

The Concept of Security: Impact on Distribution of Wealth

by Matur Rahman

In principle there cannot be any contradictions between human security and state security. Because, the real security can be ensured only by defending the interest of the people. Here the question of resource allocation in a judicious way in different sectors is very urgent.

IN recent years the concept of security has undergone some fundamental changes. The meaning of security is no more limited only to the security of the state. The concept now encompasses the security of the people and the individual, security at dwelling houses and workplaces, security in movement, security through development, security of the neighbourhood and the environment, et al. However, in this South Asian region, particularly in Bangladesh, there exists a delicate balance, rather incompatibility, between the requirements of state security and human security. The requirements of both the sides are enormous, and they are mutually exclusive in many instances.

It would take a huge investment if we want to provide even the bare minimum to ensure the security of the mass as a whole. A modern armed force for the security of the state also demands a huge expenditure. This is where the decision makers are in great dilemma. For, in the poor countries like ours, if we go for the one, we cannot afford to attend the other. Thus the pace of human development in our countries depends on where we strike the balance, how do we get an appropriate solution as regards the expenditures for state security and for human security.

Bangladesh is one of the most impoverished countries of the world, where innumerable patients suffering from curable diseases die without treatment, doctors are fewer than soldiers. Here we have one soldier per one thousand population, whereas we have only one doctor for twelve thousand persons.

We also know that in our country 67 per cent of the children are suffering from malnutrition. Two-thirds of the adult population are illiterate; 52 per cent of the whole population live below the extreme poverty line; 55 per cent of the population have no access to health service. We spend 1.4 per cent of our national income in health sector, whereas 1.5 per cent in defense sector. The defense sector is also benefited from the expenditures in education and health sectors. And if we add to it the expenditures for other national security agencies like the BDR, Police and Ansar the total will be a still bigger amount. Eighteen per cent of the total amount of our national budget is allocated to the defense sector. During the

decade from 1985-86 to 1996-97 the annual defense budget has been increasing by more than 2 billion taka on average every year. At the end of each year the amount increased further and was provided by the supplementary budget. During the period from 1985 to 1994, the manpower of Bangladesh Armed Forces increased by 26 per cent. During the same period Bangladesh was first among the countries of South Asia in terms of growth in military installations — 222 per cent.

The steady increase in military expenditure, as a matter of reality, points to an uneven tendency of the economy. Experts, including the military experts of the country agree that it is already time that we monitor the lopsided military expenditure to attain an appropriate balance between the expenditures in state security and human security. If we fail to keep military expenditure within the means of the state, it may go beyond our control and seriously threaten the human development sectors. As a result the internal political stability may be jeopardised.

We do not know exactly whether our government and political leaders have any concern for this critical situation. What is evident is that every government who came to power since liberation harped on the same tune — 'we have to strengthen the armed forces', 'we have to modernise our armed forces', etc and kept on increasing the defense budget. During the reigns of President Ziaur Rahman and Hussain Mohammad Ershad, as both the governments were mainly dependent on the armed forces, they had increased the defense budget and taken recourse to many other tactics to woo and keep the military satisfied. The armed forces were the mainstay of their power. Now the question is why the democratic governments that came to power after 1990, shall have to follow the same course, the same principle of increasing the defense budget without giving due consideration to the most important aspects of human security. The budget allocations of the present and the last governments for education, health, nutrition, elimination of poverty and other sectors do not give any encouraging message that these sectors are being given proper attention. Today, when the world trend is to cut down military expenditure (though India and Pakistan, the

two countries of the South Asian region are still following the path of increasing defense budget), what could be the rationale behind our growing defense budget? Though, some may argue that the growth is not real, it seems so because of monetary inflation.

Let us now look back. In brief, the military/defense strategy of President Ziaur Rahman was to strengthen the armed forces to the extent that it can withstand the Indian aggression for some days only, so that meanwhile the international pressure builds up and enforces a cease-fire. He had expressed this view to the eminent political scientist Dr Talukdar Maniruzzaman ('Politics and Security of Bangladesh' by Talukdar Maniruzzaman, UPL, 1994 page 168). However, Dr Maniruzzaman gave some information as to show that Zia's defense strategy did not corroborate with the historical perspective. On the other hand, the defense strategy of President Ershad was to expand the military to a minimum of 7 divisions. Now, Bangladesh has 7 divisions of army. It was 6 divisions at that time. He maintained that with that strength it was possible to withstand the onslaught for 21 days. In an interview with Mushahid Hossain, which was published in the January 14, 1990 issue of the Pakistani daily 'The Nation', Ershad hinted about this strategy. Mushahid Hossain is now the information minister in the present Pakistani government led by Nawaz Sharif.

The fact is that the previous two military governments and the immediate past BNP and the present Awami League government — all had and have been directing the defense strategy of Bangladesh to the same old path. The only difference is that, at present, no tension is visible in the open.

