more recent multidimensional

theories such as individual or

population security, economic-

environment security and sus-

security, mutual or co-operative

global security and such other

security components, with the

present international security

system representing some mix-

means only a strong military.

although it remains a strong

substance of it; it also depends

on a strong economy and, even

more, on the resilience or

strength of the political system.

among others. But they all are

interlinked. However, national

security concerns "the way of

life of a self-governing people,

including their social, cultural,

political and economic modes

of organization, and their right

to develop themselves under

rity is often merged with na-

framed in the context of geo-

strategic and political envi-

ronment of the country in a re-

gional frame, with an incorpo-

ration of its national values,

objectives and interests, often

enshrined in the country's con-

stitution. There is, then, the in-

teractive concerns of relation-

ships between external and in-

ternal security, foreign policy

and defence matters, with par-

ticular importance attached to

regional patterns of security re-

lations. National security has

also to contend with the coun-

try's history, national charac-

ter, geographic location, geopo-

litical and geo-economic com-

Garfield ®

tional strategy, and the latter is

Therefore, a national secu-

National security no longer

ture of all these.

their own rule."

security, comprehensive secu-

# Framing National Security and Strategy in a New Era

by Dr Abul Kalam

In a continuing crisis of national security in the context of multilevel developments in the field of security, it

seems inevitable that an eclectic or symbiotic framework of security, combining a nation's security

policy and strategic formulations with the new multilevel perspectives, would be essential

for a country like Bangladesh ...

pulsions, economic strength HE concept of "national security" was once virtuand military capability. Containment, if not elimination, of ally the only conception A of security that was faa perceived hostile enemy or its miliar both at the analytical neutralization by political, and policy making levels. But diplomatic or military meain recent years both analysts sures are all an integral part of and policy makers have acthe process of national security knowledged the relationship formulation. between national security and From the strategic point of the combination of internaview, comprehensive security has relevance to national secutional-regional, nation-state and individual security, movrity concerns, as it may convey ing from reliance on the classithe sense of possession of elecal balance-of-power system, to collective security and then to

ments other than weapons of physical destruction. A comprehensive programme of security entails use of military instruments, diplomacy, information, and economic instrutainable development, gender ments of foreign policy. Proper application of these means may help improve the nation's security, common, neighborhood or rity position by reducing the foreign menace. Perhaps one can separate an actual or potential enemy from his allies, or prevent him from bringing another ally or satellite into camp. By diplomacy and allied methods it is possible to prepare and maintain "positions in readiness" against a perceived

#### **National Security** and Core Values

In the more limited sense in which states speak of international security as a policy objective, it refers to the protection of values the states hold vital. As such, it is indeed an overall concept, with economic, military, political, and even cultural aspects. For analysis as well as security planning one may consider them as distinct realms of state activity, but they are interlinked and do ac-

tually interact. The central or fundamental value of a state may be related to its overall goals, with historic expressions. In security terms the primary goal is to uphold its dignity, and this includes asserting a symmetrical status or the conduct of its affairs free of external dictation. to protect national independence and sovereignty. Security ' is thus defined as "the protection and preservation of the minimum core values of any nation: political independence

and territorial integrity." A nation may be "secure to the extent to which it is not in danger of having to sacrifice core values, if it wishes to avoid war, and is able, if challenged, to maintain

them by victory in such a war." In this context, one cannot be insensible to the discrepancies between the ideal goals of the nation and the prevailing practice, as there may be a stress toward consistency" between the ideal and the actual. Thus a state's security values may be subjective, depending upon the policy maker whose perception may differ on what is core or vital and what may be peripheral or non-vital. However, the security requirements of smaller powers like Bangladesh may be less extensive, though more complex and challenging, than those of the bigger powers.

#### Framework of Security and Strategy

Security policy implies a set

The proliferation of strategic ideas in the decades since the end of the Second World War has tended to create uncertainty Strategy traditionally was concerned with the preparation for wars and with the waging of such wars. Wars are concerned with strategy, battles with tac-

national security policy must tics, though they get merged. Both the concepts may thus be determine strategic formuladefined in relative terms. Tactions and chart the course of both strategy and tactics. tics is concerned with the theory of the use of military forces National security is also inin combat; strategy represents separable from regional-subrethe theory of the use of combats gional security concerns. One for the object of war. In other country's security may well be words, tactics deal with the means of war, and strategy

its neighbor's insecurity, and thus in the long run be de-stabideals with its ends. However, lizing. Certainly, building stastrategy has to be framed in acble regional and international cordance with policy i. e. with regimes requires the integranational objectives during war tion of security, economic, and as well as in peace time, lest political factors, not an apwars become an end in themproach that presumes the indeselves and national suicide pendence of these factors in shaping the exterior behaviour Strategy thus is no longer of other states. Therefore, secuseen as a science of destruction; rity policy planners at the narather it is viewed as the art of tion-state level have to keep in control. By means of its stratmind the notion of mutual or egy, a nation attempts to reguco-operative security in its true

