CHAPTER 4

Non-Traditional Security
of Bangladesh

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4.1 INTRODUCTION

4.1.1 Rationale, Objectives and Significance

Security is a contested concept and, consequently, security discourse remains polemical as ever. This has become more so in the post-Cold War period when the spectrum of security threats and vulnerabilities has expanded, the number of security actors has proliferated and the securitisation process has become more complex than ever before.

Security used to be conceived only as a state-centric, geopolitically premised military-oriented paradigm. In view of the limitation of this restrictive conception that is unable to address the questions of security involving non-state actors and victims, non-military threats to and non-military means of security, many attempts at widening and deepening the security concept have been made. Two of the most widely discussed new concepts and approaches are 'Non-Traditional Security' and 'Human Security'.

What is non-traditional security? How does it relate to the hitherto dominant state-military-centric security that is labelled as traditional? Are these separate security paradigms or do they constitute parts of a single, composite concept? Since this has policy implications, it is important to examine this. It is often unclear whether the concepts of non-traditional security and human security are the same and can be used interchangeably or these are different concepts with some overlapping realms. Can these concepts be accommodated within an umbrella concept called “Comprehensive Security?”
Bangladesh is a small-sized, impoverished, over-populated, disaster-prone and badly-governed country. Due to this national power and democratic deficit, Bangladesh encounters myriad security threats and vulnerabilities that are not conventional or traditional in nature, dimension and consequences. As such, there is a need for situating the concept of non-traditional security in the context of Bangladesh, in order to identify the security issues and insecurity drivers and understand the roles of the various security actors in responding to insecurities of the victims in the country.

The year 2007 was a somewhat testing time for Bangladesh. Two severe floods and a super cyclone, dubbed 'Sidr', ravaged the country during the year. The country also experienced a pandemic disease, called bird flu, eventuating in the culling of chickens worth millions of dollars in losses for the poultry industry and the soaring prices that hurt consumers. Above all, a state of emergency had been declared in 2007, with a crusading zeal against corruption but political activities and fundamental rights suspended.

Understanding and assessing the insecurities caused by internal and external drivers, including the three natural disasters, and examining the security situation under the state of emergency in Bangladesh through the prism of non-traditional security merit an in-depth intellectual exercise that has practical implications.

What is the academic and practical relevance of the concept of 'comprehensive security' or 'composite security'? What are the non-traditional security issues and concerns in Bangladesh? Where does the state stand in a non-traditional security framework in Bangladesh? What roles can the other states and non-state actors play in addressing the non-traditional threats, vulnerabilities and concerns facing Bangladesh? These are some of the major research questions raised and addressed in the study.

The main objective of this chapter is to identify the non-traditional security threats and concerns in Bangladesh in general and in 2007 in particular and to discuss how these were addressed. The specific objectives are: To focus on the pervasiveness and criticality of the non-traditional security concerns, with a view to not privileging but mainstreaming the same into the domain of comprehensive security; to sensitise the academic, policy and media worlds to the importance of the non-traditional security issues for the state and people in Bangladesh; and to suggest
measures as to how to build and coordinate capacities of all the concerned security actors in terms of preventing and managing insecurities.

The study is significant for both theoretical and empirical reasons. First, (re)conceptualisation of non-traditional security/human security, with a view to mainstreaming it into security discourse, could be an academic value addition to security studies. Second, dealing with natural disasters, governance and resource issues as issue areas of human security might enliven the debate within non-traditional security domain itself. And, third, the study will also have policy-relevant recommendations for the attention of policy makers, civil society organisations, NGOs, and the international community.

4.1.2 Methodology

The study is based on both primary and secondary source materials, including government and non-government documents on non-traditional security, particularly human security issues in Bangladesh, as well as newspaper reports and analysis. Although the chapter is supposedly an annual review of events, situations, indicators, trends and actors relating to non-traditional (in)security situation in Bangladesh in 2007, it has drawn on relevant literature from the past years too. The internet has also been used for research materials. The collected information has then been critically evaluated and rigorously synthesised. The analysis in the chapter is both quantitative and qualitative.

Bangladesh had been savagely struck in 2007 by three natural disasters—two occasions of flooding and the killer cyclone Sidr. Many lives and livelihoods were lost, crops and properties extensively damaged, dwellings and occupational equipment washed away, and the state capacity in rehabilitation and reconstruction found to be inadequate. Thus, the study also examines these calamitous situations from non-traditional security perspective.

There are two limitations to the present review paper. First, contrary to expectations, there was dearth of quantitative data from the field and, second, the year 2007 was an unusual year in that the politico-legal framework of the state of emergency in Bangladesh has cast influence on security/insecurity assessment.
4.1.3 Framework for Analysis

In this chapter, comprehensive approach to security has been followed. This approach understands national security as one single umbrella, composite concept. This is an inclusionary conceptualisation, embracing both traditional and non-traditional security, human security being the dominant part of the latter. In the analysis, non-traditional security and human security have been considered as distinct concepts, not synonyms, having extensive overlaps. Another approach followed in this chapter, which is actually consequent upon the comprehensive security approach, is the mainstreaming, as opposed to dichotomising or interfacing or alternative paradigm building, of non-traditional security into national security discourse, while recognising the need for a dominant role of the state.

From a larger, intellectual tradition point of view, the chapter has adopted a mixed approach in that it combines elements of realism with those of idealism. The realist premise in the chapter lies in the fact that the state is still accorded the predominant status in security matters, while idealism is reflected in the bias towards legal norms and normative values in providing security to the people.

4.1.4 Organisation

This chapter has six sections, including introduction and conclusion. Conceptual boundaries are defined in the second section by way of comparing non-traditional security with human security and highlighting the significant overlap and cross-cutting nature between the two. Attempts are made to mainstream non-traditional security into the overarching concept of comprehensive security. The third and fourth sections map out the non-traditional security issues and concerns of Bangladesh and deal with those in details. Responses to non-traditional security threats and concerns of Bangladesh at the government and non-government levels in national and international frameworks have been highlighted in the fifth section. Bangladesh’s limits to its national capacity in confronting these threats are also depicted here. And, the sixth section concludes this chapter with some recommendations.
4.2 NON-TRADITIONAL SECURITY
Here we shall concentrate on the non-traditional security discourse and the debate within it.

4.2.1 Towards Understanding Non-Traditional Security
According to conventional or traditional security paradigm, crafted during the Cold War period, security meant immunity of the state from external military threats that were met essentially by military means. Security was understood in terms of military power, and this realist interpretation of security had been the dominant or mainstream view during the Cold War period. Militarisation of the concept of security actually "left little opportunity to advance either broader conceptions of security..., or alternative means of achieving security."¹ Securing territory and sovereign independence came to be accepted as the supreme values in the security debate. The state became the referent object, interpreter and provider of security.

However, such conceptualisation of security is now found to be inadequate in explaining the nature and sources of new threats as also the goals of security. More complex and varied as they are, these threats are seen to have emanated from diverse sources, more from internal than external, and more of non-military than military in nature. As the nature of conflict/violence has changed, so have the responses to it, at times exposing the role of the state as inadequate and making the roles of the domestic non-state actors and international community relatively more significant and at times even essential.

Apart from the changing nature of security threats and the inability or unwillingness of the state to address those, the urgency or tendency to re-conceptualise security has been reinforced by the post-Cold War globalisation of the democratic political values and the market-driven economic philosophy. The ever-increasing role of some Intergovernmental Organisations (IGOs), including the United Nations, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and Civil Society Organisations (CSOs), operating domestically and internationally in meeting challenges facing states, societies and individuals since the early 1990s has provided an important stimulus for re-conceptualising security. Hence is the need for a broader concept of
security. Needless to say, the first strand in the security discourse is Traditional Security (TS) versus Non-Traditional Security (NTS).2

The non-traditionality of the concept of security actually lies in the fact that the post-Cold War re-articulation and reformulation of security across the world are essentially attempts to make the meaning and content of security more inclusive. While the post-Cold War security discourse agrees on this inclusiveness, the non-traditionalist scholars and analysts are engaged in an active debate about who or what should be incorporated and how. Essentially, the debate revolves around the two referent objects in security matters—the state and the people. There are statist scholars who would agree to include non-military threats so far as those affect the security of the state alone.3 There are those statists who tend to agree to the fact that there are threats and conditions that impinge on the survival and well-being of human beings and assert that only the state would guarantee security to its affected citizens. This is the first strand within the NTS discourse. Adherents to this view are called ‘wideners’,4 as they accept the horizontal expansion of security.5 There is stubborn intellectual resistance from conventional realists to this expansionist tendency by saying that overcrowding the debate by too many issues would render the concept elastic and incoherent and hence be of little analytical value or policy relevance.6 The inclusivists respond to this critique by disaggregating security into several sectors like military, political, economic, societal and environmental, and by setting rigorous criteria of securitisation.7 Similarly, another widener identifies four types of threats the developing countries usually confront. These are territorial threats, economic threats, political threats and environmental threats.8

The other strand within the inclusive NTS approach is one that conceptualises security in vertically extended sense, as it considers the security of people—individuals, groups and communities. The protagonists of this school of thought are called ‘deepeners’,9 as they are willing to vertically expand the level of analysis below the state level. This school has generated most academic and political controversy, as it often tends to go beyond the nation-state paradigm by focusing on people as the referent object of security.10 Needless to reiterate, most of the subjects/victims of insecurity in the post-
Cold War period have been the common people, whether caused by human activity/inactivity or natural phenomena. In many cases, the state was unable or unwilling to defend the victims; sometimes the state itself was the perpetrator. These existential threats and the prevailing normative ambience, locally and globally, led to re-articulation and reformulation of security focusing on the people. While ‘deepeners’ do not take the state out of their intellectual frame, attempts have been made to highlight the security needs of the people more than the imperatives of traditional, state security. On the other hand, some ‘deepeners’ have stretched their intellectual liberty far too long in their bid to privilege security of the people and dislodge the state from security discourse. Both these views have their contributions to human security discourse, a brief discussion on which follows here.

4.2.2 Human Security and Non-Traditional Security: The Linkages

Within the non-traditional security discourse, there are those who hold the view that the states are only history-specific political formations and, as such, tend to offer a counter-nation-state discourse that discards the metaphysics of domination and control. Ken Booth, for example, argues, "...human security is ultimately more important than state security. It thereby helps to dislodge the state as the primary referent: as a result, states become the means and not the ends of security." Clearly, rethinking security along these lines entails transforming the state itself. Ahmed, for example, suggests that the very nation-state has to be reconstructed in order to provide security to all. Kaldor asserts that transforming states must be an important part of reformulating security. Dalby states that, "alternative conceptions of security must focus on reforming the state system...." There are several approaches to and many views on the concept of human security. Briefly discussed here are the approaches of the UNDP (the United Nations Development Programme), Canada, Human Security Network, Japan, Commission on Human Security (CHS), and Bangladesh Human Security Assessment 2005 (BHSA 2005).

The 1994 Human Development Report of the UNDP defines human security as, "It means, first, safety from such chronic
threats as hunger, disease and repression. And second, it means protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life—whether in homes, in jobs or in communities.” The Report identifies seven specific elements that comprise human security: (1) economic security; (2) food security; (3) health security; (4) environmental security; (5) personal security; (6) community security; and (7) political security. Clearly, the UNDP approach to human security is way too broad and all too integrative with virtually no definitional boundaries. This random securitisation and the broad sweep and definitional elasticity do not help make the concept a serviceable tool of analysis or of policy prioritisation. However, the essence of the approach is irrefutable, as it means freedom from want.

Canada’s former Foreign Minister Lloyd Axworthy had defined human security as “freedom from pervasive threats to people’s rights, their safety, or even their lives.” In essence, it means safety for people from both violent and non-violent threats. Canada lays emphasis not only on individual security but also on state security, and, as means of ensuring security, suggests promotion of political development and global norms and institutions. A number of states, under the leadership of Canada, Norway and Japan, and many international NGOs have formed a coalition called Human Security Network. This Network is committed to “strengthening human security with a view to creating a more humane world where people can live in security and dignity, free from want and fear, and with equal opportunities to develop their human potential to the full.” This is essentially security from fear and of dignity. The government of Japan offers another concept of human security that “covers all the measures that threaten human survival, daily life, and dignity...and strengthens efforts to confront these threats.”

According to the Commission on Human Security, “human security is concerned with safeguarding and expanding people’s vital freedoms. It requires both shielding people from acute threats and empowering people to take charge of their own lives.” The recommendations of the Commission involve policies aimed at both empowerment and protection. The Commission, in essence, synthesises the Canadian and UNDP approaches with a new thrust on empowerment of the people to be able to make their own
choices. While the Commission Report attempts to make linkages between state security and human security, it advocates for a new paradigm of security centred on people, not states.

Bangladesh Human Security Assessment (BHSA) 2005 considered human security as the presence of conditions that ensure "freedom from fear and freedom to live in dignity" and evolved six non-economic (excluding want) dimensions of human security. BHSA considers human security as freedom from both want and fear, specifically meaning freedom from critical and pervasive economic, political and environmental threats.22

What is clear from the above is that human security involves protection of freedoms and from pervasive threats for guaranteeing survival, empowerment and dignity. In simple terms, human security means protection and promotion of life, living and dignity of people. It also connotes democratic, stable political and social order and equitable economic development buttressed by favourable global norms and institutions. And this chapter takes this line in understanding human security.

Some scholars tend to promote human security as an alternative, even as the only, paradigm of security. However, we in this study take the view that human security is a component of non-traditional security, not an independent discourse meant to marginalise state security.

Human security focuses on people (individual or group), while non-traditional security may affect both state and people. From the viewpoint of the referent object of security, human security is an approach vis-à-vis state security, while NTS and TS are the two constituting elements of national security. Human security becomes an element of national security if not viewed as an alternative security paradigm. Human security is essentially normative. All in all, all human insecurities are non-traditional but not all NTS issues and concerns fall within the domain of human security.

4.2.3 The Need for Mainstreaming Non-Traditional Security

Too many concepts and approaches to security may at times be confusing and less useful. A simple way of overcoming this is mainstreaming NTS, and through it human security too, into a composite security concept and discourse. The dictionary meaning of the word 'mainstream' is the main or most widely accepted way
of thinking or acting in relation to a subject. In this chapter, by mainstreaming we mean making a debate part of the dominant discourse, instead of pursuing an alternative discourse. In our view, mere interfacing NTS with TS may not be sufficient for both academic and policy purposes, as interfacing implies existence of a place or area (in academic parlance it may mean intellectual space) where two different things meet and have an effect on each other. Khan refines the meaning of interfacing by stating, "By interfacing we mean an intellectual understanding of this 'mingling and coexistence'" (between TS and NTS). Actually, the two concepts need to go beyond mingling and coexisting in order to ultimately become one. Security, in our view, is one concept with various referent objects, threats and conditions, victims and providers. How to mainstream NTS with TS?

There may be four ways of mainstreaming human security, and for that matter the entire gamut of NTS, with TS. One way could be to conceptualise security in a manner that would combine the restrictive realist position and the indiscriminate non-traditionalising tendencies. The second is by bridging the gap between the various streams of security discourse. The third is by adopting an overarching concept like comprehensive security. And the last is by re-asserting the 'original' role of the state. Let us discuss the third and fourth points in some details.

Comprehensive Security

Security needs to be viewed in a holistic manner, combining both traditional and non-traditional security in one single, umbrella concept—Comprehensive Security. This actually implies a comprehensive approach to national security. The term 'comprehensive' may be used in three senses—inclusion of non-military threats to the state, military threats to non-state security referents and non-military threats to both state and non-state security referents. The Japanese, who had first propounded the concept of comprehensive national security in the 1980s, had actually meant inclusion of non-military threats to state security. The idea was going beyond the pale of inter-state wars and military threats to territorial integrity and political order and including such threats from non-state actors and even natural disasters. Like the Japanese Government and some Southeast Asian scholars, Bajpai also keeps
the concept of comprehensive national security state-centric. He contends that comprehensive security refers to both military and non-military threats to the state.25

On the other hand, Upreti holds the view that challenges to security are internal as well as external and both have to be dealt with equally so as to make individuals, communities and the state fully secure. He goes on by saying that both internal and external security may provide strength and vitality to each other and therefore there is a need to adopt a comprehensive approach to national security.26 Comprehensive security has also been defined as the pursuit of sustainable security in all fields in both domestic and external spheres, essentially through cooperative means.27 Three elements in this definition are poignant. Such conceptualisation emphasises the content of comprehensive security as an over-arching organising concept.

In other words, in terms of referent objects, security is either state security or human security. In terms of the nature of threats (military or non-military) and the instruments to meet them as well as the security actors, security is either traditional or non-traditional. Economic security, political security, environmental security, etc are different dimensions or elements in the spectrum of security that may affect either state security or people’s security, or both. The umbrella concept, incorporating all these into one, is comprehensive security. And national security needs to be understood in such comprehensive perspective.

The concept of comprehensive national security has also several other advantages, including both academic and practical. Security being dynamic, the concept has the space to hold all the security dynamics in a single framework, capturing all the permanent and evolving threats to the state and its people and thus weathering the vicissitudes of seasonality in security thinking. Such a security concept also helps to overcome the apparent dichotomy between traditional and non-traditional security. Raghavan aptly states that the concept combines the competing perspectives of the ‘narrow’ and ‘wide’ streams of security and that it gives a constructive and interactive security outlook, involving the needs of the state and its people.28 Such a comprehensive framework also facilitates devising of appropriate national policy in response to security threats and vulnerabilities.
Reinventing the State

The primary responsibility of state is to ensure protection for the individuals and collectives against threats of physical injury, economic deprivation, violation of fundamental rights, and to create an enabling socio-political environment so that its citizens
could freely pursue their individual and collective welfare, with the rule of law in force. The other responsibility of state is to defend itself from external military threats. In the West, where the first responsibility was axiomatic for high stage of development, only the second responsibility had come to inform the concept of security. There, national security had actually meant both state security and people's security. The de-colonised developing countries have blindly adopted the western concept of national security without caring for the first obligations to their own peoples, thus transmuting national security into state security.

