



# Journal of Human Security

Edited by

**DDG Dilip K. Biswas**

Commandant, Bangladesh Ansar and VDP Academy

Chairman, Master's in Human Security

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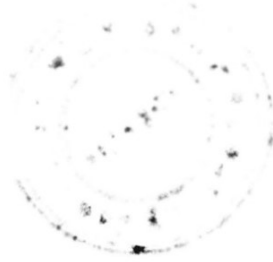
# Journal of Human Security

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## Editorial

Bangladesh Ansar & VDP Academy is going to publish a biannual journal on human security; title is 'Journal of Human Security' as part of MHS program (Master's in Human Security). It shall publish articles on major issues of human security identified by the UNDP in 1994. We are committed to a multidisciplinary approach of human security analysis. Our associates shall contribute expertise from such diverse areas as Sociology, International Relations, Political Science, Diplomacy, Security, and Economics. The *Journal of Human Security* shall bring together know-how from teachers, researchers, professionals, activists and NGO-workers both from the home and abroad. Beyond these, the *Journal of Human Security* aims to connect people interested in all aspects of human security. Permission of publication of this Journal is earned from the Ministry of Home Affairs (**MEMO NO.44.03.0000.114.08.001. 2013-181/1(1); Date-17/7/2014**) of the People's Republic of Bangladesh.

The goal of *Journal of Human Security* is to disseminate applied research into a secure and sustainable future for humanity. It shall continue to find out the challenging threats to human security. *Journal of Human Security* endeavors to:

- Provide a forum for researchers to foster interdisciplinary inquiry in broad human security issues such as track two diplomacy, ethnic conflict, terrorism, religious extremism, human rights, food security, personal security, economic security, demographic change, population health, human ecology, sustainable economics and related areas;
- Inform readers about upcoming events, ongoing and new research projects, trends and discussions, newly published monographs, and available scholarships;
- Encourage a multidisciplinary approach to issues that have traditionally been viewed as mostly unidisciplinary;
- Maintain an appeal to a wide readership with both high academic standards and close relevance to practice;
- Meet international standards of excellence.

The first issue of the *Journal of Human Security* is going to publish some important papers presented in a seminar on 'Human Security and Ansar & VDP' was organized by on 23<sup>rd</sup> December, 2012. These papers were presented by eminent professors and lecturers of Dhaka University and Jagannath University. These papers have an intellectual orientation about the theoretical understanding of human security and how this new security paradigm is related to the operational mission and legal framework of the roles and responsibilities of Bangladesh Ansar and VDP. A total of nine keynote papers were presented in two sessions by the country's most eminent academic and research personalities. The two sessions were chaired by Professor Rehman Sobhan of the Centre for Policy Dialogue (CPD) and Prof Dr AK Azad Chowdhury of University Grants Commission respectively.

In the introduction paper, I, DDG Dilip K. Biswas (Commandant of Bangladesh Ansar and VDP Academy and Chairman of MHS program) examined the theoretical background of human security as a field of security studies. It said that 'complementary-amalgamation' between idealism and realism regarding human security studies can be done easily. It also proposed that water-tight 'compartmentalization' of security studies may not work properly in the era of globalization. Dr Syed Anwar Hossain presented some interesting aspects of human security. To get secured from any threat is an urge integral to human psyche, which is as old as the age of the *homo sapiens* on this planet earth. But the specific construct of human security (HS), although not unlinked to such a primordial urge, is of recent origin. Human experience of insecurity of various types and sources have over the years impelled human ingenuity to improvise or devise security paradigms of multifarious ramifications; and the latest of which is HS. In retrospect, it appears that this security construct has been both evolutionary and expansionary. Starting of initially as an exclusive national security, the construct expanded into a collective security of nations; and as of now, it has metamorphosed as the widest possible HS. As a construct, HS is perceived to cover the entire gamut of security imperatives of humans. In other words, the evolutionary and expansionary process of the security construct has to be comprehended in tandem with

evolution and expansion of human security imperatives. He opened discussion with the generally accepted meaning of HS; then went into tracing its evolution, and through which, attention was drawn on how the construct has undergone definitional changes at times. Thereafter, the role of Ansar – VDP was contextualized as HS provider in the human insecurity environment of Bangladesh. The paper is an amazing one that gave specific framework of human security in the national, international and global context with the special emphasis on the role of Ansar & VDP.

Mahbuba Nasrin presented her paper. Mahbuba Nasrin observed that throughout the lifecycle, women suffered more than men from poverty, hunger, malnutrition, economic crises, environmental degradation, disaster related problems and became victim of violence due to their gender identity. The paper was an attempt to share some of the findings of the author's empirical research on situation of women during flood in Bangladesh. It was found that during disaster such as flood, the incidence of violence against women and girls increased due to insecurity related to their gender identity. Despite sufferings, women played vital roles in disaster and household managements. She proposed here Ansar VDP can play a role to reverse this psychological state through awareness building and providing human security. She acknowledged the role of grass root VDP members in disaster time but their voices are not heard, because they are not anywhere in the policy making. So, it is everybody's role to bring them in the policy, because they are a sustainable force. The NGOs or their donor would not stay every time, but this force will stay all the time. So reformation is needed.

Professor Imtiaz Ahmed touched upon critically the historical background of Ansar and VDP and proposed how best this age old force can be made engaged with human security. He explained human in the five dimensional ways- *Homo politicus*, *Homo economicus*, *homo technologicus*, *homo culturicus*, *homo psychologicus*; then organized his idea of human security and proposed the areas where Ansar VDP can play roles in a reinvented shape. He proposed to place Ansar VDP between the Armed forces and Police, so that, the armed forces need not to be engaged as 'In aid to Civil Power'. The proposition is analogous to that of the

Homeland Security Force of the USA. He emphasized upon the need of Ansar and VDP to come out from the legacy of British and Pakistani colonial regime in terms of name, structure and functions. Prof. Imtiaz had done the right thing in conceiving HS and the role of Ansar & VDP in the context of rights of human. In the age of globalization the world 'village' also has to be reformed. But the naming itself would not take the organization very far and that was what he thought need to focus upon. He agreed with issue of human security is something that could be taken seriously that has to be brought in the activity that 7 million Ansar and VDP members are working on. How it would be done need to have a lot of brainstorming.

Professor Mokaddem Hossain presented his paper on 'Human Security, Social Conflict and the Role of Ansar/VDP in Bangladesh: An Overview'. The paper adopted a flexible definition of human security as 'human security is achieved when the vital core of all human lives is safeguarded from critical pervasive threats, in a way that is consistent with long-term human fulfillment'. He touched upon the theoretical aspects of security discourse and highlighted the dimensions of human security with its immediate threats including the sociological explanations. Then he enumerated some specific roles of Ansar & VDP in ensuring Human Security & Conflict resolution in Bangladesh. He concluded the paper with some policy recommendations.

Professor Amena Mohsin presented paper on 'Securing Human Security: The Chittagong Hill Tracts, Bangladesh'. She began with the observation that in a world divided across class, caste, gender, race, religion, and to add on the technological divides, security and the politics of securitizing security indeed becomes a challenging task. It is argued that seeds and processes of marginalization are embedded within the structures and processes of our state system, systemic inconsistencies are taken as consistencies and 'given' through the production of a knowledge system that normalizes and naturalizes the 'constructs' as 'givens'. The paper looked at the minority question in this regard with special reference to CHH issues and highlighted some areas where Ansar/VDP can be made engaged in safeguarding human security there.



Professor Delwar put forward that the idea of human security is critically significant for a country like Bangladesh. Conceptually, human security draws attention from both the policy community and academic community. There has been observed a degree of debate about the parameters and scope human security. Particularly, the dilemma between state and individual becomes prominent in the human security debate. Over the time, human security, particularly in the underdeveloped and transition societies, has become a major policy choice for building a better society. The abstract notion of national security finds it hard to remain in the forefront in the post-Cold War era. Individual has become the focal point as a referent object of security at every level, specifically in the state. The need for empowerment, emancipation, dignity and justice has been considered a critical policy engagement of governments in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

While coming to Bangladesh, the nation faces challenges of human security in various dimensions ranging from basic needs to environmental degradation and natural disasters. These challenges are substantially different from war-torn societies or transition economies. It is argued that Bangladesh Ansar and VDP is well placed to play a vital role in mitigating some of the threats to human security in Bangladesh. In addition to its key functions, the challenges emanating from poverty, illiteracy and technical inefficiency at the national level can effectively be addressed by the involvement of millions of members of this organization. Hence, the role of this organization is critical for education, training and awareness-raising at mass level. This requires further capacity building of Bangladesh Ansar and VDP through its greater engagement in the country and higher training of its members.

Dr Shafiul Alam presented paper on 'Media, Globalization and Human Security' where he tried to give a theoretical explanation of the terms together with their interrelationships. He placed the risk of cybercrime in digital Bangladesh and highlighted its impact on human security. He proposed that the government should create the cybercrime tribunals immediately by hiring the judges and other personnel. A cyber-crime commission should also be created

involving Internet policy experts, computer experts, lawyers, law enforcement agency members, and Internet service providers. It should do research on cyber threats and provide policy guidelines and evaluate the performance of cyber-crime prevention laws and bodies. He chalked upon some role for Ansar VDP to prevent cybercrime as follows: the Ansar & VDP as a law enforcement agency could take some measures to deal with cyber threats. It should create a cyber-cell to monitor cybercrimes and equip its members to deal with the cyber threats and protect its networks. It should hold town-hall type meetings regularly at the villages to make people aware of these new threats. Dr Shafiul Alam Bhuyan emphasized on the careful use of technology and making the society aware of cybercrime in the future context of Digital Bangladesh.

Tanvir Ahmed talked on ‘The trend of Human Security in Bangladesh: an Historical Observation’. There he tried to say that economic security is a big concern to sustainable development and to ensure the human security of our country. For this reason, he proposed that the central and periphery need to work combine. Because the grass roots development can be the sustainable development for the country. Here Ansar and VDP can play a very significant role to create entrepreneurship in the rural area. They have very well organized infrastructure; if it could be used in a proper way, the sunny day will not be so far from our country- he felt.

Socio economically and considering other macroeconomic indicators, there remains a strong promise of excellent human security situation in Bangladesh. But there are many crucial areas those have adequate potential threats to Human security. Many actors are there in Bangladesh working to address those issues. Bangladesh Ansar VDP is one of them but remains underutilized due to lack of appropriate attention.

There are two papers written by me. First one is *Human Security and Political Violence: The Role of Ansar and VDP*. It elaborates different aspects of political violence and human security. It examines how political violence is a disturbing element to the human security. This paper has also identified some legal aspects of political violence. It also theoretically depicts the role of Ansar Bahini in the

face of political violence. Another paper is *International Legal System: Where is Human Security?* This paper poses a question to the international legal regimes. It examines some core legal instruments and finds out how human security exists covertly within these documents. This essay has illustrated that recent developments offer a more prominent position to individuals rather than states in international law and it has been done ultimately to uphold the essence of human security. This paper strongly suggests that law cannot and should not remain indifferent in the face of risk. As has been argued in this paper, the main distinctive element between human security and human rights is the element of risk or vulnerability. In this sense, following from the universality, interdependence and indivisibility of human rights, it has been proposed to consider through an integrated approach that all human rights are at the center of human security, and that the differentiating element, the one that unites the two notions and therefore makes it significant both for rights and for security, is precisely the component of risk or vulnerability.

There are some technical shortcomings in this journal. Different types of reference styles have been used in this journal. As the papers were presented in a seminar, authors were free in using any recognized reference style. In future, unique reference style shall be used for all writings. May God bless all human beings?

**DDG Dilip K. Biswas**

Commandant, Bangladesh Ansar & VDP Academy

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## *Introduction to Human Security*

DDG Dilip k. Biswas

*Abstract: This paper examines the theoretical background of human security as a field of security studies. Two theoretical constructions have been undertaken - idealism and realism. Concept of human security has been questioned here from state centric notion of security studies. It also proposes that theoretical works on human security in South Asia and Bangladesh as well should have some indigenous background. It says that 'complementary-amalgamation' between idealism and realism regarding human security studies can be done easily. Author believes that water-tight 'compartmentalization' of security studies does not work in the era of globalization. Not only gun power, but also academic knowledge is a must for the comprehensive security of the humanity. Bangladesh Ansar and VDP has its legal authority for working in the different fields where human security is included. We shall find some similarities between the motto of Ansar and VDP and basic proposition of human security propagated by the UNDP.*

Bangladesh Ansar and VDP is a noteworthy organization. It has a tremendous contribution in many magnificent moments since its inception. Ansar Bahini (force) was formed in 1948 in place of 'Home Guard' which had been formed by the British rulers in 1946. History and Social Science says that 'moment' is very important; and always the essence of the moment should be understood at the first. It is noticed that individuals, organizations and institutions perform creative and decisive role in using 'moment'. Though organization is created by individuals, Individuals have to work under a structure and obviously organization is that structure which shows the way; otherwise, everything turns into disorder and mayhem.

Let me come to the point of the essence of moment; proper usage of the moment makes time the *red letter day* in the history. So, Moment makes the hero. Because of the great displacement of the history of 1947, Ansar Bahini (force) has been playing vital and magnificent role in diversified fields and also in glorified moments since its emergence. These glorified moments gave incredible opportunities to Ansar Bahini to play functional and serviceable responsibilities for the people. Intellectuals, professionals, students and after all the whole society should come to know it; since we are the part of the organization, we must understand the essence of the moments and we should try to find out the very roles which were played by this Organization.

History of Bangladesh Ansar started from the division of India and Pakistan in 1947. This incident had generated severe humanitarian crises. *Raping, killing, looting, snatching, communal violence, refugee crisis, huge human displacement and people's untold sufferings from starvation and diseases* were associated with the division of 1947. Law and order became distorted and deteriorated dramatically; people's safety and security were collapsed at

all. Within the space of two months in 1947 more than twelve million people were displaced. One million people died. More than seventy-five thousand women were abducted and raped. Countless children were disappeared. Homes, villages, communities, families, and relationships were destroyed. In that serious *humanitarian crisis* all traditional and conventional security forces failed to tackle the situation. It was only the Ansar Bahini, the the voluntary security force, which took the responsibility of human security; otherwise, more casualties might have occurred in that time. Not only that, Ansar Bahini voluntarily helped huge number of displaced people on the way; they had taken many people to the right direction. By that time it was not formally established or founded. By observing its noble actions at the time of people's distress, authority took decision to shape this organization formally and more constructively. It was not a sudden invention; rather, this organization had rendered invaluable services to the common people. Then, realization came to the state's authority that this force should be taken as a permanent

Instrument or mechanism to resolve future humanitarian crisis through a little bit regimental technique. We have to realize very carefully this dimension of this organization. It is high time to identify the essence of that role played by Ansar Bahini and the human dimensions of that event after half a century later. Today Ansar Bahini is a discipline force; it can perform any duty related to *human security* both in the form of *conventional* and *unconventional* security measures. Historicizing of the moment is a critical undertaking; everyone should be very much objective and keen to formulate the reality. Intellectual development for identifying, clarifying and demystifying the role of the Ansar and VDP is a must. Then we must try to spread and broaden the contribution of Ansar and VDP, in the society-political leaders, policy makers, intellectuals, professors, students, journalists, bureaucrats, professionals and last but not the least, members of Bangladesh Ansar and VDP. These endeavors will create a granite-firm *root* and *relevance* of this Organization in the society. We have to develop our own literatures focusing the contribution of this organization. We must have our own *knowledge-house* which should not exaggerate anything about us, rather it will objectively analyze, find out our contribution to the society. It will also show the future orientations and search the scope where this organization can contribute and assist the government in bringing actual and fruitful changes.

Let me come to the point of essence of human security studies from our own perspective. From dialectical understanding we see that today's world is the world of humanity; again, today's world is suffering from inhumanity

crisis. Let us all think about the humanity and human security. We do not want to see man versus state; rather, we want to see a beloved interaction between state and man. State is for man; man not for state. With this view, I must prop up the realist paradigm regarding state policy; here, I must salute other theoretical orientations regarding state's policy; but the argument is that most of core values of human security can be established within the state system. My humble submission to the intellectuals, please aid us intellectually for better assurance of human security. Here, there are some questions-what shall be the area of human security? Should we follow the typology of UNDP? or; we should have our own terrain of human security. Let me explicate within few words-everything pertaining to commonplace life goes with the realm of human security. We must not take together all issues related to human security. First: we admit that yes, there are a lot of issues; second: we must clarify our avenues of activities. We can select four or five areas of human security which are very much significant for Bangladesh and that are also defined by our legal obligation. These types may vary from region to region of Bangladesh and pluralist and multifaceted participation of different organs of the government is a must; NGOs also can work very well; but, there should not be overlapping of jobs.

In this regard, we have to look at the globe at a glance, we shall find that many states, Canada, Norway, Sweden, Finland and so on, have established a very functional human security network for the common people, and I must repeat that it is also possible here in Bangladesh. If we can use properly all of the organs of the government, human security shall be ensured in every corner of the country. We must not plummet our heart and try to bypass the role of the state machinery. Scholars may have different opinions on the issue of state's role in protecting human security; but, from Greek city-state to today's state system, states, in different forms, have been playing an ingenious role for citizens' emancipation-human security.<sup>11</sup>

I can present empirical work to investigate the role of the state as emancipator or empowering agency for certain individuals or groups resulting from government-sponsored programs. Evidence can also be found in the writing of Pouline Kerr; he prescribes it theoretically:

"The concept of human security even serves to support some realpolitik interests"

According to Sukhre's suggestion, Canada and Norway were strong advocates of human security. As it is mentioned earlier, state can take all steps for better assurance of human security. Let me come back to our subcontinent. This subcontinent has a different history, heritage, culture and



tradition of human security. We, the people of this subcontinent have our own notion on human security. In our own intellectual background, we have Lalon, Gouthama, Ramakrishna, Rabindranath, Authish Diponkor, Gandhi, Amartay Sen, Rehman Sobhan, Aroj Alimatubbor and so on ; they all are "Nibaron Chakravarty" in the field of social sciences. We must work and research on their works for finding out some indigenous dynamics of theoretical foundation gravels of human security in our country as well. South Asia as a "Homopoliticus" region can definitely serve these notions. Why is the field of security study being moulded everyday; why are the people thinking different dynamics of security? Do they believe that state-centric security system is less pertinent in today's world and if it is, then why? Insignificantly significant answer can be answered here- this world is still going through a state-based international system and we see that every state is becoming more and more powerful day by day. Can this man-centric concept of security be established without state? It may be; or, may not be- but, we, sponsored by the state, do not find any alternative to state centric views. According to our proposition, all types of human security, described by UNDP, can be ensured within the state system. We need description of job for each department and that should be very clear, candid and lucid; for this specification of job of each department is a must and every organ of the government must be brought into engagement of action.

