Understanding the Nexus between Traditional Security and Human Security through Indo-Bangla Relations

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Abstract - *Security is of profound importance to state and humans alike. The concept of security can be defined as absence of threat. Security was seen primarily in terms of state security and national power, the state as the single actor to ensure her own survival in the International system relying on the state's military might. Yet today security transcends the concept of power and has shifted from solely a state centric traditional security focus to a human focus as Human Security, thus not limiting security to state alone but extends to the citizens of the state, people centric and focusing on eliminating "human insecurities" while attempting at ensuring the human rights aspect as well. It is in this light that this study has been undertaken and seeks to examine the nexus between "Traditional Security" and "Human Security" taking into consideration the geo-political relations between India and Bangladesh. The common view is that traditional security and human security are two separate areas, yet there is also another notion in today's context that traditional security and human security are very much two sides of the same coin, and cannot be eliminated one over the other.*

The focus of the study - is based on the ambiguity and looks at today's state of affairs in the international system through a "Realists' lens" as opposed to an "Idealists'" understanding of state of affairs.

Objectives - general and specific - To examine and establish the nexus between the traditional security and the human security by examining security approaches of India and Bangladesh in the present-day context. Specific - to examine the history of Indo-Bangla relations, to examine the India's approach to security and her attitude towards Bangladesh, to examine whether there is a threat to Bangladesh from India—actual or perceived, to examine as to how Bangladesh is countering the threats posed by India, to examine the Bangladesh's general approach to security, to examine, if the Bangladesh's approach to security could be endured in the face of India's dominating posture.

Methodology - The study/research would be carried out by analyzing the existing literature by subjecting the existing literature to qualitative analysis, a qualitative in nature. Empirical studies carried out by scholars, organizations such UN and affiliated bodies would be made use of. Qualitative data would be collected from well-informed individuals: such as academics and policy makers. The method of data collection from this group would be semi-structured interviews done on informal basis.

Conclusion - In the light of contemporary understanding security, human security issues in Bangladesh have been subject to extensive investigation within Bangladesh thus research will be focused on to find out the influence of her neighbor India from a strategic affairs perspective. From that perspective this study stand in a unique position and it is believed that the effort would contribute to the existing body of knowledge.

Keywords: Traditional Security, Human Security, Indo-Bangla Relations

I. INTRODUCTION

This paper seeks to examine the nexus between "Traditional Security" and "Human Security" taking into consideration the geo-political relations between India and Bangladesh. In a bid to examine the relationship, it evaluates how the relations between India and Bangladesh evolved since 1971 with the emergence of Bangladesh as an Independent state. This also defines some of the salient features of the concepts used briefly and as a navigational guide to the idea, that as much as Human Security is of importance to a state and at the same time, Traditional Security is of paramount importance in ensuring that the state would prevail as a sovereign state in the international system to

sustain the peoples of that state & to safeguard and protect the Human Security of the said people of that state and in this case study Bangladesh.

When analyzing the concepts of traditional security and human security, it is necessary to identify whether they are one against the other or, are they two sides of the same coin; whether the roles of two aspects complement each other or whether one can override the other and, what impact it would have on a state in formulating its strategies to face "challenges" in the international system. As can be observed, many scholars and policy makers believe that the international system is tilting towards human security over traditional or state security. However, at the same time, it appears that the concept of human security, which emerged from the Human Development Report (1994), (United Nations, 1994), is a western design. In this backdrop, it appears that the importance and role of traditional security is being challenged and human security taking predominantly important status. In this changing scenario, it would be useful to revisit both concepts in a bid to examine the nexus between these two "types" of security and their practical application in the present international system.

An element of ambiguity yet prevails, where some scholars feel that Human Security is of paramount importance and some feel that importance should still remain on Sate Security. Beyond the ambiguity factor, in studying this topic it is appropriate to focus on how Bangladesh and India perceive Human Security as well as State Security. Individuals and communities have their own purview of Human as well as Traditional Security making this area of study a more subjective one.

The focus of this study extends to the said ambiguity that raises a number of questions and directs one to look at today's state of affairs in the international system through a "Realists' lens" as opposed to Idealists' understanding of state of affairs. It is with this object in view this study attempts at understanding the nexus between traditional security and human security taking Indo-Bangla relations in the form of a case study.