One might recall the 'original' obligations of state to its own people. Pitsuwan reminds us that, based on the social contract theory, the state was established in order to provide security for its people and members of civil society. Also, viewed thus, today's non-traditional security had actually been traditional security. He makes another interesting point contending that non-traditional security threats can be considered as essentially traditional threats existing before the establishment of the state. In a similar vein, Henry Clay stated, "Government is a trust, and the officers of the government are trustees; and both the trust and the trustees are created for the benefit of the people". The assertions of some critical theorists, who look upon the state as history-specific entity to be withered away and who tend to consider human security as the only security paradigm, ring a similar bell in respect of the state's role in delivering security of its citizens.

However, many states have ignored human security and most liberal values and ideals, the humanity had earned for itself in the late 18th century, for quite a long time. The power structure and the concomitant nature and sources of threats during the Cold War period had kept a lid on all this. The current human security concept, in a large measure, is in response to the repressive or uncaring behaviour of the state towards its own citizens. The time is only too ripe to reinvent the state in terms of its obligations to its own people. This, in turn, will help mainstream NTS into the dominant security discourse and policy calculus.

4.2.4 Non-Traditional Security Actors and (In)security Drivers
It may be said in the light of the foregoing discussion that the wide spectrum of non-traditional security issues and the threats to the
state and people involves a multiplicity of actors and agents to address those, including many in the international community. Other than the home state, these may be other states, intergovernmental organisations (IGOs—regional and global—like the UN, EU, AU, ASEAN, SAARC, NATO, WB, IMF, ADB, IDB, etc), non-governmental organisations (NGOs and CSOs—domestic and international). Their role is in giving assistance to the victims when asked by the home state. Their roles are also in the process of securitising issues and problems and in providing security to the affected people with or even without the permission of the victim-state if so authorised by the UN Security Council.

A distinction must be made between a security actor and an (in)security driver. The former is a provider of security, while the latter is a source or perpetrator of insecurity. Insecurity driver may be an event, situation, development as well as state, other institutional and human actor.

Given the scale and nature of human sufferings and miseries in many parts of the world since the 1990s, international and regional actors and civil society organisations and NGOs—both national and international—have voiced strong concerns for the affected people’s protection, rights and well-being. These efforts have in many cases succeeded in changing the state behaviour, conforming to the desired international standards in internal and external affairs. The instruments or mechanisms used to maintain and advance NTS values or to meet the threats to those values are mostly non-military drawn from domestic and/or international sources. In some extreme cases of massive violence and natural disasters, the international community might choose to intervene, including militarily, should the merit of the case so demand.

**Securitisation**

When does a problem become a security issue? Who interprets security needs and who initiates policy responses, prioritises policy options and allocates resources for security needs? And, what after all is the role of the state?

Buzan *et. al.* define securitisation as an extreme form of politicisation when “an issue is presented as an existential threat, requiring emergency measures and justifying action outside the
normal bounds of political procedures.” They, thus, argue that non-military issues and threats can be legitimate subjects of security if those become sufficiently securitised. But, this is securitisation by the home state. The danger with such securitisation lies in the possibility that the government’s political considerations may be unjust, biased, ill-motivated and that the well-deserving security situations might as well be de-securitised. Or, through such indiscriminate securitisation, a state may turn into a security state and become repressive. Hence, the role of the other actors is crucial in securitisation process drawing attention to the existential threats as well as vulnerabilities inflicting people, the setting of the order of policy priorities, and the allocation of resources in response to those insecurities. Indeed, unlike in the realist tradition, it is not only the state that does interpret the security needs of people but also the non-state actors like civil society organisations, non-governmental organisations and the international community. As far as providing security is concerned, it should be a matter not only of state action but also of the humanity-induced, capable and concerned non-state actors with the knowledge and consent of the state. However, if the state itself happens to be the perpetrator of massive, pervasive and critical insecurity to its citizens, such consent may deem to have been obtained by the international community. However, assessing the critical mass warranting such intervention remains a problematic area. In our view, securitisation when done by the state is a political process based on political considerations; but when it is done nationally and internationally by non-governmental actors, humanitarian considerations and normative values are more likely to be defining factors.

Be that as it may, a diminished role for the state is hardly realistic; even in a globalised world the state is still the principal organising unit of international system. All said and done, the state remains the main referent object and provider of security even today. The state can be and should be constantly interrogated but it cannot be relegated into a secondary role in any security matrix.
Non-traditional security in Bangladesh is discussed here under the framework of comprehensive security.

4.3 MAPPING NON-TRADITIONAL SECURITY IN BANGLADESH

In an attempt to map the non-traditional security threats in Bangladesh, we have focused primarily on human security indicators. Literature review illustrates that the sources of non-military threats to Bangladesh emanate from fear, wants and needs of the people, in other words, threats inclusive of human insecurities. We all do agree that the individual and his/her protection and meeting his/her needs are the issue at stake here. The victim is always the individual, although the perpetrator may be the state, community or another individual. We have also taken into account some of those non-traditional issues that pose threats to state security as well.

Mapping of non-traditional security issues is done in sections 3 and 4 of this chapter. Section 3 deals with ‘older’ issues of non-traditional variety, while the next section focuses on newer and trans-national issues. This section looks at three categories of NTS that have been identified for assessing human insecurities in the Bangladesh context: (i) political security, (ii) economic security, and (iii) societal security. Some of the sub-sections have been dealt in length, depending on the severity of the issue in 2007.
4.3.1 Political Security

Political security is a broad concept that includes two strands—political security of the state and political security of the citizen, individually or in collectivities. The former denotes organisational stability of the state and the functional viability and legitimacy of the state apparatus and organising ideology. Political security of citizens involves state responsibility towards its citizenry. This has three dimensions—state responsibility to ensure enabling stability promoting freedoms, state responsibility not to infringe upon the freedoms and rights of citizens, and state responsibility to prevent and punish such infringements by fellow citizens.

Unfortunately, politics and political system in Bangladesh are directly or indirectly responsible for various aspects of human insecurity. And, in this light, in our discussion on political security, we are concerned about political security of the citizen. We briefly discuss here the issues of the rule of law and governance. As all other issues actually stem from governance, it is discussed first. Under the sub-section of governance, the chapter focuses on political violence and human rights situation.

**Governance**

Governance is a regulatory framework and process promoting both state and human security and defining the relationship between the government and the governed. It connotes peace, stability and order, strengthening democratic institutions and promoting human rights, establishing the rule of law, absence of political polarisation and violence, and creating opportunities for development and progress with minimum corruption. This is good governance, which is an important tool to assess both the quantity and quality of political security in any society. Some of the major dimensions of governance are politico-administrative, legislative, judicial, economic, and societal. Viewed from another perspective, good governance is consensus-oriented, participatory, accountable, transparent, responsive, effective and efficient, equitable and inclusive, and follows the rule of law.

Bangladesh has over the last few years earned notoriety for bad governance. The drivers of bad governance in the context of Bangladesh are many. Some of these are lack of transparency and accountability, political instability, lack of societal peace and law
and order, political partisanship and confrontation, politicisation of administration and many other government institutions and agencies, political violence, corruption, and poor rule of law. The lack of good governance caused disparity in the country as well as injustice, deprivation and lawlessness in the society in general and for the poor in particular. Even the Bangladesh government realised that, “in order to attain a higher rate of poverty reduction there is no escape from ensuring good governance.” On many measures of governance, Bangladesh ranks very low in the league of developing countries. However, we discuss here only two areas of bad governance—political violence and human rights that have had political security implications for the people of Bangladesh.

**Political violence:** Political violence is one way of quantifying political security of the people of a country. According to the *Human Rights Report 2005* of the University of British Columbia, “mapping trends in political violence is important both for researchers seeking to understand their causes, and for governments and international organisations attempting to evaluate the impact of security policies.” The report further states, “political violence is a term that embraces more than simply war, genocide and terrorism. It also encompasses state repression: torture; extrajudicial, arbitrary and summary executions; the ‘disappearance’ of dissidents; the use of death squads; and incarceration without trial. All of these are as much human security agenda as human rights agenda.” There have been reported instances of state repression in Bangladesh. And, up until 2007, political violence in the country had become a norm rather than an exception. Political activists of major political parties were openly engaged in extreme forms of activities that included armed violence, gun-running, demonstrations ending in violence, and repression by the government. The common man was directly or indirectly the victim of political violence. Either he/she was injured or killed in crossfire, bomb attacks, etc. or his/her property was looted or damaged, civil rights denied and daily life disrupted owing to hartal, strikes, or blockades.

Deaths and injuries due to political conflicts, arbitrary arrests, abduction, hartals, bomb blasts, and attacks on journalists were identified in 2005 as the sources of political insecurity.
comparison, in 2007, "there were fewer politically-motivated killings than in previous years, reportedly due to the state of emergency that suspended most political activities." There was a significant drop in direct political violence altogether. In fact, the state of emergency was declared when political violence had crossed its limits.

**Human rights situation/issues:** The imposition of the emergency rule in Bangladesh in 2007 has been both welcomed and criticised by almost all human rights organisations, at home and abroad. The US State Department's report on human rights practices in Bangladesh stated,

"The government's human rights record worsened, in part due to the state of emergency and postponement of elections. The Emergency Powers Rules of 2007 (EPR), imposed by the government in January and effective through year's end, suspended many fundamental rights, including freedom of press, freedom of association, and the right to bail. The anti-corruption drive initiated by the government, while greeted with popular support, gave rise to concerns about due process. For most of the year, the government banned political activities, although this policy was enforced unevenly. While there was a significant drop in the number of extra-judicial killings by security forces, they were accused of serious abuses, including custodial deaths, arbitrary arrest and detention, and harassment of journalists. Some members of security forces acted with impunity and committed acts of physical and psychological torture."

In its annual report 2006, a New York-based human rights watchdog said that Bangladesh's already poor human rights record had worsened, as security forces continued to commit numerous abuses, including extra-judicial killings, excessive use of force, and custodial torture. It stated that "a culture of impunity, reinforced by legislation, which largely shields the security forces from legal challenge, and by government praise for many of the unlawful killings, leads to abuses going largely uninvestigated and unpunished." According to **Odhikar**, a Bangladesh human rights group, in the period January 12 to 21 2007, security forces killed 19 people, either from torture in custody or in what the security forces attributed to "crossfire" during arrest. Two people reportedly died while trying to escape arrest.
The Rule of Law

In simple terms, the rule of law means equality of all before the law and the due process of law. These basic principles of justice are found in the works of the classics like Plato and Aristotle and in those of the modern thinkers and philosophers like Thomas Paine, Samuel Rutherford, Montesquieu, and Dicey. The principle is that no one is above the law and that the rule of law should reign supreme in a society. Understandably, the principle has evolved historically. At first, the king/ruler was above the law, then he was the law, and now he too is under the law—hence the wording of the principle “the rule of law,” not the rule of men. Equality before the law practically means that no person or government/institution/agency, however high or mighty or prestigious, is higher or more important than a man on the street or in the field or any small organisation. Montesquieu said, “Law should be like death, which spares no one.” Governmental authority is to be legitimately exercised only in accordance with written, publicly disclosed laws adopted and enforced in accordance with established procedural steps that are referred to as due process. This due process of law is a safeguard against arbitrary governance. Dicey identified three principles which together establish the rule of law: (1) the absolute supremacy or predominance of regular law as opposed to the influence of arbitrary power; (2) equality before the law or the equal subjection of all classes to the ordinary law of the land administered by the ordinary courts; and (3) the law of the constitution is a consequence of the rights of individuals as defined and enforced by the courts.43

In a democracy, the rule of law is differentiated from the rule by law. Sometimes, laws may be arbitrarily enacted or be unjust. Even if one does not abide by such laws of the land, one may be liable to be punished in accordance with those unjust laws. Therefore, the rule of law is essentially different from the rule by law, as the former contains elements of morality, fairness and justice. In recent times, the rule of law has been considered as one of the key elements that determines the quality and good governance of a country.44

The rule of law is a fundamental feature of the constitution of Bangladesh. It has been guaranteed in the preamble to the constitution of Bangladesh that—
...it shall be a fundamental aim of the State to realise through the democratic process a socialist society, free from exploitation—a society in which the rule of law, fundamental human rights and freedom, equality and justice, political, economic and social, will be secured for all citizens..."^45

Article 7(2) of the constitution states, “This Constitution is... the supreme law of the Republic....” Article 31 says, “To enjoy the protection of the law...is the inalienable right of every citizen....” Article 32 says, “No person shall be deprived of life or personal liberty save in accordance with law.”^46

In theory, the rule of law in Bangladesh stands on a solid architecture of justice. However, some institutions charged with upholding and dispensing rule of law are reportedly involved in corruption. According to a National Household Survey on Corruption 2007 by Transparency International Bangladesh (TIB), “Petty corruption has increased in some service sectors across the country after the takeover by the army-controlled interim government on January 11, 2007, indicating the pervasiveness of corruption like that of earlier years.”^47 The report found that, in terms of magnitude, law enforcing agencies including the joint forces, police and Rapid Action Battalion (RAB) were found to be the most corrupt while land administration was found the most corrupt in terms of the amount of bribe that went to any sector. ^48 Independence of the judiciary is an important component of the rule of law. The present Caretaker Government, backed by the military, has created the mechanism for an independent judiciary, removing it from the control of the administration for the first time in the country’s history. It is a positive development for the interim government, which has been welcomed by most of the civil rights and reform organisations.

In Bangladesh, the principles of equality before the law and the due process of law have been not always observed. The richer and the more powerful have sometimes escaped the hands of the law, while the poorer and less powerful and less fortunate ones have been subjected to the rigours of the law. Access to justice has been prohibitively expensive for many in Bangladesh. As such, this class of people does not always enjoy benefits of the rule of law and, to that extent, suffers from insecurity.

In an attempt to assess political security in Bangladesh by means of various criteria, it has been possible to show a direct
relationship between the political security and human security. Secondly, we have also been able to establish that if any one driver of political insecurity improves, it makes a significant improvement in the overall or partial state of human security, e.g. less loss of lives, more economic continuity, etc. Thirdly, it has emerged from the discussion that political security, or the absence of it, has overarching impact on other types of security, such as economic, personal, societal, etc. However, a pertinent question remains—whether following this year’s general elections (December 2008), the new government will be able to control political violence and ensure good governance and thereby promote political security of its people?

4.3.2 Economic Security

While political security is a “freedom from fear” dimension of human security, economic security is perhaps the main component of “freedom from want.” According to the UNDP, economic security requires a basic minimum income for individuals, usually from productive and remunerative work or, as a last resort, from a publicly-financed safety net. In this sense, only about a quarter of the world’s population are currently economically secure. While the economic security problem may be more serious in developing countries, concern arises in developed countries as well. Unemployment problems constitute an important factor underlying political tensions and ethnic violence.49 Similarly, food, employment, economic development, population, extortion, trade and investment issues, price hike and traders’ manipulation of market issues, lack of corporate social responsibility, consumers’ rights issue, etc are a number of issues that can determine economic security. In order to keep the discussion focused, we first present an overall economic scenario prevailing in Bangladesh, with a view to assessing economic security of the people in general, and later discuss the food crisis that had raised much hue and cry among the less fortunate in 2007.

National Economic Scenario

Bangladesh has had a rough economic past. Two traumatic phases of independence led to wide economic neglect and could not find much investment in this country. The economy of Bangladesh is primarily dependent on agriculture. The agriculture sector plays a very important role in the economy of the country, as about 80
percent of the total population live in rural areas and are directly or indirectly engaged in a wide range of agricultural activities.

The economy of Bangladesh has changed over the past decade with rapid growth in the service sector and industries, such as ready-made garments. It is estimated that half of the economic activity in Bangladesh is now related to services, while agriculture and industry each accounts for about a quarter of GDP. However, over half of all Bangladeshis still hold jobs related to agriculture. The overall GDP is about US$239 billion (adjusted for purchasing power parity) and the GDP per capita is about US$1700. Textiles and garments are the major export industries, while the production of rice, jute, tea, and aquaculture of fish and shrimp are the major activities in the agricultural sector.  

According to a study carried out by the Centre for Policy Dialogue (CPD), the gross income of poor people decreased by 36.7 percent between January 2007 and March 2008, mainly due to price hike of food and inflationary pressure. Due to income erosion, an additional 8.5 percent people have fallen below the poverty line during this 15-month period, putting 25 lakh households below the poverty line, according to the CPD estimate. The people below the poverty line spend 45.6 percent of their incomes on rice. The 66.9 percent hike in rice prices in the 15 months alone contributes to 30.5 percent income erosion of the segment below the poverty line. According to a recent study conducted by Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies (BIDS), the real income of people working in the agriculture, manufacturing and construction sectors decreased by 2-5 percent in 2007. Thus, poverty remains a serious problem in Bangladesh. But there are also other economic challenges faced by the majority of the Bangladeshis. The Human Security Survey 2007, conducted by Saferworld, a UK-based international non-government organisation, found in its Focus Group Discussions (FGD), household surveys and key informant interviews, three forms of economic insecurity: general poverty, economic exploitation, and rapid price rises referred to as price hike.  

Since poverty is a broad concept and has been a constant source of economic insecurity in Bangladesh, we try to be specific in our discussion in identifying the triggering factor that exacerbated poverty in Bangladesh in 2007. We have found that the economic issues that dominated 2007 were food crisis, price hike, and increasing unemployment. These issues are briefly discussed here.
Unemployment: The Labour Force Survey (LFS) Report 2005-06 of the Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (BBS), still in its draft form, has reported that employment growth rate has shrunk by half, while underemployment swelled by about 50 percent in three years since 2003. Paid employment has grown little, and whatever increase it has seen was for the female population. Analysts found some of the survey findings “puzzling”, like a decline in female employment in manufacturing sector (−8.7 percent) and a negative male employment growth in construction sector (−0.1 percent).55 Besides, economic dependency ratio, which is measured by inactive people depending on those economically active, is higher in urban areas than rural areas. According to LFS, annual employment growth was 2.2 percent during 2003 to 2006, compared to 4.4 percent in 2000-2003. But underemployment rate has increased from 16.6 percent in 2000 to 24.5 percent in 2006.56

On the other hand, in terms of overseas employment, Bangladesh is making significant progress. Bangladesh is a major labour exporting country. The Ministry of Expatriates’ Welfare and Overseas Employment (MOEWOE) prepared a Strategy Paper in December 2007 to boost overseas employment opportunity. In 2007, about 8,32,000 individuals left the country with overseas employment. The amount of remittance is US$6.5 billion.57 Bangladeshi migrant workers have earned a good reputation as hard working people and, thus, there are more opportunities and potentials for Bangladeshi migrant workers if government can implement the Draft.