Multiple and multi-layered institutions must be brought in use for a comprehensive development of security arena. Bangladesh Ansar and VDP is a unique force with the combination of traditional and non-traditional forces .The very motto of this organization is "We are everywhere for-Peace, Discipline, Development and Security" .The formation of this organization has brought it very close to the common people of the society. No other organization, both the governmental and the non-governmental, has such type legal relationship with the common people in Bangladesh. The Ansar Act 1995, the Battalion Ansar Act-1995 and the Village Defense Party Act-1995 have given a lot of scope to work directly for the public security and socioeconomic development of the country; we are working both in the field of traditional and non-traditional field of security. We are giving security to a good number of key point installations and economy-generating industries we are working for the creation of employment to the common people.

Bangladesh Ansar and VDP has its legal authority for working in the different fields where human security is included. We shall find some similarities between the motto of Ansar and VDP and basic proposition of human security propagated by the UNDP. Let me elaborated; human security brings together the 'human elements' of security, rights and development. As such, it is an inter-disciplinary concept that displays some

characteristics- people-centered, multi-sectoral, comprehensive, context-specific and prevention-oriented. Commission on Human Security has opined the same-

“...to protect the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and human fulfillment. Human security means protecting fundamental freedoms – freedoms that are the essence of life. It means protecting people from critical (severe) and pervasive (widespread) threats and situations. It means using processes that build on people’s strengths and aspirations. It means creating political, social, environmental, economic, military and cultural systems that together give people the building blocks of survival, livelihood and dignity.”

Human security suggests that security policy and security analysis, if they are to be effective and legitimate, must focus on the individual as the referent and primary beneficiary. In broad terms human security is ‘*freedom from want*’ and ‘*freedom from fear*’: positive and negative freedoms and rights as they relate to fundamental individual needs. Human security is normative; it argues that there is an ethical responsibility to re-orient security around the individual in line with internationally recognized standards of human rights and governance. Theoretically, it goes with liberal school of international relations as well as Security studies. Much human security scholarship is therefore explicitly or implicitly underpinned by a solidarist commitment, and some is cosmopolitan in ethical orientation. Some human security scholarship also seeks to present explanatory arguments concerning the nature of security, deprivation and conflict.<sup>21</sup>In addition; many scholars believe that the concept of human security can and should result in policy changes which improve the welfare of people. This background is well documented elsewhere and need not be examined closely here. Like all non-traditional security approaches, human security – as a starting point – challenges orthodox neorealist conceptions of international security.

Now let me come again to the realist proposition regarding human security. Realist school of thought of international security argue that there is no uncontested definition of, or approach to, human security; very few supporters of the concept would describe it as a ‘paradigm’ (although Hampson does). Human security thus seeks to challenge attitudes and institutions that privilege so-called ‘high politics’ above individual experiences of deprivation and insecurity. This is not to presume that human security is necessarily in conflict with state security; the state remains the central provider of security in ideal circumstances; the basic issues of human security can be ensured also through active participation of state actors.

Human security does, however, suggest that international security traditionally defined – territorial integrity – does not necessarily correlate with human security, and that an over-emphasis upon state security can be something to the detriment of human welfare needs. So, traditional conceptions of state security are a necessary but not sufficient condition of human welfare. The citizens of states – such as Bangladesh – that are ‘secure’ according to the traditional concept of security can be personally perilously insecure to a degree that demands a reappraisal of the concept of security. There are two possible referents of security – the state or the people. State-centered security is *realist* in its approach and saddles its defense to the armed forces. On the other hand, the concept of human security theoretically related to non-traditional aspects of security domain.

The pursuit of realist and human security in Bangladesh respectively can produce a new paradigm of security study through ‘*complementary-amalgamation*’. Since Bangladesh favors humanitarian approach for her sons and daughters, it can easily be more people oriented by following a new theoretical framework of human security. In a world where traditional wars between countries in many ways have been replaced by wars within countries, organization like Bangladesh Ansar and VDP is more important than ever. It is a people centric organization. In a word, it is a unique combination of regular and volunteer forces. We have a theoretically organizational structure which is very closely connected to the mass people – in every village we have two platoons of VDP members; one male platoon and another is female platoon. Each platoon consists of 32 members; so, we have 64 members in each village and they are equal in number regarding male and female. This is compulsory formation of our organization beside our regular discipline forces namely Ansar Bahini and Battalion Ansars who are working for traditional security system. So if we can work with them more closely, we shall be able to bring a meaningful and fruitful change in the society and we, the people of Bangladesh Ansar and VDP have brought women folks out of their household activities since 1976.

The core and principle works of human security can be started from the grassroots level and village is the ultimate unit of development in case of any kind of development orientation. If we can remove all human security threats from the villages of Bangladesh, research shows that 73.12 percent of basic human needs and deeds are in the village and without changing the basic scenario of poverty picture in the pastoral life, Bangladesh shall not be able to bring any meaningful change in poverty discourse of Bangladesh. We find only a few alternatives for addressing human security problems from government side for poverty reduction in grass root level. Some Non-Governmental Organizations are doing well; but more and more efforts are required and they are prerequisites also, from government side, for reducing

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poverty and other human security threats. Bangladesh Ansar and VDP with all its infrastructure and superstructure can be the utmost agency on behalf of the government and that is our belief in the field of human security in Bangladesh. Further researches are strongly required for a society oriented governmental organization; otherwise, people may become less confident on state's capacity regarding welfare values of the government. Come to the point again- our organizational structure and human security. How can we work more within our legal obligations? Perhaps, everyone shall recognize that there is a co-relation between development and human security and that development must be balanced and equally as well as equitably distributed to all segments of the society.

In villages we see the most repressive cases of family violence and women and children are the worst victims of these cases; generally these cases get less attention to the media because of remote area and needless to say that police and other law enforcing agencies does not have that much access to reach the remote area of the country- Bangladesh Ansar and VDP has the capacity to reach up to every household at every village and it is the very nature of our organization. We can start all 'analytical' as well as 'development' planning based on information from the village level. Today we usually believe that no development project can be sustainable without the participation of people of that particular locality. We have a formal arrangement of engaging more people in development initiatives both 'infrastructural' and 'superstructure'. The number of people which we have theoretically in every village can be attached with any development program. We need more concretized and 'granite-solid' bondage and firm institutional mechanism from our side; and we need more and more cooperation, association, engagement and advice from academicians, intellectuals, researchers and development activists.

For any meaningful change in the society, academic knowledge is a must. We have opened a master degree program for increasing our academic knowledge on human security. The name of the program is "Masters in Human Security" (MHS) which is affiliated to the University of Dhaka. We are studying on human security from perspectives of social science. The program is being run under close supervision of the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Dhaka.

Let us start a new era for the humanity.

*Human Security: Historical Context and  
Bangladesh Perspective with Special Reference to  
Ansar - VDP*

Dr Syed Anwar Husain, Professor (Selection Grade), Department  
of History, University of Dhaka

To be secure from any threat is an urge integral to human psyche, which is as old as the age of the *homo sapiens* on this planet earth. But the specific construct of human security (HS), although not unlinked to such a primordial urge, is of recent origin. Human experience of insecurity of various types and sources have over the years impelled human ingenuity to improvise or devise security paradigms of multifarious ramifications; and the latest of which is HS. In retrospect, it appears that this security construct has been both evolutionary and expansionary. Starting off initially as an exclusive national security, the construct expanded into a collective security of nations; and as of now, it has metamorphosed as the widest possible HS. As a construct, HS is perceived to cover the entire gamut of security imperatives of humans. In other words, the evolutionary and expansionary process of the security construct has to be comprehended in tandem with evolution and expansion of human security imperatives. Maybe future holds further evolution and expansion of the construct. This discussion opens with the generally accepted meaning of HS; then goes into tracing its evolution, and through which, attention is drawn to how the construct has undergone definitional changes at times. Thereafter, the role of Ansar - VDP is contextualised as HS provider in the human insecurity environment of Bangladesh.

I

**Definition and Meaning of Human Security**

A minimalist perspective posits that HS is about securing humans from any threat. The United Nations Development Programme first drew global attention to the construct in its 1994 *Human Development Report* (HDR). Unlike traditional concepts of security,

which focus on defending borders of a state from external military threats, HS is concerned with the security of individuals. In being so concerned HS, however, does not exclude the security of state as an abode of individuals. In fact, HS and national security are mutually reinforcing. But the caveat is that a militarily secure state does not automatically mean secure peoples. History bears testimony to the stark reality that far more people have been killed by their own governments than by foreign armies over the last one century or so. The issues HS addresses include, but are not limited to, the following:

- organized crime and criminal violence;
- human rights and good governance;
- armed conflict and intervention;
- genocide and mass crimes;
- health and development; and
- resources and environment.

Moreover, as per the security perception underlying HS, hunger, disease, pollution, affronts to human dignity threats to livelihoods, and other harms in addition to violence are considered human security issues. It appears that the construct of HS adds a human touch to which was once a purely state – centric concept. But despite an existing consensus on the individual being the focus of security, opinions differ as to the constituent elements of threats to the security of individuals.

With the individual as the focal point HS has important policy implications and ramifications. Traditional national security policy emphasises military means for reducing risks of war and for prevailing if deterrence fails. But HS focuses mostly on non – coercive approaches. These range from preventive diplomacy and conflict management, to addressing the root causes of conflict by building state capacity and promoting equitable economic development with resultant improvement in the quality of life of individuals.

## Human Security: Evolution and Expansion

That HS has evolved over the years and through many stages is well – endorsed by Japan, a country which has proved itself to be the most forthcoming promoter of human security both at home and abroad. On 8 May 2000, Yuki Takasu, Director General of Multilateral Cooperation Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) stated, “Human security is not a brand – new concept. While the ultimate responsibility of a state is to protect its territory and safeguard the survival and well-being of its people, sound governments have long pursued human security as [a] part of their national policy.” He added, “the level of attention and high priority accorded to human security internationally these days are a reflection of several developments.”<sup>1</sup> As this quote rightly makes good governance a salient feature of HS a passing reference may be made here to the effect that as a concept good governance is not only old – very old; and, indeed of Eastern, not Western origin.<sup>2</sup> Confucius, for example, a religious philosopher of China belonging to the 6<sup>th</sup> – 5<sup>th</sup> century B. C. was the one to first prescribe that the less people are governed, the better off they are. His follower of later – day in the 4<sup>th</sup> century B. C. Mencius was more explicit. He argued that a ruler’s responsibility is to ensure that his people can feed, clothe and house themselves. Moreover, he should act as father and mother to the people. A quote ascribed to Mencius reads: “If the king loves music there is little wrong in the land.” Lao – tse of the 7<sup>th</sup> – 6<sup>th</sup> century, B. C. had a short and simple formula for good governance: “In ruling, be just.”<sup>3</sup>

The concept of national security grew as a result of first the emergence of dynastic states in Europe in the 15<sup>th</sup> – 16<sup>th</sup> century; and then the Westphalian state, finally, nation – states. In fact, the modern period in the West began coinciding with internationalisation of politics; and the immediate upshot of which was the growth of the concept and policy of national security. It was a concept of a state’s exclusive security at the cost of others. Initially, however, national security was synonymous with monarchical or dynastic security; and, which were epitomised in the smug statement of the Grand

Monarch of France, Louis XIV (1638-1715): “The state, I am the state”. Such security based as it was on militant nationalism and the resultant xenophobia plus jingoism failed to ensure security for any state although security – conscious states were militarily secure. The security failure became evident as World War I (1914-1918) burst upon the Western world and spread across the globe.

The collapse of the state – centric security yielded to the emergence of the idea of collective security. Growing largely out of the spirit underlying U.S. President Woodrow Wilson’s Fourteen Points the new concept was slated to be implemented through the first – ever supranational body, the League of Nations, which was also the brain – child of Woodrow Wilson. But the League of Nations, which had a start with a big bang as a novelty in internationalism lacked proper teeth to be effective and failed to deliver as per its Covenant for ensuring collective peace; and by the time of World War II (1939-1945), it had collapsed with a whimper and with it the experiment in collective security.

But as the subsequent events would show, the experiment was not and could not be abandoned; it had to re-emerge with its fault-lines supposedly repaired, and, again, the cues had to come from a U. S. President, this time, Franklin Roosevelt. In 1941, he, together with the British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, produced the Atlantic Charter by highlighting “freedom from fear” and “freedom from want” as the main planks of the collective security architecture to be rebuilt. Like its predecessor the League of Nations, the United Nations was tasked to make the fresh start with fresh infusion of ideas. This new international body set up the Economic and Social Council to mark a shift away from political to socio-economic considerations in perceiving security; and UNDP is supposed to be a long shot in that direction. It remains, however, a reasonable discourse as to whether promise and performance have been closely aligned over the years.



Much of the high expectation surrounding the United Nations, which had its birth on the ashes of the League of Nations, at least from the Third World perspective, has so far remained a distanced reality. Consequently, the objective of the UN as the provider of socio-economic security has mostly remained a pious dream. During the Cold War years (1945-1991), even this dream vanished into the thin air as proxy wars raged across the globe between the two battling superpowers.

In the 1970s, as the oil crisis burst upon, Japan was found developing its much publicised concept of "sogo-anzenhoshou" or "comprehensive security". The scope of comprehensive security corresponded with that of human security in the sense that both are intended to cover economic and social security concerns in addition to military ones.<sup>4</sup> The Japanese experience of eschewing military security and promoting human security at home under compulsions resulting from circumstances following World War II is understandably the catalyst for its conceptualising and internationalising the paradigm of comprehensive security. The Japanese MOFA's *Diplomatic Blue Book 2000* referred to the concept of human security as an overall principle for Japan to tackle such broad international problems as global environmental issues, terrorism, transnational organised crime and drugs, protection of human rights and promotion of democratisation, healthcare, international cooperation on the peaceful use of nuclear power and science and technology and international emergency assistance for natural disasters. The Human Security Fund established by the Japanese contribution to the UN has initiated relevant projects carried out by the ESCAP, UNICEF and UNDP.

In 1993, Sadako Ogata and Amartya Sen's Commission Human Security mentioned the concept for the first time, meaning "to protect the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and human fulfillment." Broadly, the Commission stated:

“Human security means protecting fundamental freedoms – freedoms that are the essence of life. It means protecting people from critical (severe) and pervasive (widespread) threats and situations. It means using process that builds on people’s strengths and aspirations. It means creating political, social, environmental, economic, military and cultural systems that together give people the building blocks of survival, livelihood and dignity.”<sup>5</sup>

It was the UNDP’s *Human Development Report 1994* that was a milestone in the evolution of the concept of human security. The man behind this report, like man behind the plough, was Dr. Mahbub-ul-Huq. The *Report* made human security a common currency among academics and practitioners of international affairs. The United Nations Millennium Development Goals, passed in 2000 codified the scope of human security and made it measurable.

The *Report* conceptualised human development as “a process of widening the range of people’s choices”. Placed in such a perspective, human security means “that people can exercise these choices safely and freely – and that they can be relatively confident that the opportunities they have today are not totally lost tomorrow.”<sup>6</sup>

The *Report* appears to have drawn upon relevant academic frameworks; and specially those of Peace Studies by Johann Galtung. Galtung offers two models of peace – positive and negative. Positive peace means absence of structural violence; while negative peace is premised upon the absence of war. The *Report* emphasises positive peace in addition to negative peace.

In 1995, Boutros Boutros – Ghali introduced the paradigm of “peace – building” in the UN peace operations. In so doing, he buttressed the spirit underlying the Report. He included social and economic development as a topic of peace – building in addition to

demilitarisation, the control of small arms, institutional reform, improved police and judicial systems, the monitoring of human rights and electoral reform.<sup>7</sup>

In describing what human security is Kofi Annan wrote in the Foreword to *Human Security and the New Diplomacy* (2005)

During the Cold War, security tended to be defined almost entirely in terms of military might and the balance of terror. Today, we know that 'security' means far more than the absence of conflict. We also have a greater appreciation for nonmilitary sources of conflict. We know that lasting peace requires a broader vision encompassing areas such as education and health, democracy and human rights, protection against environmental degradation, and the proliferation of deadly weapons. We know that we cannot be secure amidst starvation, that we cannot build peace without alleviating poverty, and that we cannot build freedom on foundations of injustice. These pillars of what we now understand as the people – centered concept of 'human security' are interrelated and mutually reinforcing.