II. SECURITY

'Security' has been in existence even before the inception of Nation State. Traditional Security is almost always associated at a military level defending the state from external forces and threats. Therefore, security and security concerns of a state has been an aspect of prime importance from the very inception of state and has been an integral part of formulation of the defense policies and to date remains a matter of the state. Security has contributed directly or indirectly in polices of international relations of a state concerning Foreign Policy decision making as well as defense of a state. When observing studies of many scholars it is evident that Security has increasingly been bias towards Traditional Security of a state at all times in history. The importance of Traditional Security gained momentum and prominence during the Cold War and more so ever since the Cold War ended. The reason being, that once the states broke away from their alliances, the capitalist or socialist blocs of one fraction or the other, they had to manage their state security and defense more or less on their own without the assistance or "umbrella effect" of the super powers (Transnational Terrorism Security & the Rule of Law, 2007)

In spite of its dominance in state concerns, yet 'Security' is still to be given one single definition. In the present context, in 1994, security has been taken a new dimension known as Human Security which is also another aspect to Security at large.

If you analyze this concept closely, the question arises, what does both these aspects of Security, Traditional as well as Human Security do? Both of which fundamentally focus on 'Protection', one more so on the aspects of state and territorial boundaries, while doing so protecting the human aspect of that state as well. In late 1960s, when Robert McNamara suggested that security implied the freedom of a state to develop and improve its position in the future, what he interpreted was that Traditional Security and Human security are two sides of the same coin (Peacebuildinginitiatives, 2009). One compliments the other. If the state, its' territorial rights and sovereignty is not protected initially, it remains a question as to how this state would claim the people's rights and protection. Once this aspect is protected by Traditional or state security then automatically the path is paved for the protection of Human Security of the said people in concern.

A. Concept of Security and the Relationship between Traditional and Human Security

The Concept of security comprises of Traditional, Human and International Security out of which Traditional and Human Security has been taken for this study. Accordingly, when analyzing security, "strategy" is an unavoidable term. Strategy, concerns the relationship between ends and means, power and objectives, capabilities, intentions, forecasting and foresight. In this light national or traditional security strategy can be seen as the nation's plan for the co-ordinated use of all the instruments of power, note-worthy they are military and non-military, to pursue objectives that defend and advance national interest. It is also co-ordination of strategy and direction of all resources of a nation towards the attainment of pre-dominantly the political objective of war. Traditional Security is closely linked with national interest, national philosophy, national objectives and national values. National power of a state decides much for a state concerning traditional security in the international arena. The writer affirms and falls in line with Hans J Morgenthou's thought when he said "International politics, like all politics is a struggle for power, what-ever the ultimate aim of international politics" (Hensel, 2005) a Realistic point of view. Accordingly Traditional Security is examined as a dynamic concept due to the ever changing internal and external environment. This goes to show that a state's traditional security aspect needs to be upgraded according to the demands of the day. Therefore, Traditional or national security is the ideal condition of freedom from external physical threats. And in the failure or absence of a protected state the human security aspect of the people are indeed questionable. It most often goes to show that traditional security is of utmost importance for the sovereignty and survival of the state as an initial factor as it then it goes to uphold the human security of the peoples of that state.

Yet, the modern notion of security concerns transcends the protection of state borders to the protection of humans, as human security. On the other hand, in this paper the writer examines the concept of Human Security, as a holistic approach that gained momentum in the mid ninety's after the cold war that enabled a shift from merely a state centric, military focused concept to a more human centric one, protecting people from pervasive threats and empowering humans being through sustainable development. Therefore, human security covers a wide gamut of areas that threaten the human beings at large. Academic discourse has acknowledged components of human Security to be economic security, food security, health security environmental security, personal security, community security and political security (United Nations, 1994). Therefore, Human Security remains a universal concern to everyone calling for early prevention rather than intervention; it protects the vital core of human lives in a way that enhances human freedoms. Therefore, Even though, traditional or state security and human security are treated as two separate areas, some scholars hold that in today's context traditional security and human security are very much two sides of the same coin, and cannot be eliminated one over the other.