Price hike: Bangladesh witnessed one of the worst forms of price hike in 2007. In fact, one recent study of human security found rise in prices of basic goods to be the third source of economic insecurity.58 The prices of essentials such as rice, wheat, pulses, fertiliser and fuel were increasing at an alarming rate. This skyrocketing of prices was caused by both international market forces and mismanagement at the national level. Natural disasters, such as floods and cyclone, also contributed to soaring prices of commodities. The price hike of essentials highlights that “in many cases it is not so much poverty itself that causes economic insecurity as much as rapid changes in the economic situation, which people find difficult to react to.”59
Food Security: Quantitative and Qualitative Aspects

Food security requires that all people at all times have both physical and economic access to basic food. According to the United Nations, the overall availability of food is not a problem; rather the problem often is the poor distribution of food and a lack of purchasing power. The definition of food security used by the Government of Bangladesh is that of the 1996 World Food Summit, namely access by all people at all times to the food needed for an active and healthy life. This implies that food intake must be adequate in qualitative, as well as quantitative, terms. Yet the 'head count' definitions of poverty that the Government uses take only dietary energy into account and disregard other nutritional requirements. Thus, it may be said that food security of an individual is the physical and economic access to basic food and the food intake that is adequate in quantitative and qualitative terms. Although Bangladesh has attained near self-sufficiency in food production, about half of its population is still food insecure in terms of accessibility and utilisation, women being disproportionately affected.

Bangladesh is a low-income and food-deficit country with annual average of food grain imports of about 2 million metric tons. Approximately, half of the population live below the food poverty line, and spend 70 percent of their household income on food. Among these, 28 million people, representing 20 percent of the population are considered "ultra poor." Beyond that, there are another 35 million people who are considered living below the poverty line, in urban slums and rural villages, who are not considered ultra poor. Indeed, the issue of price hike has badly affected the people of Bangladesh. The government has claimed on different occasions that there is no food shortage in the country, but the rising prices have raised questions about proper management of the situation.

Total food grain production in Bangladesh in the fiscal year 2006-07 was 28.05 million metric tonnes. For the current fiscal year 2007-08, the Department of Agricultural Extension (DAE) initially set a production target of 32.55 million metric tonnes of food grains. Meanwhile, there were two rounds of flood and a severe cyclone in 2007 alone, having caused considerable damage
to the *aman* rice. Total loss due to flood and cyclone is estimated at around 1.4 million metric tonnes of rice. The DAE has made a revised estimate of additional 0.5 million tons of *boro* production, and ultimately production target of food grain stood at 33.05 million metric tonnes, about 17.82% higher than last year’s actual production.\(^6\) However, given the magnitude of loss of *aman* production, total rice production target will hardly be achieved in the current fiscal year. Total food grain import during the current year is projected to be 4.03 million metric tonnes. Public import would constitute a significant proportion of the total import to meet the increased need for food distribution that is planned to be 2.19 million metric tonnes in the current fiscal year.\(^6\) Both domestic and international prices of rice and wheat exhibited rising trends that accelerated over the last months. National wholesale prices of coarse rice had increased by about 33% during the July-December 2007 period. On the other hand, domestic wheat price increased by about 51% during the same period. While LC settled price of rice increased by about 40% during the July-December 2007 period, international price of wheat increased by 82% during the same period.\(^6\)

Experts on food security have tried to show that self-reliance in food at the national level does not necessarily mean food security at the household or individual level. "Food may rank highest among basic human needs, but it will not be reflected in the market as long as it is not adequately backed up by purchasing power (effective demand)."\(^6\)

Hence, poverty and hunger are not simply economic problems in the narrow sense but, more importantly, these have social and political dimensions as well. As for Bangladesh, studies conclude that since the market does not care about the food security needs of the food deprived population, the government will have to play the caring role if the objective of ensuring food security of the citizens is to be achieved in Bangladesh in the face of so high incidence of absolute poverty and (under)employment. According to latest Household Income and Expenditure Survey (HIES 2000) of Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (BBS), the malnutrition problem is desperately serious for the poorest 14% of the rural population consuming fewer than 1600 calories per capita per day,
levels barely adequate for survival. Another 10% consume between 1600 and 1800 calories per day, while roughly 23% consume more than 1800 calories but less than the minimum calorie requirement set in Bangladesh at 2122 per day.\textsuperscript{59}

The Word Food Programme reported that roughly half of Bangladesh's rural households would be considered food insecure and would also fall below the established poverty lines. Although these percentages are considerably less severe than those that existed two decades ago—the percentage of the rural population consuming less than required calories in 1981 was 73%—improvements have not continued during the 1990s during which the average calorie intake had actually fallen.\textsuperscript{70} The major factor determining access to food at the household level is the purchasing power, or level of real income, for all those who depend, fully or partially, on the market as their source of food supplies. Purchasing power depends on wage levels, employment, prices, etc.\textsuperscript{71} At the national level, access to food depends on the availability of foreign exchange to pay for food imports, if required to complement domestic supplies at affordable prices and food aid receipts.\textsuperscript{72}

It appears that our economic indicators are not faring well. With prices of essentials so high, food crisis has become a political issue with social ramifications. Experts believe that Bangladesh may be witnessing a "silent famine" due to spiralling prices of essentials, food crisis, and unemployment. But famine might also occur when there is a lack of employment opportunities, despite huge stockpiles of food grains.\textsuperscript{73}

Like in any other country, food security, both in quantitative and qualitative dimensions, is a key responsibility of the government of Bangladesh.

\textbf{Food Administration}

One of the prime responsibilities of the government is to ensure adequate supply of food in due time. This is done by way of domestic procurement and food import from external sources. In 2007, food insecurity was caused by disruption in the supply line due to nature's fury as well as government's poor performance. The insecurity was aggravated by the consequent price hike and diminishing purchasing power of the people.
The qualitative aspect of food security is severely affected by food adulteration leading to health hazards, among other consequences. It is now obvious in Bangladesh from everyday reports that farmers and traders of fruits and vegetables mix harmful chemicals for ripening and growth. They are using chemicals containing organochlorinate, mercury, lead and organo-phosphate, which are used for killing pests or preserving and colouring vegetables. These poisonous chemicals have both short- and long-term harmful impacts on human health. These chemicals are also used in meat, oil, salt, spices and other food ingredients. Adulterated and low-quality food additives are being used to make food items. Baby food is also being adulterated. Some of these chemicals are cancer causing and almost all of those have adverse effects on the digestive system affecting the liver, heart and other vital human organs. Understandably, prolonged periods of consumption of such adulterated foods create various other health hazards. Food adulteration is a security concern, as it affects all, not a few, with crippling consequences for the entire nation. The government, as well as the concerned citizens, is alive to the situation. It has taken several administrative and legal measures in its combat against this creeping food and health menace. The government has launched a drive, led by Magistrates, against food adulteration. It has made some measure of success in terms of levying fine on the adulterers and putting some of them behind prison bars. However, this is not enough; much more is required to be done by the government in a bigger and more coordinated and sustained manner. Food administration has indeed to be very strict in order to guarantee people’s food security. There is no soft approach in regard to this vital issue.

4.3.3 Societal Security
The concept of societal security has different meanings, depending on how one identifies a threat. To some, societal security signifies freedom from violence, while others consider societal security to be a safety net from both violent and non-violent threats. However, there is no disagreement on the matter, in regard to describing societal security, that “the state is not the single referent object of security.” In discourse about security, this is a major departure from the traditional notion that the security of the state is synonymous with the security of the individual, and therefore,
society. Based on this understanding, key indicators have been chosen and subsequently analysed in order to portray a broader picture of the state of societal security during the year of 2007 in Bangladesh. The key issues that have been considered to best describe the condition of societal security in Bangladesh are gender issues, terrorism, crime, child issues and rising drug addiction among the youth. We discuss those in some details here.

**Gender Issues**

Gender issues are major threats to human security, receiving more and more attention by policy makers, civil society and the media. While there have been improvements in some of the drivers of insecurities discussed in this chapter, the physical security of women in Bangladesh may not have improved significantly in 2007. Women in Bangladesh, like women in other developing nations, face considerable handicaps in both social and economic matters. Only by empowering women, socially and economically, can their condition in society be improved. Unfortunately, deep-rooted cultural barriers are often the main obstacle in the developing countries' efforts to modernise discriminatory laws and therefore stimulate women's empowerment and full participation in nation-building process. Insecurities encountered by women often fail to receive special attention. Issues such as gender equality, violence against women, and women's health have an overarching impact on gender security in Bangladesh, and hence the need to assess these indicators.

**Gender equality:** Regarding women's status and gender equality, Bangladesh outperforms India and Pakistan on many counts. Sixty-two percent of women are economically active in Bangladesh, which is not only the highest in Bangladesh but ranks above the average 50% among the developing countries. The microcredit innovation and the garment sector in Bangladesh have and continue to revolutionise the earning potential of women. There has also been progress with regard to gender equality in education. In a Word Bank report on “Changing Norms about gender equality in Education,” the authors conducted a household survey to examine norms about gender equality in education for children.
and adults. The study has concluded that gender gaps in education have changed in Bangladesh. Younger generation of women are more positive about female vs. male education.\textsuperscript{77}

Despite these achievements, however, it is still necessary to pay attention to women’s access to reproductive health services, labour markets, physical and economic security and a role in decision making. Due to these factors, women’s employment in Bangladesh is still regrettably at the lower end of the South Asian spectrum. Contributing to this adverse situation is poor implementation of the women’s empowerment-related provisions of the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP), which has only been hampering the progress of women. All this indicates that discrimination against women in recruitment, in their workplaces, and even at home accounts for gender inequality. These negative factors contribute towards continuing lack of women’s security in both rural and urban areas.

\textit{Gender violence:} Fortunately, gender-specific violence against women and girls is now internationally recognised as an impediment to the holistic social, economic, civil, political and cultural advancement of women.\textsuperscript{78} At the same time, it is unfortunate that gender violence continues to be a predominant cause of insecurity for women in all strata of society. The prevalence of conditions such as male chauvinism, poverty, power, misinterpreted religious decrees, etc. creates an environment where Bangladeshi women are vulnerable to violence, ranging from verbal abuse to fatality. Domestic violence is perhaps one of the major threats to women’s security. According to a report on Human Security in Bangladesh conducted by Saferworld, the most concerning finding of all was that very few people had done anything to try to escape this violence.\textsuperscript{79} In their household survey, 66 percent of respondents who had suffered intimate-partner violence had never told anyone.\textsuperscript{80} The issue of eve teasing is also of much concern, as it affects not only personally but also leads to social violence, increases the rate of girl’s dropout from schools and colleges and threatens women empowerment. Official policy response of the government does not seem to be making much of an impact on the ground.
Gender security: Despite the remarkable success in the health and family planning programmes in terms of reducing the mortality rate for infants (or those under the age of 5), nationwide success in immunisation, contraceptive prevalence rates and fertility rate, Bangladesh still remains as one of the few countries in the world where female life expectancy at birth is lower than males and more than 14% of the deaths of pregnant women are associated with injury and violence. About 70% of women suffer from nutritional deficiency and about 67% of pregnant women do not receive any antenatal care as a result of gender discrimination.

Most women in Bangladesh are not allowed to enjoy their reproductive rights in respect of making decisions concerning their fertility, or sexuality, free of coercion and violence. Societal insecurities and family pressure often lead to early marriage and repeated pregnancies, which often force the women to sustain unwanted pregnancies or to have unsafe abortions. Health Ministry sources also add that the nearly total absence of skills and facilities to cope with obstetric emergencies is matched by the negative and uncaring attitude of the family members in terms of the low value attached to a woman's life and survival.

Child Security

In Bangladesh, extreme forms of poverty force children into working for sheer survival. Rapid population growth, adult unemployment, poor working conditions, lack of a minimum wage, exploitation of workers, low standards of living, low quality of education, lack of legal provisions and enforcement, low capacity of institutions, and gender discrimination are some of the many factors that contribute to the large number of children working under hazardous conditions. According the Labour and Employment Ministry, there are approximately 74 lakh child labourers in the country, mostly in informal sector, and, shockingly, 14 lakh of them are engaged in hazardous jobs.

Nowadays, children are also becoming involved in various types of crime. Absence of societal safety nets and lack of proper care and guidance from parents are the main reasons behind this. Experts also believe that growing negligence by and indifference of parents towards children are the cause behind increasing cruelty
in juveniles, as is evident from the increasing number of offences committed by them.\textsuperscript{84} Slum children are the most vulnerable as they easily and frequently come into contact with narcotics traders and criminals living in the same neighbourhood. Around 7 lakh children living in the slums of the six metropolitan cities of the country are susceptible to a life of crime because of a lack of proper mechanisms to protect them.\textsuperscript{85} As such, it is not surprising that many of these unfortunate children end up in a life of crime.

**Drug Abuse and Narcotics Control**

Another factor that is increasingly having significant impact on societal security is drug abuse among the population. In recent years, addiction has significantly increased in Bangladesh, due to alarming increase in the availability of narcotics in the country. It is becoming a critical social problem. Drug addiction has a very negative impact on the whole of society as it destabilises many families. Female addicts are becoming increasingly more common and noticeable. According to the Director General of the Directorate of Narcotics Control (DNC), there are over 4.6 million drug addicts in the country, ninety one percent of whom are relatively young—between the ages of 18-30.\textsuperscript{86} This is certainly a huge jump from the number of drug addicts in the late 1990s when there were reportedly 1.7 million drug abusers.\textsuperscript{87} Heroin appears to be the main drug of misuse. Access to rehabilitation for drug addicts in Bangladesh is inadequate; in addition to that, the drugs seized by authorities in the country amount to only 10\% of the drugs smuggled into the country.\textsuperscript{88} The link between drug addiction and societal insecurity is both direct and indirect. Drug addiction can cause family unrest, and can also lead to violence, suicide, homicide, etc. Today, even at the government level, drug abuse is being recognised as “hampering social tranquillity and stability.”\textsuperscript{89}

Easy availability of drugs, combined with socio-economic compulsions, is the root cause of the growing number of drug abusers in Bangladesh. Among drug abusers, intravenous drug use has the potential to turn a slow HIV epidemic into an explosive and devastating one, as was observed in Thailand and northern India. Drug use shortens life expectancy, decreases productivity, increases absenteeism from workplace and schools, and is linked to higher cost of medical care, accidents, crime, and high-risk sexual
behaviour. Hence the link between drug trafficking and human security could not have been more direct and transparent.

Drug addiction and drug abuse among women and youth in Bangladesh are on the rise. As a by-product of drug addiction, growing criminal activities, such as robbery, burglary, theft, mugging, extortion, forgery, family violence, sexual assault, and gang assault in Bangladesh are believed to be partly attributable to drug abuse.\(^9\)

The most familiar drugs used by addicts are phensyldyl, heroin, and marijuana and, most recently, a synthetic drug called Yaba. All of these drugs are trafficked into the country and end up in the streets. The users are from all sections of the society; distinction perhaps lies in their affordability and preference.

**Crime**

The overall crime environment in Bangladesh is extremely challenging. In the past year, criminal activities remained constant, unabated and undeterred. The crimes committed in urban areas, however, differ from those committed in rural areas. Urban crime includes theft, murder and robberies whereas rural crime is often related to land grabbing, fishing rights issues, etc. Car theft is on the rise in Dhaka, and crimes associated with public transportation are prevalent. Frequently, knives, firearms or incapacitating chemical agents are used during organised street robberies against users of public transportation.

Urban crime in Bangladesh can be classified as either organised or opportunistic, carried out by either individuals or groups, and most commonly encompass fraud, theft (larceny, pocket picking, snatch-and-grab), robbery (armed and unarmed), carjacking, rape, assault, and burglary (home and auto). Incidences of crime levels of violence are far higher in low-income residential and congested commercial areas. Domestic crimes against women and children (sexual assault, physical assault, acid burning, etc), organised trafficking of people (especially women, children, and boys serving as camel jockeys in the Middle East), narcotics trade, and firearms are major concerns. In the villages and upazilas, crimes are also committed by various groups: These may be student factions, outlawed political parties or petty thefts committed by local village people.
Terrorism

Terrorism, until very recently, was considered in Bangladesh to be a political and military threat to be addressed by the State alone. The fact that terrorism and human insecurity are closely interlinked dawned much later in the minds of policymakers. By this time, however, the linkage had resulted in a state of societal insecurity in Bangladesh. Terrorist acts not only affected the image of the country abroad, but led to a soul searching experience by our intellectuals, academia as well as the members of civil society. The image of Bangladeshis being peace loving, secular, and tolerant has transformed ‘overnight’ into one being extremist, intolerant and violent. As one study succinctly put in,

“Bangladesh is confronted with the problems of terrorism on two fronts. On the one hand, the people are generally peace loving, docile, open, moderate and non-fundamentalist, and open to multi-religiosity. Yet they are constantly subjected to terrorism of diverse denominations including politically motivated assassinations, serial bombings and suicide bomb attacks. Secondly, despite being a moderate Muslim country, the nation is perceived to be a potentially fertile ground for growth of terrorism.”

Another widely-believed perception, as described in the Jane's Report, was that “Bangladesh is one of the poorest countries on earth, on the brink of being a failed state, and that makes it a perfect target for Al-Qaeda and its ever-expanding network of Islamic extremist organisations. Virtually unnoticed by the world at large, Bangladesh is being dragged into the global war on terrorists by becoming a sanctuary for them.”

Hence, terrorism was not only being linked to ideology alone, but also to socio-economic indicators such as poverty. While the political and military response to terrorism in Bangladesh is addressed in the previous chapter on traditional security, it is the purpose of this chapter to highlight the impacts of terrorism on societal security specifically and human security in general.