> perspective. But military-strategic security issues continue to retain ascendancy over questions of economic and political developments, as states have a sense of compulsion to be preoccupied with their traditional security needs in a world of shifting al liances and alignments. The old pattern of security relations

still frame international transactions, although they must be understood in wider and subtler terms than the crude employment of violence. Despite the shifting nature of international security system. it remains divided against itself and would still appear as "a self-help system." Thus the subject of national security continues to immediately involve both strategy and tactics as well as the traditional military instruments of security, i e. the army, navy, air force, and other para-military and auxiliary forces. Preservation of the nation's values viewed as vital

The new conceptual dimensions such as individual/population security, mutual or cooperative security, gender security, economic and environmental security, comprehensive security etc. convey the principle that no country can increase its security or that of one segment of its people without at the same time increasing the security of the entire people or without no co-op-

continues to be their primary

responsibility.

eration from other countries or nations. There is a strong element of mutuality in all these concepts, and the concerned nation-state actors naturally have to recognize the totality and mutuality of their interests so as to ensure a convergence of their security policies and strategic means.

Undoubtedly, the new dimensions of security system, and the dynamics of contemporary global, national and intrastate security relations pose new problems for scholars and practitioners alike. Security calls for procedures for arriving at comprehensive and well-balanced programme of action. The primary responsibility for making a comprehensive review of security questions lies with the executive arm of the government. But other organs of the state, especially the defence and security linked organs and the public at large have to take ultimate responsibility.

Ironically, measures sometimes proposed in the name of national security do not necessarily contribute to the avowed end. In particular, caution is needed against conceiving of national security policy divorced from domestic policy; and so far as foreign policy is concerned, against confounding defence policy with armament or friendship that may emerge as deceptive. A nation's greatest security lies in the best balance

of all instruments of foreign policy, and hence in the coordinated handling of arms, diplomacy, information, and economics; and in the proper correlation of all measures of foreign and domestic policy.

In a continuing crisis of national security in the context of multilevel developments in the field of security, it seems inevitable that an eclectic or symbiotic framework of security, combining a nation's security policy and strategic formulations with the new multilevel perspectives, would be essential for a country like Bangladesh so that both freedoms and transparency can be ensured. without which security would be unsustainable or could be vulnerable. To ensure both would require special vigilance on the part of everyone engaged in the review of security policies. Whatever the procedure, the guiding principles are of vital importance. The principles that deserve special care in a democratic setting include: preserve national integrity and sovereignty, safeguard civil liberty and civilian supremacy, freedoms of assembly and of information, ensuring also transparency, a free but regulated economy geared to guarantee multidimensional security needs of the nation as a whole.

The author is a Professor of International Relations, University of Dhaka.

#### channel it into lines most profitable to itself. In all this tactics naturally must have matching

should result

late or control its resources,

weapons, and power: to control

or restrict the use of enemy re-

sources by destroying them or making it unprofitable to use

them; and, finally, to control

the conflict situation — to

functions during war as well as

in peace time. In other words,

NDIA'S action to conduct the

nuclear tests (11 & 13 May

provoked Pakistan to hold

five nuclear tests in Chagai

Hills in Baluchistan (near

Iran's border) on the 28th May

Mian Nawaz Sharif justified

the nuclear tests as a necessity

for "national self-defence" to

the 'increasing belligerent atti-

tude' of India. Soon after, Pak-

istan's President declared a

state of emergency in the coun-

try and claimed the government

perceived an "outside aggres-

sion" against Pakistan. (Others

argue that the emergency was

declared to impose austerity

measures in the country to

limit the damage from sanc-

tween India and Pakistan is

now real one and it is a fright-

ening prospect to the people of

the neighbouring countries. Af-

ter the cold war every one

thought that the era of nuclear

tension was over and a new or-

der of world-wide peace and se-

curity would be ushered in.

However India's tests in early

May have catapulted this re-

gion into a zone of insecurity

and instability.

The nuclear arms race be-

tions.