By summing up such a consensus view of development Kofi Annan defined human security as a three – dimensional construct that includes "freedom from want, freedom from fear and the freedom to live in dignity."<sup>8</sup>

The human security construct evolved and developed so far may be illustrated by the Figure below:

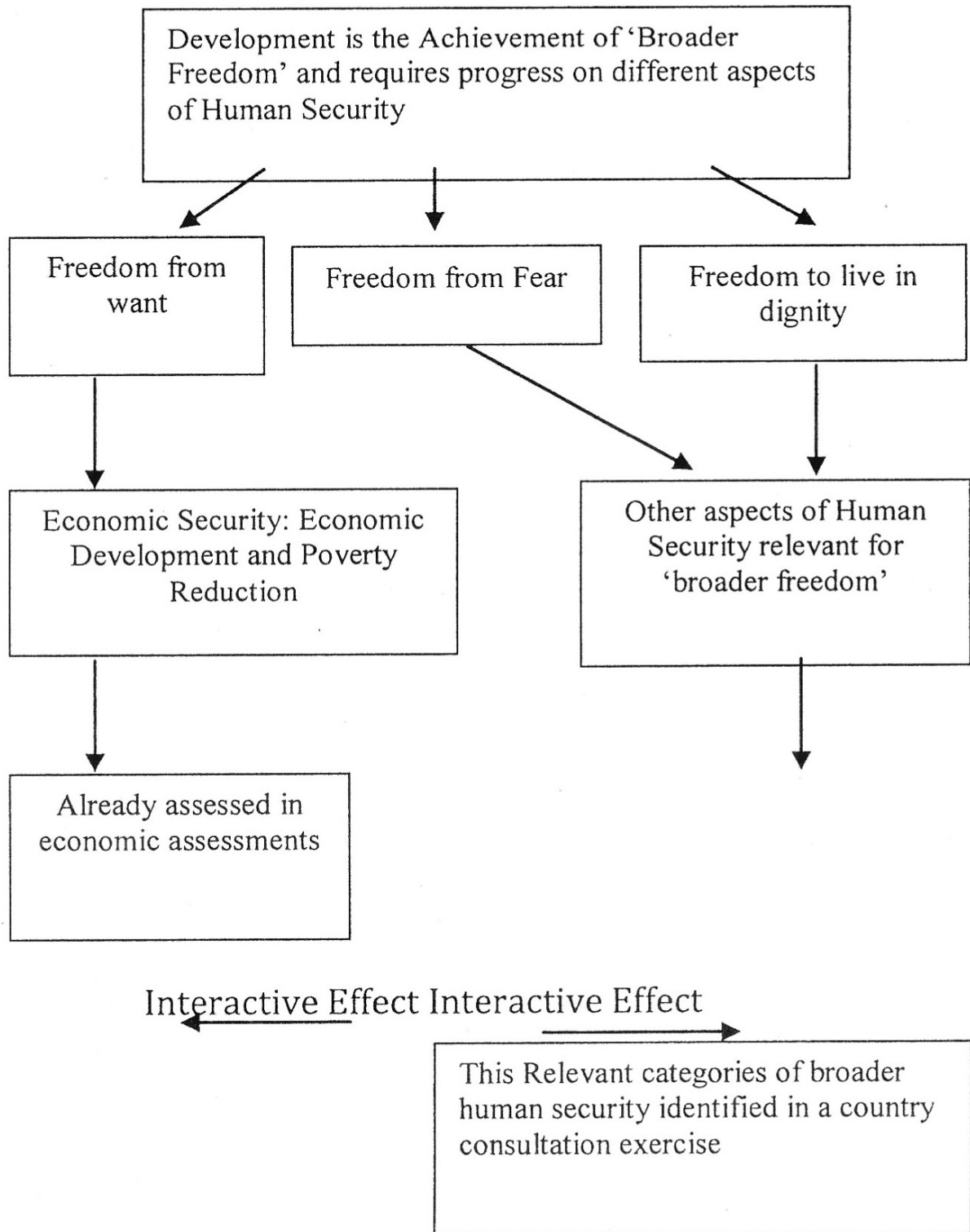


Figure: Economic Security and Broader Human Security  
Source: Department for International Development (DFID, UK),  
*Bangladesh Human Security Assessment (2005)*. [hereafter *DFID Report*]

Thus HS is a people – oriented and non – state – centric construct that takes within its sweep the expressed concerns of larger human freedom and comprehensive human development. In approach and ramifications HS appears to be a holistic paradigm of development as the driver of human security. Despite its apparent attractiveness the construct has demurers who fault it as too broad and vague to be specifically ascertained and indicated. Such pedantic criticisms aside, HS has takers and practitioners across the world.

### III

#### **Role of Ansar – VDP in the Context of Bangladesh Human Insecurity Scenario**

The adjective ‘insecurity’ in the title of the section of the paper amply indicates the human security scenario in Bangladesh. Human insecurity in Bangladesh is mostly to be linked to governance failure and government failure to deliver socio – economically. Much is talked about by way of bemoaning the lack of good governance in this country; but little or no note is taken of the stark reality that even the basics of governance are missing. There has to be initially the rudiments of governance, and then a qualitative assessment of good or bad may be made of it. We cannot assess or qualify anything which is not in existence. Good or bad, Bangladesh lacks governance of any shape. So the much hyped good governance discourse on Bangladesh is inherently flawed and epistemologically wrong.

Bangladesh is a state which does not meet such basic human needs as food, clothing, shelter healthcare and education. Moreover, life and property of anyone may be at stake any time anywhere; but, for the prevention of which, government does not bear any responsibility. Economically, the country has made impressive strides; but the growth has not been with equity, which negates development in the proper sense. In a nutshell, the people of Bangladesh lack those larger freedoms and development which make life worth living.

In 2005, the UK Department for International Development (DFID) sponsored a study for assessing human security situation in Bangladesh. The *Report* identified six broad drivers of human insecurity; these are: 1. characteristics of politics and political system; 2. conflicts over property; 3. characteristics of the administrative and judicial systems; 4. violence and discrimination against women; 5. violence against ethnic, religious and other community groups; and 6. crime.<sup>9</sup>

Against such a backdrop, contextualising Ansar – VDP as human security providers appears to be a baffling exercise. When the state fails to be the human security provider, how on earth its agencies are expected to be in such a role? Nevertheless, there are indeed some good reasons for positive comments on their role so far, although very limited, and making optimistic comments for their expected role in future.

Ansar – VDP are auxiliary forces supplementing the services rendered by the regular law and order enforcement agencies. Ansars are on the government roll (there are voluntary Ansars as well), but VDP are not; they render service on voluntary basis at the grassroots level. But both the groups share duties in law and order enforcement and social service. They, however, differ in their respective locus of duty – Ansars all over the country; while VDP are concentrated in villages only. According to the Ansar Act, 1995 (Act Three) Ansars are to render service –

- a. in public safety and security required by government or any government agency; and
- b. in any activity for socio – economic development as per government directive. This means they have a role in government sponsored public welfare related projects.

Such a charter of duties makes Ansar – VDP relevant service delivery agents within the framework of human security. To equip them with the required capability the well – endowed Ansar – VDP Academy offers exhaustive training courses in 28 areas, all of which relate to socio – economic development of humans, individually and

collectively. Trainees are also imparted knowledge of unconventional warfare. At present, this Academy can train 5000 Ansar – VDP at a time. Recently, the Academy, in collaboration with Dhaka University, has introduced a high – profile Masters course in human security. In professional training and orientation Ansar – VDP are thus equipped to be human security delivery agents at the grassroots level; but the potential of which has so far remained either untapped or tapped inadequately. Government would do well to plan proper utilisation of this huge reservoir of agents for the delivery of human security. Such a proposition is made, as argued above, with a number of cogent reasons.

First, Ansars had a distinct and glorious role in the Language Movement, which was the opening phase in our striving for self – ascertain. Ansar platoon commander Abdul Jabbar, then based in Mymensingh, was one of the martyrs of the movement. He laid down his life for the cause of our linguistic freedom, certainly one of the human security freedoms.

Second, Ansars had a significant role in the Liberation War from the very beginning; at least for three reasons. The initial resistance arsenal of the freedom fighters was made up of the 40,000 Ansar rifles. Moreover, Ansars have carved out a niche in our Liberation War history. On 17 April 1971, twelve Ansars led by platoon commander Yad Ali gave guard of honour for the Mujibnagar cabinet. Again, the Liberation War martyrs included 9 Ansar officers, 3 employees and 635 Ansar belonging to different platoons. Three Ansar commanders were decorated for their heroic role in the war: they were – Chandpur commander martyr Elahi Bux Patwari (Bir Bikram), Magura commander Ghulam Yakub (Bir Pratik); and Meherpur Ansar martyr Waliul Hossain (Bir Pratik).

Third, Ansars at present number 2,93,000; there are 55 lac VDP members, of which half are women. Altogether this is the largest force deployed all over the country through to grassroots. Such a widely deployed large force can be of critical use in times of any national emergency or projects for human development round the year.

## Bangladesh Ansar & VDP Academy

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Fourth, besides being dispersed on – duty all over the country, Ansars have earned laurels by extending their service internationally as members of the UN Peacekeeping operations.

Fifth, Ansars provide physical security to public/private installations all over the country. The booming housing industry would have faced security deficit were not Ansars providing security net to construction sites.

Sixth, Ansar – VDP have already received government recognition for excellence in their services. On 10 March 1998, national flag was awarded for contributions in maintaining law and order and protecting independence and sovereignty of the country. In 2004, they received *Swadhinata Padak* (highest state award) for excelling in national sports. No other security force has been decorated with such highest state honour.

At this stage, a proposition is made that the trained Ansar – VDP members deployed in the country may render service as skill – trainers locally, which would be a tangible contribution in human development at the grassroots level. Such a project requires a network of Ansar – VDP training centres all over the country. Needless to say, it involves extra resource outlay on the part of government; but the dividend is sure to come by.

### Concluding Remarks

The construct of human security has evolved out of imperatives of human insecurity. Comprehensive and holistic in approach and content, this construct is hyped as people – centric; but the catalyser in the process of implementation is still the state. Even the UN human development agencies have to channel their efforts and resources through state authorities. So it may be summed up that the construct is ideationally, people – centric; but procedurally, still state – centric.



Such state – centricity of human security becomes evident as we try to conceptualise the human security role of Bangladesh Ansar – VDP. The role of these forces is ordained by state orders. Any change in this role is subject to nod from government; and this is so for financial and administrative reasons. In such a context, the Ansar – VDP Academy, despite its observed keenness to be a human security role player in a larger context cannot be self – generating. But government is expected to be in accord with such an intent for the greater interest of the country and its people.

### Notes and References

1. Cited in Hideaki Shinoda, “The Concept of Human Security: Historical and Theoretical Implications” in IPSHU English Research Report Series No. 19: *Conflict and Human Security: A Search for New Approaches of Peace – building* (2004), p. 17.
2. See for details see Syed Anwar Husain, “Ganotantra O Sushason Vikashe Praccheyr Abodan (Vernacular) (Contribution of the East in the Development of Democracy and Good Governance), *Dr Wajed Memorial Lecture* delivered at Begum Rokeya University, Rangpur, 16 February 2010. It is argued that in both conceptualising and practising democracy and good governance the East preceded the West; and thereby the Western scholarship on both these themes challenged.
3. See for details Syed Anwar Husain, *Prachin Chin Savyata* (vernacular) Ancient Chinese Civilisation) (Dhaka: Bangla Academy, 1986)
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5. Commission on Human Security, *Human Security Now* (New York: Commission on Human Security, 2003), p. 4.

6. UNDP, *Human Development Report* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).
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8. Kofi Annan, *In Larger Freedom: Towards Development, Security and Human Rights for All* UN Secretary – General’s Report submitted to the General Assembly in advance of the 2005 World Summit, United Nations: New York. [<http://www.un.org/largerfreedom/contents.htm>]
9. *DFID Report*, pp. 2-3.

*Human Security and Political Violence:  
The Role of Ansar & VDP*

Dilip K. Biswas<sup>1</sup>

**Introduction**

Gandhi viewed life as a whole. He did not segregate life into different watertight compartments like politics, religion, economics and the others. What he had said about politics must be largely applicable in religion, economics and countless other fields of human life as well. Therefore, Gandhi is relevant to the human security and political violence. Politics is a part of existing nation-state based international system. States are the units of this system. States are created to make certain people's safety. In many parts of the world we perceive the just opposite to the welfare purpose of the state formation. Political violence in the post colonial states becomes a prominent source of threats to human security. In case of Indian subcontinent, Gandhi started 'non-cooperation' movement. Rabindranath Tagore opposed Gandhi's notion of 'non-cooperation' movement against colonial power. Tagore opined that it would be 'Frankenstein' for Indian people. Tagore notes that one day it shall be turned as a bad political culture of this region.<sup>2</sup> That was a great difference between political views of Tagore and Gandhi. Today we observe that Tagore triumphs in his anticipation. Every year about ten thousands innocent people are dying in this subcontinent out of political violence. So, political violence is a great threat to human security. Let us see first what human security is.

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<sup>1</sup> DDG Dilip K. Biswas is the Commandant of Bangladesh Ansar and VDP Academy.

<sup>2</sup> Tagore, Rabindranath, *Nationalism*, (Dhaka: Nabajuga Prokashani, 2010).  
Rabindranath Tagore, "Rabindranather Rashtranaitik Maht  
(Rabindranath's views on State's Policy), in Kalantor,(Calcutta, India:  
Reflect Publication, 2005).

## Human security

Human security suggests that security policy and security analysis must focus on the individual as the referent and primary beneficiary. In broad terms human security is 'freedom from want' and 'freedom from fear': positive and negative freedoms and rights as they relate to fundamental individual needs. Human security is normative; it argues that there is an ethical responsibility to re-orient security around the individual in line with internationally recognised standards of human rights and governance. Much human security scholarship is therefore explicitly or implicitly underpinned by a solidarist commitment, and some is cosmopolitan in ethical orientation. Some human security scholarship also seeks to present explanatory arguments concerning the nature of security, deprivation and conflict. In addition, most scholars and practitioners working on human security emphasise the policy orientation of this approach; they believe that the concept of human security can and should result in policy changes which improve the welfare of people. , human security means safety for people from both violent and non-violent threats. It is a condition or state of being characterized by freedom from pervasive threats to people's rights, their safety, or even their lives. ... From a foreign policy perspective, human security is perhaps best understood as a shift in perspective or orientation. It is an alternative way of seeing the world, taking people as its point of reference, rather than focusing exclusively on the security of territory or governments. Like other security concepts -national security, economic security, and food security – it is about protection. Human security entails taking preventive measures to reduce vulnerability and minimize risk, and taking remedial action where prevention fails.”<sup>3</sup>

There are seven aspects of human security. From theoretical orientation, these all go with the neo-liberal school of thought. *First*, economic security requires an assured basic income for individuals, usually from productive and remunerative work or, as a last resort,

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<sup>3</sup> Govt. of Canada, (1999) Human Security: Safety for People in a Changing World, Ottawa: Dept. of Foreign Affairs and Trade, p, 5-6.

from a publicly financed safety net. *Second*, food security requires that all people at all times have both physical and economic access to basic food. *Third*, health security aims to guarantee a minimum protection from diseases and unhealthy lifestyles. *Fourth*, environmental security aims to protect people from the short- and long-term ravages of nature, man-made threats in nature, and deterioration of the natural environment. *Fifth*, personal security aims to protect people from physical violence, whether from the state or external states, from violent individuals and sub-state actors, from political abuse, or from predatory adults. *Sixth*, community security aims to protect people from the loss of traditional relationships and values and from sectarian and ethnic violence. *Seventh*, political security is concerned with whether people live in a society that honors their basic human security. According to a survey conducted by Amnesty International, political repression, systematic torture, ill treatment or disappearance are still practiced in 110 countries. Human security violations are most frequent during the periods of political unrest. Along with repressing individuals and groups, governments may try to exercise control over ideas and information.<sup>4</sup>

### Political Violence

Political violence is a social conflict. Social conflicts among different groups destabilize human security. Conflict approach is narrower, and focuses on the human consequences of armed conflict and the dangers posed to civilians by repressive governments and situations of state failure. Violence is "the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, which either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment, or deprivation." This definition associates intentionality with the committing of the act itself, irrespective of the outcome it produces. Generally, although, anything that is turbulent or excited in an injurious, damaging or destructive way, or

<sup>4</sup> The United Nations Development Programme's 1994 Human Development Report.

presenting risk accordingly, may be described as violent or occurring violently, even if not signifying violence (by a person and against a person).

Globally, violence takes the lives of more than 1.5 million people annually: just over 50% due to suicide, some 35% due to homicide, and just over 12% as a direct result of war or some other form of conflict. For each single death due to violence, there are dozens of hospitalizations, hundreds of emergency department visits, and thousands of doctors' appointments. Furthermore, violence often has lifelong consequences for victims' physical and mental health and social functioning and can slow economic and social development. Violence in many forms is preventable. Evidence shows strong relationships between levels of violence and potentially modifiable factors such as concentrated poverty, income and gender inequality, the harmful use of alcohol, and the absence of safe, stable, and nurturing relationships between children and parents. Scientific research shows that strategies addressing the underlying causes of violence can be effective in preventing violence. Modern conflict reflects a high level of civil war and state collapse which has resulted in a high rate of victimisation and displacement of civilians, especially women and children.<sup>5</sup> There are different aspects of political violence. Now come to the question of political violence. What is Political Violence? Political violence is violence outside of state control that is politically motivated. Some political scientists see political violence as part of "contentious politics" or collective political struggle, which includes such things as revolutions, civil war, riots and strikes, but also more peaceful protest movements. Crime and warfare share some attributes with political violence, but political scientists do not define them as political violence. Why Political Violence? Scholars who seek to explain political violence

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<sup>5</sup> Andrew Mack, 'A Signifier of Shared Values', *Security Dialogue*, 35:3 (2004), pp. 366–7; S. Neil MacFarlane and Yuen Foong Khong, *Human Security and the UN: A Critical History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006).

use three categories of factors: *institutional, ideational, and individual.*<sup>6</sup>

Institutional explanations for political violence focus on how state, economic, or social systems contribute to political violence. Ideational explanations focus on the effect of political, religious ideas in causing political violence. Individual explanations focus on what motivates individual people to engage in political violence—either because of rational or psychological factors. The three approaches to explaining political violence – Institutional, Ideational, and Individual - may be compared to their view of free will versus determinism and on universal versus particularistic approaches. Institutional explanations are more deterministic, while individual explanations tend to afford more free will. Ideational explanations lie somewhere in between. Institutional explanations are more particularistic, while individual explanations tend to be more universal; again, ideational approaches lie somewhere in the middle.<sup>7</sup>

### Forms of Political Violence

Revolution is a public seizure of the state in order to overturn the existing government and regime. Unlike a coup d'état, where elites overthrow the government, the public plays a key role in a revolution. Revolutions often, but not always, involve violence. Earlier scholars focused on individual explanations for revolutions, such as the relative deprivation model, which argued that revolution occurred when there was a gap between public expectations and actual conditions in a country. Later work focused on institutional explanations, including how competition for power in the international system can lead weaker states to institute reforms that may breed discontent and thus incite revolution. Today, scholars tend to incorporate both arguments in their explanations for

<sup>6</sup> The Commission on Human Security (2003) published a report as "Human Security Now: Protecting and Empowering People."

revolution. Though revolution can bring new forms of government and economic systems, it can also result in increased state power and dictatorship. One general observation is that the greater the violence associated with bringing down the old regime, the more likely it is that violence will continue under the new one.

Terrorism is the use of violence by non-state actors against civilians in order to achieve a political goal. State-sponsored terrorism is violence (genocide, war crimes, torture) perpetrated by a state as an instrument of foreign policy. In contrast to terrorism, guerrilla war involves violence by non-state actors targeting the state. Drawing from institutional explanations, some scholars point to weak economies and low levels of education as explanations for terrorism; however, many terrorist leaders and followers come from economically advantaged backgrounds. Ideational explanations (blaming a particular ideology or religion) are common but do not sufficiently explain cause and effect. Individual explanations focus on the feeling of injustice or humiliation that, some feel, comes at the hands of oppressors. Some scholars point to nihilistic and apocalyptic viewpoints-beliefs that all values and institutions are meaningless and that violence can destroy a corrupt world and usher in a new order-as causes of terrorist violence. Though most scholars argue that terrorism has not been successful at achieving its long-term goals, it does have a significant political impact. Terrorism has been successful at disrupting economies and destabilizing politics in some countries and can be a tool to provoke international conflict. Fighting terrorism may lead to a weakening of democratic institutions and civil rights, which may result in less trust in government and less public control over it. At an extreme, terrorism can help bring down a regime.