Almost all the frontiers of Bangladesh is flanked by India, one of the major military powers of the world. The defense strategy and plans of the country have been formulated and advanced based on the fear of an external aggression mainly from India. As a matter of fact, this threat perception (psychosis) is the reason behind the continued increase in our defense budget. It would not be

rationale to say that there could not be any military threat to Bangladesh either from India, or from the other bordering country Myanmar (Burma). Bangladesh has been building up its military capability being cautious about this probable external aggression. Not only that, there are new concerns as well: a potentially huge reserve of oil and gas in Bangladesh brings to the fore the necessity of a qualitatively stronger defense mechanism for the country. There are strong arguments in favour of this approach. It has also to be kept in mind that not only from the neighbouring countries, but threats of aggression from far away countries to get control over mineral resources may also become real. For example, the constant US military interest in the Middle East. Hence is the US pressure on Iraq so much effort to keep Iraq a bay, and to prevent a threat to Libya. The internal and foreign policies of these countries may have their share to the Middle East conflicts, but they are due mainly to the clash of interest in control over the oil resources.

What is evident from the above is that Bangladesh too needs a well organised and modern armed forces. However, the questions are: what should be the size of the armed forces? What kind of arms they should be equipped with? And how they should be trained up? The other relevant question is, what should be the objective of our security policy and defense strategy?

In Bangladesh, there is hardly any document or resolution available on defense affairs. However, there are some expert level deliberations. But even then, these deliberations do not deal with Bangladesh directly. Among the experts, the eminent political scientist Dr Talukdar Maniruzzaman maintains that instead of a regular army Bangladesh should have a 'Citizen Army'. It means that every adult citizen of the country should have military training. Not that everybody should be equipped with arms. They should be given arms as the moment demands, like the 'Citizen Army' in Sweden, Switzerland and Costa Rica. He firmly believes that, as long as there is regular army in the

poor and underdeveloped countries, there will always loom the threat of military coup and martial law. (Talukdar Maniruzzaman's interview with the writer, published in Weekly Muldhara of 31.12.89).

However, Dr Talukdar Maniruzzaman also maintains that to build up a 'Citizen Army' in place of the regular army in Bangladesh, a general consensus of the major political parties is a must. Only then, and if provided with pension for life-time, the army will perhaps accept the proposition. It is only by gradually developing the whole nation into a 'Citizen Army', the Indian military aggression could be resisted. Dr Talukdar Maniruzzaman has elaborated this idea in his article 'Alternative Strategy of Defense for Bangladesh' (Politics and Security of Bangladesh by Talukdar Maniruzzaman, UPL, page-164).

We find almost a similar view in the book 'National Security Strategy and Defense Mechanism' of the book he maintains that the security mechanism of Bangladesh needs to be reorganised upside down. He has advocated for disbanding the regular army. He emphasised on organising a 'National Militia' mobilising the people having military training.

If the policy-makers of the country accept the proposition of either Maniruzzaman or Muhit, a major portion of the military budget could be re-allocated to the important sectors like health, education, nutrition, poverty elimination, etc. However, there are also some military experts who maintain that the whole process of building up a 'Citizen Army' or 'National Militia', arrangement of training facilities, armaments and their maintenance at the ready-to-fire level is no less complex and expensive.

It cannot be denied that if our state security is threatened at all, the threat will come from our neighbouring India. And India is the fourth largest military power of the world. An economically weak country like Bangladesh cannot afford to set against this military power. Neither president Zia, nor President Ershad had this objective in mind. Their objective was to withstand the onslaught 3 to 21 days. That the objective of our defense policy remains in essence the same today. The present government too is following somehow the same policy.

Simultaneously, multifaceted diplomatic initiatives shall have to be taken at the same time to develop our bilateral relations with India. The objectives of these initiatives shall be to avert confrontation between the two countries. Side by side, the process of economic progress within the framework of the 'Development Quadrangle' may be accelerated. And to top them all, there should be specific diplomatic initiatives within the SAARC to create an atmosphere of regional cooperation. However, this can only happen if the present tension between India and Pakistan

subsides and their arms competition stopped. In that scenario, it would be possible to cut down the military budget and give proper attention to human security of the countries of South Asia as a whole.

In her own interest Bangladesh should, without delay, give proper attention to people's (human) security. It is an acknowledged truth that the size of army in itself cannot guarantee victory in a war. For an efficient army you need most modern arms and ammunition, which are very expensive. And that is why the government, major political parties, military leaders and the civil society, giving due priority to human security, should reach a consensus as to the size of the army and the requirements of arms and ammunitions for the defense needs of the state in relation to present economic condition.