Pakistan Prime Minister

as a tit-for-tat response.

of decisions and actions taken by a government to preserve or create an internal and external order congenial to the interest and values the nation considers vital. The dimensions of security or security policy making as stipulated include elite assumptions and threat perceptions, force levels, weapons systems and doctrinal response to perceived threats, strategies to communicate or exploit opportunities, resource allocation and public opinion mobiliza-

and confusion in its wake.









## by Jim Davis



Probable Reasons for **Pakistan's Action** There has been a call from

the western nations and Japan on Pakistan to exercise restraint and demonstrate its moral high ground in exchange for economic benefits. The US is reported to look after Pakistan's security concerns if it did not hold nuclear tests. The question arises: could

Pakistan avoid detonating nuclear devices in response to India's action? The short answer

Cold war or no cold war, nuclear weapons are there in the sub-continent. This is all the more frightening as Pakistan declares that it is threatened by "outside aggression". One cannot rule out an armed conflict between India and Pakistan (looking at the past history between them) with dire consequences for the region now that they are armed with nuclear warheads.

The Way Pakistan Responded to Indian Tests

by Barrister Harun ur Rashid

is in the negative.

First, it is an admitted fact that India aspires to be one of the great powers in the world. The first Prime Minister of India Mr. Jawharlal Nehru in his book Discovery of India (1944) classed India as one of the four countries - the others being America, Russia and China on which the future of the world would depend.

In the regional context, it implies that India is to be recognised as the dominant power in the South Asia. Pakistan from its birth in 1947 has not accepted India as the dominant power in the region. It believes in equality and parity with India irrespective of its size and resources. Both US and China know the value of restraint on Indian power in the region, and have supported Pakistan with sophisticated arms and ammunition. This rivalry enlisted external powers into the strategic and security interests of the region.

Secondly, Pakistan was placed into an awkward and difficult position by the conduct of India's nuclear devices. From the security perspective, India's action changed the balance of power to the detriment of Pakistan. The average Pakistani person perceived this action to be a challenge and a showing off of India's 'superiority.' The national pride and insecurity concerns continued to engulf the

minds of the Pakistani people and they exerted extreme pressure on the government of Pakistan to give a fitting reply to India, irrespective of its economic consequences.

Thirdly, Pakistan was disappointed that its warnings last April to the US administration of India's intentions to explode nuclear devices were ignored. The US has been aware of the immense and enduring tensions in the sub-continent between India and Pakistan on the issue of Kashmir. BJP came up with a clear manifesto that under its rule India would go nuclear. Despite the unmistakable indication's of India's plans, the Pakistan government feels that the US was unmindful land complacent of their warnings... Fourthly hithersanctions

from the West on India were mild. The response of recent G-0 the subcontinent. 8 Summit in Birmingham was disappointing. Russia, France and UK did not agree to impose economic sanctions on India To them, economic and trade interests seem to be a priority over the nuclear arms race in South Asia. There appears to be no collective sanctions against India and US's and Japan's limited sanctions against India would not work in the long run. Experience demonstrates that haphazard sanctions do not work. (US sanctions against Libya and Iran are instances of failure). Pakistan saw the timid actions of the West towards India and thought it fit to meet the challenge from India in the nu-

clear field. Fifthly, a strong religious sentiment worked behind Pakistan's action. Pakistan was born in 1947 on the basis of religion. BJP (Bharatiya Janata Party) with its RSS (Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh) which is variously described as a Hindu cultural group or a para-military organisation with fascist overtones which has exacerbated the communal tension between Hindus and Muslims in India. It may be recalled that the demolition of the four and half century old Babri mosque at Ayodhya in 1992 grew out of a BJP demonstration. (The present Indian Home Minister is scheduled to appear before a Court for his involvement).

The religious divide in India

the BJP-led government in India. BJP's ideology of "one people, one nation and one culture" has disturbed Pakistani Muslim people. The corollary of the religious divide is that if there was a 'Hindu' atom bomb. there should be an 'Islamic bomb as well. Further already there exists a 'Christian' bomb and a 'Jewish' one (Israel). The Pakistani people demanded action from the government and the government obliged them by the explosion of nuclear devices

became more discernible during

of the Pakistani people and the government. For Pakistan, this action may be viewed with pride, a moment for Pakistan to lead, the Islamic countries in the mail wiclear field, unmindfulblofutherit

to restore pride and confidence

#### Non-proliferation nuclear regime

The nuclear regime under Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty is discriminatory. It established a five-nation exclusive nuclear club with US, UK, Russia, France and China. They have thousands of nuclear war heads in their possession. It is reported that the US has 12000 warheads, Russia 22000, France 500, UK nearly 400 and China 500-700.