### **Political Violence in Context: Faith, Terrorism, and Revolution**

As ideology has waned, religious fundamentalism has re-emerged in the public realm. There are three main factors that connect religious fundamentalism to political violence: 1) a hostility to modernity, arguing that the institutions of the modern state have stripped the



world of greater meaning and caused people to suffer; 2) the belief that modern states actively seek to exterminate and denigrate believers; and 3) messianic, apocalyptic, and utopian beliefs—that despite modernity having the upper hand, the righteous believers will triumph in the end. It is a mistake to confuse fundamentalism with violence. Indeed, many of the above elements can also be found in modern political ideologies, and religiously motivated political violence has many parallels with similar acts carried out by nonreligious groups.

### Political Violence in Bangladesh

Political violence in Bangladesh has been an integral part of Bangladeshi politics unlike the other sub-continental traditional politics. Political violence in Bangladesh is different from sub continental country's political violence as political violence in Pakistan, India and Srilanka emerges from ethnic suppression or ethnic exploitation in terms of political and economic rights. Here in Bangladesh the roots of the political violence is basically intolerance to others ideology, activism and gains. It is also to hobble the opposing political party and minor political parties. The party in power, individuals and groups backed by the ruling party always incriminates acts of violence, suppression and intimidation against opposing parties and groups. Having the same ethnic identity and same religious sects mostly the people do not go for ethnic or religious clash not resisting themselves towards the intolerance of political gains which makes Bangladesh's situation a unique one. The situation of political violence becomes drastic and couples the putrid effects when the state authority or government accuse the opposing party for not taking proper and effective actions to mitigate or to punish the perpetrator and its accomplice. The country recently moved to civil rule after about two years military backed caretaker governments rule.<sup>8</sup> Though there has been a landslide victory of civil ruled government but still the use of aggression is a political tool prevalent there. Recently situation of political violence has been

<sup>8</sup> Journal of South Asian Affairs, VOL-2, 2011, P, 56-9.

aggravated from the village to urban area at a same motion where the situation devastatingly ruined in higher educational institutions where the student wings of political parties indiscriminately suppressing the opposing parties and individuals. Almost all wings of Political parties are resorting to act of violence and aggression against opposing parties even it is no wondering that the internal clashes of ruling parting in search of exercising power has increased at large. Though Political Violence in Bangladesh is in dire condition, a cure for it is still possible if the Government, International Community, Donor Agencies and countries, National and International Human Rights Commissions and political parties take the proper initiatives to cease it.

Political violence in Bangladesh has recently been a frequent hazard for the political stability. It destabilizes the growth of democracy and political culture when the chief and crucial part of government body patronizes the miscreants for the narrow party interest. It halts the growth when a party becomes intolerant toward other party and has worsened the situation of political violence in Bangladesh. To ensure a satisfactory growth in almost all sectors of development importantly for economic development political stability is very important for a country.

### **Political violence and human security**

Some people argue that democratic regimes allow enough political participation to diffuse the possibility of political violence by providing more options for political opposition. However, engaging in regime change may actually increase-not reduce-the threat of political violence, especially if that change is violent. Democracies that are victims of political violence may curtail certain freedoms in order to increase security, creating what some have called a "surveillance state." However, these moves may erode democracy and contribute to greater political violence by providing further proof

Wars of aggression, war crimes and crimes against humanity, including genocide, are breaches of International humanitarian law and represent the most serious of human rights violations. In efforts to eliminate violations of human rights, building awareness and protesting inhumane treatment has often led to calls for action and sometimes improved conditions. The UN Security Council has interceded with peace-keeping forces and other states have intervened in situations ostensibly to protect human rights.<sup>12</sup>

### **The legal obligation about political violence**

Political violence derives from unlawful assembly. Bangladesh Penal Code, 1860 has defined unlawful assembly. It says that an assembly of five or more person is designated an unlawful assembly, if the common object of the person is composing that assembly. First is to overawe by criminal force or show criminal force, the Govt. or Legislature or any public servant in the exercise of the lawful power of such public servant. Second is to resist the execution of any law, or of any legal process. Third is to commit any mischief or criminal trespass other offence. Fourth is by means of criminal force or show of criminal force to any person to take or obtain possession of any property, or to deprive any person of the enjoyment of right of way or the use of water or other incorporeal right of which he is in possession or, enjoyment or to enforce any right or supposed right. Fifth is by means of criminal force or show of criminal force to

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<sup>12</sup> Paul Roe, 'The 'value' of positive security', *Review of International Studies*, 34:4 (2008), pp. 777–94; Edward Newman, 'Human Security and Constructivism', *International Studies Perspectives*, (2:3) (2001), pp. 239–51; Giorgio Shani, Makoto Sato and Mustapha Kamal Pasha (eds), *Protecting Human Security in a Post 9/11 World: Critical and Global Insights* (London: Palgrave, 2007); Caroline Thomas, 'Global governance and human security', in Rorden Wilkinson and S. Hughes (eds), *Global Governance. Critical Perspectives* (London: Routledge, 2002); Kyle Grayson, 'The Biopolitics of Human Security', *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 21:3 (2008), pp. 383–401.

compel any person to do what he is not legally bound to do or to omit to do what he is legally entitled to do.<sup>13</sup>

Chapter IX of Criminal Code of Procedure, 1898 explains the duties of police in the context of unlawful assemblies. Section 127 says that assembly to disperse on command of Magistrate or police officer. Section 128 furnishes permission to use of civil force to disperse unlawful assemblies. Section 129 furnishes permission to use of military force.<sup>14</sup>

First, the police are joining in coordinated community responses to the handling of political violence incidents. Second, a strategy of early intervention at the misdemeanor level before aggravated assaults or homicides occur is clearly becoming more common. Third, policies and protocols are beginning to focus on the abuser rather than on the victim. Fourth, related to a shift in focus, policies and procedures which have a tendency to blame victims or to revictimize victims within the criminal justice system are being eliminated. Finally, Effective intervention in political violence, provable with or without victim cooperation, coupled with a strong impartiality and a coordinated community response. The theme offers a broad basis for consensus on how to use the criminal justice system to reduce political violence, provide more safety for society, and send out a strong message on political violence on the streets. Perhaps the best starting point to understand the development of this growing consensus is to look at the experience of one jurisdiction where political violence has been a top priority for the last years.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Chapter VIII of Bangladesh Penal Code, 1860 deals with the offences against public peace. If many persons assemble together to disturb peace and order, the trouble becomes magnified and deserves special treatment. Section 141 to 149.

<sup>14</sup> Section 127-130, Chapter IX of Criminal Code of Procedure, 1898.

<sup>15</sup> Casey G. Gwinn supervises the San Diego City Attorney's Domestic Violence Unit which handles 500-600 misdemeanor domestic violence cases each month. He also chairs the San Diego Domestic Violence Council. Sgt. Anne O'Dell co-supervises the San Diego Police Department's Domestic Violence Unity. Both have been active with domestic violence issues nationally for many years.

## **The Role Ansar Bahini in combating political violence**

Bangladesh Ansar and VDP is a blending entity of three components- Battalion Ansars, the Ansar Bahini and the Village Defence Party (VDP) uniquely placed under a common command structure where responsibility ranges from public security to socioeconomic development. Battalion Ansars, as the name implies, are more combatant having flexibility to play roles in traditional security issues to societal security arena following legal provisions of Battalion Ansar Act 1995. The Ansar Bahini is, to some extent, intermediately regimental having also flexible functions from traditional to nontraditional as per the legal arrangement under Ansar Bahini Act 1995. The primary concern of VDP, although, is socioeconomic development and minor security issues but also has flexible arrangement in VDP Act 1995 to be involved in traditional security issues. Another complementary element of Bangladesh Ansar and VDP is its specialized Bank- The Ansar- VDP Development Bank. Now if we place these 4 components together, the flexible definition of much talked 'human security' appears before us with a vivid stature. We have our constitutional obligation to ensure human security as Bangladesh state came into being as a result of the stubborn will of our freedom fighters. Their dreams and values are reflected in our sacred constitution.

Bangladesh Ansar and VDP is a discipline force as per article 152 of the constitution of Bangladesh. This Bahini must remember that everyone shares responsibility to uphold the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) in its entirety. Nevertheless the UDHR contains a number of articles which are particularly relevant for law enforcement work. Bangladesh Ansar Bahini must follow the basic standard of human rights. It must not breach the essence of the law of the land. The following principles must be followed by the members of Ansar Bahini:-

- Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person (Article 3, UDHR). Battalion Ansar must remember the following spirit.

- No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment (Article 5, UDHR). Members of Bangladesh Ansar Bahini shall always uphold the spirit of justice and law.
- All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law (Article 7, UDHR)
- No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest and detention (Article 9, UDHR).
- Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which they have had all the guarantees necessary for their defence (Article 11(1), UDHR)
- Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression (Article 19, UDHR)
- Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association, and no one may be compelled to belong to an association (Article 20, UDHR)
- Ensure that, if needed, measures are taken to ensure the protection and safety of victims from intimidation and retaliation
- Inform victims without delay of the availability of health and social services and other relevant assistance
- Provide without delay specialist care for women who have suffered violence
- Develop investigative techniques that do not further degrade women who have been victims of violence.
- Give particular attention to victims who have special needs because of the nature of the harm inflicted on them or because of factors such as race, colour, gender, sexual orientation, age, language, religion, nationality, political or other opinion, disability, ethnic or social origin, etc.
- Exercise restraint in such use and act in proportion to the seriousness of the offence and the legitimate objective to be achieved.
- Minimize damage and injury, and respect and preserve human life

- Ensure that all possible assistance and medical aid are rendered to any injured or affected persons at the earliest possible moment
- Ensure that relatives or close friends of the injured or affected person are notified at the earliest possible moment
- Where injury or death is caused by the use of force by Ansars, they shall report the incident promptly to their superiors, who should ensure that proper investigations of all such incidents are carried out.

**Conclusion:**

Human security is concerned with the protection of people from critical and life-threatening dangers, regardless of whether the threats are rooted in anthropogenic activities or natural events, whether they lie within or outside states, and whether they are direct or structural. It is 'human-centered'; its principal focus is on people both as individuals and as communal groups. It is 'security oriented' in that the focus is on freedom from fear, danger and threat. The political aspect of security is an important component of national security. Political violence is harmful for the stability of the social order. It is closely allied to human security and societal security. 'Security' is inextricably linked to violence, and Thomas points to the Marxist perspective that human security is simply a repackaging of a liberal humanitarian order.<sup>16</sup> The human security approach is based on the obligations of states to respect, protect and fulfill human needs and therefore to prevent, eradicate and punish violence. It recognizes violence as a violation of human security: the security to life, liberty, autonomy and security of the person; the rights to equality and non-discrimination; the security to be free from torture and cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment or punishment; the right to privacy; and the right to the highest attainable standard of health.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Thomas, Caroline & Peter Wilkin, 1999. *Globalization, Human Security, and the African Experience*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner. Thomas, Nicholas & William T. Tow, 2002. 'The Utility of Human Security: Sovereignty

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<sup>17</sup> Rosenberg ML, Butchart A, Mercy J, Narasimhan V, Waters H, Marshall MS. Interpersonal violence. In Jamison DT, Breman JG, Measham AR,

Human security is enshrined in international and regional treaties and national constitutions and laws, which stipulate the obligations of states, and include mechanisms to hold states' accountability.

Incidents of political violence generate severe humanitarian crises. *Raping, killing, looting, snatching, communal violence, refugee crisis, huge human displacement and people's untold sufferings from starvation and diseases* are associated to the political violence. Law and order becomes distorted and deteriorated dramatically; people's safety and security is collapsed all in sundry. Homes, villages, communities, families, and relationships are being destroyed. In these serious *humanitarian crises* traditional and conventional security forces may not succeed to tackle the situation. It is only the Ansar Bahini, the voluntary security force, which can take the responsibility of human security; otherwise, more casualties may occur in that time. Not only Ansar Bahini voluntarily can help a huge number of displaced and distressed people, but it can also stand for the people suffering.

Present manifestation of political violence requires multiple and multi-layered institutions. Bangladesh Ansar and VDP is a unique force with the combination of traditional and non-traditional forces. The very motto of this organization is "We are everywhere for Peace, Discipline, Development and Security,"<sup>17</sup>. The formation of this organization has brought it very close to the common people of the society. No other organization, both the governmental and the non-governmental, has such type of legal relationship with the common people in Bangladesh. The Ansar Act 1995, the Battalion Ansar Act-1995 and the Village Defense Party Act-1995 have given a lot of scope to work directly for the public security and socioeconomic development of the country; we are working both in the field of traditional and non-traditional field of security<sup>18</sup>. We are giving security to a good number of key point installations and economy-generating industries we are working for the creation of employment to the common people.

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## *Women, Disaster and Security*

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### **Introduction**

Disasters are frequent phenomenon in Bangladesh caused by natural as well as due to human activities. Human security suffers due to threats & risks associated-pre, during & post disasters. Disasters affect both women and men but the burden of coping falls heavily on women. Although poor rural women have very few options open to them, their roles in disasters are obviously not simple: they relate to a complete range of socio-economic activities (Nasreen, 1995; 2008). Throughout the lifecycle women suffer more than men from poverty, hunger, malnutrition, economic crises, environmental degradation, disaster related problems and become victim of violence due to their gender identity. The present paper is an attempt to share some of the findings of the authors' empirical research on situation of women during flood in Bangladesh. It highlights that during disaster such as flood the incidence of violence against women and girls increases due to insecurity related to their gender identity. Despite sufferings women play vital roles in disaster and household managements.

### **Disaster Management Policy, Legislative in Bangladesh**

Bangladesh has a rich tradition of proactive disaster management initiatives. Being 'the most' or 'one of the most vulnerable countries' within South Asia she has made remarkable progress on devising policies and disaster management Act. The Ministry of disaster Management and Relief is responsible for coordinating national disaster management efforts across all agencies. Bangladesh has been responding to the international policies on disaster risk reduction such as to build the world community resilience to disasters the *Hyogo Framework for Action (HFA, 2005-2015)* has

been promoted. The government of Bangladesh has recently published the National Plan for Disaster Management (2010-2015) and revised the Standing Order on Disasters (SOD) management. Of the different government actors in Bangladesh Disaster Management Bureau (DMB), Disaster Relief and Rehabilitation (DRR) have been serving the Ministry of disaster Management and Relief till September, 2012. However, recently (September, 2012) the Ministry has been separated into two: Ministry of Food and Ministry of Disaster Management and Relief. The DMB and DRR have merged as Department of Disaster Management in October, 2012. There are also other government actors involved in disaster risk reduction activities. The Comprehensive Disaster Management Programme (CDMP) known as the programme of of the Government of Bangladesh (GoB) runs with the financial support from a donor consortium by DFID, EU, UNDP (Nasreen, 2012). Gender is recognized as a cross cutting issue which should be integrated into all disaster risk management policies, plans and decision-making processes, including risk assessment, early warning, information management and education and training. However, past research (Nasreen, 1995; 2008; 2012) reveal that the gender dimension to disaster, i.e. vulnerabilities and capabilities associated with women and disaster risk reduction often go largely unrecognized, especially by the government agencies (mentioned earlier). Nevertheless, women's issues are getting growing attentions from different actors including government.

**Relevant Laws and policies to Ensure Women's Security:** The Constitution of the People's Republic of Bangladesh firmly proclaims, "All people are equal before law and are entitled to equal protection of law". The constitution of Bangladesh ensures equality for all of her citizens irrespective of biological identity, religion, ethnicity and other differences. Besides the constitutional guarantees, Bangladesh is a state party to the UN Convention on Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and the UN convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC). Therefore, Bangladesh is under a state obligation these two landmark international legal instruments to defend equal rights of women and children of the country and further to protect women and children from all forms of

violence perpetrated by both state and non-state actors. Several ministries focusing on ensuring women's gender rights and securities including development of gender budgeting. Some of these ministries are: Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs (MoWCA), Ministry of Home Affairs (MOHA), Ministry of Education (MoE), Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development (MoLGRD), Ministry of Law Justice and Parliamentary Affairs (MoLJPA) and others. There are laws to ensure women's security since ages. Some of the relevant ones are: Penal Code, 1860; The Birth, Death and Marriages Registration Act, 1886; Birth and Death Registration Act, 2004; The Child Marriage Restraint Act, 1929; The Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act, 1933; The Vagrancy Act, 1943; Muslim Family law ordinance, 1961; Muslim Marriages and Divorces Registration Act, 1974; The Children Act, 1974; The Dowry Prohibition Act, 1980; Suppression of Violence Against Women and Children Act, 2000 (Amended in 2003); The Acid Crime Control Act 2002; Domestic Violence Act, 2009. Besides Hindu marriage rule Act is under review. However, data shows that the aims and obligations of state have not been achieved. People had to see unrestrained upraise in the crime curve against women and children, especially against girls. They remain continuously unsecured in both the private and public spheres.

**Violation of women's rights during a disaster:** A study (Nasreen, 2008) has been conducted after 2007 floods in two of the most flood affected districts: Faridpur (Dikrir Char, Char Madhabdia, Ambikapur, Bhashan Char) & Gaibandha (Fazlupur, Udakhali) for rural areas. Situation of women during flood in urban areas has also been conducted in Dhaka (Ward 25, 28 and Derma Thana). For the purpose of the study data were collected from women group; adolescent girls and women in disadvantageous position (socially excluded, disable, women headed and elderly women). The study pointed out that violation of women's gender rights is a common phenomenon during flood. Women did not have to flood related information. Getting information on relief was a priority for the affected people. Most of the women do not know that they have the

right to have food. Majority in urban areas mentioned that to fulfil the right to food of people is the responsibility of government, Commissioner, Chairman (local government authority) whereas rural women mentioned that it as 'husband's responsibility'.

Women suffer from shelter or taking refuge in safe and had to live in unhealthy, unhygienic situation as either toilet were inundated or there was no or little water in toilets of flood refuges shelters. Women and adolescent girls faced difficulties in menstrual management led to hygiene, health including reproductive health related problems. Moreover, violence against women becomes grave during disaster which includes psychological violence such as abusive languages used by strangers even by relief distributors, bullying by husbands, threat and fear of being touched, harassed, provoking etc. After being teased, bullied, blamed or physically violated they suffer psychologically. Married women were always in tension on how to give comfort to make sure that men are not angry. Women also face physical violence which includes beating, slap, touched by men in relief queue and within the flood shelters, use of strengths while in the queue. Attempt to rape and murder were also reported. In most cases married women faced the violence and their husbands (53.5%) were involved with physical torture. In other cases men relatives (13.9%), women relatives, neighbors (7%) and others were involved. Women and girls were very insecure in the flood shelter or at home.