Since 1999, Bangladesh has been a victim to a series of violent terrorist attacks due in part to a spectacular rise in extremism/religious militancy. The human cost of the terrorist attacks clearly indicated that terrorism in Bangladesh was a reality that could not be ignored, even though there was some element of exaggeration by some quarters of the media and foreign observers. Terrorist attacks, including bomb scares, had psychological impact
on the people who were consciously distancing themselves from public gatherings on special occasions (pahela boishakh at Ramna Batamul, Ekushey February, Boi Mela, etc). For the first time, security checkpoints were installed at shopping centres, banks and even a few schools in Dhaka. The situation, however, improved with the state of emergency. And, although people wanted democracy reinstated, there was no doubt that people including women and children felt more “secured” in going to public gatherings.

The terrorists who were the masterminds of the major attacks and bomb blasts were put on trial and executed following their arrest in 2006. However, their execution did not mean that terrorism in the country was rooted out once for all; after all, capital punishment is a contested method of crime deterrence. Indeed, there were new arrests and reports suggest that possibilities of militants regrouping cannot be ruled out. There is a possibility that poverty, unemployment, overpopulation, price hike along with poor governance can contribute to the comeback of terrorism in Bangladesh.

4.4 NEWER ISSUES OF NON-TRADITIONAL SECURITY OF BANGLADESH

In this section, discussion is focused on those issues that have broadened the scope of non-traditional security discourse. Here, we have included those threats that have direct impact on human security. Focus is given on three such issues: health security, environmental security, and cross-border security.

4.4.1 Health Security

Health and human security are closely linked. In describing the relationship, one author wrote:

Good health is “intrinsic” to human security, since human survival and good health are at the core of “security...Health is also “instrumental” to human security because good health enables the full range of human functioning. Health permits human choice, freedom, and development.

Health security aims to guarantee a minimum protection from diseases and unhealthy lifestyles. According to the United Nations, in both developing and industrial countries, threats to health security are usually greater for poor people in rural areas, particularly children, mainly due to malnutrition and insufficient supply of medicine, clean water or other necessities for healthcare.
The Commission on Human Security argues that 'health security' is not synonymous with 'healthcare' more generally, nor is it merely "the absence of disease" rather it is the 'state of complete physical, mental, and social well-being'.

Bangladesh is home to more than 2 percent of the world's population. Both the birth rate and death rate have declined considerably in the recent past. The crude death rate at 5.9 per 1000 population shows a declining trend. Malnutrition and childhood infections are the major health problems in the country. Inspire of impressive achievements made in the recent past, Bangladesh remains among the countries with the highest rate of undernourishment. Millions of children and women suffer from one or more forms of malnutrition, including: Low Birth Weight (LBW), stunting, underweight, vitamin A deficiency, iodine deficiency disorders and anaemia. Communicable diseases are still predominant. More than one-tenth of equivalent life is lost due to various illnesses. Child mortality is rapidly declining and life expectancy is increasing. Maternal mortality continues to pose a challenge. Major causes of death in total population are pneumonia, other respiratory diseases and diarrhoea.

Sanitation is a vital issue for human health. Ten percent of the total population is accustomed to open defecation that leads to diarrhoea and different types of water-borne diseases. More than 30% of the children in urban areas with diarrhoea were taken to a health provider; this was a meagre 12% for rural areas. The government has achieved 85 percent sanitation coverage in urban areas and 81 per cent in rural areas. Emphasis on education and raising awareness with effective participation of all is necessary for the improvement of sanitation system. A joint study of the government of Bangladesh and JICA says that the number of severe arsenic contaminated patients is three times higher than the previous estimation done around two years ago. The study shows that the numbers of arsenicosis patients are increasing alarmingly due to want of safe water sources in affected areas.

The above discussion gives an insight into the present state of health security prevailing in Bangladesh. The following is an attempt to highlight issues that have raised concerns not only at the community level but also at the national level. Two such issues that have received attention in 2007 are bird flu and HIV/AIDS.


**Bird Flu**

The bird flu disease in Bangladesh first broke out in February 2007. It has ravaged the poultry industry, leading to a loss of over Taka 4,200 crore and the closure of a vast number of farms out of a total of 1.5 lakh. Many farmers are reluctant to resume poultry farming with bird flu still haunting them.\(^{103}\)

The avian influenza virus spread to eleven out of 64 districts, mainly in northern districts, and forced authorities to cull about 275,000 chickens and destroy nearly 3 million eggs. About 4 million Bangladeshis are directly or indirectly associated with poultry farming, but so far there have been no cases of human infection, government and health officials say. But experts fear that the bird flu virus might mutate or combine with the highly contagious seasonal influenza virus and spark a deadly pandemic that could engulf the globe and kill millions of people. According to a study report, migratory birds are mainly responsible for the outbreak of avian influenza or bird flu in the country.\(^{104}\) The report said that migratory birds might be responsible for initial introduction of highly pathogenic avian influenza in Bangladesh. The World Bank has supported Bangladesh with US$2 million to help stop the spread of bird flu in the country.\(^{105}\)

**HIV/AIDS**

In the global perspective of HIV/AIDS, Bangladesh has a low prevalence of infection. Less than 0.1 percent of the population is estimated to be HIV-positive.\(^{106}\) However, Bangladesh remains vulnerable to HIV/AIDS epidemic due to the prevalence of risk behaviours including unprotected sex between sex workers and their clients, needle-sharing among Injecting Drug Users (IDUs) and the exponential spread of the disease in neighbouring countries.

HIV in Bangladesh remains at relatively low levels in most at risk population groups, with the exception of Injecting Drug Users (IDUs) where prevalence continues to grow. Although national HIV prevalence remains under 0.1 percent among the general population in Bangladesh, there are risk factors that could fuel the spread of HIV among high-risk groups.\(^{107}\) Prompt and vigorous action is needed to strengthen the quality and coverage of HIV prevention programmes, particularly amongst IDUs. The UNAIDS estimated that approximately 11,000 Bangladeshis could have
been living with HIV at the end of 2005. As mentioned, while overall HIV prevalence is still low, prevalence is higher in risk groups such as sex workers, injecting drug users and men who have sex with men\textsuperscript{108} (see Figure 4.3).

Individuals sharing same needles for injecting drugs are vulnerable to HIV/AIDS. Bangladesh with more than 25,000 Injecting Drug Users (IDUs) is exposed to the HIV/AIDS transmission among the IDUs.\textsuperscript{109}

**HIV and AIDS Estimates\textsuperscript{111}**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total Population*</th>
<th>150 million (mid-2007)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Estimated Population Living with HIV/AIDS****</td>
<td>7,500 [6,400-18,000] (end 2005)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult HIV Prevalence**</td>
<td>&lt;0.1% [&lt;0.2%] (end 2005)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIV Prevalence in Most At-Risk Populations**</td>
<td>IDUs: 4.9% (2004-2005)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MSM: &lt;1% (2004-2005)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sex Workers: &lt;1% (2004-2005)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of HIV-Infected People Receiving Antiretroviral Therapy***</td>
<td>&lt;3% (end 2006)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is also an increasing recognition that HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases are often a consequence of sexual violence and prostitution. These diseases are having a devastating effect on women's health (particularly the health of young women and adolescent girls subjected to sexual and gender-based violence), trafficking and other forms of violence which place them at high risk of trauma, disease, and unwanted pregnancy.\textsuperscript{112}

The Government of Bangladesh declared its support for the protection of human rights of people with HIV/AIDS including anti-discrimination issues, legislation to protect the blood supply and removal of any restrictions on the dissemination of full and accurate information about prevention.\textsuperscript{113} The World Bank supports the government's two-pronged strategy, First: increasing advocacy, prevention and treatment of HIV/AIDS within the government's existing health programmes and second: scaling up interventions among high-risk groups. In 2000, the Bank approved a credit of US$26 million for the HIV/AIDS Prevention Project (HAPP 2000-07), which supports the scaling up of interventions among groups at high risk in a rapid and focused manner, while strengthening overall programme management. British DFID provides an additional US$4.46 million for HAPP.\textsuperscript{114} Through the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), Bangladesh in fiscal year 2007 received US$2.67 million for essential HIV/AIDS programmes and services.\textsuperscript{115} Bangladesh also received a $40 million, five-year grant from the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria in 2007 to prevent and control HIV/AIDS among the high-risk population and vulnerable young people in the country.\textsuperscript{116}

Having discussed some of the health risks, it may be appropriate to look into the government role in mitigating those with the broader goal of ensuring health security.

**Drug Administration**

In Bangladesh, the Directorate of Drug Administration under the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare is the drug regulatory authority that supervises and implements all prevailing drug regulations and regulates all activities related to import, procurement of raw and packing materials, production and import of finished drugs, export, sale, pricing, etc. of all kinds of medicine including
those of Ayurvedic, Unani and Homeopathic systems. The Directorate of Drug Administration has a mission to ensure that the common people have easy access to useful, effective, safe and good quality essential and other drugs at affordable price. At present, there are 231 Allopathic, 204 Ayurvedic, 295 Unani and 77 Homeopathic drug manufacturing companies in the country. The Directorate of Drug Administration monitors and regulates all the activities of these 800 companies.\(^{117}\) There are some laws and policies to regulate the activities related with drugs. These are: National Drug Policy 2004, Drug Act 1940, Drug Control Ordinance 1982, Drug Control Ordinance 2004, and Drug Rules.

However, Bangladesh's drug-related laws are inadequate and their implementation is often lax. The reality in the country is awash with pervasive malpractice in all relevant sectors—drug companies (business practice/ethics), medical centres, and doctors. Some medicine companies sometimes produce and market shoddy drugs and deceive patients into buying those. Some hospitals and clinics maltreat patients with ill-educated and ill-trained doctors and nurses and with low quality and outdated drugs, that too at a high cost. Even some doctors engage in malpractice in terms of luring away patients from government hospitals to their own private clinics where medical treatment and care may not necessarily be of desired standard. Drug companies, hospitals, clinics and doctors are hardly held accountable for their critical wrongdoing in the field of public health leading to human deaths, permanent disability and untold suffering. Human/health security is so easily trampled under the feet of those who are actually supposed to uphold it. Bangladesh's drug administration needs to be more sensitive, vigilant, active and effective in legislating laws and applying those in order to ensure health security of the people of the country.

4.4.2 Environmental Security

Environmental security, in recent times, has emerged as a new field of academic and policy inquiry.\(^{118}\) Environmental security strives to protect humankind from both the short- and long-term ravages of nature, man-made threats in nature, as well as the deterioration of the natural environment. In developing nations, lack of proper access to clean water resources poses one of the greatest environmental threats. In industrially developed countries, one of the major threats faced is air pollution.
Today, environmental security is treated as a component of national security. To be more specific, scholars also see the clear link between environmental security and human security in the developing countries where basic right to life, food, clothing, and shelter is affected due to sudden natural and man-made disasters. Environmental hazards have affected agricultural sector, fisheries, human settlements, access to safe water, health and so forth.

Bangladesh is a test case of environmental insecurity, because of its geographic location and other physical as well as socio-economic factors. We have looked into environmental security related issues that directly and indirectly affected human security in 2007: (1) global warming and climate change caused by the emission of greenhouse gases have emerged as formidable environmental threats to human security, (2) vulnerability to natural disasters such as Flood and Cyclone Sidr.

**Climate Change**

The Third Assessment Report (TAR) of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) has noted that Climate Change (CC) is very likely to cause a shift in temperature ranges, increase in the maximum temperatures, more intense precipitation, increased risk of droughts, increase in the tropical cyclone peak wind intensity, and increase in the number of floods in some areas. Bangladesh, due to its geographic location, predominance of floodplains, low elevation levels (as compared to sea levels), high population density, extreme poverty and dependence on nature for its resources, is known for its extreme vulnerability to the impacts of global warming and climate change. In fact, Bangladesh is already experiencing some of the serious consequences of climate change. During the past few decades, evidence of global warming has been clearly displayed in climate variability, changes and extremes. More adverse impacts are expected in the next few decades, especially for low-lying coastal areas and floodplain ecosystems, both of which are typical of Bangladesh geography. In fact, over the last ten years, Bangladesh has been ravaged by floods of catastrophic proportion in 1998, 2004 and 2007.

Bangladesh is already facing the harmful impacts of climate change in the form of erratic monsoon rainfall as well as changes in regional water flow patterns. According to the recent IPCC
report, Bangladesh is likely to experience 1.0-1.4°C rise in temperature in 2030-2050. By 2100, the average rise of temperature would be 2.4°C. Rise in temperature will bring deadly consequences to ecosystems, human and social systems. Experts say that sea-level rise due to climate change will submerge vast areas of coastal Bangladesh. It is predicted that for approximately a 45 cm rise of sea level along the Bangladesh coast, 10-15% of the land may be flooded by the year 2050 and, as a result, displacement of over 35 million people from the coastal districts is likely to occur. As it is, the poor and marginal people in Bangladesh are already affected by increasing salinity in the coastal areas and river bank erosion across the country, and tidings are likely to get worse as time wears on.

Impact of Climate Change: For years, climate change was treated as a scientific problem. Scientists are now discovering the direct impact of climate change on human lives and their livelihood—the foundation of human security! According to the IPCC, LDCs among others will experience food insecurity due to changing weather patterns, diminished access to water, increased water-borne diseases, sea-level rise leading to coastal erosion, saline water intrusion and greater flooding.

The other most important impact of climate change is on food security. A December 2007 report by the International Food Policy Research Institute, in Washington, warns that climate change is likely to add to food insecurity, further fuelling food prices. The report, World Food Situation: New Driving Forces and Required Actions, predicts that by 2020 the production of all agricultural produce in developing nations will decline by 20 percent, and 6 percent in industrial countries. It estimates that a 3°C rise could lead to a 40 percent increase in the prices of food grain.

In the context of Bangladesh, experts on human security believe that global climate change would jeopardise the right to food, and Bangladesh should be taking the initiative to ensure a globally sustainable environment, as developing countries are the primary victims of climate change. Other impact areas are impacts on agriculture, in particular, on production of rice and wheat, increased flooding, salinity intrusion, frequent tidal surges in
cyclone prone coastal zones, fresh water unavailability, and increased intensity of disasters. Of all the potential impacts of climate change that we can predict, the eventual permanent migration of people out of or into the coastal zones is probably the most obvious. Economic opportunities, flooding, erosion and accretion of land and the structure of rural and urban society are all motivations for people to migrate.

**Natural Disasters in 2007**

Bangladesh often makes headlines around the world for the devastating natural disasters that constantly pummel the low-lying country. The country is highly vulnerable to floods, cyclones, and river erosion, and is widely known as a land of natural disasters. These disasters have become a regular phenomenon and have caused suffering for the people for many decades now. We will focus on flood and cyclone Sidr to give the reader a picture of the enormity and intensity of environmental hazards Bangladesh now faces.

**Floods:** Bangladesh is a deltaic country with an area of 144,900 sq. km, most of which is basically a floodplain of three of the greatest rivers of the world—the Ganges, the Brahmaputra and the Meghna (GBM). As Bangladesh is a riverine country, flooding is a common occurrence taking place almost annually. Bangladesh is probably the world's most flood-prone country. About one-fifth to one-third of the country is flooded by overflowing in varying degrees during monsoon each year. Bangladeshis are used to floods and have learned, over time, to cope with such natural disasters. Flooding helps the agricultural sector of Bangladesh by increasing the fertility of the cultivatable lands. However, excessive flood is a calamity. The floods have caused havoc in Bangladesh throughout history, especially during recent years: 1987, 1988, 1998, and 2004, with the most recent one having occurred in 2007.

In August 2007, there was severe flooding of the Padma and the Brahmaputra rivers and all six of Bangladesh's administrative divisions were affected. The main highways connecting Dhaka with the rest of the country became impassable since many districts were flood-affected (see Figure 4.4). About 500,000 people had been marooned and an estimated 7.5 million people were forced to leave their homes.

Figure 4.4: Bangladesh map showing the extent of flood in 2007
According to the flood control room of Press Information Department, the flood had affected over 1.6 crore people in 251 upazilas of 39 districts. The death toll had reached several thousand. Severe water-borne diseases were widespread, and approximately 100,000 people suffered from dysentery or diarrhoea. The internally displaced persons took temporary shelters in relatively urban areas. More than 400,000 people were in temporary shelters.

Rural households had been particularly damaged; the livestock and poultry had been more or less swept away by the water. The flood had damaged at least 938,815 houses. According to the preliminary estimate of the Department of Agricultural Extension (DAE), the devastating flood had damaged crops worth about Taka 2,000 crore in 262 upazilas of 39 flood-hit districts. Crops on 15,11,699 acres of land were damaged completely—including rice, jute, vegetables and spices—which are about 26 percent of the total cultivated crops in the affected areas. The flood also damaged 25,826 km of the road infrastructure. A total of 510 educational institutions had been completely damaged and 7,515 institutions were affected partially. Also, the flood damaged 801 km of embankments and 2,764 bridges and culverts. It took quite some time and much resource to repair and rebuild the damaged infrastructures.

The damages caused by flood included agriculture, transportation as well as some other important sectors of the country which are all very important for the welfare and well-being of the common people. Different government and non-government bodies, political parties and social organisations also distributed relief materials among the flood victims as well as made substantial donations to the chief Adviser's Relief and Welfare Fund.

**Cyclone Sidr:** On 15 November 2007, Bangladesh was hit by one of the worst cyclones since the early 1990s. Codenamed Sidr, the severe cyclonic storm over the Bay of Bengal turned into a hurricane; consequently, the cautionary signal was raised from number two to number ten in the coastal belt of Bangladesh. The damage in terms of lives, economy, and environment, not to mention emotional devastation, was extremely extensive. The damage was even worse than that of the 1991 cyclone. The coastal districts of
Bangladesh experienced heavy rainfall as the immediate effect of the cyclone. It is estimated that the total damages came close to $450 million. All towns of Patuakhali, Barguna and Jhalokathi districts were hit hard by a storm surge of over 5 metres. About a quarter of the Sundarban—a world heritage site—was damaged. According to environmentalists, it will take at least 40 years for the largest mangrove forest to recover itself from this catastrophe. The local agricultural industry was also devastated. The death toll was at least 3447. The Red Crescent Society estimated the death toll to have been as high as 10,000. Over 3000 fishermen were reported missing on over 500 fishing boats, while millions were rendered homeless. According to the British Red Cross, 845,000 households were affected. Tens of thousands of survivors struggled during the crisis for basic necessities such as tents, rice, medicine and drinking water. The worst affected areas were the remote communities along the south-western coast who, being so isolated, could not be accessed for help easily. The cyclone caused the power system to collapse completely, and that triggered multiple effects on water supplies, telecommunication and filling station operation. “For the first time in Bangladesh history, the Bangladesh Television (BTV) transmission was disrupted for three hours.”