To call for restraint on both India and Pakistan to abandon nuclear weapons can be seen as hypocritical. If the declared nuclear countries could at least agree on a time-table to destroy their own nuclear weapons, they could have then stood on a moral high ground to advise other nations not to go nuclear. The nuclear club countries have a great responsibility to ensure fairness in the inherently unfair nuclear non-proliferation regime.

### Now what next?

Cold war or no cold war, nuclear weapons are there in the sub-continent. This is all the more frightening as Pakistan declares that it is threatened by "outside aggression". One cannot rule out an armed conflict between India and Pakistan (looking at the past history between them) with dire consequences for the region now that

What You Need to Succeed in

ADVERTISING-

An ability to think laterally

& impeccable taste.

they are armed with nuclear On the other hand, one could

argue that as a result of this, this may have created a mutually nuclear deterrent situation. In an armed conflict neither India nor Pakistan may be inclined to use nuclear warhead against each other. No country comes safe or victorious in the event of a nuclear war.

We have witnessed no major warfare since the Second World War (1945) because of mutual deterrence policy of the big powers. One could cite to support this position that in 1962 during the Cuban missile crisis, the Soviet Union did not confront the US with a nuclear war and withdrew the Soviet missiles from Cuba as demanded by the US. From the above example, it can be argued that the possibility of a nuclear war is minimal, in the subcontinent, or in the region.

### Conclusion

All hopes of a new era of peace, cooperation and stability in the region were swept away by the one decision of the th dian government to conduct consequences of its actions one inuclear tests which was soon!

> followed by Pakistan 1 2 1 112 The economic backlash must have been factored in, when these decisions were made by both India and Pakistan. Both decided that national pride and honour are more important than tough times to be endured because of limited economic sanctions. The people of India and Pakistan wanted an atomic bomb and now they got it with jubilation. The poor people may not suffer much as they already eke their existence in abject poverty. The sanctions are likely to bite more the people from middle class onwards.

However, the US have invested substantially in India and US firms are expected to lobby their government to ease sanctions for their business gains. Pakistan may receive assistance from Islamic countries to endure the tough times.

Ironically, in an era of high technology and advances in genetics and space exploration, the people of South Asia often face one of the most ancient challenges-starvation. It is a pity that resources would now be siphoned to defence expenditures instead of being utilised in social development areas. According to a World Bank report, 40 per cent of the world's poor live in this South Asian region though it constitutes 25 per cent of the global population.

The writer is former Bangladesh unbassador to the UN in Geneva.

## Metropolitan =



A team of Bolshoi Theatre Group arrived in the city yesterday.

### **Bolshoi** Theatre group arrives

A team of 13 artistes from the world-renowned Bolshoi Opera and Ballet Theatre of the Russian Federation arrive in the city yesterday at the invitation of Independent University, Bangladesh (IUB), says a press release.

Led by Prof Larisa Trembovelskaya, the troupe will give its first performance tomorrow at 7 pm at the National Museum auditorium. Their repertoire will include selections from such famous classics as Tchaikovsky's 'Swan Lake,' Verdi's 'Aida' and 'Don Carlos', Puccini's 'Tosca,' Bizet's 'Carmen'. Levendhold's 'Sylphiede', Stravinsky's 'Firebird' and Saint-Saens' 'The Dying Swan.' It will also perform on June 6 and 7 at the same venue.

### Qulkhwani

Qulkhwani of Rubina Akter (Ruby) will be held today after Asr prayers at her husband's residence, 114 Shantinagar in

the city. Rubina was brutally murdered at her residence on May

## HERE and THERE

### **BIBM**

A 12-day training course on 'banking laws and practices' conducted by Bangladesh Institute of Bank Management (BIBM), concluded yesterday, reports BSS. Dr Muinul Islam, director

general BIBM presided over the concluding session of the course and gave away certificates among participants. A total of 48 officers from different banks and financial

### institutions participated in the Shahjadpur

An extended meeting of the executive committee of Shahjadpur Thana Samity based in Dhaka was held in the city re-

Thana Samity

The meeting was presided over by samity's president Md Nazibor Rahman was attended, among others, by secretary general Nazrul Islam, secretary general of BFUJ Abdul Aziz, principal of Bangabandhu College in Mirpur Prof Fazlul Hug

Sarker, ex-executive director of Bangladesh Bank Waliul Islam and ex-upazila chairman of Shahjadpur Hossain Shahid Mahmud.