There is almost no security in the flood shelter. Even women and girls were not safe from neighbouring men or close relatives. Many women and girls did not go to flood shelter due to lack of security. It is understood that the extreme forms of violence occurred against women, which is not always reported. In urban areas it is evident that many families had to live in a single room. Boys always disturbed girls and at night they tried to harass women and girls by pulling their legs and touching their bodies, snatching away cloths, hugging etc. Men's dependence on drugs (heroine) and or smoking made them violated against women. Girls were harassed by *heroinchi* (heroine drug takers) when going toilet. In rural areas almost all of the women reported that during flood they became victim of

violence. Rubbery increases because of the isolation of community. After rubbery gangs rape or abduct young girls and women were heard. Women felt insecure (rape cases, threat to murder and murder of a married woman in a char land).

### **Conclusion:**

Within South Asia Bangladesh has been termed as 'the most' or 'one of the most' vulnerable as well as resilient countries to disasters. The country has strong policy documents and legislation to address the challenges of disasters. However, gaps are still observed such as lack of coordination across actors and agencies, lack of mainstreaming disaster risk reduction (DRR) and climate change adaptation across sectors, limited resources of the community, lack of sustainable capacity development and less active field level committees and functionaries (e.g. not having affirmative actions to include women local govt. representatives or women members of law enforcing agencies in relief, rescue, ensuring security and rehabilitation activities). To ensure women's security during and post disaster situations capacity building of law enforcing agencies is required. Bangladesh has a strong law enforcing agency, Ansar and Village Defense Party (VDP), serving as a unique force at grass root level combining 'traditional and non-traditional forces' since the Ansar Act, 1995, the Battalion Ansar Act 1995 and the Village Defense Party Act 1995 (Biswas, 2012). Women are members of VDP since seventies. In each village there are 62 gender balanced VDP members divided into two platoons. These forces would be able to play crucial roles in disaster management, especially in ensuring security of women and girls. The Anser and VDP have already been contributing to the project level activities to combat violence against women commissioned by the Joint Programme since 2011 (JPVAW, MDG Spain Funded project). However, to mainstream such effort decentralization with devolution of power to local government authorities including women representatives and forces of Anser and VDP is a necessary devise. Combating violence against women through ensuring securities and rights, mitigate the adverse impacts of disasters and women's adaptation strategies are the most important elements of any future plan to view women from resilience

perspectives. It is evident that relief becomes concomitant to disaster, which often partly ensures the food security of poor. However, women's gender based insecurity does not get proper attention during a disaster. The present article, therefore, attempts to lend policy support to ensure security of women and girls. It concludes that budgetary allocation from all kinds of fund (Climate Change and Disaster Management) is necessary for ensuring women's social, psychological, physical and economic security. Policy should be devised for capacity building of the members of Anser and VDP to carry out country wide village level activities on raising awareness to ensure security of women and girls, ensuring sustainable and alternative livelihoods and disseminating those to face the challenges of disasters.

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UNISDR: *Hyogo Framework for Action (HFA, 2005-2015)*

## *Human Security in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century and the Role of Bangladesh Ansar Bahini*

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Bangladesh Ansar Bahini has had a long history. Formed out of the remnants of the *Indian Home Guard*, a paramilitary outfit established by the British colonial power in 1946, the Bahini came to be called 'Ansar'<sup>18</sup> following the partition of British India and the birth of Pakistan. In February 1948 the East Pakistan Ansars Act was adopted and James Buchanan, a British, was appointed as the first Director General. The birth of the Bahini is otherwise rooted in the history of both British India and pre-1971 Pakistan. Not surprisingly, the Bahini is trapped in colonial and semi-colonial legacies.

Bangladesh Ansar Bahini transformed itself from an *auxiliary* force into a *self-sustaining* force following the independence of Bangladesh in 1971. In fact, by 1976 some 20 battalions were raised in line with the armed police battalions. At present there are 38 male and two female Ansar battalions deployed in the country. Save the head of the institution, who is from the military, and similar to the Police force, the Ansar Bahini is run by the cadre officers of the Bangladesh Civil Service. This was operationalized following the parliamentary approval of the Bangladesh Ansars Act and Ansar Bahini Act in 1995. It is worth pointing out here, however, that although the two Acts have empowered the Bahini - the general Ansars as well as the battalion Ansars - in the task of helping the government to maintain public security, the 'operational control' of the Bahini interestingly remains not with itself but with the Police. Apart from creating tension between the Police and the Ansars, such

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<sup>18</sup> 'Ansar' is an Arabic word meaning 'person who helps,' referring to the companions of Prophet Muhammad during his exile from Mecca.

bifurcation of roles can end up making the latter less enthusiastic about discharging their duties or taking responsibility for their actions. This is critical because the Ansars are not only deployed in the Chittagong Hill Tracts and south western Bangladesh for counter-insurgency/counter-terrorism operations but also are engaged in international peacekeeping from time to time, as it has been the case in 2004-2005.

Part of the complexity, I believe, lies in the precise nature of the mandate that has been given to the Ansar Bahini. As the mandate indicates, the objective of the Ansar Bahini is, firstly, to assist the Police in maintaining law and order in peace time; secondly, to assist the Bangladesh Armed Forces in national defense in war time; and finally, to take part in nation building affairs. It is probably with the second objective in mind that combat uniforms were introduced for the Bahini in October 2008. Currently, the Bahini is composed of three components. One, *regular Ansars*, numbering 20,000; two, *embodied Ansars*, armed and attached to industrial units and key installation points, numbering over 120,000; and lastly, *un-embodied Ansars* or volunteers that constitute the Village Defence Party (VDP), numbering 5.7 million. It may be pointed out that the VDP members are trained but not armed and 50 percent of them are women.

But the question that merits attention is what role can the age-old Ansars play in contemporary times, particularly on issues related to human security? Put differently, given the criminalization of the society and the power of non-state terrorism, particularly in the age of globalization, how can the Ansars ensure security in contemporary times? Since human security is at the core, the role of the 'human' is vital in ensuring security. But then, what is 'human'? Or more appropriately, how can one address the question of security from the standpoint of the human? Answers to such queries, while complex, could be framed under five headings.



*Homo politicus*

Humans are multiversed beings. Aristotle probably was the first one to acknowledge a precise variant of it, indeed, by proclaiming that each and every human is a 'political being' - *homo politicus* - and therefore has certain inherent political rights and, to follow Hanna Arendt on this, derives her 'dignity from speech and action in community.'<sup>19</sup> As Arendt would say, a person becomes distinctly human through action and speech, "in acting and speaking, men show who they are, reveal actively their unique personal identities and thus make their appearance in the human world."<sup>20</sup> The republican conception of politics is what Aristotle and Arendt were advocating and came to the conclusion that the state and society ought to guard the freedom of the person to act and speak. But then in the light of the colonial legacy and the reproduction of the over-developed state in contemporary times, how far have we succeeded in safeguarding the political rights of each and every human in Bangladesh? Certainly there has been some progress, but in the backdrop of polarised politics, imprisonment of dissenters, policing of the civil society and incidents like Ramu and the bashing of the minorities few will deny that the scenario is hardly conducive to being *homo politicus*.

But this is precisely where the Ansar Bahini can play a vital role. It is said that in China the 'Chinese identity' is seldom questioned because it gets reproduced not so much for speaking Chinese, indeed, in various dialects, but for sharing 'a written language' and having a literacy rate of over 92 percent, which keeps them connected.<sup>21</sup> Similar is the case with both the Koreas, although one capitalist and the other authoritarian, both having a literacy rate of nearly 99 percent. If 'dignity from speech and action' is vital for

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<sup>19</sup> See, Alison Kesby, *The Right to Have Rights: Citizenship, Humanity, and International Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p.4.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Francis Fukuyama, *The Origins of Political Order: From Prehuman Times to the French Revolution* (London: Profile Books, 2011), p.149.

humans to emerge as political beings then literacy is surely a fundamental political right. And here the Ansars, with membership of nearly 6 million and after getting trained on the subject of disseminating literacy, can help the country to achieve higher literacy rate, which is currently a dismal 56.8 percent. A fully literate population will certainly transform the country beyond recognition.

### *Homo economicus*

Humans are also *homo economicus* or economic beings, as John Stuart Mill and Karl Marx have underscored. That is, humans have inherent 'rights' to engage in economic activities for sustaining life and achieving economic prosperity. As Marx had said, 'humans are commodity-producers and profit-seekers.' This too has its limits in Bangladesh. Apart from class-based economic deprivation, which has made many to resign to fate or hold the divine responsible, factors like geography and environment have consistently played out unfavourably with the marginalized and the disempowered, with the latter often ironically remaining 'grateful' with two-meal a day, a piece of cloth and a shelter to reside! Insecurity to humans could arise from not being able to live a life as *homo economicus*. Here too the Ansars could play a vital role. In fact, the Ansar Bahini with members present in every village and by coordinating with the government and the NGOs could create business opportunities with a diverse range of options from micro-credit to small and medium enterprises.

### *Homo culturicus*

The strength of the Bangladeshis lies not in their being as *homo politicus* or *homo economicus* but in their being as *homo culturicus* or cultural beings. In fact, Bangladesh has not fared well politically, the 'democratic culture' has been marred by violence and divisiveness, or even economically, the country has one of the largest numbers of poverty stricken people in the world. But when it comes

to 'cultural democracy' Bangladesh has fared much better than many of the developed democratic societies of the world. Lalou, Bankim and Tagore are living testimonies, so are Lata Mangeshkar, Ravi Shankar and George Harrison. If this be the case then it is important to mainstream culture and make use of it in the task of organizing and mobilizing the population for reproducing democratic norms and tolerance. But this would require a pool of talents and the Ansar Bahini could be the right place to start looking for them. Round the clock cultural events throughout the country are something that the Ansars could be equipped to organize without much efforts and investments.

### *Homo technologicus*

Human are also *homo technologicus* or technological beings. The productive use of newer technology in large number is what had contributed to human development for centuries. This is precisely what Mahatma Gandhi had in mind when calling upon the people to use the *charka* (spinning-wheel). As Gandhi pointed out:

It is quite possible that in future people may see harm in the spinning-wheel, may come to think that no one should wear cotton clothes at all, because they do harm. They may, for instance, believe that clothes should be made from fibres extracted from banana leaves. If people should come to feel that way, anyone who still clings to the spinning-wheel would be looked upon as a fool. A wise man, however, will mean by the spinning-wheel not an article made of wood but any type of work which provides *employment to all people* (emphasise mine).<sup>22</sup>

Technology otherwise must be brought down to the level of the masses, only then it would cease to be an instrument of oppression. A case in point would be 'the mobilisation of talk, of

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<sup>22</sup> M.K. Gandhi, *The Bhagvadgita* (Delhi: Orient Paperbacks, 2007), pp.76-77.

communication, of information,' through mobile phones, facebook, twitter, internet, television channels, and the like.<sup>23</sup> A novel yet critical use of such technology could be made for the purpose of gathering intelligence data. And the VDP, with nearly 6 million of them spread throughout Bangladesh and networked via mobile phones and laptops, could contribute immensely to counter-terrorism.

### *Homo psycholigicus*

Finally, humans are *homo psycholigicus* or psychological beings. Without a change in the 'mind-set' no people-centred development, whether local or national, could be accomplished. The vast number of Ansars could be mobilized for changing the ideas and opinions about issues like family planning, AIDs, treatment of minorities, violence on women, even religious intolerance. In changing the mind-set at the local level the Ansars would be contributing to the growth of healthy and tolerant minds throughout Bangladesh. Indeed, a beginning could be made by changing the very name of Ansar Bahini into something like *Human Security Force* or *Public Security Force*. It may be pointed out that in Sri Lanka a force of similar kind is called Civil Security Force. Renaming the Ansar Bahini as Human or Public Security Force would certainly help the Bahini to reorganize afresh the various components that got added over the years, like the armed Ansar battalion, VDP and the like. At the same time, such a change in the name would allow the Bahini to embark upon newer activities with full knowledge and participation of the public. This would certainly help the Bahini overcome the colonial and semi-colonial legacies for good. Let us keep our dreams alive!

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<sup>23</sup> George Myerson, *Heidegger, Habermas and the Mobile Phone* (Cambridge: Icon Books UK, 2001), p.61.

*International Legal System:  
Where is Human Security?*

DDG Dilip K. Biswas,<sup>24</sup>

International law has evolved following World War Two. The world responded to the horrors in Nazi-occupied Europe with the Nuremberg Trials, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the 1949 Geneva Convention. The inception of these legal instruments signalled a deliberate shift in the 'scope and purpose' of international law, offering revolutionary protections to individuals and new International Organizations (IO). Today, following further significant developments, the debate amongst legal and political scholars focuses on the dichotomous understanding of who or what is the principal object of international law. Some contend that despite this 'liberalization' of international law, states remain the pre-eminent actor in the global system. On the other hand, others cannot envisage human rights driven legal agenda without the *individual* at the heart of contemporary legal order. Thus, human rights were only the notion and typical terminology of literature of international law from the very inception of international legal system.

This essay will illustrate that recent developments offer a more prominent position to individuals rather than states in international law and it has been done ultimately to uphold the essence of human security. If we analyze the history of international legal system from WWII onwards, we shall find that international legal regimes are totally human rights centric. This paper strongly suggests that law cannot and should not remain indifferent to the face of risk. As has been argued in this paper, the main distinctive element between human security and human rights is the element of risk or vulnerability. In this sense, following from the universality, interdependence and indivisibility of human rights, it has been proposed to consider through an integrated approach that all human rights are at the center of human security, and that the differentiating

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<sup>24</sup> DDG Dilip K. Biswas is the Commandant of Bangladesh Ansar and VDP and Chairman of Master's in Human Security program.

element, the one that unites the two notions and therefore makes it significant both for rights and for security, is precisely the component of risk or vulnerability, as was also pointed out in the working definition.

Now, it can be argued that human security reaches spaces where the concepts of personal security, social security and citizen security do not. As was seen above, security holds a factual dimension and also a normative dimension. With regards to its normative character, in terms of human rights, human security includes all human rights and covers therefore the right to personal security and the right to social security contemplated in International Human Rights Law, as well as the elements of citizen security as articulated in the Inter-American system of human rights. But it also extends to risks, threats and sudden changes not considered by these concepts or by these specific rights, for example, risks to the right to health and to the right to a healthy environment.

However, why analyze human security and not the sum total of human rights? Or, in any case, why not analyze the human rights outside of the rights to personal and social security, in current need of justifiability, namely, ESC Rights? To answer these questions, it can be underlined that it is not enough to look at each right separately or to only examine them in a joint manner. Comparably to what occurs with self-determination, for example, it is observed that human security has a potential to function as an integrating bridge between correlated risks to human rights that place persons in a situation of vulnerability. The result of looking at the connection between rights and viewing them integrally may be considered in fact human security. Under this light, human security refers not only to the protection from risks described in the working definition, but becomes also a guarantee, a condition which is necessary to allow the full enjoyment of all human rights by all persons. Thus, it is considered appropriate and even constructive to use these international legal tools to attend some of the new challenges for humanity that the notion of human security has helped to identify by applying the people-centered approach, many of them closely related to the possibility of human beings to fully enjoy all human rights.

It can be observed that given the very recent increase in the usage of the notion of human security through some academic and practical exercises, the theme is gaining an important momentum, for which legal scholarship should have an answer and continue reflection on the limits and potentials of human security as a catalyst for the improvement of the lives and rights of human beings.

### **Human security and International Law**

One may broadly think of the normative and legal dimensions of security in trying to address the question of how the law responds to risk. Following from this, there are different reflections we could undertake in order to analyze the possible relationship specifically between human security and International Law in a globalized scenario.

It has been indicated that international law has been largely silent, although the concept [human security] might well have considerable impact on its future development in some...key areas.

- (1) The understanding of security in international law;
- (2) the place of human security in the UN Charter;
- (3) the role of the Security Council, state sovereignty, and humanitarian intervention;
- (4) the creation of new norms; and
- (5) the place of non-state actors in international law. It has also been noted that although "human security has left traces in these areas, the challenge to international law might well reach further and comprise both international law as an operating system (that is, its role as a "constitution" for international society) and the normative system (that is, the values and goals international law considers worth pursuing)".

In exploring some of the ways in which human security has been and could be used in International Law, Barbara Von Tigerstrom has identified and studied main areas of intersection: 1) humanitarian intervention; 2) forced displacement; 3) small arms control; and 4) global public health. These issues are examined deeply in her work through analyzing specific legal instruments or an "evolving legal framework" (as in the case of small arms and light weapons), that cover the basic elements of human security- the identification of risks and threats- with reference to each of these four global phenomena. At the same time, she explains the current legal debates and re-evaluates them "through the lens of human security". Finally, she explores the mutual advantages both human security and International Law could attain from this kind of legal analysis that underlines the crossroads between the notion of human security and some of its concrete normative expressions.

Human security may also be important for International Law in the determination and evaluation of the parties involved in a legal matter. Because of its people-centered view, it provides guidance as to the actors apart from the State, whose participation is relevant in relation to security and which would probably not be considered in traditional security strategies, for example, transnational corporations or non-State armed groups. Another aspect with implications for International Law that has recently been highlighted as an area of study under the 'broad notion' of human security is that of non-citizens. *Human Security and Non-Citizens: Law, Policy and International Affairs*, looks at not only refugees, asylum seekers and displaced persons, as has already been analyzed to a certain extent by current literature, but also at stateless persons and moreover, irregular migrants, who suffer from lack of protection due to the existing gaps in International Human Rights Law in this subject.

Thus, generally speaking, if one looks at the human security agenda, many of its elements have been enclosed in one way or another by international norms and principles. The central component of human insecurity as the existence of risk and the related situation of vulnerability is dealt with in International Law through instruments directed to different groups of persons, for example, women victims



of discrimination or violence, or more recent concerns in the international arena, such as children in armed conflict.

It has been argued that a notion of human security that is wholly informed by international human rights law, international humanitarian law, international criminal law and international refugee law, and which considers the relevant international legal norms prohibiting the use of force in international relations, will probably prove more valuable to international legal theory and practice in the longer term, than a concept of human security which does not meet these conditions because these areas of law embody the objectified political will of States rather than the more subjective preconceptions of scholars.

With the intention of contributing to the discussion mainly on one of these legal intersections, the focus of this write up concentrate on the relationship between human security and human rights viewed from International Law.