Traditional Security

Traditional security views the state as the single actor to ensure her own survival in the International system. Traditional Security is concerned with state or national security and focuses on maintaining the survival of the state's sovereignty, people, values, territory and safeguarding the boundary from external threats (from outside state/s). Therefore, more often a state relies on the military might of a state for her security. This is because, the earliest stages of recognized form of security is military security concerning a state. Traditional security, therefore, concerns with arms race, alliances, strategic boundaries, strengthening of armed forces, comparatively high budgeted defense allocation with a view to strengthening national power and military defense. These have been the identified strategies to maintain the territorial integrity of a state; which Walter Lippmann explains as "state security is about a state's ability to deter or defeat an attack" (Human Security Report, 2005)

Human security

The concept of human security emerged in recent years. There is no internationally acclaimed one definition and to date remains flexible concerning its definition. Yet at a broader level covers over all well-being of humans all over the Globe and is achieved when "the vital core of human life is safeguarded from critical pervasive threats in a way that it is consistent with long term human fulfillment" (Human Security Report, 2005) and includes freedom from want and fear but yet remain subjective among majority of states.

Human Security is a people-centered approach focusing on the individuals and the community in eliminating "human insecurities": food security, health security, environment security, personal and community security, economic security, and political security (United Nations, 1994). The ultimate objective is to ensure the well-being of people of a country as well as to ensure the human rights of the people of a state. The realization of Human Security can be achieved through governments, international organizations and other local and international actors. Human security not only protects but also empowers societies. This can be largely achieved through participation of people. Therefore, good governance would be a key element to achieving Human Security.

 Emergence of Bangladesh and the Role of India
Bangla meaning the country of Bengal or Bengal country emerged as an independent state in the world map on the 16th December 1971, after 24 years of being part of Pakistan, and Bangladesh became a parliamentary democracy thereafter in 1972.
Bengal which once remained a part of the Mughal Empire in the 16th Cen. came under European powers like the Portuguese, Dutch, French & the British East India Companies in the latter part of 15th Cen. Later in the 19th Cen, with the rise of nationalism animosity between Hindu & the Muslim communities mounted. British India was partitioned and India and Pakistan were created in1947. The region of Bengal was divided on religious lines as East Pakistan, and was made part of the newly independent Pakistan (Sayed, 2003).
Frictions developed between East and West Pakistan from the very outset since 1947, from the advent of independence. The Bengali's were made to feel alienated by the Pakistani bureaucracy and military Junta. East Pakistan, which is now Bangladesh, felt exploited by West Pakistan dominated central Government. Linguistic, cultural, ethnic differences also contributed to estrangement of East from West Pakistan. Political, economic, social cultural and religious differences accumulated and motivated the movement for the Bangladeshis to fight for their rights. As stated by Alam (1990), in his study 'Emergence of Bangladesh and the Big Power Role' the break between East and West Pakistan was historically inevitable in 1971.
After much struggle and a liberation war with West Pakistan, East Pakistan gained independence under Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. Due to the severe war and

its repercussions which prevailed between East and West Pakistan, India was getting flooded with refugees and displaced personnel who fled for safety to India. India sympathized with East Pakistan and on November 1971, India intervened for East Pakistan and on 16th December 1971 Pakistan forces surrendered.

Even though it is mentioned that India intervened on sympathetic grounds many have argued this fact as there are many studies to indicate Indian intervention is not merely on sympathetic grounds but India had her vested interest in the matter. For India it was a matter of establishing her dominance over Bangladesh, within the region and a means of keeping their long standing conflicting rival Pakistan down again a matter of establishing national interest, dominance and power. "India, which surrounds Bangladesh on three sides played the most vital role in expediting Bangladesh's independence not only because India sought an immediate relief from over 10 million refugees who took shelter in India during the struggle of Bangladeshis, but also because breaking Pakistan up had been her (India's) foremost desire for a long time for the sake of its hegemony and dominance over the subcontinent", wrote Jaglul Alam (Alam, 1990).