#### Discussion Project

By Staff Correspondent A discussion was held marking the sixth founding anniversary of Discussion Project, an organisation for spreading the culture of fundamental knowledge among the common people, at the Shishu Kalyan Primary School-24 at Missionpara in Narayanganj on Saturday, says a press release.

Conducted by Rezaul Karim Mamun, the discussion was attended among others by MA Munim Ratul of Anusanddhitsu Bijyan Club, Ranjit Kumar of Atom Bijyan Kosh and Sharif

Uddin Ahmed, the release said. Following its inception, the organisation organied a total of 125 lectures on various subjects and at least 2000 people enjoyed the lectures paying entrance fee, it added.

## 'Govt protecting evildoers, oppressing innocents'

By Staff Correspondent

BNP secretary general Abdul Mannan Bhuiyan yesterday called upon the people to launch a united movement to unseat the present government for ensuring human rights in the The government is violating

human rights, Mannan Bhui-Addressing a seminar on

"Current Human Rights Situation in Bangladesh" at the National Press Club yesterday Bhuiyan said the government imbued with the spirit of BAK-SAL, has become isolated from the people and is now indulging in 'protecting the evildoers and oppressing the innocents'.

Organised by Human Rights Watch Bangladesh (HRWB), the seminar was attended among others by former vice chancel-

#### Obituary Khondakar Mohammad Ab-

dur Rahman, a retired professor of Arabic Department of Dhaka University, died of brain hemorrhage at a city hospital in the city at 7 pm yesterday, says a press release.

He will be laid to rest after the return of his wife and two sons from America. \* \* \* \*

Maulvi Mamtazuddin Ahmed, popularly known as "Shialdi Huzur" died of old age complications in the city early yesterday morning at the age of 87, reports BSS.

He is survive by his wife, three sons, six daughters and a number of muridans.

### Chehlum

Chehlum of Dr Solaimon Khan, head of department of Computer Science of Ahsanullah University of Science and Technology, will be held today after Asr prayers (Tuesday) at Eastern Point, says a press re-

#### lor of Dhaka University Prof Maniruzzaman Mia, Amir Khasru Chowdhury MP, journalists Nurul Islam Bhuiyan, Amir Khasru, Syed Ershad Ahmed and Rizvi Ahmed.

Dr Tasneem Siddique, an associate professor of Political Science Department in DU and Mahfuz Parvez, assistant professor of Chittagong University presented the keynote papers in the seminar. The chairman of HRWB M Badruzzaman Khasru was in the chair.

Prof Maniruzzaman Mia alleged that the people are being denied their human rights and incidents of crime rose up with the change of government 20 months ago.

#### Death anniversary By Staff Correspondent

The first death anniversary of former MP, first international affairs secretary of Bangladesh Awami League (AL) and president of Panchagar AL, Advocate Serajul Islam will be observed today, says a press re-

Various programmes including khatme Quran, milad mahfil and feeding of destitutes have been arranged at Mahajanpara in Panchagar to observe the occasion.

## The second death anniver-

sary of former MP, Awami League leader and eminent lawyer Advocate Dabirud-Din-Ahmed will be observed today, reports UNB. He had played an important

role in anti-Ayub movement and Liberation War of 1971 in Sirajganj district. In observance of the death

anniversary, a Quran khawni and milad mahfil will be held at late Ahmed's village home at Islampur in Ullapara thana and his eldest son's residence at 213/1B Khilgaon Chowdhurypara in the city.

### Interspeed Marketing Sales Promotion, an affiliate of Ogilvy & Mather Worldwide is looking for intelligent and dynamic men and women who have what it takes.

(in any discipline), with flair for creative problem solving. A couple of years of agency experience will be a plus but is not mandatory. Applicants must have a strong command of English and very good communication skills. We are looking for team players who can get things done.

are requested to apply with full CVs.

**Client Service Executives** 

Applicants must be degree holders

### **Media Manager**

Preferably with a few years of media buying.

### **Creative Writers**

experience of media buying in an agency media department, or of media sales with newspapers/ television. Applicants should possess excellent relations with the media and have an aptitude for negotiating bargains in

#### We are looking for english copy writers who can think laterally,

and generate fresh ideas.

Sketch Artists/Cartoonists We are looking for visualisers and artists with impeccable taste and an innovative eye.

Deserving candidates will receive very attractive remuneration packages. Suitable candidates

INTERSPEED MARKETING SALES PROMOTION LTD.



Sharif Mansion (1st Floor) 56-57 Motijheel C/A, Dhaka-1000

Tel: 9560553, 9566696, 9550351 Fax: 880-2-9560559 E-Mail: interspd@citechco.net