### **Human security and human rights**

In looking at the development within International Law of ideas with a human-centered versus a State-centered approach, one can find the norms and principles relating to human rights, humanitarian intervention and, to some extent, international peace and security. In looking at our issue of analysis, the connections between human security and human rights, it is necessary to refer to the strategic importance of respect for human rights in the maintenance of international peace and security in general, the core objective of the Charter of the United Nations: "Security is a condition or feeling of safety, of being protected. International human rights norms define the meaning of human security...Article 28 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is of crucial importance from this point of view. It provides that everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights recognized in the Declaration can be realized...Individual security must be the basis for national security, and national security grounded in individual security must

be the basis of international security. National security and international security cannot be achieved without respect for individual security in the form of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms...conflicts cannot be prevented or peace maintained in a world of wanton violations of human rights."

In this sense, with respect to the international attention paid to security matters within the UN framework, there has been an increasing tendency over time for the General Assembly and the Security Council to deal in parallel with the same matter concerning the maintenance of international peace and security...It is often the case that, while the Security Council has tended to focus on the aspects of such matters related to international peace and security, the General Assembly has taken a broader view, considering also their humanitarian, social and economic aspects. However, the reformulation of the notion of security under the human security elements could have important institutional consequences in the exercise of the legal functions of the different UN bodies, especially of the Security Council, the organ entrusted by the Charter to maintain precisely international peace and security.

As has been mentioned, this is one of the areas of potential analysis of the relationship between human security and International Law, and this may be clearly appreciated if one thinks of the UN's role in conflict prevention or peace-keeping and peace-building, for example, and the ways in which this would be modified with a widespread shift in the security paradigm. As a proposal for further analysis, one could reflect that if we are to accept the protection of all human rights—civil, political, economic, social and cultural—as the central element of security concerns, and combine it with the principle of interdependence of all human rights in an integrated approach, then we might consider that at least a 'minimum core'<sup>57</sup> of each human right would have to be incorporated into the different functions of the Security Council.

Another point of encounter may be found in looking at human security under the light of legal rights as recognized by International Law, in a similar way to the human rights-based approaches that have been suggested in relation to development, especially in

relation to ESC Rights, an analysis that might bear fruitful results as this view has seldom been explored. In line with the recent emphasis on focusing on human rights implementation,<sup>60</sup> the connection between human security and human rights under this perspective, would also contribute to the possibility of constructing public policies with a human rights-based approach, which include the aspect of prevention and attention to risks and situations of vulnerability.

As it has been observed, in whichever of its conceptions, the fact is that human security plays a key function in international and national institutional arrangements, frequently related to the legal dimension of human rights. The evolution of human rights has had a great influence on the development of modern International Law, and in this context it can be observed that human security, in the same way than human rights, is human-centered, as opposed to State-focused.<sup>61</sup> Thus, it is possible to conclude that both constructs, human security and human rights, serve common purposes and are therefore “mutually reinforcing”.

Despite this, as has been explained, while most human security ideas relate to human rights, they do not adopt a human rights-based approach when measuring levels of human security. Human security and human rights share common values, they overlap and coincide in their interest of placing human beings at the center of concern. Human rights have a normative basis expressed through a strong legal architecture, while human security is more of an orienting notion, a unifying or transformative concept that contributes to the interpretation of such normative legal framework. However, the relevant intersecting point between human security and human rights -which is at the same time the distinctive characteristic that sets them apart as different notions-, is precisely the element of risk or vulnerability. In this sense, it does not seem appropriate when answering the question of which human rights should enter under the human security umbrella, to observe that only a limited set of rights, those “basic rights” directly related to “survival, livelihood and dignity”, should be considered within human security.

The point that can be raised is why is it necessary to make a distinction? The need for specifying rights would appear either to fall back into the classical hierarchical division between civil-political rights/ESC Rights, generally surpassed by now, or to point in favor of considering that all rights have a relationship with human security, in which case the distinction might not be necessary in the first place. Additionally, to adopt the first position of differentiating "basic rights" would seem somewhat dangerous given there already exists a legal regime, through International Human Rights Law and International Humanitarian Law, that defines the suspendable/non-suspendable and derogable/non-derogable rights in situations of peace and armed conflict. In any case, human security could serve a purpose in advancing a protective interpretation of such rights or of the non-derogable elements of rights but not in substituting the set of rights to be upheld in each of these situations.

In this sense, following from the universality, interdependence and indivisibility of human security, it seems more adequate and useful to propose in an integrated approach, that all human rights are at the center of human security, and that the differentiating element, the one that unites the two notions and therefore makes it significant both for rights and for security, is the component of risk or vulnerability, as was pointed out in the working definition. International legal regimes do not mention the name of human security. In most of the cases, it does place the states as the exclusive object (and agent) of law. It is argued that although states still retain significant value in international law, individuals' security increasingly becoming the focal point.

### *Security as Rights*

Turning to the State's obligations within the international legal order, it can be observed that there are various international human rights instruments which refer to security. Although there are several regional human rights instruments that draw this same connection, for purposes of summarizing the main elements of this relationship, it will be examined mainly within the UN system for human rights.

protection. In this context, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), as well as the two main Covenants within the UN human rights system, on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, recognize the right to security in one way or another. Therefore, one of the most important legal intersections between the two concerns in this paper is considering security as a human right.

The ICCPR acknowledges the "right to liberty and security of person" and indicates that no person "shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest or detention" nor "shall be deprived of his liberty except on such grounds and in accordance with such procedures as are established by law" (article 9, 1.). On the other hand, the ICESCR recognizes "the right of everyone to social security, including social insurance" (article 9) and prescribes the widest possible protection and assistance by the State to the family, which is the natural and fundamental group unit of society, particularly for its establishment and while it is responsible for the care and education of dependent children (article 10, 1.). It also stipulates the obligation of granting special protection to mothers during a reasonable period before and after childbirth and mentions that during such period working mothers should be accorded paid leave or leave with adequate social security benefits (article 10, 2.).

Therefore, we may see the different contents determined for the right to security, depending on the nature of the Covenant and the values each one wishes to protect with regards to human dignity, in one case, more related to physical liberty and integrity, and in the other, more linked to social support networks and socio-economic well-being. However, these are both expressions of an individual right to safeguards and certainties enjoyable in different spheres of human life, in relation to which the State has positive obligations of protection. which affirmed that "Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person" (article 3), and that "Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of

the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality" (article 22).

It also set forth that "Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control" and that "Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection" (article 25, 1. and 2.).

Security is also mentioned in both Covenants as a justifiable restriction to the exercise of certain rights, under the face of 'national security' and generally prescribing that these rights shall not be subject to any restrictions except those which are provided by law, are necessary to protect national security in a democratic society, public order (*ordre public*), public health or morals or the rights and freedoms of others, and are consistent with the other rights recognized in the Covenant (articles 12, 3.; 13; 14; 19; 21; and 22, 2. of the ICCPR; and article 8, 1., a) and c) of the ICESCR). However, it is important to note that the possibilities of using security of the State as a legitimate restriction of rights, was not mentioned at all in the UDHR, which sheds light on the fact that in the Cold War period in which the two Covenants were adopted, the fear of threats posed by the exercise of rights such as liberty of movement, freedom of expression or freedom of association (in the case of the ICCPR), or the right to form trade unions (in the case of the ICESCR), was probably higher than in the immediate aftermath of the war, or than (arguably) it is today.

Following the human-centered view already described, if we understand security as the protection from risks, threats and sudden changes that can negatively affect the daily lives, rights and dignity of people at the individual level (and indirectly at the community level), and not only the menaces involving the State, then we can observe the necessary relationship between human security and human rights.

Going one step further, in this integral conception of human security, we can consider not only the threats stemming from physical violence which harm the human rights to life, liberty or personal integrity, but we may also affirm that there is a case for viewing security in relation to the risks to ESC Rights (whether they originate from violent conflict or not), as is considered in the right to social security, for example.

Thus, we may observe that there is legal basis to affirm that security is a human right, but limited to the right of personal security and the right to social security, as well as a certain notion of a right to international security as set forth in Article 28 of the UDHR. Human security as such has also been considered as "an emerging right", which would consist of the individual's claim to the protection against the seven types of threats correlated to the categories of insecurities identified by the 1994 UNDP Report. However, from the analysis carried out in the present paper, it may be observed that there is not enough basis at this moment to consider there exists a right to human security and it may not even be desirable (arguably) for that to become so, if we wish for human security to retain its power as a unifying, transforming concept.

### **New Conceptual Approaches**

The fundamental position of non-state actors in the legal system is reflected by contemporary theoretical and pedagogical interpretations of international law. This section assesses the conceptual response to long-established, realist theories of international law. Traditionally, theories of international law adhere to a strict state-based order. 'Classical' legal positivism dominated the 18th and 19th Century critical legal understanding. This 'Austinian' concept characterizes law as 'a unified system of rules...that emanate from State will', implying a state-centric global legal order that is sustained only by hard law. Paulus and Simma contend that the *Lotus* case cements the state's hegemonic position

within the legal order. Ago expands to claim that legal norms can only be generated by sovereign states, thereby limiting the influence non-state actors can exert on legal processes. This rationale was relatively unchallenged – with most critics being labelled ‘idealists’ – until the Second World War.

Following WWII, international law as a theoretical (and indeed pedagogical) entity demanded fresh conceptual understandings that readjusted the relationship between states and non-state actors. Reacting to notable advancements in liberal theory in international relations, Slaughter began to apply the bottom-up rhetoric to legal theory. International law began to be interpreted in different ways that invariably placed significantly more emphasis on non-state actors as the ‘object’ or, more aptly, the ‘participant’ in international law. Simply, as human rights edged closer to a *jus cogens* norm, legal positivism was no longer able to provide an adequate analytical toolkit for the study of today’s global legal agenda. Its inability to normatively engage with the future of international law, in conjunction with its difficulty aligning individuals and organizations alongside states in terms of the responsibility and power wielded, reinforces the idea that a state-centric system is outdated.

That this theory is considered antiquated is constructive to the discipline and its participants. Orakhelashvili credits this enlightenment to universal recognition of ‘humanitarian values and principles’. In conflict with Friedmann’s commitment to practicality, the post-war agenda demanded a perspective that is infused with liberal and cosmopolitan ethics that can offer different explanations, and can engage normatively with law. Theorists like Slaughter advocate significant structural modifications to the international legal system: including strengthening IOs, obliging a doctrine of complementarity and holding states to greater account. The last element is valuable, as despite their responsibility, states act irresponsibly. The *Mejia Egocheaga v. Peru* case demonstrated international law’s capacity to override domestic legal systems, and to find States accountable to a claim brought by an individual.[15]

The human rights agenda demanded and deserved a new type of international law that constrains the influence of states within the



'suggestions' void of the requisite 'teeth' that could oblige sovereign states to follow rules.

Secondly, consent offers states a decisive 'opt out' provision when it comes to new 'laws'. States gain legitimacy by their democratic quality. The fact that this legitimacy is not transferred to unelected IOs can act as justification for when states choose to ignore established rules and principles-even if their intent is peace-building. Moreover, further strengthening the state's position relative to organizations, is the 'consent principle'. Commentators are quick to highlight the success of organizations such as the WTO in generating success with its non-unanimous voting system. This hints at a transition to a legal order that offers organizations a more prominent role. However these claims might be overzealous. Yes – the consensual decision-making process in the WTO overrides state consent to a degree, but this essay contests that as the WTO's and national interests are in alignment, it is hardly a paradigm-shifting change in international law. State sovereignty is threatened notably less when states relinquish control of a norm or process, only for that norm to retain the same overarching direction and objective. Would – for example – the US retain its membership if the WTO had unilateral authority to establish global neo-liberal economic policies? No – they would surrender their membership, thus severing their obligation to carry out its decisions. As states are central in the creation of organizations, they ensure the institutional setup allows for states to retain control of its direction.

It is impossible therefore to claim that states are no longer intrinsic to international law. States, especially Western states, are masters of preserving their interests – and by keeping consent central to the process allows them – to some extent – to decide their own fate.

This section has outlined how, in the face of growing organizations and enlightened individuals who are asserting their human rights, states can retain some control of the international legal process. That being said, the next section will highlight how consent is increasingly easy to bypass, and how legal personality is fortifying non-state actors.

### Circumventing consent

Although structures and procedures in international law permit states to avoid (sometimes altruistic) obligations, the contemporary global system makes this stubborn remnant of pre-war legal mentality increasingly simple to sidestep. The strength of state consent in law making is troubling. In his dissent to the Lotus case, Judge Loder found the rigid system of state consent to be 'at variance with the spirit of international law'.<sup>[26]</sup> This essay agrees – especially if cosmopolitan understandings of international law are applied. Simply, there are too many divergent national agendas for an international law that best fosters 'global justice'.<sup>[27]</sup> Normatively then, international law should be more flexible about state consent for its lofty objectives to be achieved. This section will examine how state consent can be circumvented, challenging even the most staunchly defended legal norms.

The argument presented in the previous section – that organizations are weaker and are simply the marionettes of states – is reasonable. It goes some way to suggesting that the 'legal personality' accrued by IOs does not impact upon the state-based legal order – and especially upon non-members States within an IO (as they are not bound by its decisions).<sup>[28]</sup> However in the *Reparation for Injuries* opinion, the ICJ found that as a significant portion of the international community were members of the UN, it had sufficient 'personality' to impose claims on Israel – a (then) non-member state.<sup>[29]</sup> This demonstrates the distinctness between states and organizations, diluting the argument that states cannot *really* be accountable to a supranational organization, and that state consent can override the law-making abilities of organizations.

This legal 'apartheid' is accentuated by Higgins' suggestion that it is customary for states to endow organizations with 'immunities' to further juxtapose the rights and responsibilities of the contrasting polities. Since the *Reparation* case, states have felt the 'bite' of organizations empowered by the customary international law that endows them with legal personality: even the US were the victims of this authority in *International Tin Council v Amalgamet Inc.* Legal personality distances organizations from the control of states. All organizations therefore are to be definitively considered as objects or

'participants' of international law, and the range of powers they possess strongly challenges the previously untouchable legal position of 'sovereign' states.

Further stretching previously inalienable state's rights is the phenomenon of foreign intervention. Heywood believes non-intervention to be a fundamental norm of sovereignty. Non-interventionism is reflective of a pre-war international relations mindset, where states avoided intervention at all costs and had not reached the level of interdependence that we see today. Now though, intervention has become central both to government foreign policy and international law.

In 1999, allied forces confronted Serbian forces in Kosovo in the form of a military intervention. This was in conflict with the UN Charter Article 2(4) that prohibits the use of force. Also, the UNSC refused to legitimize a foreign intervention – China and Russia both vetoed a Resolution authorizing force. Perhaps fifty years earlier that would have been the end of the matter. Supported with public will and armed with humanitarian rhetoric however, the allies bypassed the state-consent system in the UNSC by turning to NATO. NATO, citing the need to avert a humanitarian disaster, launched Operation Allied Force which ultimately ended the Milosevic regime. This intervention represents the transition from original laws of war – designed to protect state sovereignty, towards humanitarian intervention – designed to protect individuals. This then highlights how organizations are equally important to the legal system as states in generating law. Despite its customary nature, the development of humanitarian principles and human rights have eroded the concept of state sovereignty, leaving Kofi Annan to suggest a revision from state sovereignty to 'responsible sovereignty'. [37]

This section has shown how attaining 'legal personality' is crucial to enhancing one's responsibility in international law. Although state consent remains an important characteristic of international legal decision-making, the growing stature of Organizations allows them to permeate this norm. Organizations are not the only beneficiaries of a distinct legal personality. This next section will unravel the place of individuals in the world order, as both law makers and participants.

## Towards the Constitutionalization

Certainly, the *Courts of Danzig* advisory opinion was significant in bequeathing legal rights to individuals.[38] However, human rights have been driven by much more than case law. The previous section alluded to the rise of humanitarianism and the obligations *erga omnes* of states to protect against *jus cogens* violations; this coincided with humans beginning to recognize themselves as 'rights bearers'. [39] This recognition resulted in an unprecedented new function for individuals in international law. This section emphasizes the exclusivity of the individual in international law, and also their part in transforming principles into law.

Since 2000, both the R2P and ICC are integral to international law and politics. Their functions of protecting and prosecuting hold the individual at the heart of moral concern. First, the R2P is the pinnacle of soft law. Despite its cosmopolitan aims and NGO-inspired construction, the R2P commands near-universal respect by states and organizations alike.[40] Coupled with its rhetorical charm, 2011 saw its principles deployed in practice. After being invoked by the UNSC regarding Libya, the norm gained legitimacy.[41] Its acceptance by states suggests *opinio juris*, and reveals states' recognition of the importance of the individual as a recipient of international law. The success of this norm is detrimental to proponents of a state-centric legal order, as the norm attracted universal approval before it was indoctrinated into (hard) law. The R2P provides half of the onus on the individual as an object or participant of international law, the other half can be derived from the ICC.

Like the R2P, the scope of the ICC is fixed exclusively on individuals. The ICC does not, however, have immediate jurisdiction over legal matters; a case would be inadmissible for example if the state's domestic court investigated the case reasonably. Conversely, the 'complementarity' element of the ICC's jurisdiction allows the ICC to investigate and prosecute if the state's court is unwilling to pursue the case responsibly. This extends to the ICC an 'overseer' position, legitimizing its role as an entity to which states are accountable. Neo-colonialists might claim that the ICC's jurisdiction

is thin, as they cannot prosecute nationals of non-signatory states – including the US and Israel – leaving a body that seems to target African leaders. Moreover, due to the voluntary jurisdictional clauses demanding a case be referred by the UNSC (of which the US is a P5 member), it appears unlikely that the ICC would ever target the US – for example. This supports the idea that the *object* of international law remains to be *some* states.

However, there are clever provisions within the ICC that splinter this principle. Article 12(2a) has been invoked recently by the Comoros in reference to the Israeli attack on the MV Mavi Marmara – a Comoros-registered vessel. The ‘loophole’ requires ‘the State of registration of that vessel’ to be that of a signatory state for the ICC to have jurisdiction. Hence, Comoros is within its rights to formally refer the attack to the ICC, where Israelis could be prosecuted. The crucial aspect is that Israelis *could* be held accountable to a body to which Israeli is not a party – thereby undermining its sovereignty, and its consent. This illustrates the power of independent organizations, and the renewed value of individuals in the international legal order.

Together then, the R2P and ICC are both reactive bodies that prioritise, and can be influenced by, individual human beings. The R2P in particular shows how soft law can permeate the global system, and how principled norms can be championed by NGOs and civilians, before being incorporated into existing law by states and IOs. This leads to the idea of constitutionalization. Norms driven by common humanity can develop organically, slowly transforming into customary law before gaining universal acceptance. Norms such as human rights and humanitarian intervention have become instilled into humanity’s psyche, in spite of the lack of hard law that advocates them. Cosmopolitan thinkers note the need for a higher level of law that transcends states. Habermas neatly articulates this concept as a global constitution.[47] Constitutionalization of humanity-driven regimes represents the perfect end to the norm-cycle that places individuals at the heart of international law. It also represents its ideal normative direction. In Europe a supranational constitution was only narrowly defeated, suggesting there is appetite

for this extra level of law among 'We, the People'.<sup>[48]</sup> A global constitution, inspired by humanistic principles, may be what is needed for international law to fulfil its more idealistic ambitions of maintaining global peace and stability.