People in the affected areas found themselves disconnected in terms of telecommunication as well as road communication.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Death Loss: Official Estimate</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Death Toll</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Death Feared</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affected Families</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Livestock death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crops damaged</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Like all natural disasters, hurricane Sidr had short, medium and long-term impact on Bangladesh. Coastal people were killed and those who survived were left homeless and family-less. Nevertheless, after assessing the impact areas of Sidr, it appears that the economy and environment were very seriously damaged.
Economic Impact: After the two consecutive floods, hurricane Sidr was a nightmare to the already sluggish economy. According to the Asian Development Bank (ADB), natural calamities are likely to affect growth of Gross Domestic Product (GDP), and all indications suggested that Bangladesh may not be able to achieve its growth target in the fiscal year of 2007/08.\textsuperscript{137} This should not come as a surprise; after all, as reported by the agriculture ministry itself, 95\% of standing crops in 11 coastal districts have been badly affected. It is estimated that 0.82 million tonnes of Aman crops worth more than Taka 21 billion have been damaged by the Sidr.\textsuperscript{138} This has led eventually to food crisis in the affected areas. According to Department of Agricultural Extension, the south and south-western districts suffered heavy losses in vegetables, livestock, fisheries, trees and houses. Economists assessed that the ultra-poor people would be worst affected as inflation rates increased. They suggested to the government to subsidise foodstuff for the extreme poor for quite some time.

Farming of shrimp and cattle was also badly damaged by the hurricane. Shrimp production was seriously affected. Thousands of shrimp farmers in the coastal belt faced uncertainty while the country faced a catastrophe, as one of the key production areas of Bangladesh’s second largest export industry had been essentially paralysed by the cyclone.

Immediately after the storm, prices of essentials in the wholesale market increased, thereby gradually raising the prices at retail shops. Business was also disrupted due to erratic power supply. The garment sector, for example, had to meet deadlines by continuing their production mainly through back-up generators.

Environmental impact: The environmental impact of hurricane Sidr was devastating. According to environmentalists and biodiversity experts, the Sundarbans with its wildlife was severely affected by hurricane Sidr. It had hit the eastern part of the forest, in particular the Kochikhali, Kotka, Hiron Point and Dublachar areas. Trees were uprooted, houses destroyed and wild animals killed. It is reported that about one-fourth of the four lakh hectares of forest area of the Sundarbans was damaged, according to primary estimates. The wildlife of the Sundarbans including
tigers, deer, crocodiles, wild boars, king cobras and monkeys were washed away by the hurricane.\textsuperscript{139} This caused a huge loss to wildlife in the Sundarbans, as some of the animals were already identified as endangered species.

\textit{International Response:} The international response to Sidr's devastating damages was immediate and positive. UN bodies, the European Union and non-governmental organisations stepped up to disburse emergency relief aid and distributed relief materials among the victims of the devastating cyclone. Stating that saving the lives of the Sidr victims was their first objective, the immediate response of the international community was to provide the most basic needs to the most vulnerable people, offering necessities such as "food, safe drinking water, emergency shelter, clothing, blankets and medicine."\textsuperscript{140} The World Food Programme, UNICEF, Caritas, World Vision Bangladesh are some of the organisations that assisted enormously, to name a few.

The assistance that the donor countries/agencies and international organisations provided was mostly in the form of relief materials, including tents, blankets, tarpaulin and dry food. After the devastation, the Bangladesh government received assurance of foreign assistance of over $142 million for the cyclone affected people. Saudi Arabia provided $100 million while Japan, the United States, India, China, Australia and Switzerland assured the rest. International organisations, such as the Red Crescent Society, appealed for Taka 40 crore for further assistance from the international community.

The second type of assistance was by way of providing support services. The United States sent one special Aircraft Carrier vessel to the Bay of Bengal with medical teams to provide health services to the affected people. Twenty-four hundred U.S. marines and sailors helped the Bangladesh government to provide clean water, medical aid, food and other relief supplies to victims of Sidr.\textsuperscript{141} India and Pakistan also dispatched aircraft and ships with relief goods and medical teams.

The third type of assistance that the Bangladesh Government itself requested from the international community was to help her in the post-cyclone rehabilitation programme. According to the
Foreign Affairs Advisor, “The magnitude of the calamity has been just too great.” Countries and organisations pledged at once to offer more assistance for post-cyclone rehabilitation.

Let us now discuss some transnational security issues.

### 4.4.3 Cross-Border Security Issues

Transnational security threats that Bangladesh is facing in the non-traditional security sector are no less grave than the internal ones. Terrorism, weapons proliferation (of both small arms and weapons of mass destruction), conflict, infectious disease, international crime and narcotics flows, and environmental degradation fall within the ambit of transnational threats. According to one security analyst, at least 128 syndicates in Bangladesh are engaged in criminal activities that are transnational in character. These include crimes such as gun running, human trafficking, extortion, prostitution, smuggling of contraband items, drug peddling, money laundering, etc.

In this section, an attempt has been made to look into some of the major security threats that are transnational in nature:

1. Trafficking in small arms, drugs and women and children;
2. Upstream withdrawal of water by India; and
3. Energy security.

**Trafficking in Small Arms, Drugs and Women and Children**

*Small arms trafficking:* Small Arms and explosives are smuggled into Bangladesh through sea, land and air routes. International smuggling syndicates with the cooperation of local people use the porous borders for arms trafficking. Cox’s Bazaar has been identified as one of the major transit points in South Asia for arms shipment to other insurgency ridden areas. Various types of arms are smuggled and sold in the black markets to criminals, armed cadres of political parties, and drug dealers. In different operations, RAB recovered revolvers, AK-47 rifles, 9mm sub-machine guns, AK-22 rifles, M-16 rifles, .303 rifles, among others.
The proliferation of small arms is closely linked with the types of weapons available in the market. With growing demand for weapons, more sophisticated weaponry is available in the black market. The diffusion of semi-sophisticated weapons (e.g. AK47, SMG, and M16) is replacing homemade firearms. Similarly, grenades and improvised explosive devices are seized by RAB and BDR from hideouts of Indian or Myanmar insurgent groups. A militant group will often procure small arms, gradually shifting towards light weapons and increasingly towards more sophisticated armaments.146

The emergence of Bangladesh as a major transit point for arms in the region is one of the causes for the availability of newer weaponry. Small arms flow into Bangladesh from Afghanistan and Pakistan, on the one hand, and from Thailand, Singapore, Myanmar, and Cambodia, on the other.147

Such transshipment has a dangerous impact on human security in Bangladesh. Some of the weapons, trafficked into the neighbouring countries, leak into the black and grey markets and fall into the hands of local criminal syndicates. The rise in crime in the cities and border areas and the “weapon-power” of the thugs and goons has led to the deterioration of law and order in Bangladesh. The social impact is increasingly being reflected in Bangladesh’s society as more and more unemployed youth are lured into the underworld of crime.

Small arms were supplemented by Improvised Explosive Devises (IED) to commit crime, undermine the state authority or terrorise local communities. This was clearly demonstrated on 17 August 2005 when 400 IEDs detonated in 63 districts of Bangladesh’s 64 districts.148 Hence, small arms and IEDs caused insecurity individually and collectively in terms of threat to life, fear and anxiety, political instability, hindering development works and polluting the educational environment.

**Drug trafficking:** Bangladesh finds itself at the crossroads of two of the world’s largest drug triangles: the **Golden Triangle** in the east, and the **Golden Crescent** in the west, along with more than four thousand kilometres of common border with India. Wide ranging drugs are trafficked into Bangladesh along the sea, land and sometimes air routes. For quite a long time, the country’s ports
have been used illegally for transit facilities by the drug traffickers. According to Interpol, 5% of the total world trade flowed through Cox's Bazaar. The newer trend is that of Bangladesh becoming a market itself. The drug traders, who are always in the lookout for new destinations, have found Bangladesh as a potential and suitable market for the end use of their product. Bangladesh, in the eyes of the drug traders, had all the elements/prerequisites of a potential consumers' market. Unfortunately, our social, economic, and political problems are so acute that the problem of drugs has received very little attention, except for the concerns raised from donor agencies and some Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs).

The impact of drug trafficking on human security can be manifold. First, most directly, drug trafficking can lead directly to increased instances of crime, violent crime, and political instability; drug trafficking can lead to more drug availability and thus more drug consumption. Secondly, drug trafficking is a lucrative business and is a strong pull factor in luring youths of underprivileged families—a negative impact on human development. Thirdly, the budget for drug rehabilitation could be utilised in more pressing health care areas.

**Trafficking in women and children:** UNICEF has described human trafficking as the "largest slave trade in history." Although there are no reliable data on the numbers trafficked each year, there is a general agreement that trafficking has become a serious cause of human insecurity. UNICEF also reports that "the trafficking of human beings has burgeoned into a multi-billion dollar industry that is so widespread and damaging to its victims that it has become a cause of human insecurity. According to the US State Department, 'Human trafficking is the third largest criminal enterprise worldwide, generating an estimated $9.5 billion in annual revenue.' The UN defines 'trafficking in persons' as,

"...the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person for the purposes of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation
Poverty and unemployment along with a demand for cheap labour in urban areas of Bangladesh imply that a large number of people are still vulnerable and fall prey to traffickers who use the promise of jobs and marriage to entice the victims. These people often end up working in hazardous and exploitative conditions and may be subject to different forms of sexual exploitation. Furthermore, the expanding global sex trade has made these women and children targets of local and international traffickers. The Government of Bangladesh, in cooperation with NGOs and the international community, has undertaken important steps to prevent trafficking and to rescue and reintegrate those women and children who have been victims of trafficking. The process includes reactivating judicial system, strengthening of law enforcing agency, advocacy and awareness raising programmes for parents and communities, promotion of girls’ education, sexual and reproductive health programmes, expanding scope of micro-credit programmes, micro-entrepreneurship development schemes and enhancing other economic activities for poor families. In addition, more sensitive programmes to address the issues of safe return, which include repatriation, rehabilitation and reintegration, have been undertaken. A notable achievement in 2005 was the repatriation of Bangladeshi children from the United Arab Emirates (UAE) who had been working as camel jockeys there. The UAE Government has provided financial support to rehabilitate and reintegrate these children. Moreover, it has taken special measures to recover the earnings of these young children that the employers had retained. It involved a close collaboration among the Ministry of Home Affairs of the Government of Bangladesh, the Government of the UAE, UNICEF and NGOs. Another significant achievement has been the establishment of cross-border repatriation through the collaboration of BDR and BSF, the Deputy Commissioners and Police Superintendents, and the NGOs in Bangladesh and other neighbouring countries. This has expedited the process of safe return of trafficked individuals and is one of the best practice initiatives.

Trafficking in persons, particularly in women and children, is an extreme form of violation of human rights as it breaches their
most fundamental rights to freedom, human dignity and integrity. Trafficking in persons occurs within Bangladesh and to South Asia and beyond. Popular destinations include India, Pakistan, the Gulf States, East and West Asia and Europe. There is no reliable statistics of the actual number of women and children who are being trafficked. However, it is considered to be significant.

Push factors like economic poverty, high unemployment and limited job prospects compared to large population seeking jobs have created a favourable condition for undocumented migration and trafficking. People often end up in situations of forced and exploitative labour, including sexual exploitation. Many women and children are deceived with the promise of jobs and then forced to work in hazardous conditions. The demand for labour and the existence of the informal sectors, including domestic work and prostitution in the countries of destination, are also important pull factors of trafficking.

The process of trafficking itself directly affects the security of those who are trafficked. Taking advantage of their vulnerability, women and children are lured with and deceived by false promises of a better future. They are threatened with force or used as debt bondage. But most of the trafficked persons are forced, sold, abducted, kidnapped, and coerced to middlemen. Some of these women and children are trafficked with the tacit consent of their poverty-stricken families. In many cases, however, their own relatives, such as parents, uncles, cousins and neighbours are responsible for selling them to traffickers. Female relatives are also involved in local networks that promote trafficking. In many cases the traffickers grab all the earnings of those innocent victims, or/and use threats, blackmail, and often resort to physical and verbal abuse to keep them under their control.\textsuperscript{153}

Interestingly, the issue of trafficking in persons, especially women and children, illustrates how a non-traditional security issue can be a threat to both the state and its people. Its coping mechanism, in spite of some of the loopholes it may have, is also demonstrative of the willingness and outcome of government and non government cooperation in order to address this issue.

The common river water sharing has been a festering issue for a long time between Bangladesh and India. Let us briefly discuss this issue to the extent it causes non-traditional insecurity to the people of Bangladesh.
**Upstream Withdrawal of Water by India**

Water is most essential to life; it is also an integral part of economy, society and ecology. It is not only a part of external situation of a particular society such as agriculture, fisheries, and forestry but also a part of social organisation and network. Diversion of water from major rivers causes immense sufferings for the society as a whole. Water resources dominate the natural system of Bangladesh. Indeed, water is a key natural resource of the country. The major sources of available water are transboundary rivers (76.5%); rainwater and groundwater accounting only for 23% and 1.5% respectively. Water withdrawal by India, particularly in the dry season, makes the problems for Bangladesh critical and pervasive. The consequential impacts on the socio-economic life, ecology, environment, and river morphology in Bangladesh are illustrated here.

Water diversion at Farakka has severely affected the natural flow in the downstream of the Ganges. The Ganges and most of its distributaries have severely suffered from surface water deficit; some of them are almost dying while some others get dried up during the dry season. Agriculture, navigation, irrigation, fisheries, forestry, industrial activities, salinity intrusion of the coastal rivers, ground water depletion, riverbed silting, coastal erosion, sedimentation and normal economic activities have been very adversely affected.

The withdrawal of water at Farakka has induced significant changes in the hydrological system of the Ganges basin in Bangladesh. Up to 40% of the dry season flow of the Ganges has been diverted upstream following the completion of the Farakka barrage in India in 1974. It is also observed that ground water sinking rate is at least 0.5 m/year and a total dropping of water table is about 10 meters in the southwestern districts of Bangladesh. The decreased supply of water through the Gorai river due to the diversion of water at Farakka is by and large responsible for the increase of salinity in the southwest region of Bangladesh. Reduced freshwater flow results in increased salinity intrusion, particularly in the dry season. Salinity front has travelled up to 280 km upstream from the sea.

Arsenic contamination is a global problem, which now appears to be a serious problem in Bangladesh too. As the ground water
Non-Traditional Security of Bangladesh

table goes down more and more, arsenic contaminated water will come up, increasing the risk of arsenic poisoning throughout the country. At present 61 out of 64 districts of Bangladesh are arsenic contaminated. About 1.5 to 2.5 million tube-wells are estimated to be affected and 35 million people are at risk.\textsuperscript{159} Arsenic contamination of groundwater is due to the withdrawal of freshwater upstream in India. A survey conducted by Ground Water Task Force has reported that 7 out 12 most arsenic contaminated districts are located entirely in the Ganges basin where more than 70% tube-wells exceed the permissible limits.

The unfriendly withdrawal of Ganges water by India has severely affected the natural flow of the downstream rivers and its distributaries, having adverse effects on agricultural production, fisheries, forestry, industrial activities, inland navigation, biodiversity, wetlands and so on. The soil fertility has considerably deteriorated and the crop yield decreased. The annual loss from agricultural sector is estimated to be about US$650 million. The Government of Bangladesh estimated the loss in the region of US$ 875 million and the Bangladesh University of Engineering and Technology estimated the same to be about US$625 million when compared to the natural pre-Farakka productivity.\textsuperscript{160} It is also estimated that today Bangladesh could have been in a position to produce an additional 3.6 million tonnes of food grains annually if there had been natural flow in the Ganges and its distributaries.\textsuperscript{161}

Waterways has been the principal mode of transportation in riverine Bangladesh over the ages. However, since the operation of the Farakka barrage, Bangladesh’s waterways have been severely affected, having put some of them out of service. About 685 km of waterways were available during pre-diversion era, which is only 230 km now. Prior to 1975, the Ganges could be navigated by large steamers even in the dry season. But, now, the Ganges can be crossed in some places on foot for 5 to 7 dry months of the year. The situation is the same for other rivers like the Gorai, the Madhumati, the Bhairab, the Arial Khan, the Kapotakkhyya and the Mathabhanga.

Fish stock is dwindling in rivers and wetlands. Many people are forced to leave their profession of fish cultivation. One study shows that a large number of people are now involved in non-river based activities like rickshaw pulling. The number of fishermen in
the southwest of Bangladesh dropped from 6% to only 0.5%, while rickshaw pullers increased from 1.3% to 5.9%. Jobless and landless village people migrate to cities and towns, swelling the ranks of internal migrants and staking a claim to the limited urban amenities.

Let us now discuss the issue of Bangladesh's energy security.

**Energy Security**

Energy is a pre-requisite for economic growth and development. It is also essential for developing the living standards of people. Ordinarily, energy security may simply mean matching supply of energy to its demand. One major source of insecurity lies in the source of supply. If the supply is not from domestic source and has to be procured from foreign markets, uncertainties may arise due to political and financial reasons.