Human Security & State Security in Bangladesh
When one analyze a few papers by authors like Abdur Rob Khan, "Non-Traditional Security in Bangladesh: Framework & Issues" (Khan, 2010), and even Parveen (2004), "Food security in the face of climate change, population growth, and resource constraints: Implications for Bangladesh" to name a few, we observe that Bangladesh is bent upon Human Security than State or Traditional Security, even though they do acknowledge that they are often threatened by the big neighouring state India. When analyzing history we can observe that Bangladesh shares their land boundary with India and Myanmar and off this a greater land boundary with India, amounting to 4096Km. Bangladesh is often confronted with boundary disputes with their immediate neighbour India may it be the basis of cross border crime, illegal immigrants and politically affiliated border disputes at a higher level (Roy, 2012). Even though the role of Traditional Security is acknowledged to a greater degree yet Human Security aspects seem to over-take the order of focus from Bangladeshi Politics. This is quite the contrary with regards to India.

Human Security & State Security in India

India on the other hand, when it concerns Traditional Security and Human Security, has opted to progressively pursue Traditional Security ever since independence of India. India, has acknowledged the fact that they are threatened by certain states in the region and above all by India's neighbour China. This, therefore, has given rise and justification for India to be more bent upon Traditional Security rather than Human Security even though Human Security conditions are in an appalling condition in India as well even though they claim to be having better Human Security standard in comparison to Bangladesh. What started out as a preemptive measure for India in the context of developing its Traditional Security aspects has extended to even threatening the security of its neighbouring states today. This is the situation with regard to Bangladesh when they had mentioned that they are threatened by their big neighbour India. If one further analyses literature, one can observe that it is not only Bangladesh that India threatens with their supra traditional security powers but also many other states within the region which includes Sri Lanka as well. India has been seen to be further strengthening her traditional or state security ever since the end of the Cold War. As per a study conducted by Li Li, in "India's Security Concept and Its China Policy in the Post-Cold War Era"(Li, 2008), points out that "India's post-Cold War security concept remains based on the conviction that military might is all-decisive, and that any conceptual adjustments are merely tactical". This clearly indicates that, India remains to be entrenched in the concept of Traditional or State Security.

III. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The writer's recommendations are in line with that "A country should give equal weightage to both aspects of security (human and state)". Venturing further this highlights the importance of peaceful interstate relations especially within the South Asian Region through human and traditional security.

India and Bangladesh, are said to have similar insecurity issues, though may be at varying degrees. However, academic discourses suggest that India is pursuing a strategy concentrating on beefing up her traditional security aspects; whereas Bangladesh appears to be following a strategy concentrating on

human security and bent upon multilateralism. Further, Bangladesh is threatened by the expansionist and domineering attitude of India—for that matter all other countries in the region. History demonstrates that a country has to counter the threat posed by another country in the similar manner. However, Bangladesh's behavior in countering the threat posed by India appears to be in contradiction. This apparently paradoxical situation from security and international relations point of view, throws up two fundamental questions: (1) In order to safeguard state security, should a country need to ensure human security of her people as an essential precondition, or (2) should a country need to ensure human security of her people as a precondition to ensure state security? As seen by scholars and particularly the international organizations such as UN and UN agencies, human security should be given overriding priority. However, in reality, what can be observed is that powerful nations and some nations emerging as "powerful" nations particularly India in this region, appears to be pursuing a "state-centered security strategy."

States within the South Asian Region should strive for peaceful co-existence. (as conflicting states not only pose Traditional and Human security threats to themselves but to the other states in the region as well to greater world peace and stability). International politics is a matter of power games involving all states which includes India and Bangladesh, therefore, should focus more on co-operation and conflict resolution though mutually beneficial dialogue.

Bangladesh also to take into account that there is only limited scope that multilateralism can do in case of a traditional security threat that would come from outside forces and should focus on developing both aspects of security simultaneously if they are to successfully exist in the international plane.

India must understand all states within the South Asian region are sovereign and all of them would like to operate within the sovereignty vested in these states. Therefore, India to avoid overt dominance, undue intervention in the internal politics and conflicts of the regional states and "big brotherly" role. In doing so to adapt a more moderate path concerning spreading of their hegemony. If not this would lead to political

suffocation of the rest of the states within the region, affecting regional balance in security as well a geo-political relations.

India should avoid passing off her insecurities with China and Pakistan on Bangladesh as well as the other regional states as developing states like Bangladesh and even Sri Lanka has much to gain from Chinese development assistance.

On the other hand, India has much Human Security problems and atrocities within her state. Therefore, India should now focus upon her contributions to developing Human Security aspects and improve living standards of her people.

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