This section has outlined the R2P and ICC to be more effective protectors of individuals than treaties that further liberate international law from the chokehold of state control. It has advocated a deliberate move towards a global constitution that protects individuals, empowers organizations and constrains an antiquated system of a horizontal, state-based order.

## Conclusion

In conclusion, this essay has argued that the status and position of individuals and organizations under international law has been significantly enhanced in the last seventy years. It has done this by charting the development of international law theoretically, and by outlining the strengths of consent – and its consequent vulnerability when confronted with stronger organizations and soft-law instruments. The essay has explored the debate amongst scholars that the state is no longer dominant in the legal order, and how the legal system must adapt when enlightened publics champion humanitarian principles. Although states have not been replaced *completely* by non-state actors, if the trend towards something resembling a global constitution continues, states may find their influence to be fatally compromised with individuals, groups and organizations forming the crux of the new public international law.

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*Human Security, Social Conflict and the Role of  
Ansar/UDP in Bangladesh: An Overview*

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The traditional definition of security premised on military defense of a territory puts human security and social conflict at the periphery. There is no internationally agreed definition of 'human security'. In recent years, 'human security' problems and issues have gained increasing attention on global, regional and local security agendas as essential priorities alongside more traditional or military (or 'national') security concerns. As a consequence, this paper adopts a flexible definition: 'human security is achieved when the vital core of all human lives is safeguarded from critical pervasive threats, in a way that is consistent with long-term human fulfillment'. One of the primary roles of the state is to provide peace and security for its citizens both within the nation-state and to ensure their protection against threats from outside (S.Rugumamu 1993). The CHS, in its final report defines *Human Security as*: ...to protect the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and human fulfillment. Human security means protecting fundamental freedoms – freedoms that are the essence of life. It means protecting people from critical (severe) and pervasive (widespread) threats and situations. It means using processes that build on people's strengths and aspirations. It means creating political, social, environmental, economic, military and cultural systems that together give people the building blocks of survival, livelihood and dignity (CHS: 2003: 4). Firstly, when the concept of *human security is discussed it is necessary to remember* previous attempts, from the Cold War era, to change the security concept. Peter J. Katzenstein, an American security scientist, briefly noticed that: 'The end of the Cold War has put new national security issues beside the long-standing fear of a nuclear war between the two superpowers and their preparations for large-scale conventional wars'

1. ethnic conflicts leading to civil wars that expose civilian populations to large-scale state violence;

1. an increasing relevance of economic competitiveness and, relatedly, of the «spin-on» of civilian high technology for possible military use;
2. increasing numbers of migrants and refugees testing the political capacities of states;
3. threats of environmental degradation affecting national well-being; and
4. perceived increases in the relevance of issues of cultural identity in international politics, including human rights and religion (P. J. Katzenstein, *Introduction: Alternative Perspectives on National Security* [in:] P. J. Katzenstein (ed.), *The Culture of National Security*)

The first sign of change in the thinking about security was a remarkable article published in the early 80s by Richard Ullman, entitled *Redefining Security*, in which the author "(...) made a general case for broadening the concept of security" (Ibid). Moreover, it was stated that threats to security were increasing, particularly non-military threats. These threats, argued Ullman, threaten the political freedom of governments and any single man, and could make him poorer as well (R. Ullman, *Redefining Security*, "International Security", vol. 8, no. 1, Summer 1983, p. 133)

The next step towards a vital breakthrough in thinking about security was a publication by Jessica Matthews in a prestigious American magazine *Foreign Affairs* (J. Matthews, *Redefining Security*, „Foreign Affairs”, vol. 68, no. 2, 1989, p.162 – 177.). The author highlighted the need for states to give proper concern to the newly apparent threats posed by environmental problems such as ozone depletion and global warming (P. Hough, 2005, p. 73.).

In this moment, it is necessary to emphasize that the way of understanding security concept had changed definitely in the consequence of the collapse of the Cold War bipolar system. Traditional, narrow, concentrated only on military aspects, security definitions were followed by modern, broad approaches, proposed by famous theorists in International Relations such as Barry Buzan, Stephen Walt, Edward Kolodziej and others (S. M. Walt, *The Renaissance of Security Studies*, "International Studies Quarterly", vol. 35, no. 2, June 1991, p. 211 – 239; E. A. Kolodziej, *Renaissance in Security Studies? Caveat Lector!*, "International Studies Quarterly", vol. 36, no. 4, December 1992, p. 421 – 438).



The previous, narrow security concept tended to focus only on military capabilities and the use and control of force by states (S. Walt, *The Renaissance of Security Studies...*, *op. cit.*, p. 212.).

The new approach to security treated it broadly, including such aspects as political, social, environmental, cultural, information, but also military factors. The most famous promoter of this attitude was an English theorist of International Relations, abovementioned Barry Buzan, the founder of the so-called *Copenhagen School of security*.

"Barry Buzan trail-blazed this approach in the early 1990s, but it fully crystallised later in the decade, when he teamed up with Ole Waever and Jaap de Wilde in producing the groundbreaking work *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*" (P. Hough, *op. cit.*, p. 74; cited by Buzan)

This new direction was called for the first time as the *Copenhagen School of security* in 1994 by Bill McSweeney, one of the scientists who together with Buzan participated in *Security Research Group* in Copenhagen, Denmark.

The authors of the UNDP *Report highlighted the fact that "the concept of security has for too long been interpreted narrowly: as security of territory from external aggression, or as protection of national interests in foreign policy or as a global security from the threat of a nuclear holocaust. It has been related more to nation-states than to people. (...) Forgotten were the legitimate concerns of ordinary people who sought security in their daily lives. For many of them, security symbolized protection from the threat of disease, hunger, unemployment, crime, social conflict, political repression and environmental hazards"*(United Nations Development Program, *Human Development Report 1994...*, *op. cit.*, p. 22.).

Consequently, it was distinguished in two trends within the modern approach to security in the *Report*: '(...) *First, safety from such chronic threats as hunger, disease, repression [it means – freedom from want]. And second, it means protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns in daily life (...) [freedom from fear]*'.

*Main features of Human Security*

1. *people-centered*
2. *multi-sectoral*
3. *Comprehensive*
4. *context-specific*
5. *prevention-oriented*

**Theoretical frameworks behind the new security discourse**

Various attempts have been made to provide an adequate conceptualization of human security. There are two main contemporary theories of international relations. At one end of the continuum is an approach based on a neo-realist theoretical framework, which maintains a continued emphasis on the primacy of the state within a broadened conceptualization of (human) security. Some call this approach the 'new security thinking' (L. Thompson, 2000).

A postmodernist or 'critical human security' approach that is rooted within the pluralist theory of international politics represents the other end in this security discourse. This approach is based on a set of assumptions that essentially attempt to dislodge the state as the primary referent of security, while placing greater emphasis on the interdependency and transnationalization of non-state actors.

1. The neo-realist approach to human security
2. The 'critical' or postmodernist approach to human security

**The neo-realist approach to human security**

The neo-realist approach to human security has been advocated by 'structural' or neo-realists such as Barry Buzan in his seminal work *People, States and Fear* (K. Booth, 1994.)

The three tenets of social security are the following: 1) Society is composed of different groups that compete for resources. 2) While societies may portray a sense of cooperation, a continual power struggle exists between social groups as they pursue their own interests. Within societies, certain groups control specific resources and means of production. 3) Social groups will use resources to their own advantage in the pursuit of their goals

Many dominated groups in a society will struggle with other groups in attempt to gain control. Many of the times, the groups with the most resources will gain or maintain power (due to the fact that they have the resources to support their power).

1. Conflict is the confrontation of powers. But power takes many forms.
2. Power can be:
3. indicative
4. Assertive
5. altruistic
6. Manipulative
7. Coercive and
8. Physical, and so on.

Some are intentionally directed, as are assertive and bargaining powers; one is directed wholly towards a person's body, as is force; and others are directed through another self, as are inductive and intellectual powers. All these powers may conflict; all can manifest conflict.

Social conflict is not limited to hostile or antagonistic opposition; it is not wholly a clash of coercive powers as often is implied, but of any opposing social powers. Thus, the conflict of intellectual powers may be manifested through debating, arguing, or disputing; of bargaining powers through haggling, negotiating, dickering, bartering, or exchanging; of authoritative powers through adjudicating, appealing, or documenting; of altruistic powers through accommodating, obliging, or benefitting.

## Social Security and Human Conflict

Advocates for a human security approach argue that to insist on a narrower state-centric security paradigm at the expense of human security would leave the concept of security fruitless of any practical meaning in many real-world circumstances.

The human security concept and a range of key human security issues in the globe including intra-state and ethnic conflict, post-conflict peace building, displaced persons and refugees, natural disasters and its aftermath especially the protection mechanism of children, women, disables, elders and minorities in dislocation conflict, and poverty and human development.

### Freedom from Want

1. Economic Security:
2. Three main forms of economic insecurity are identified:
  1. general poverty,
  2. economic exploitation and
  3. 'price hikes' in basic commodities.
4. With 50 percent of Bangladeshis living below the poverty line, poverty and unemployment are the greatest concerns for most people.
  1. Poverty underlies many other problems. It is a major cause of food insecurity, since many people lack the resources (including land and agricultural products) either to grow their own food or to buy it from others. Limited resources make it harder to access basic services such as healthcare, sanitation and education. Poverty and unemployment are also seen as being the two most important drivers of crime and injustice.

### **Poor Health Security**

Poor health security includes the risk of poverty-related health problems:

1. the spread of infectious diseases
2. low standards of healthcare provision.
3. Poor health is a threat to human security because:
  1. it undermines social and economic development.

### **Food Security**

Food insecurity in Bangladesh is a major problem, with nearly 40 percent of population suffers from insufficient food. Stability of food supplies is also a challenge: that seasonal or chronic food insecurity is a major cause of overall insecurity. Food security is closely linked to environmental security: natural disasters destroy large quantities of food and severely disrupt agricultural production, while environmental degradation reduce the long-term productivity of land.

### **Environmental Security:**

Four main threats are identified as relating to environmental security in Bangladesh:

1. natural disasters,
2. riverbank erosion,
3. pressure on resources,
4. and severe cyclonic storms and tidal surge due to extreme climate change.

**Natural disasters are the most frequently cited cause of insecurity**

The most damaging disasters are cyclones and floods; over the last century, cyclones (including Cyclone Sidr in 2007, Aila in 2009 and devastating

## Editorial

Bangladesh Ansar & VDP Academy is going to publish a biannual journal on human security; title is 'Journal of Human Security' as part of MHS program (Master's in Human Security). It shall publish articles on major issues of human security identified by the UNDP in 1994. We are committed to a multidisciplinary approach of human security analysis. Our associates shall contribute expertise from such diverse areas as Sociology, International Relations, Political Science, Diplomacy, Security, and Economics. The *Journal of Human Security* shall bring together know-how from teachers, researchers, professionals, activists and NGO-workers both from the home and abroad. Beyond these, the *Journal of Human Security* aims to connect people interested in all aspects of human security. Permission of publication of this Journal is earned from the Ministry of Home Affairs (**MEMO NO.44.03.0000.114.08.001. 2013-181/1(1); Date-17/7/2014**) of the People's Republic of Bangladesh.

The goal of *Journal of Human Security* is to disseminate applied research into a secure and sustainable future for humanity. It shall continue to find out the challenging threats to human security. *Journal of Human Security* endeavors to:

- Provide a forum for researchers to foster interdisciplinary inquiry in broad human security issues such as track two diplomacy, ethnic conflict, terrorism, religious extremism, human rights, food security, personal security, economic security, demographic change, population health, human ecology, sustainable economics and related areas;
- Inform readers about upcoming events, ongoing and new research projects, trends and discussions, newly published monographs, and available scholarships;
- Encourage a multidisciplinary approach to issues that have traditionally been viewed as mostly unidisciplinary;
- Maintain an appeal to a wide readership with both high academic standards and close relevance to practice;
- Meet international standards of excellence.

floods of 1987 and 1988) have killed hundreds of thousands of people in Bangladesh, while floods have affected the lives and livelihoods of many more. The Ansar and VDP are playing effective role in addressing such disasters.

Each year, some millions of people in Bangladesh are subject natural disasters and hazards. Many of them are subject to riverbank erosion, salinity intrusions, cyclonic storms, floods, water logging, etc. which leads directly or indirectly to displacement, death or injury, and the disruption of economic production, education, communications, and sanitation facilities. Affected households are often displaced several times, moving from one disaster-prone area to another. The stress of displacement can also have a negative impact on families: producing increased domestic disputes (and even violence), and causing the disintegration of a family unit because of forced migration of some members of the migrant families.

### **Freedom from fear**

The most frequent crimes and injustices in Bangladesh, more than three-quarters (77 percent) thought that personal property crimes (for example, theft, burglary, robbery, mugging) are the most common problem. The second highest cause of concern is dowry-related crime. Other gender-related forms of insecurity includes sexual violence and harassment and domestic violence. Other forms of personal insecurity relating to violent crime, such as physical violence by strangers, violence using firearms and murder. Between 2006 and 2012 nearly 5000 people were victims of social violence. Organized criminal groups are involved in the trafficking of women and children.

Moreover, smuggling and trafficking of arms, drugs, and human beings. Some women and girl children are for example, are trafficked due to poverty, but some women are also involved in smuggling and trading with cheap goods such as saris and then can move on to drugs or weapons.

The Ansar and VDP with the support of BGB playing crucial role in addressing such violence and insecurity.

## **The Ethnic Security in the Chittagong Hill Tracts**

It is also a concern. As well as prolonging insecurity in the region (through fear of renewed violence and tenure insecurity), stationing large numbers of military and other security personnel in the region is a drain on much-needed resources. The situation in the Chittagong Hill Tracts also complicates border management, with implications for drugs control, arms control and the prevention of terrorism.

### **Gender insecurity**

Gender is also found to be an important dimension of human security in Bangladesh. In general, women report a higher degree of concern than men about most forms of insecurity. Women are also particularly concerned by gender-based violence such as dowry-related violence, domestic violence and sexual harassment. Women are more likely to report incidents that occur in the public domain but it is men who are able to share many incidences such as physical violence, damage to property, land grabbing, mugging and corruption.

Women and girls also have to deal with sexual harassment ('Eve-teasing'), ranging from lewd comments through to sexual violence. Other threats to women and girls include rape and human trafficking. It is believed that most women who have been raped do not report it to anyone, even within their family. If they do so, they run the risk of becoming double victims: first as a victim of the rape itself, and then as a victim of social stigma. Women also fear that the law enforcing agencies will not take their case seriously or will treat them insensitively. It is the Ansar and VDP who are playing catalyst role in minimizing such gender based violence, exploitation and discrimination.

## **Some Specific Roles of Ansar & VDP in ensuring Human Security & Conflict resolution in Bangladesh**

### **Human Resource Development**

Human Resource Development is one of the primary tasks of Bangladesh Ansar-VDP as stipulated in the relevant ordinance. The organization having about 4.9 million members constitute a sizable part of the population and



most of them come from the rural and least earning segment of the society. With a per capita income of \$ 520 (and 40% of the population living below the poverty line, it is understood that most of the members of the organization are poor. 50% of the members are female and considered to be non-earning or least earning, dependent and liabilities (Ansar and VDP publications.)

Bangladesh Ansar-VDP is committed, devoted and engaged in turning the liabilities in to assets through vocational training, micro credit and capacity building. The journey of this capacity building begins at the threshold of Ansar-VDP members and explores up to their income generating activities (IGA). The members receive 10 days basic training in their own villages where they are motivated and stimulated to treasure on their moral and ethical values, oriented with various avenues and opportunities of income generation and energized to rediscover their latent potentials to stand on their own feet. Subsequently they can receive specialized trainings on computer, tailoring, sewing, boutique, electrician, freeze-TV mechanic, motor driving, poultry, farming, fishery, nursery etc. free of any cost. Once they are trained, skilled and confident they are provided with micro credit from Ansar-VDP Unnayan Bank for individual or group level small enterprises.

### **Women's Empowerment**

Women contributes half of Bangladeshi population. So if this half can be made to contribute towards socio-economic development of the country, then the impetus of the development will be enhanced to a great extent. Ansar and VDP encourages women employment in our organization. Presently the Government has selected us to train women for job abroad. Initially we will train on house keeping, childcare etc. Gradually we shall include training on other fields of technical nature. We will provide training according to employing country's requirement. We have two Vocational Training Centers where Ansar VDP female members are trained in sewing and knitting as part of their self-employment project. Some of the female members are trained in security related training. These trained members are employed in guarding Key Point Installations like market, bank, shopping malls, schools etc. In addition we are going to have two female Ansar Battalion shortly.

## Socio-economic Activities

This Force with strength of **4.9 million**, having root in every villages of the country, with appropriate training and motivation, has the capability to change the socio-economic faces of the rural Bangladesh. Keeping this theme in view we impart training to our men and women on the subject contributory to their self-reliance and over all socio-economic development of the country. Besides, we also do carryout number of projects sponsored by different UN and government organization like UNFPA, IOM, Ministry of Health and Family Planning etc. Some of such projects are listed below.

1. ***Advocacy on Reproductive Health and Gender Issue:*** Advocacy on Reproductive Health and Gender Issue sponsored by the United Nation Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA). To create awareness among females about their equal right in the family, this force implements an awareness programme. Specially at Village Level Training, female trainees are made aware of their reproductive, health, gender right through our training. This is a three year project and so far we have been able to train 1, 22, 176 persons and the target is 2,06,528 persons of which 50% are female members.
  
2. ***Prevention of Women and Child Trafficking:***  

Prevention of Women and Child Trafficking sponsored by International Organization for Migration (IOM) is a newly introduced project. So far we have trained 8 of our members as master trainers. They train our 625 members at Upazila level with a view to create awareness against women and child trafficking in Bangladesh.
  
3. ***Depo Holder Project:*** Depo Holder Project sponsored by the Ministry of Health and Family Planning. The concept was to get 10 women under the female union leader to deliver motivational lecture from village to village. The theme was to inform impact of family planning in each family and as a whole in the society. The lectures were conducted in the courtyard of the village leader. All able women were asked to assemble. The team headed by the Female Union Leader, were asked to deliver a lecture on family planning and health care. This project helped the government to reduce the population growth considerably.