Bangladesh is an agrarian country. Because of the fast population growth, the amount of per capita cultivable land is decreasing very rapidly. In order to survive as a nation, and to prosper in the 21st century, power generation will have to increase drastically to achieve that goal. Energy is vital for running industries and manufacturing plants, and also mechanised agricultural equipment. Bangladesh is gradually integrating with global economy and the demand for energy will increase day by day. The country has one of the lowest rates of per capita energy consumption in the world. Currently, about 88 percent of power generation is based on natural gas. About 55% of the country's energy supply is based on traditional fuels (crop residues, animal dung and fuel wood), 24% on natural gas, 19% on imported oil and coal and the remaining 2% is hydro-electricity. With the increase in population the demand for energy will naturally grow. The demand for energy in Bangladesh is said to be rising at the rate of 10% or more per year. Bangladesh has been suffering from energy insecurity on many fronts. The use of biomass is not only an ineffective means of energy generation, it is also extremely detrimental to the environment. For instance, the forest cover in Bangladesh has been reduced from 15.6% to 13.4% between 1973 and 1987. According to some reports, the present forest cover is less than 9%. The decrease in forest cover contributes, among other adverse affects on the environment, to the increase in flooding propensity. Simultaneous attention is to be
given to solve immediate crises as well as to solve energy problems of the country in the short, medium and long-term perspectives. There can be many characteristics of energy insecurity in the developing countries like Bangladesh. Energy insecurity leading to energy crises stalls economic progress, contributes to human misery which lead to environmental degradation and social disorder.

Bangladesh is one of the most densely populated countries in the world. Electrification of the whole country should be taken as a top most priority. To meet the growing demands of electricity in the domestic and industrial sectors, Bangladesh will have to come up with a plan for massive production of power. The country is not self-reliant in energy production. Bangladesh needs to reduce its dependency on foreign oil gradually, while exploring the feasibility of developing alternative sources of energy. The present status of electricity generation in the country can benefit only around 19 per cent of the total population, of which only 25 per cent urban population and 10 per cent rural population have access to electricity.169 The Rural Electrification Board (REB) is supplying electricity to the rural areas of Bangladesh and its present consumers are 3.5 million.170

The greatest challenge up to 2030 would be to provide electricity, especially in rural areas where 80% of rural households have no access to grid electricity. One of the major challenges is to ensure energy supply for Bangladesh under current low level of efficiency, coupled with high system losses.

Now, all over the world in general, natural gas is the best fuel. Bangladesh’s gas sector is now in an acute problem. Shortage of gas hits power generation. For years, adequate exploration for gas and the development of required transmission infrastructure have not been done to ensure security of supply of national gas. The usual appraisal-cum- development of discovered structures was also not done. Reservoir and petroleum engineering is almost absent from our gas engineering. The major Titas gas field is leaking for inefficient production management. For inappropriate production operation Shangu after Bakhrabad structure is well on its way to premature decline. Shabajpur Gas field in Bhola remains unutilised when the power generation and industrial growth in the Khulna-Barisal region is suffering for lack of fuel supply. The Chittagong area is now facing serious energy crisis for
shortage of gas supply. The nation is suffering from unprofessional management of gas sector. Non-professionals or wrong professionals with no proper vision and poor management skill have brought the sector to such a sorry pass. Gas sector requires massive exploration, development and transmission project implementation.

Recently, Petrobanagla has initiated offshore drilling PSC bidding. Inaction in coal mining and delay in exploration for gas are a major reason for Bangladesh’s energy insecurity. Commercial energy consumption by different sectors has increased rapidly after 1984-85. The country’s proven gas reserves of 8.39 TCF are likely to be exhausted by 2011 and the probable reserves of 13.6 TCF by the end of the year 2015, indicating the possible shutdown of 90 percent gas-run-power plants and demonstrating the looming of serious energy crisis if its substitute, coal, as energy is not extracted from the mines or new gas fields are not discovered.\textsuperscript{171}

The prospect of using natural gas to generate electricity is pretty bright in Bangladesh. Only a fraction of Bangladesh population living in major cities has the access to gas. An increase in domestic usage of gas will help cutting back on the use of biomass fuel. Natural gas can be used to produce more electricity. Natural gas burns cleaner than oil and causes less damage to the environment.

As mentioned earlier, only an insignificant fraction of population in Bangladesh currently uses gas for domestic needs. The amount of gas consumption will increase immensely should Bangladesh decide to produce more electricity to meet increased demands in the power and fertilizer sectors. If the rate of consumption increases fivefold during the next 15 years, as envisioned by experts, the gas reserve will last less than a decade at the best.

In western Bangladesh there are substantial proven reserves of coal, but these remained unexploited in the late 1980s, largely because of the absence of major prospective users in the area. The options of constructing a large coal-fired power station or exporting coal to India were being considered in the late 1980s. The country has about 3 billion MT coal in already discovered mines, of which if we take out Jamalganj that cannot be mined by traditional methods, the minable coal is 2 billion MT. Of these, we have so far only Barapukuria underground coal mining in operation.

Other possible means of alternative sources of energy include wind power, hydroelectric power, tidal power, solar power, and
nuclear power. Generation of electricity using wind requires high wind speed and available open space. Valleys within mountains can funnel winds at high speed, and are suitable locations for wind turbines that can generate electricity. Parts of Chittagong and the Chittagong Hill Tracts might be feasible for generation of electricity using wind power.

Despite abundance of surface water, the potential for hydroelectric power is limited at best. The Kaptai hydro-electric station is the only major power generating facility in the country. Building of the Kaptai dam in the early 1960s caused inundation of localities around the reservoir, which led to uprooting of many indigenous people, as well as to confrontation between the victims and the government. Because of low terrain and high population density, the prospect of developing hydroelectric power is not environmentally feasible in other parts of the country.

Generation of electricity using tidal power is very similar to hydroelectric power. Tidal channels are dammed off and tidal water is forced to pass through a narrow gate to which a turbine is connected. The direction of the turbine can be changed to allow both incoming flood tide and outgoing ebb tide to work on the turbine. However, development of tidal power causes problems to navigation. Silting behind dams also limits the life of operation. Since most tidal channels are used for navigation in Bangladesh, generation of electricity using tidal power will have to be limited to isolated channels inside the Sundarbans area.

Solar power uses sun's energy to produce electricity. Solar energy is plentiful in Bangladesh. Generation of electricity using solar power is environmentally feasible. Development of solar power should be a top priority for Bangladesh in the 21st century. In recent times, there have grown a number of rural-based renewable energy companies in Bangladesh, which have popularised solar energy in remote areas. For example, Grameen Shakti (GS) was started in 1996 by the co-builders of Grameen Bank with the mission to empower rural people with access to Grameen Energy and income. GS has developed one of the most successful market-based programmes. They have a social objective to popularise Solar Home Systems (SHSs), including other renewable energy technologies, among millions of villagers. All of the 64 districts of Bangladesh are covered by Grameen Shakti that includes 32,000
villages of 450 upazilas (sub-districts). Also, eleven islands are covered by them. The total number of beneficiaries are more than 12,000,000 people. GS has installed 16,000 SHSS. Most of the alternative sources of energy discussed earlier are still more costly compared to the energy produced by conventional methods. However, with an increase in energy demands and with the invention of more efficient technologies in the future, the production costs and price will decline. To meet the increasing demands, Bangladesh should also consider developing nuclear power as a source of energy.

Although nuclear energy is very efficient, it is relatively costly. Also, there are some risks involved in safety procedures and disposal of waste materials generated in nuclear power plants. Bangladesh signed bilateral agreements with several countries for peaceful use of nuclear energy. The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) has been supporting Bangladesh for a long time to build a nuclear power reactor. IAEA is still interested to support the country if she decides to have one. However, unlike other countries, Bangladesh has numerous constraints, such as financial, technological, and abundant natural resource, essential to produce electricity for long time.

The problem of energy in Bangladesh is serious but not an insurmountable one. Unfortunately, Bangladesh does not have energy sector master plan. We need to adopt a power generating technology that is economically feasible and environmentally sound. Bangladesh needs to develop an action plan for energy production, transmission, and supply. With the current trend of globalisation of trade and technology transfer, it will be possible to adopt technologies that are both efficient and environmentally feasible for Bangladesh in the 21st century. We can still achieve energy security and sufficiency if we have sufficient political will and commitment. We still have three other alternatives—

- introduction of nuclear energy into the power grid,
- coal-based power plants, and
- procuring of gas from Myanmar.

These are some avenues that also need to be very carefully pursued.

The Bangladesh authorities have discussed with the Myanmar government about the possibility of not only delimiting maritime
boundaries between the two countries.\textsuperscript{173} In fact, Dhaka and Yangon have agreed to sign a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) for a joint feasibility study to build a large hydropower plant in Myanmar to feed Bangladesh’s power-hungry national grid.\textsuperscript{174} It is important for the country to harness regional potential that will have to be nurtured with utmost seriousness to solve the problem of energy.

Establishing coal-based power plants, particularly in the underdeveloped north-western region of Bangladesh, will remove internal economic disparity and also help to generate employment. Experts have recently revealed that the country has about 2.5 billion tonnes of coal reserve, which is equivalent to nearly 77 trillion cubic feet of natural gas.\textsuperscript{175} A UNDP-Bangladesh report, entitled “Sustainable Energy Development in Bangladesh—Coal as an alternative energy resource”, recommends the use of this coal reserve for energy security.\textsuperscript{176} There has been debate over the method of exploitation of this valuable resource. Questions have been raised about open cast mining as opposed to the traditional method of underground mining. Economists and environmentalists have been divided over this issue. There has also been the question of resettlement and rehabilitation of the affected population. All these factors have made the issue complex. Nevertheless, this is a matter that has to be resolved sooner than later in the country’s national interest. The government has to play a more pro-active role and find least common denominators that will lead to a sustainable solution.

The last option is generating power by means of nuclear energy. Bangladesh is committed to peaceful uses of atomic energy and has made excellent progress in the application of atomic science and technology in the fields of medicine, agriculture, industry, isotope hydrology and radiation safety and monitoring. Bangladesh can only rely on nuclear technology to produce adequate amount of electricity. Unfortunately, as Bangladesh lacks financial resources, technology, and managerial skill, the country can only rely on foreign investment in this regard. For, the required technology is extremely complex as well as costly, compared to other means of electricity production, exploiting mineral deposits, etc. Initially, the proposed nuclear power plant might be of 600 MW capacity, to be set up at Ruppur in Dinajpur.
where about 260 acres of land were acquired before the country’s independence.\textsuperscript{177}

Lastly, the scenario of soon-to-be-exhausted gas reserves and not-so-abundant coal deposits requires Bangladesh to explore the potential for renewable energy sources for the longer term. Hydropower is a renewable and environmental friendly source, but its potential in Bangladesh is extremely limited. The country’s only hydroelectric plant is located at Kaptai, with an installed capacity of 230 MW. The country’s relevant authorities should set up a Committee to identify the geographical locations in the rural areas where we can most benefit from solar energy and wind-driven power. This can then be used for meeting the energy demand of Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) in the non-urban tertiary economic zones, particularly in the cottage industry and handloom sectors. This can then supplement biogas.

We have many hard decisions ahead of us. There is also very little time in our hand. Success will depend on a meaningful and functional partnership between the public and private sectors. If others in this region have been able to move forward so can we. Our spirit of entrepreneurship will help us overcome the difficulties.

Having identified Bangladesh’s non-traditional insecurities, we now turn to discuss how these have been met.

4.5 MEETING NTS THREATS: CHALLENGES AND RESPONSES

It is clear from the above discussion that Bangladesh faces and experiences a host of security threats, vulnerabilities and concerns that are non-traditional in terms of their origin, nature, pervasiveness and criticality. The country is bravely confronting these challenges in a variety of ways—at the government and non-government levels as also at the national and international levels. However, these efforts often prove to be inadequate and ineffective, as the security challenges are aggravated by the challenge of Bangladesh’s national power deficit. As such, before discussing the security responses, a brief exposition on the national capacity of Bangladesh is in order.

4.5.1 Limits to Bangladesh’s National Capacity in Meeting Security Threats

At the risk of stating the obvious, it is nonetheless appropriate in the present context to reiterate that Bangladesh is an impoverished,
disaster-prone, over-populated and badly-governed country. It is clear from a country profile that has been appended at the end of this chapter. Bangladesh is a country that is not endowed with nature's liberal bounty. Whatever natural endowment it has in the form of fertile land and water resources, over-population and management problems eat into the development and vitality of the nation. The country's economic indicators are dismal, social indicators poor, infrastructure abysmal, employment situation frustrating, trade balance unfavourable, aid dependence embarrassing and, above all, governance indicators and political culture uninspiring. All in all, the attributes or potentials of Bangladesh clearly suggest that the ability of the state to respond to internal NTS concerns and needs is weak indeed. As such, Bangladesh urgently needs to spend on capacity building of the state itself as also to seek cooperation from the domestic non-state actors and the international community.

The limitations of Bangladesh's national capacity to respond to security imperatives and people's needs also result from factors beyond its borders—regional setting and global order.

India surrounds Bangladesh on three sides—west, north and east—the length of the border between the two countries being more that 4000 kilometres. The insurgency-infected seven states of India (so-called seven sisters) lie to the northeast of Bangladesh, with concerns of security fallout on either side of the border. Also, Bangladesh often comes under pressure to grant transit routes to connect the mainland of India with its northeastern seven sisters through the Bangladesh territory. And, the Indian Navy dominates the Bay of Bengal that washes the shores of Bangladesh in the south. Bangladesh shares a tiny border of 255 kilometres with the military-ruled, unstable Myanmar. Due to religious and ethnic repression unleashed by the military junta in Yangon, there had been two huge streams of Rohingya refugees (in 1978-79 and 1991) having crossed over to Bangladesh. About the remaining thirty thousand of the 250,000 from the second influx are now camped in several places of Cox's Bazaar, causing a great deal of non-traditional insecurities to the host population.

South Asia is an Indo-centric region in terms of India's location, size and power. India is by far the largest and most powerful country in the region. This asymmetry in size and power,
buttressed by geographic centrality, engenders a hegemonic tendency in the Indian psyche. Conversely, this spawns a fear factor in the South Asian neighbourhood. One of the consequences of this tyranny of geography and a resultant security posturing of India is that Bangladesh suffers from a “small state syndrome” vis-à-vis India, nursing a sense of insecurity, unease and helplessness. An upshot of this is Bangladesh feeling insecure in power relations with India and in exercising policy autonomy internally and externally. Another fallout is that it adversely affects the popular mind in Bangladesh as well as the minds of the dominant security elite. A major consequence of all this is the ever increasing allocation of resources for traditional security in Bangladesh, sometimes at the expense of that for NTS.

There is another aspect to the tyranny of geography bearing adverse consequences for Bangladesh. This is related to the layout of the watercourses common to Bangladesh and India. There are as may as 54 rivers that flow from India into Bangladesh, giving all the advantages of an upper riparian to the South Asian giant and the consequent disadvantages to the lower riparian state. Withdrawal of water and construction of water project-related structures by India in the upper reaches make Bangladesh precariously and haplessly dependent on India. Some of the non-traditional insecurities caused in Bangladesh by such upstream arbitrary withdrawal have already been discussed in a section above.

There has been quite a discourse on the evolving post-Cold War world order with regard to its architecture and the nature of the era. As far as the power structure is concerned, it is perhaps a unimultipolar edifice, meaning the simultaneous existence of the elements of both unipolarity and multipolarity. The post-Cold War period has witnessed some momentous changes in the nature of the era. This relates to the currency of power, nature of conflict, nature of competition, proliferation of non-state actors with increased global agenda, globalisation and its impact on the nation-state, etc. What is more relevant in this chapter is the increased role of the international community in the internal affairs of other countries, not always to the liking and interest of the latter. This enhanced role is noticeable largely in matters of governance and delivery in NTS sector not only by states but also
by IGOs, MNCs and NGOs. This ‘intervention’ takes place on the pretext of at least five grounds—the doctrine of preemption (including global war on terror), humanitarian intervention by states (with or without concurrence), humanitarian role of non-state actors, role of external players in disaster management, and globalisation process. All this may be benign as long as it enhances the capacity of the state to ensure security for its people, prevents the state from inflicting grievous harm to them, and provides succour to the needy.

Globalisation is an America-driven, ubiquitous process embracing political, economic, environmental, and cultural fields. In practice, globalisation is an opportunity for a stronger and more developed state and a challenge for a weaker and less developed one, as far as adaptability and accruable economic benefits are concerned. "Globalisation means that the world is increasingly one integrated whole.... Globalisation means that the internal affairs of countries increasingly impinge upon other actors in the world." The essence of the Westphalian international system is that a state's beliefs are not a matter of international concern and that outsiders would not take a hand in a nation's internal affairs. Globalisation has come as a challenge to this framework and hence also stability, for the world community has become more likely to intervene when societies are badly governed and when other human insecurities are not timely and adequately addressed. Another significant element in the globalisation process is the homogenisation of western political, economic and cultural philosophies and values. This universalises western norms and values, overshadowing natural and local variations and diversities across the world. One might call it cultural, or even civilisational, invasion. At the same time, it favours bigger and stronger polities, economies and cultures.

One of the negative consequences of globalisation is that the global divides have widened—between North and South and within South. It is said that ours is the most inequitable world in history, posing a palpable threat to international stability. Inequalities have grown within countries and between them. The richest 1,100 people in the world today have a net worth that is almost double that of the 2.5 billion people earning the least. The top 250 companies have annual sales equivalent to about a third of
global GDP. More than 100 companies report annual sales in excess of $50 billion dollars, whereas only 60 or so countries report an annual GDP in excess of $50 billion.\textsuperscript{180}

There has been a proliferation of MNCs from the developing world too, so much so that first-world countries are now actively wooing third-world multinationals in a remarkable role reversal. Companies from India, China, Brazil and Malaysia are among those busily investing around the world. Many Indian firms have slowly but surely embarked on the global path, leading to the emergence of Indian multinational companies. Indian businesses are acquiring companies abroad, becoming popular suppliers or recruiting staff cutting across nationalities. Indian firms have a good number of investments/joint ventures/stock market shares in countries like the U.K., the U.S.A., Singapore, etc.\textsuperscript{181} Some Indian industrial giants are also active in some of the South Asian countries. Attempts by the Tata Company and the Mittal Steel to invest in Bangladesh are well-known. The problem with such investment offers is that these are often accompanied by attempts to manipulate the terms of reference at the expense of the host country’s interests. Worse still, “In regional strategy of the MNCs India emerges as a centre and therefore joint collaboration with Indian big businesses brings India-U.S. joint invasion in the region (South Asia). In most of the cases, global corporate bodies prefer to invade in the region through Indian big corporate bodies....”\textsuperscript{182}

One of the consequences of globalisation is that the autonomy and functional integrity of the state is undermined. This weakens the state, reducing its relative power and capacity to deal with internal and external security challenges. The fragility of the state may also encourage internal fissiparous tendencies and external adversaries, while being less able to protect its own citizens.