In our annual budget only two sentences are used to record the allocation in military sector. And on this allocation no discussion takes place in the parliament, no member raises any question. As if there is some inviolable understanding between the government and opposition parties not to raise any question. Whom does the government or the opposition fear, and why? How is it that the budget allocation for defense is financed by the hard-earned money of the people, and the representatives of the people would not or dare not discuss it, or if necessary raise questions? As a matter of fact, it is the politicians of the country who have made the subject so sensitive, a taboo.

The Parliamentary Committee on Defense might sit regularly, but their discussions are found to be limited to insignificant agenda like the functioning of Muktiyoddha Kalyan Trust or the Survey of Bangladesh. The reports of even these meetings are not made available. The present government, like the

urgent. Which sector demands how much has to be determined. For illiterate, absence of proper health care system, malnutrition, food shortage, unemployment etc., if prolonged, may prove highly disastrous for the country. This danger may result from the absence of a proper balance between defense budget and social budget. The Soviet Union, even being a super power in military terms, split into pieces in 1990 due to its failure in maintaining this balance. That is, the existence of a country does not depend only on its military strength. In the same way, countries strong in military power like Iraq, Somalia or Nicaragua have miserably failed to ensure their sovereignty, national integrity and welfare of the people. All these are testimony to the fact that military power alone cannot ensure the security of a country. As a result, the concept of security today is not limited to the defense of the frontiers only. Rather, it is being measured specially by the yardstick of standard of living of the people.

The two major military powers of South Asian region, India and Pakistan, have failed to take stock from this most essential and important experience. We too in Bangladesh, trying not to reach a balance between state security and human security, are investing a major share of our limited resources in an unplanned way in militarisation. Doing so we are denying the possibilities of creating employment opportunities and expanding the most urgent service sector.

In this context we may now discuss how to strike a balance. Arms reduction is the trend of the world today. Between 1989 and 1994, about 5 million army personnel have been demobilised. In some poor countries like El Salvador, Namibia, Nicaragua and Mozambique a part of their armies have been withdrawn and given other peaceful jobs. However, during the same period some countries have raised their armies.

In the present situation, it is impossible to go for partial demobilization or reduction in army without creating alterna-

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immediate past one, has constituted a National Security Council, of no consequence at all. The Council has never been found to meet in session. However, in private discussions we have found many retired and serving senior army officers who are in favour of discussions in the parliament and the parliamentary committee, not only on defense policy as well (except the tactical policy). They maintain that it will help to ward off the prevailing misunderstanding among the people, and make them aware of the defense and security needs of the country. There are many who are interested in exchange of opinions between the army and the civil society. And, presumably, to this end in view that a two-day seminar was held at the Military Staff College in last January.

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tive job opportunities. The private sector in Bangladesh is not that strong to absorb them gainfully in case of army reduction. Moreover, in the present political climate any proposition like this will not be acceptable. However, any proposition like the reduction in army may be considered only when it is guaranteed that there would be no military aggression against Bangladesh either from India or any other power. The people should be made conscious and public opinion should be mobilized as to the security needs of the country. However, in the light of experience gained elsewhere, some measures may be taken to reduce military expenditure.

In Bangladesh armed forces are deployed in urgent relief and rehabilitation work after severe natural disasters. In some occasions, army was employed to transport fertilizer and foodgrains. In these duties the army had proved itself very efficient. In the construction of roads, highways and bridges in the Chittagong Hill Tracts the army had successfully performed the job. Keeping this experience in mind, or rather us-

ing this productive experience the army can earn for themselves a considerable part of their budget. The national budget, thus, will be relieved of some pressure. The experience of the Chinese army is that they earn a lot of money by running mills and factories, leasing out shops in their estates, maintaining civil aviation, etc.

Meanwhile, by participating in the UN peace mission the Bangladesh armed forces have earned for themselves a good amount of money, and deposited a part of it to the national exchequer. The amount they have already deposited to national exchequer is US\$ 29.3 million. In other words Tk 123.06 crore. From the same account it is still to get US\$ 15.2 million, i.e., Tk. 63.84 crore. Apart from this, the armed forces will further get an amount of US\$ 24.9 million, i.e., Tk. 104.58 crore as service charge for the arms used. (Source: Armed Forces Division, Govt. of Bangladesh). Now we can say that the Bangladesh Armed Forces is already earning a part of their budget themselves.

The armed forces of Bangladesh is a disciplined body and they are efficient in many fields. Our armed forces may take up in open competition with others, construction jobs under different ministries. Moreover they can be employed to construct the buildings of primary schools under the Facilities Department. They may even participate in tenders for constructions. This will also stop extortion and violence. The construction work will be completed within the stipulated time. The armed forces may also take part in long term projects like forest development in many fields. Our armed forces may take up in open competition with others, construction jobs under different ministries. Moreover they can be employed to construct the buildings of primary schools under the Facilities Department. They may even participate in tenders for constructions. This will also stop extortion and violence. The construction work will be completed within the stipulated time. 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