. A constant attention is also required in that regard. It is important to consider and analyze the issues at hand, prioritize the issues and then find the best solution to that.

Bangladesh might opt for traditional approach towards security incorporating more effective global and regional partnership. At the same time, it is important to make the prevailing cooperation platforms more functional and result oriented. Focusing on the issues of common interests, new alliances should be formed and Bangladesh needs to play the pioneering role in the process. Contrary to the traditional approach, Bangladesh should also prepare an agenda for global engagement focusing the common global

concerns. Here, Bangladesh needs to focus more on the traditionally counted non-traditional security issues. However, in this era of globalization the boundary between traditional and nontraditional security issues are becoming increasingly blurred. The traditional security challenges and non-traditional security issues interpenetrate at multiple levels and points. Therefore, it is imperative to devise a method to deal with such complex and crosscutting challenges.

The more traditional approach towards ensuring security might, in many considerations, serve as an option to be adopted by Bangladesh. The prevailing political structure is an indication that a country cannot secure its position without making some advancements in military and aviation power. In the previous parts the global trend to ensure security has been discussed. From that point of view, it is required to adopt advancing in military to improve the security situation, especially in cases where there is a lack of harmonious relations with the neighbors. Moreover, Bangladesh is blessed with access to the Bay of Bengal. The growing importance of blue economy is also an important consideration to improve the security position of a country. Bangladesh needs to invest more in developing its naval capacity gradually. The management of the water is far more complex and difficult to manage. It would require both technical and mechanical capacity development. As Bangladesh is dependent on the foreign countries to acquire these assets, it also needs building up good relations with the international suppliers. Modern military instruments are not cheap and the market is controlled by powerful states. As a result, this would put high toll on the national economy of Bangladesh. At the same time, the national economy is overburdened to provide many necessary services to the citizens of the country. Hence, this particular approach requires a long-term strategic plan and proper continuation in implementation process.

An alternative possible option for Bangladesh to deal with the security threats could be adopting comprehensive security method. This method was devised and adopted by Japan under the 'Yoshida Doctrine' in the late 1970s and early 1980s (Akaha, 1991, p. 324). This idea provides a multidimensional and multi-instrumental character of security. Comprehensive security focuses more on promoting cooperation through various methods like development assistance, collaboration in economic and financial concerns, increasing institutional activities. This approach tends to move away from the political-military approach. In case of Bangladesh, it seems to be more appropriate as it requires less military expenditure and more focus on the overall internal development as well as developing partnership with the regional neighbors as well as other allies.

The present global political structure suggests that neither of the aforementioned approach solely is a viable option for Bangladesh. As a small country with a developing economy, Bangladesh needs to balance and mix both the options at a time. On the one hand, traditional approach towards security is expensive for Bangladesh and the comprehensive approach requires excellent mastery of diplomacy on the other. Hence, a subtle and dynamic approach needs to be developed to keep the pace with the ever-changing international security scenario. Bangladesh is currently focusing more on the latter, but at the same time the growth of the traditional approach should also be prioritized in this regard. The security approach focusing on both ends would certainly contribute to enhance the position of the country in the global political realm. The approach should be adaptive and progressive. Here, adaptive security means to respond to any potential threats in real time by continuous monitoring. On the other hand, adaptive security would entail four major ideas: predict, prevent, respond and detect. Though the aforesaid ideas are used in computing science and cyber security, the idea might be effective in the study of security as a whole. A combination of these two ideas, might be

termed as '*Adaptive and Progressive Security Framework*'. This would be the best suitable option for Bangladesh considering the present realities.

08. Conclusion

In the realities of a country like Bangladesh, it is difficult to concentrate on various security challenges at the same time. At one hand, the challenges are multifaceted and complex in nature intersecting each other at various levels and on the other hand, there is a scarcity of resources to counter the challenges. It puts pressure on the defense planners and practitioners. It is not an easy task to find out suitable solutions to every challenge and implement in an effective manner. Moreover, availability of resources is important in formulating and implementing any policy. As Bangladesh faces different challenges at different levels, the country has to allocate resources smartly. As the international system is characterized both by conflict and cooperation, the only option available for a country is to shed focus on both options. In a nutshell, it might be said that the policy formulation process and implementation method will vary from country to country, but the essence of the policy will remain same for all countries as long as the current political system prevails.

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[সার-সংক্ষেপ : পরিবর্তনশীল বিশ্বব্যবস্থায় সকল রাষ্ট্রই নিজস্ব নিরাপত্তা নিশ্চিত করতে সচেষ্ট। সেক্ষেত্রে নিরাপত্তার ধারণাটি কোন রাষ্ট্র কীভাবে দেখে এবং বোঝে সেটি অনুধাবন করা অত্যন্ত গুরুত্বপূর্ণ। সেই কারণে তাত্ত্বিকগণ নিরাপত্তার ধারণাকে বিভিন্ন দৃষ্টিকোণ থেকে ব্যাখ্যা করার চেষ্টা করেছেন। তবে আন্তর্জাতিক সম্পর্কে নিরাপত্তা বিষয়ক আলোচনায় সাধারণত দুটি ধারা, বাস্তববাদ এবং উদারতাবাদ, অধিকতর আলোচিত ও প্রভাবশালী। এই দুটি ধারা ভিন্ন দৃষ্টিকোণ থেকে নিরাপত্তার ধারণাকে ব্যাখ্যা করার ফলে উদ্ভূত সঙ্কটগুলোর সমাধানের প্রক্রিয়ার ধরণও দুটি ধারার ক্ষেত্রে ভিন্ন হয়। এক্ষেত্রে, অধিক সম্পদশালী দেশগুলো সামগ্রিকভাবে সকল সঙ্কট মোকাবেলার জন্য নীতি প্রণয়ন ও বাস্তবায়নে সক্ষম হলেও সীমিত সম্পদের অধিকারী দেশগুলোর ক্ষেত্রে বাস্তবতা ভিন্ন। এই প্রবন্ধে নিরাপত্তার ধারণাটি কীভাবে তৈরী হয়, একটি রাষ্ট্রের সম্পদের উপর অধিকার ও ব্যবহারের ইচ্ছা এবং একটি রাষ্ট্র কোন ধরণের বাস্তবতায় কী রকম নীতি প্রণয়ন ও বাস্তবায়ন করতে চায় সেই সম্পর্কে আলোচনা করা হয়েছে। এর পাশাপাশি বাংলাদেশের মতো সীমিত সম্পদের দেশ কোন উপায়ে নিজ স্বার্থ রক্ষা করতে সমর্থ হতে পারে সেটির উপর প্রাসঙ্গিকভাবে আলোকপাত করা হয়েছে।]