However, the situation in Bangladesh and the global order are not without some redeeming features and attributes. And these redeeming characteristics help the security providers respond to security challenges in the non-traditional sector.

4.5.2 Responses to Security Threats
It is fair to say that the role of the Bangladesh state at normal times is not always satisfactory in terms of guaranteeing the security of its citizens. However, it becomes remarkably active in
confronting threats from natural disasters and responding to non-traditional threats to the state as well. With the benefit of its accumulated experiences, Bangladesh may be said to have formulated a well-developed strategy in meeting the fury of natural calamities. The country's military is a constant source of strength in regard to disaster management. Two traits in the character of the people of Bangladesh are also very important here—resilience and the outpouring of sympathy for people in adversity. Their resilience is seen in their grit in difficulties and coping capabilities in grim situations. And people's soft nature and proverbial fellow-feeling are often a compelling force to mount humanitarian operations at times of calamities, national or local. As such, response to security challenges takes place at the government and non-government levels and at the national and international levels.

**Government Level: National and International**

Here, for the sake of brevity, responses have been considered in respect of only such security threats as terrorism and the natural disasters of 2007. These threats affect both the state and people. Terrorism is a menace that is a threat not only to the life, living, property, rights and dignity of the people but also to the very efficacy of the state itself. In fact, the threats have been so critical and pervasive that the government of Bangladesh has not only adopted preventive and corrective measures but also sought cooperation from the governments of some friendly countries as also from some inter-governmental organisations.

As discussed above, terrorism in Bangladesh emanates from some self-deluded groups of Muslim militants and the self-styled, ultra-leftist ill-motivated communist outfits. The government of Bangladesh has taken administrative, police, legal and judicial measures for checking this menace. It is also addressing the causes of this phenomenon, while also launching awareness campaign among the people. At the same time, the government efforts have been bolstered by some critical assistance from several friendly governments, including those of the United States and the United Kingdom, in the fight against terrorists masquerading as jihadists in the country. It is indeed difficult for Bangladesh to combat terrorism without the support of some developed countries in respect of equipment, technology, and mechanism and strategy building.
Again, the magnitude of the security challenges resulting from the natural disasters that had hit Bangladesh in 2007 was so vast that Bangladesh was simply unable to meet those all alone. It had to enlist support from some other governments, inter-governmental organisations and financial agencies. Bangladesh has received aid and assistance in cash and kind from India, Pakistan, the United States, the U.K., the European Union, the United Nations, the World Bank, the IMF, the ADB, etc. towards relief, rehabilitation, reconstruction and return to normal life and living with dignity of those affected.

Non-Government Level: National and International

In the wake of the string of terrorist activities unleashed by ‘Muslim terrorists’ in Bangladesh, some civil society organisations, including those involving Islamic scholars and Imams, had held seminars, workshops, motivational campaigns, etc. wherein they condemned the cowardly and misguided terrorist attacks and interpreted the Islamic scriptures that actually abhor violence. The intended audience was the misguided youths for their correction and the general masses at large for not forming a support base for the militants.

In meeting the humanitarian needs resulting from the havoc caused by the back-to-back floods and cyclone Sidr in Bangladesh in 2007, a good number of NGOs and CSOs had responded with succour to the affected. This included food to the hungry, water to the thirsty, clothes to the unclad, shelter to the homeless, net and boat to the fisherman, bullocks to the farmer, tin sheets to the roofless, money to the cash-strapped, etc. This help came spontaneously from the grief-stricken compatriots as well as on request from the government to donate to the special government fund or give directly to the victims. The Bangladesh Government also allowed space to the international NGOs and CSOs to channelise their aid and assistance to the flood and cyclone victims in the country. They just complemented the efforts undertaken by others towards elevating the plight of the millions in dire straits.

4.6 CONCLUDING REMARKS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

We have identified and discussed in this chapter the manifold non-traditional security issues, threats, concerns and vulnerabilities
confronting Bangladesh. In our attempt to map those out, we have focused on political, economic and societal security as also on some of the newer NTS issues relating to health, environmental and trans-national security, with a view to illustrating their pervasiveness and criticality for the country. The chapter has also highlighted the ways and means of meeting the non-traditional security challenges facing Bangladesh. We have not championed non-traditional security as an alternative security paradigm. Our approach has been that NTS is just a component of one single national security discourse. The purpose was to break the intellectual interface, and even the philosophical threshold, in order to mainstream NTS into security discourse under the umbrella concept of (comprehensive) national security.

It has been argued that the security threats and concerns in Bangladesh can be more effectively addressed if these are viewed through the prism of non-traditional perspective, particularly through human security lenses, and acted upon with right mix of policies, strategies and mechanisms. And the role of the state in this whole enterprise remains most crucial. However, as Bangladesh is an impoverished, resource-strapped, lower riparian and disaster-prone country, the nature and range of insecurities in the country are so non-conventional and extensive that the state alone is not in a position to respond to all of those. The state has to garner non-military aid and assistance and enlist support from sources like other states as well as from Inter-Governmental Organisations (IGOs), Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) working within the country and internationally. The authors of this chapter hold the view that the role of the state will not fundamentally diminish even if non-state actors are occasionally allowed space to intervene in the domain traditionally belonging to the state.

Hopefully, the articulation in the chapter will stimulate further debate and research. A sustained discourse on NTS may lead to the emergence of a non-traditional security community, also may be called humanitarian community that would influence state security thinking and securitisation process. With the critical mass achieved, such a community might have the capacity for palpable public and policy impact. Indeed, one of the underlying purposes behind writing this chapter has been to highlight the disconnect
between new realities and security thinking and between security thinking and policy in the Bangladesh context. The exposition here may contribute to establishing a fruitful, sustained dialogue process between academic thinking and policy making, leading to the building of state capacity, the creation of institutions/mechanisms and the allocation of resources for meeting non-traditional insecurities. In other words, an architecture capable of addressing a broad array of non-traditional security challenges may thus be developed in Bangladesh.

As indicated above, there are four enablers dealing with non-traditional security challenges facing Bangladesh—the government, civil society organisations, NGO network, and the international community. In view of Bangladesh's national power deficit, the country's non-traditional insecurities may be better addressed in the framework of an integrated approach in respect of prevention, management and post-crisis operations both at the governmental and non-governmental levels in the country.

**Recommendations**

This sub-section provides the stakeholders—state and non-state actors—a set of recommendations to consider in the short- and long-run with the common objective of ensuring security of six of the components of human security that have been identified in the beginning of the chapter. We have also aimed to give theme-specific suggestions on ways to meet some of the new challenges that Bangladesh is facing in recent times. We have made specific recommendations for specific readers; our intended audiences are policymakers, researchers and civil society actors that we deal with separately here, with the understanding that these are the actors who can bring a positive and healthy change into the lives of millions. And also because the sources of insecurity cannot be effectively addressed in totality at the state level alone, without the support and cooperation of other key actors such as research institutes, activists of various civil society organisations, and the media. If meeting each challenge can be a shared responsibility of each actor (state and non-state), this will have in the long-run a profound positive effect on human security in Bangladesh. With these objectives, the focus is on key challenge(s) to each component of human insecurity.
### Non-Traditional Security of Bangladesh

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Categories of Human Security</th>
<th>Key Challenge</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Political Security</td>
<td>Rule of Law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Economic Security</td>
<td>Food Security</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Societal Security</td>
<td>Terrorism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Health security</td>
<td>HIV/AIDS and Bird Flu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Environmental Security</td>
<td>Climate Change and Natural Disasters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Cross-Border Security</td>
<td>Trafficking</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### Political Security

#### Intended Results
- Promote political tolerance among political parties and establish the rule of law.
- Ensure free, fair election and smooth transition to democracy.
- Encourage micro-governance at the local level. Local governments can play a major role by ensuring more effective local resource management including land, water and environmental resources, and also infrastructure and service delivery for the poor.
- Develop local leadership to enhance the sense of participation and integration with the national government. Bureaucratic excesses at local level will be better monitored and managed.
- Introduce “zero tolerance” to corruption at all levels of the society.
- Include women in the political process as women empowerment is important for any democracy. Women should be allowed to be elected to local government without facing intimidation by the male section of the society.

#### Theme and Actor Specific Recommendation: Establishing Rule of Law
- **State**: For the state, it is imperative to ensure a working democracy, because only democracy can promote the rule of law and good governance. Reforms that were made to ensure a corruption-free society should engage in concerted efforts to rid the society of muscle power, money power and abuse of power. For that, the key government institutions for good governance and the rule of law—the Anti-Corruption
Commission, Public Service Commission, the Election Commission, Human Rights Commission, Ombudsman, the Police, the Judiciary, etc—should be impartial, effective and dynamic. Above all, it is also the responsibility of the state to ensure that the government improves its delivery capacity of services to its people, and not be perceived as ‘business’ machinery by its citizens.

- **Civil Society:** In a democracy, the civil society has not only the opportunity but, more importantly, a responsibility towards promoting the rule of law in his/her country. Compared to many developing countries, our civil society is quite big and visible; but how effective they are in taking a lead in political affairs is still debatable. For the rule of law to be established effectively in Bangladesh, the civil society has to be de-politicised and de-polarised first and foremost. Secondly, civil society is a strong force in any democracy and therefore it should come forward and make itself heard and, if possible, involved in policy making on all human security issues. It can act as a binding force between the State and its people, instead of being a spokesperson of any political party.

- **Research Institutes:** Both public and private research institutes in Bangladesh today have an added advantage: these can provide a forum for policy makers and members of the civil society, without having to bear the brunt of being politically pro- or anti-government. This is healthy for a functioning democracy. Research itself should also be objective and based on correct data, and not guided by any person, party or foreign country’s interest. Research findings should be disseminated to encourage public debate, while at the same time research institutes should be bold enough to give their recommendations on how to improve the rule of law and ensure political security of the people.

**Economic Security**

**Intended Results**

- Achieve sustainable development through pro-poor growth strategies and policies.
• Create employment opportunities, particularly at the local level. This will help in managing undue migration to urban areas from rural areas.
• Government should engage with political parties to tackle the food crisis.
• Consumer courts need to be set up in all districts of Bangladesh to make the proposed Consumer Rights Protection Ordinance 2008 to work better. Common people will have direct access to filing cases.
• Bring reforms and develop management skills in the agriculture and water resources sectors.
• Measures should be taken to stop arbitrary use of land for constructing houses, structures or roads and seek out ways to increase agricultural production with reduced use of fertilizer.
• To adopt holistic land-use policy without violating fundamental rights.
• Microcredit scheme should be further enlarged and empowered.

Theme and Actor Specific Recommendations: Food Security

• STATE responsibility: There is no doubt that the state is the guarantor of basic necessities—food, clothing and shelter—to its people. Government should take the initiative to address the prevailing food problem by immediately declaring it as a national crisis and should conduct consultations with all political parties in order to tackle it. Market economy does not mean unbridled competition and unscrupulous market manipulation. The state has to intervene with regulatory measures in such situations. High priority should be given to agriculture for food security. Only massive investment in agriculture can help avoid catastrophe in food availability. Side by side, restructuring the country’s agricultural system is needed to increase the production of food grains for ensuring food security. In the long run, dependence on rice should be reduced, substitute foods should be encouraged. Consultations and better cooperation at the international level with organisations, such as FAO and IFAD, may help.
• **CIVIL SOCIETY**: An important role can be played by the civil society by creating awareness among the farmers to cultivate local varieties of paddy. At the same time, NGOs can cooperate with the electronic and print media to encourage changing food habits. Channel-I-type programme by Shykh Siraj should be encouraged.

• **RESEARCH INSTITUTES**: In Bangladesh, there are quite a number of research institutes working on agricultural products, such as the Rice Research Institute in Gazipur. The findings and policy recommendations need to be placed in the relevant ministries, and if possible research findings should be disseminated through seminars and, in the age of technology, findings should be made available online for wider circulation. Joint research projects with other Asian countries should be encouraged. At the same time, research institutes should be careful not to be guided by success stories of other countries, unless their recommendations are suitable for this country.

**Societal Security**

**Intended Results**

• Ensure that “All citizens are equal before the law and are entitled to equal protection of law”. Local government may be empowered to deal with some complaints.

• Ensure implementation of a policy document on women development: Jatiya Nari Unnayan Niti 2008.

• Introduce “zero tolerance” to crime.

• Modernise the education system to keep students at par with international standard. The youth force should also be taught to be technology-savvy.

• Develop a national counter-terrorism strategy to root out terrorism and extremism in Bangladesh.

• Raise awareness in each community on the effects of crime, gender discrimination, gender violence, terrorist acts, etc.

• Strengthening Food and Drug Administration with stricter laws and better enforcement and compliance.
Theme and Actor Specific Recommendation—Countering Terrorism

- **STATE**: In order to do take effective counter-terrorism measures, the State should take a two-pronged approach: a socio-economic approach that would deal with the root causes, such as poverty, and a traditional approach that would control arms trafficking. Government should create an enabling environment for the private sector to encourage economic growth, as it would significantly work to counter the militant threat. It is important to locate the arms suppliers, financiers, and to bring the patrons of the religious terrorists to book. In fact, the time has come to form a National Commission on terrorism comprising of government and non-government actors to investigate sources of terrorism and root out militancy from Bangladesh. Above all, the State should have the political will to fight terrorism internally, and encourage regional cooperation to fight the menace externally.

- **CIVIL SOCIETY**: The non-governmental organisations, the media and activists can create mass awareness about the menace of terrorism and crime in the society. A track two approach at the national and regional levels can also put pressure on the governments to address the root cause of the issue.

- **RESEARCH INSTITUTES**: Both public and private think tanks need to join hands in combating terrorism from the country as well as from the region. Policy recommendations should strongly gear up collective efforts among the South Asian countries to tackle poverty and combat terrorism, as these two are closely interlinked.

**Health Security**

**Intended Results**

- Since health security is essential for higher productivity, better quality of life and overall security, new health policy should be formulated to provide better health services and ensure quality education in medical and dental colleges.
- More maternity and child care centres should be set up and parents need to be made aware of the importance of medical treatments.
- Community clinics should be set up in the remote areas to provide health care services to the people.
- Sustainable sanitation and safe water projects should be implemented.

**Theme-Actor Specific Recommendations: HIV and Bird Flu**

- **State:** The State should promote "securitisation" of health, implying that an implicit effort to argue for higher political and budgetary prioritisation for health as a sector should be undertaken. Only then can the major health issues be addressed and cured. In the last few months, HIV/AIDS and bird flu emerged as new challenges that Bangladesh faced at all levels. The government's capacity for programme implementation, management and supervision should be immediately strengthened to prevent the further spread of HIV/AIDS in the country. The state needs to strengthen mechanisms for collaboration and coordination within and between government, the non-governmental sector, development partners and other stakeholders. The National HIV and AIDS Communication Strategy (2006-2010) should be implemented properly. Birth registration and basic education can also effectively address the issue.

In order to deal with and prevent future outbreak of bird flu, loans from banks on concessional terms can help commercial poultry producers to re-start their industries. Early detection of Highly Pathogenic Avian Influenza (HPAI) virus, efficient surveillance and strict maintenance of bio-safety measures should be ensured to control bird flu.

- **Civil Society:** NGOs and the media can play a significant role in reducing discrimination against those infected with HIV, or group engaging in high-risk behaviours, through appropriate advocacy, policies and related measures. Formation of a community watchdog could be a right step forward. Side by side, cooperation with assistance from the State can build
up their capacity for programme planning, implementation and supervision on interventions to prevent further spread of HIV in Bangladesh. Since people in the remote areas are reluctant to speak on health issues, let alone sexually transmitted diseases, NGOs are in a better position to communicate with the locals in raising awareness and carrying out necessary programmes. Nationwide campaigning through puppet shows and through the media on HIV, bird flu and other health related issues should be encouraged to create awareness among the people on social issues.

- **Research Institutes**: Research can look into the causes of human trafficking and accordingly suggest ways to reduce the demand and supply chain. Research institutes should conduct social studies to find the linkages between economic migration and human trafficking. Studies can also explore and identify the power structure linked to such crimes. Medical schools also need to carry out research on HIV that will have impact on national policy process. Research organisations can provide a forum for government and non-government organisations working in this sector to share their findings and best practices. Research organisations should also share information by undertaking studies on HPAI at the regional level to minimise the risk of sustained endemic of Avian Influenza in poultry in South Asia.

**Environmental Security**

**Intended Results**

- A comprehensive planning is needed to ensure safe and adequate housing for the cyclone affected people, such as early warning system, cyclone and flood shelters.

- An integrated approach is needed to face the challenges of climate change as it can contribute to new infectious diseases.

- Immediate steps should be taken to curb emission of greenhouse gases that cause global warming. Kyoto Protocol needs to be enforced to offset climate change effects.
Use of solar power should be encouraged widely instead of coal. Along with that, massive tree plantation, and not destruction of forests, needs to be ensured.

The government should ensure that development programmes do not harm the environment—the most important component of sustainable development.

More scientific study and research should be sponsored to better understand the possible consequences of climate change and to articulate better national response.

**Theme and Actor Specific Recommendations: Climate Change and Natural Disasters**

**STATE:** Although Bangladesh is familiar with natural disasters, the challenge it faces now is the frequency with which these cyclones, floods, river erosion take place in recent years. And, therefore, the government needs to prioritise disaster management at the policy making level. Infrastructure required for disaster management should be rebuilt and modernised. To improve communication to difficult areas/terrain ravaged by natural disasters, more helicopters should be procured. Better distribution of relief materials is essential. Early warning signals need to be reviewed by experts. In addition, there needs to be an overall national planning to make a complete survey of resource base for each Thana, and construction of *pucca* houses in the southern belt and cyclone shelters. Development and enhancement of capacity of the Mongla port and its proposed regional use will be beneficial to Bangladesh. The governments should also take preventive mechanisms to reduce post-disaster diseases. Safety nets for the poor should be introduced immediately. A comprehensive public education programme on disaster management by local people on self-help basis may be developed and implemented. Similarly, climate change is also emerging as a major environmental problem in Bangladesh that may eventually affect human security by leading to forced migration and resource related conflict. Mitigating and adaptation/coping strategies regarding climate change should be part of Bangladesh’s national policy. The State should also engage
with global partners on the issue of climate change in a way that will serve to protect the people and their livelihood. Forest cover should be enhanced to combat climate change and biodiversity loss. In fact the government should enable private investment in commercial timber production. Bangladesh should acquire necessary technological resources and increase its capacity to combat the natural calamities it so often faces. Drought, salinity and flood resistant crops should be introduced to face climate change. The climate refugee issue should be studied seriously. Comprehensive environmental laws should be formulated and climate issues should be linked with development agenda. An integrated approach is needed to face the challenges of human and animal diseases, as climate change contributes to emergence of new infectious diseases.

**Civil Society:** Although environmentalists and relevant policymakers are aware of the problem of climate change, the vulnerabilities and consequences of climate change have been very little communicated to the general public. The civil society can help create awareness at the community level about the causes and effects of environmental disasters as a result of global warming, and engage in capacity-building in the event of a calamity. NGOs and the media can also help in raising funds for the poor to deal with post-disaster resettlement in an organised way.

**Research Institutes:** The role of the research organisations in addressing the issue of climate change should receive serious attention. Institutes carrying out research should not only be confined to those specialising in environmental studies, but also institutes working on agriculture as food security and climate change are interlinked. Researchers should develop drought and flood-tolerant crop varieties, as the people have no alternative but to adapt to climate change.

**Cross-Border Security**

**Intended Results**

- Political will, regional cooperation and greater cooperation between intelligence agencies at home and neighbouring
countries is needed in combating transnational terrorism and crimes.

- Strengthening of military and civil cooperation in combating terrorism in Bangladesh.

- Create mass awareness among the government, the media and civil society about transnational terrorism, crime, and diseases.

- To ensure transnational security, appropriate policies and strategies, modern equipment, cooperation among intelligence sharing among neighbours, especially India and Myanmar, are important.

- A high level national forum may be created for better formulation, implementation and monitoring border management policies, priorities and programmes.

- Energy saving strategy to be developed and implemented.

- Local Government bodies should be encouraged to be engaged in power generation from renewable energy sources.

**Theme and Actor Specific Recommendations: Cross-border Trafficking**

- **STATE:** Stringent laws both in labour exporting and receiving countries are needed to protect migrant workers and stop human trafficking and illegal migration. Adequate training before joining overseas jobs, strict verification of documents regarding jobs, strict treatment to the victims of trafficking and initiatives for proper use of remittances are necessary. Legal and other interventions are important to ensure safe migration. Bangladesh should strengthen laws to increase criminal prosecutions related to fraudulent recruiting and forced child labour. We need to have a zero tolerance policy on trafficking that includes aggressive policing and investigation and swift and severe punishment for the offenders and their principals and patrons. An inter-ministerial committee on anti-trafficking and collaboration with international and national NGOs may have positive impact on combating human trafficking. All-out coordinated efforts need to be
taken by the Home Ministry and relevant agencies to curb small arms trafficking.

- **Civil Society:** Victims of trafficking should be granted physical and psychological assistance and support for their reintegration into society. Students, government officials, NGO workers can be involved in the fight against trafficking in women and children.

- **Research Institutes:** In order to control trafficking in persons, drugs and small arms, research institutes can play a leading role in policy making, provided the State shares information on trafficking, such as routes used for trafficking, non-states actors involved and other basic facts needed for analysing current trends and making future projections. Since trafficking is a trans-national phenomenon, regional cooperation is not an option but a reality. Research organisations can provide forums for national and regional state and non-state actors to share their findings and take up a joint plan of action.

**ENDNOTES**


2 There have been several studies on non-traditional security conducted by Consortium of Non-Traditional Security Studies in Asia based at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies of Nanyang University of Technology, Singapore; Regional Centre for Strategic Studies (RCSS), Colombo, and Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies (BIISS).


Waever, and Jaap de Wilde, Security: A New Framework for Analysis, Lynne Rienner, Boulder, Colorado, 1998. Please note that the 1983 work of Ullman reflects his neo-realist views, while his latter works are of hardcore realist paradigm.


Barry Buzan, Ole Waever and Jaap de Wilde, op.cit., pp.18-35.


Non-Traditional Security of Bangladesh


10 Pathania states that ‘deepening’ was a taboo up until the end of the 1980s. She goes on, “it was only during the ‘90s that the security paradigm was ‘deepened’ and the security of the individual was at the center of security strategies (human security)”. See Jyoti M. Pathania, “Bangladesh: Non-Traditional Security,” South Asia Analysis Group, Paper No.751, 30 July 2003.


20 Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Diplomatic Bluebook, 1999, Chapter 2, Section 3. For this and other documents on human security see the Japanese Foreign Ministry’s web site at: http://www.mofa.go.jp


29 Dr. Surin Pitsuwan, ASEAN Secretary General, articulates this in his keynote address at the Inaugural Meeting of NTS-Asia, held on 8-9 January 2007 at


33 Mushtaq H. Khan, op.cit, p.14.


37 Ibid.


45 The Constitution of the People’s Republic of Bangladesh.

46 Ibid.


52 Ibid.


54 Saferworld, pp.17-18.


56 Ibid.


58 Saferworld, op.cit, p.18.

59 Ibid.


64 Ibid.


66 Yousuf, op.cit.

67 Ibid., p.3.

68 Kabir, op.cit, p.55.

69 BBS, Household Income and Expenditure Survey (HIES 2000), Ministry of Planning, GOB.


71 Ibid.
72 Ibid.
73 The Daily Star, 13 April 2008.
79 Saferworld, op.cit, p.46.
80 Ibid.
81 Salma Khan, op.cit.
82 Ibid.
83 The Daily Star, 19 May 2008. This figure was given by the Labour and Employment Ministry at a National Seminar on “Eradication of Hazardous Child Labour,” in which the draft National Child Labour Policy was discussed.
86 The Daily Star, 26 June 2008.
88 The Daily Star, 6 June 2008.
89 Home Advisor, Maj Gen (retd) MA Matin made this statement at a seminar organised by the Dept. of Narcotics Control. The report was published in The Daily Star, 27 June 2008.
90 Rahman, op.cit.
91 A detailed discussion on terrorism and human security can be found in Ajay Darshan Behera, Violence, Terrorism and Human Security in South Asia, BIUSS and The University Press Limited, 2008.

A more detailed overview of the health situation in Bangladesh can be found on the country website of the World Health Organisation, available at: http://www.searo.who.int/LinkFiles/Country_Health_System_Profile_1-bangladesh.pdf.


Cited in Saferworld, op.cit, p.20.


"Overview of the health situation in Bangladesh," the World Health Organisation, available at: http://www.searo.who.int/LinkFiles/Country_Health_System_Profile_1-bangladesh.pdf. About 3.4 per cent of the total GDP is spent on health. Public health expenditure is less than one-third of the total health expenditure. There is an increase in the immunisation coverage. But the number of health workforce is limited. Out of 476 upazilas, all 400 rural upazilas have health complexes and are functioning with 31-50 beds. At the next level of 4484 unions, 1362 union sub-centres functioning through health services and 3648 Health and Family Welfare Centres are run by the Family Planning Department. Besides, there are 671 hospitals with number of 35500 beds operated by Directorate General of Health Services and 91 Maternity and Child Welfare Centres run by Directorate General of Family Planning. Bangladesh has identified population control as a top priority for government action.


Ibid., 31 March 2008.

Ibid., 11 April 2008.

Ibid., 30 June 2008.


Non-Traditional Security of Bangladesh

108 Ibid.


112 Salma Khan, op.cit.


116 Ibid.


120 Ibid.

121 IPCC Report cited in a study conducted by World Bank, Assessing the Impact of Climate Change on Migration and Conflict, World Bank.


123 Ibid, “Climate extremes impact Bangladesh again and again.”


125 Ibid.

126 Mizan Khan, op.cit., p.183.


129 Ibid.
130 *The Daily Star*, 16 August 2007.
131 Ibid., 18 August 2007.
132 Ibid., 19 August 2007.
133 Ibid., 18 August 2007.
134 Ibid., 19 August 2007.
135 Ibid., 18 August 2007.
138 Ibid., 30 November 2007.
144 Neila Husain, “Problems of Proliferation of Small Arms in Bangladesh,” in Dipankar Banerjee (ed) *South Asia at Gunpoint: Small Arms and Light Weapons Proliferation*, RCSS, 2000, p.4.
146 Gunaratna, cited in Husain, op.cit. p.28.
153 Ministry of Home Affairs, op.cit.


158 During 1975-1992, in the Khulna region, compared to pre-Farakka average, salinity has increased as much as 1800% for some months of dry season, see more in A.K. Azad and et.al., “Potential Impacts of Indian River Linking Plan on Ecosystem of Sundarbans,” p.176.


165 For a profile of the energy sector of Bangladesh, see http://www.discoverybangladesh.com/meetbangladesh/energy.html accessed on 15 June 2008.


167 Ibid.
168 Ibid.


172 For more details on Grameen Shakti, see: http://www.gshakti.org/index.html.


178 Bangladesh’s country profile in appendix.


183 “Securitisation of health” has been suggested by Lincoln C. Chen, MD, *Health as a Human Security Priority for the 21st Century*, 7 December 2004. http://www.helsinkiprocess.fi/netcomm/ImgLib/24/89/LCHelsinkiPaper12%5B1%5D.6.04.pdf accessed on 20 August 2008. He suggests that just as defense and military expenditures are prioritized in the concept of state security, so too should health be prioritized in the concept of human security. Thus, health as human security could be seen as part of a political process to elevate the political priority accorded to health.
## APPENDIX

### BANGLADESH: A PROFILE

#### Social Indicators

**GEOGRAPHY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Geographical Location</th>
<th>Between 20°34′ and 26°38′ north latitude and between 88°01′ and 92°41′ east longitude.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Area</td>
<td>55,599 sq mi / 144,000 sq km</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land Area</td>
<td>51,703 sq mi / 133,910 sq km</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boundary</td>
<td>West: India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>North: India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>East: India and Myanmar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>South: Bay of Bengal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arable Land</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Territorial Water</td>
<td>12 nautical miles</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### PEOPLE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Population (million)</th>
<th>138.6 (Currently 150 million)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender (million):</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>71.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>67.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tribal Population</td>
<td>14.1 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population Density</td>
<td>939.0 per sq km</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex Ratio (males per 100 females)</td>
<td>105.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual Growth rate</td>
<td>1.42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poverty (%)</td>
<td>48.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic Groups</td>
<td>Bengali 98%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Principal Languages</td>
<td>Bangla (Official, also known as Bengali)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>English (Widely spoken among the educated)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chief Religion</td>
<td>Muslim 87% (Official)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hindu 12%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### HEALTH

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Life Expect at Birth</th>
<th>Both Sex</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>65.1</td>
<td>64.5</td>
<td>65.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(contd.)
Births 29.4 (per 1,000 pop.)
Deaths 8.1 (per 1,000 pop.)
Infant Mortality 59.1 (per 1000 live births)
Person per Physician 3125
Access to Pure Drinking Water (%) 96.3
Access to Healthy Sanitation (%) 52.6

EDUCATION

Adult Literacy Rate, 2004
Total 51.6%
Male 57.2%
Female 45.8%


Economic Indicators

Industries
Cotton textiles, jute, garments, tea processing, newsprint, cement, chemical fertilizer, light engineering, sugar, pharmaceuticals

Chief Crops
Rice, jute, tea, wheat, sugarcane, potato, tobacco

GDP $68.0 bn
Per capita GDP $452
Inflation 7.2%

### NATURAL RESOURCES

**Land Resources:**
- Cultivable land: 9 million hectares

**Mineral Resources:**
- Natural gas: 15.391 trillion cubic feet
- Coal: 1.054 million tons
- Petroleum: 28 million barrel

**Water Resources:**
- Rivers and estuaries: 103,156,300 hectares
- Beels: 114,161 hectares
- Kaptai Lake: 68,800 hectares
- Flood lands: 283,279,200 hectares
- Ponds: 230,000 hectares
- Baors: 54,880 hectares
- Shrimp farms: 141,353 hectares

**Forestry:**
- Forest land: 2.52 million hectares
- Government: 2.25 million hectares
- Private: 0.27 million hectares


### Infrastructure

- **Length of Total Roads (km):** 21,571
- **National Highway:** 3570
- **Regional Highway:** 4323
- **Feeder / District Road:** 13678
- **Length of Total Paved Roads:** 63,811
- **Length of Paved Roads (%):** 9.5%
- **Railway (km):**
  - Total Track: 4,443
  - Total Route: 2,880
- **Waterways (km):**
  - Monsoon: 5,968
  - Dry season: 3,865
- **Major Ports:**
  - Chittagong and Mongla
- **Bridges:**
  - 3,144 (91,672 metres)
- **Cyclone Shelters:**
  - 2,400

*(contd.)*
Transport Planes | 1 squadron
Helicopters | 30

3. Bangladesh Inland Water Transport Authority (BIWTA), Ministry of Shipping, Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh.

**Labour Force and Employment**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employed Population (million)</th>
<th>44.3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>34.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>9.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed Population (million)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>2.0 (4.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>1.5 (4.2%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employment by Broad Sectors:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Female Labour Force</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number (million)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Working child (employed) labour (000)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(10-14 years) [1999-00]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Foreign Aid

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Foreign Aid (billion taka) [2005-06]</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gross Disbursement</td>
<td>109.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Debt repayment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>47.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Principal</td>
<td>34.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interest</td>
<td>12.26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Trade

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imports</th>
<th>$ 13.8 billion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Major Imports</td>
<td>Capital goods, food grains, petroleum and oil, yarn and textile.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>12.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuwait</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singapore</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
<td>4.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exports</td>
<td>$11.2 billion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major Exports</td>
<td>Raw jute, jute goods, tea, leather, frozen fish and ready-made garments.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S.</td>
<td>25.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>12.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>9.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Political Indicators

Government Type Military backed non-party caretaker government. On January 11, 2007, State of Emergency was imposed. All political activities and some fundamental rights of people were suspended.

Head of State President: Professor Iajuddin Ahmed
Head of Government Chief Adviser: Dr. Fakhruddin Ahmed


Security Forces

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Forces</th>
<th>Strength</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Defence Budget</td>
<td>US$ 843 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Active Military</td>
<td>1,50,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Army</td>
<td>1,20,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navy</td>
<td>16,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Air Force</td>
<td>14,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paramilitary</td>
<td>63,910</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ansars</td>
<td>1,17,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangladesh Police</td>
<td>20,000+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armed Police</td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangladesh Rifles</td>
<td>38,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coast Guard</td>
<td>910</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Non-State Forces

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actors</th>
<th>Strength</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Harkat Ul-Jihad-i-Islami, Bangladesh Cell (HUJI-B)</td>
<td>3,000+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hizbut Tawhid (HT)</td>
<td>n.k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islami Biplobi Parishad</td>
<td>n.k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islami Chhatra Shibir (ICS)</td>
<td>n.k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jagrata Muslim Janata Bangladesh (JMJB)</td>
<td>n.k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(awakened Muslim Masses of Bangladesh)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamaat Ul Mujahideen Bangladesh (JMB)</td>
<td>10,000+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purba Bangla Communist Party (PBCP)</td>
<td>1,000+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shahadat al Hiqma</td>
<td>n.k.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(contd.)
(contd.)

### Actors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actors</th>
<th>Strength</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shanti Bahini (Peace Force)</td>
<td>3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borok National Council of Tripura (BNCT)</td>
<td>n.k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Origin: Bangladesh/India]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamaat Ul-Mujahideen (JUM)</td>
<td>n.k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Origin: Bangladesh/India]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rohingya Solidarity Organisation (RSO)</td>
<td>100-200+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Origin: Bangladesh/Myanmar]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


### NGOS (partial list)

**Number of NGOs**

| Number of NGOs | 20,000+ |

**List of Major NGOs**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>International NGOs</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ActionAid</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CARE Bangladesh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concern</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oxfam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Save the Children</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USAID</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Microfinance Institutions</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ASA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BRAC</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grameen Bank</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RDRS Bangladesh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TMSS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Children</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GKP—Gono Kallayan Parishad</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BSAF – Bangladesh Shishu Adhikar Forum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DDF – Destitute Development Foundation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STS – Shishu Tori Sangstha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CAMPE (Campaign for Popular Education)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAM – Dhaka Ahsania Mission</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UCEP – Underprivileged Children’s Educational Programs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIVDB – Friends in Village Development Bangladesh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GSS – Gono Shahajjo Sangstha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Health</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Damien Foundation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DDF – Destitute Development Foundation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marie Stopes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Centre for Injury Prevention and Research, Bangladesh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(continued)
### Number of NGOs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Example NGOs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Environment</td>
<td>DDF – Destitute Development Foundation, SJA – Sylhet Jubo Academy, GKP – Gono Kallayan Parishad, NGOF for DWSS (NGO Forum for Drinking Water Supply and Sanitation), BELA – Bangladesh Environmental Lawyers Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth</td>
<td>YPSA – Young Power in Social Action, SJA – Sylhet Jubo Academy, DDF – Destitute Development Foundation, SB – Surid Bangladesh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research Organisations</td>
<td>Prom PT – Promoting Participation &amp; Training, DDF – Destitute Development Foundation, HDRC – Human Development Research Centre, PPRC – Power and Participation Research Centre, Shamunnay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural Development</td>
<td>GKP – Gono Kallayan Parishad, SAP – South Asia Partnership-Bangladesh, VARD – Voluntary Association for Rural Development, Society for Integration of Rural Initiatives, RDRS Bangladesh (Rangpur Dinajpur Rural Service), BDS – Bangladesh Social Development Services</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>