4. **Sanitation and Hygiene:** Sanitation and Hygiene Programme sponsored by the Department of Public Health and Engineering. As part of health awareness 'Sanitation Project' was actuated in the rural areas of Bangladesh. This force educated the rural population and helped in constructing healthy sanitary system in their localities. A series of motivation lectures were conducted by us from village to village followed by supply of low cost toilet from local public health office. This had a tremendous impact in use of healthy sanitation system in rural Bangladesh.
5. **Plantation:** All members of Ansar and VDP are inspired to plant all variety saplings. After village level training, each member is given three saplings for planting in his homestead. This is a giant step towards plantation and ecological protection in Bangladesh.
6. **Improved Burner:** This was a project work aimed at reducing the use of firewood by maximizing the use of heat at low cost. Burners were designed, developed and demonstrated through village level training. Approximately some 49,167 improved burners were prepared and distributed among the trainees to have a mass circulation throughout the country.

Besides, Ansar give vocational training to their members in different subjects as mentioned below:

Agricultural Sector	Animal Husbandry
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Production of high breed</li> <li>➤ Papaya</li> <li>➤ Summer Onion</li> <li>➤ Nursery, etc.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Cattle Farming (Black Bengal Goat)</li> <li>➤ Dairy Farm</li> <li>➤ Poultry</li> <li>➤ Fisheries, etc.</li> </ul>
<b>Artisans</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Embroidery</li> <li>➤ Pottery</li> <li>➤ Cane</li> <li>➤ Carpentry</li> <li>➤ Wooden Furniture, etc.</li> </ul>	<b>Environment Protection/Preservation</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Plantation</li> <li>➤ Proper use of fertilizer and pesticide, etc.</li> </ul>
<b>Individual Skill Enhancement</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Carpenter</li> <li>➤ Plumber</li> <li>➤ Electrician</li> <li>➤ Radio and Motor Cycle Mechanic.</li> </ul>	

## Conclusions and Policy Recommendation

1. *A long-term strategy for human security:* It is not possible for the state to develop an overarching 'human security strategy', without proper equipping the Ansar-VDP.
2. The decision-makers need to have a coherent vision of how they intend to strengthen the Ansar-VDP as strong institution for ensuring human security & conflict resolution.
3. *Moving from reaction towards prevention:* Another key argument of the policy-making in many areas of Ansar-VDP for ensuring human security, from policing through to environmental security, has largely been reactive in nature. Policy-making needs to become more proactive in streangtheing Ansar-VDP
4. Needs to identify the root causes of insecurity, and developing long-term solutions to address insecurities rather than simply responding to problems as they arise.
5. ***Cross-institutional approaches:*** There are often strong overlaps between different defense organizations in combating insecurity, needs to address and there should have avenues for Ansar and VDP.
6. ***Linking up the security sector:*** At present, it seems that the **relationships between** the various official security sector agencies are often unclear, with no firm delineation of respective roles and responsibilities. Furthermore, inter-agency co-ordination often depends more on informal co-operation than on formal mechanisms. Similarly, formal and non-formal methods of policing and justice largely exist in parallel rather than being linked together.
7. ***Improved capacity for Ansar and VDP***
8. *Value human security as central to the activities of Ansar and VDP.*
9. *Ansar-VDP should have short term, medium term and long term vision, mission, aims, objectives, planning, policy, development program in ensuring human security*

10. *Ansar-VDP should have independent research wing for conducting research in the arena of empirical and action research*
11. *There should have provision of inter-institutional coordination for exchanging knowledge and research in the area of human security and social conflict*

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## *Securing Human Security: The Chittagong Hill Tracts, Bangladesh*

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Few concepts in International and national politics have been as contested and debated as the concept of security. When we talk about security questions that emerge are, “**securing what**” “**securing for whom**”. The concept of security has undergone many paradigm shifts depending on the contexts and politics of the period. One also needs to be mindful that there is no single paradigm in operation at any given moment, rather several overlapping paradigms are observed. Politics had and has never been a neat plate. In a world divided across class, caste, gender, race, religion, and to add on the technological divides, security and the politics of securitizing security indeed becomes a challenging task. It is argued that seeds and processes of marginalization are embedded within the structures and processes of our state system, systemic inconsistencies are taken as consistencies and ‘given’ through the production of a knowledge system that normalizes and naturalizes the ‘constructs’ as ‘givens’.

The paper looks at the minority question in this regard. I am acutely conscious of the fact that minority is not a homogenous category. But within the broader framework of laws, institutions and value systems it is categorized as marginalized.

As argued, more often than not marginality is a construct and is embedded within the system. The following are examined in this regard.

### *The Minority Construction:*

Bangladesh attained independence from Pakistan on 16 December 1971 after nine months of liberation war. The Bangladesh nationalist movement and also the liberation war were predicated on the ideals of Bengali nationalism. This quite logically left the Hill people out of the Bangladesh nationalist movement for they could not identify



themselves either with Bengali language or culture. The Bengali political elite also never made any attempts to incorporate the Hill people within the fold of this movement. Consequently the Hill people felt it necessary to have constitutional safeguards for their protection and recognition as a separate community within the new state. As the country was moving ahead with the framing of its constitution, a Hill people's delegation led by Manobendra Narayan Larma (Larma) called on Sheikh Mujibur Rahman (Mujib), The Prime Minister and Father of the Nation, and placed the following demands:

- (a) autonomy for the CHT with its own legislature;
- (b) retention of the 1900 CHT Manual<sup>1</sup> in the constitution of Bangladesh;
- (c) continuation of the tribal chiefs offices;
- (d) Constitutional provisions restricting the amendment of the Manual, and imposition of a ban on the influx of the non-tribal people into the CHT.<sup>25</sup>

Mujib rejected the above demands. He advised the Hill people to forget about their separate identity and become 'Bengalis'. The constitution of Bangladesh adopted on 4 November 1972 indeed consolidated the ideals of Bengali nationalism and gave no recognition to the non-Bengali population of the state. The constitution in its preamble Para 2 accepted 'nationalism', 'socialism', 'democracy' and 'secularism' as state principles. Article 8 Clause 1 reiterated these. Article 9 defined the basis of state nationalism as Bengali nationalism. Bengali nationalism based itself on Bengali language and culture. Larma refused to endorse the constitution.

Larma's contentions however failed to make any impact on the Bengali policy makers. Article 1 Part 1 of the constitution declared

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<sup>25</sup> Selina Hussain and Ehsanul Haque, *Disintegration process in action: The case of South Asia*, BILIA, Dhaka, 1990, pp. 44-46.

Bangladesh to be a unitary state. Through Article 3 Part 1 Bengali was adopted as the state language and Article 6 Part 1 declared that the citizens of Bangladesh were to be known as Bengalis. The unitary system ruled out any possibility of having a separate legislature or autonomy for the CHT as was demanded by the CHT delegation. The new state thereby turned into a hegemonic and majoritarian state.<sup>26</sup>

On August 15 1975, Sheikh Mujib was assassinated along with other family members in a coup engineered by a group of disgruntled young army majors. From 1975 till 1991 the country was under military quasi-military (military generals turned civilians) rule. During this period fundamental changes were brought about in the constitution. Secularism, one of the state planks was dropped from the constitution. It was substituted by the principle of absolute trust and faith in the Almighty Allah.<sup>ii</sup> Article 9, which stressed the lingual and cultural unity of the Bengali nationalism, was also replaced with Bangladeshi nationalism. Through Article 6 Clause 2 the citizens of Bangladesh were to be known as Bangladeshis in place of Bengalis. Bangladeshi nationalism while retaining the linguistic and cultural connotations of the Bengali people incorporated Islamic ideals within its fold. The above construction was a Bengali plus Islamic construction of nationality, and the Hill people are neither Bengalis nor Muslims so they could not identify themselves either with the Bengali or Bangladeshi constructions of nationhood. The nationalist constructions in Bangladesh therefore failed to accommodate the Hill people and they perceived their cultural identities threatened within the state.

The refusal of the Bangladesh state to recognize the cultural distinctiveness of the Hill people and their subsequent political and economic marginalization gave rise to a sub-nationalist movement in the Hills. On March 7 1972, the Parbattya Chattagram Jonshonghoti Samity (PCJSS, The United Peoples Party of CHT), a political platform for the Hill people was formed by Manobendra Narayan

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<sup>26</sup> For details see Amena Mohsin, *Politics of Nationalism: The Case of the CHT, Bangladesh*, University Press Ltd. Dhaka, 1997.

Larma. Soon a military wing the Shanti Bahini (SB, Peace Force) was added to it. The PCJSS however started its major activities after the assassination of Sheikh Mujib on August 15 1975. Till then Larma had hoped that he could carry on his bargaining at the political level with Mujib. But the military takeover on August 15, 1975 dashed those hopes.

Apart from changes in the domestic scenario the external factors were also critical in the crystallization of the Hill people's movement. Many of the sub-nationalist movements are dependent upon an external safe haven or sanctuary for political and more importantly military support to carry on their struggle. Prior to 1975 Larma had sought Indian help, but owing to very close relations between the Mujib regime and the Indian government the requests were turned down. However with Mujib's assassination the equation had changed. In Bangladesh though initially there was an element of gratitude towards India because of its role and support for the Bangladesh liberation movement, but the economic crisis facing the country in the post independence period were largely blamed on India. Mujib was blamed of a sell out to India. In fact during the later part of his life Mujib was getting closer to the Muslim countries for economic and political reasons. The Bangladesh military also bore much resentment against India.<sup>iii</sup> In this backdrop India made its own calculations and decided to support the Hill people's movement. On August 16 1975, that is a day after Mujib's assassination the Indian intelligence agency RAW contacted Larma. The latter crossed over to India. SB Headquarters was set up in Tripura, India. SB men were trained and given arms by India.<sup>iv</sup> Apart from giving assistance to the SB, India also got involved in the CHT issue through the flow of refugees from the CHT to the Tripura state of India. By the early 1980's the PCJSS sought to unify the Hill people under a nationalist framework through the construction of the Jumma identity for the eleven communities in the CHT.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> For details see, Amena Mohsin, Bangladesh- India Relations: Limitations and Options in an Evolving Relationship, in Emajuddin Ahamed and Abul Kalam eds. *Bangladesh South Asia and the World*, Academic Publishers, Dhaka, 1992.

The CHT underwent full-scale militarization. The General Officer Commanding (GOC) of the Chittagong Division was put in charge of the CHT administration. The military controlled the political economic lives of the Hill people. In the name of counter insurgency and national security massive violations of human rights took place, which impacted upon the entire population adversely but women were the worst sufferers on sexual and ethnic grounds. The sexual politics during war time acquire very distinct targeted dimensions. Women also suffered due to certain specific measures undertaken by the military in the name of counter insurgency. Jungles were cleared in search of SB. In the CHT women collected many of their household essentials from the forests, and many resources from the forests were sold by them in the market. Women thus were deprived of their traditional means of livelihood.

A peace accord signed between the GOB and the PCJSS on 2 December 1997 brought the armed hostilities to an end. But there is no abrupt break between war, conflict and peace. Accords are no guarantee to sustainable peace unless they address the genuine and actual grievances of the aggrieved, which this paper suggests the CHT peace accord had largely failed to do. The accord has polarized the Hill community into pro-accord and anti-accord groups. This along with the extremely slow pace of accord implementation has created a situation of uneasy peace in the region. Gunfire exchanges between the anti-accord United Peoples Democratic Front (UPDF) and the pro-accord PCJSS are quite common.<sup>v</sup> Besides taking advantage of the ongoing conflict in the region a vested interest group has emerged in the Hills in whose interest it is to keep the conflict going. Strong economic interests dictate them; there is thus a political economy of conflict, which further marginalizes the chances of peace.

The Hill people allege that the opening up of the Hills following the accord for tourism has opened the Hills for vices associated with a tourist culture. For the first time they are witnessing sex for money

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Also see, Subir Bhaumik, *Insurgent Crossfire: North-East India*, Lancer Publishers Pvt. Ltd. 1996.

in the region. This they allege is mostly taking place in Rangamati, which is a popular tourist resort. Along with this they fear the rise of a heroine culture and the HIV Aids. The Hill people accuse the state of abetting with these activities. They point to the presence of military in the region and allege that the trafficking of arms and drugs cannot go unnoticed by them. They regard the above as a form of ethnic cleansing.

In the post accord situation new dynamics of conflict have arisen. Development NGOs have entered the region with their own notions of development. A new elite and vested interest group has emerged in the region. Toll collection by the PCJSS during the insurgency period was often regarded as a problem by the Hill people. Today the Hill people allege that it is not only the PCJSS but also the UPDF, a rival political group of the Hill people that was floated following the accord, is also going for forced toll collection. The peace accord has made the Bengali settlers quite insecure about their situation in the CHT, since they look upon the military as their savior. The peace accord stipulates that apart from the permanent three cantonments in the three districts of CHT, temporary military camps which were spread all over the CHT during the insurgency would be withdrawn. This has resulted in clashes between Bengalis and the Hill people. It has been observed that land remains a critical issue in these clashes. It goes without saying that the post accord situation remains conflict prone between the Bengali settlers and the Hill people. The Bengali settlers have also often been found to attack the Hill people in collaboration with the Hill people. As suggested earlier a vested interest group has emerged in the Hills, their interest is power and money not national or communitarian. Settler Bengalis have also started a new movement called, *Shomo Odhikar Andolon* (Movement for equal rights). The movement is very militant in its demands, its major demand being as citizens of Bangladesh.

A major consequence of the above is the forced displacement of people. The Internally displaced people (IDP), arguably belong to one of the most marginalized group in the world, since they do not cross the international political boundaries more often than not they are not entitled to the securities and rights provided to the refugees

by the international community. In the CHT one observes that a large number of people have been forced to flee to more remote areas or to reserve forests where health and education facilities are limited. However, the total number of displaced people in the CHT remains a contested issue. In 2000, when the authority claimed that the number of IDPs in this region is 500,000 people, local and international NGOs working in this field criticized the government for including the non-indigenous people in its count. In the same year, Amnesty International produced a report stating that the total number of IDPs in CHT is 60,000 people. This figure, of course, did not include the non-indigenous populace.<sup>28</sup>

*Lives of women in conflict situations:* There is no abrupt end between war, conflict and peace. War creates its own vestiges and the creation of a war economy is one of them. This war economy helps to sustain the conflicts since certain powerful vested interest groups are created by it. More than two decades of insurgency created a vested interest group in the CHT. The region allegedly became a conduit point for small arms and drugs. Hill people allege that the Bengali security personnel along with the civil officials were involved in the extraction of forest resources. The military officials however deny the involvement of the military in such activities, but concede that a certain degree of pilferage of resources might have taken place.<sup>29</sup>

Following the accord the security situation in the region has further been complicated due to the emergence of unidentified armed groups. These groups are involved in collecting tolls from vehicles plying the roads. It is alleged that rebel groups from Myanmar have joined forces with these groups in Banderban, providing them guns in exchange for shelter. Extortions and toll collection are also on the

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<sup>28</sup>Cf. from Sajjadur Rahman, *The Internally Displaced Persons of Bangla Report of the IDMC, Bangladesh: Indigenous People and Religious Minorities Still Affected by Displacement: A Profile of the Internal Displacement Situation*, July 2009. Available at [www.internal-displacement.org](http://www.internal-displacement.org)

<sup>29</sup> Author's interview with Brigadier Shahed Anam on 23.3.2003. The latter had served as commanding officer in the CHT.

rise in the region. People allege that formerly they had to pay toll only to the PCJSS, which they could justify since they were fighting for their rights. But now there are several groups and they collect tolls under different pretexts. The PCJSS and the UPDF are also active in this. The people find it difficult to justify the toll collection in the postaccord situation. The use of drugs and small arms is also on the rise in the region. Two decades of armed violence and the continued instability in the region have turned the CHT into a violence prone society and a safe haven for trafficking arms and drugs, particularly given the region's close proximity to Myanmar. The effects of these trafficking on the youth could be disastrous. The Hill people argue that their children have grown up witnessing violence, which has resulted in the erosion of many of their traditional values. This erosion itself is a form of violence and militancy because the society has lost its harmony and traditional balance. During the autonomy movement they could still justify the violence; it was expected to bring about social justice, political equity, in other words rights for which they were fighting; so they had some hope. But in the postaccord situation the continued protracted violence is most frustrating and unacceptable to them.

Many of the JSS men have not been rehabilitated, this coupled with the lack of employment opportunities have created an acute sense of frustration among them. The UPDF members too are frustrated and discontented with the accord, which they look upon as a compromise formula. However recently the UPDF has changed its position and declared its support for accord implementation. It is widely rumored that the present Awami League regime that came to power in January 2009 was contemplating to ban the UPDF so for strategic reasons the UPDF has changed its position. It also needs to be mentioned here that the JSS has split into two groups. The political situation in the CHT is thus quite complex and one is yet to see some stability coming back into the region. The Awami League, then in power had signed the accord in 1997. The party has formed a new committee for accord implementation and has started the withdrawal of temporary military camps from the region as stipulated by the accord. This as expected has created much controversy within the political and civil society circles in Bangladesh. Within the CHT

itself, the Bengali settler community has protested the move, since they look upon the military as their savior. It is indeed a major failure on the part of the state that it has failed to provide a solution to the Bengali settler's issue. This paper argues that during the counter insurgency period they were used as human shield and a counter insurgency strategy; the political parties now continue to use them as vote banks. An acute sense of frustration and uncertainty grip the Hills. Under such a scenario drugs provide an easy refuge to the youth; and the guns provide the youths of the various political and vested interest groups with a sense of power.

When war begins the homes and children are left to the women to protect. The men either flee for fear of being taken away or join the war. The women thus are left to face the enemy, yet in the dominant war and security discourse men are looked upon as the 'protector' and women the 'protected'. One however can argue that wars are fought in the battlefield between men in uniform, so civilians of whom the women constitute the majority do not face the brunt of war. But recent wars and in particular insurgencies have broken this dichotomy between battlefields and civilian fields. Also wars are no longer military wars; civilians were half the casualties in the Second World War, while they are ninety per cent in recent wars. Since men are mostly mobilized so civilians constitute overwhelmingly women and children.<sup>30</sup>

As homemakers, wives, mothers, sisters, lovers, daughters and above all women they suffer variously. This suffering commonly characterized as victimization categorizes women as objects bereft of agency. My research in the CHT amply demonstrated the inextricable link between victimization and agency. Through each case or instance of victimization women strategize different channels of coping with adversity. Indeed there were moments of rupture and breakdowns, but the agency was always there.

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<sup>30</sup> Cynthia Cockburn, *The Gendered Dynamics of Armed Conflict and Political Violence*, in Caroline O.N. Moser & Fiona C. Clark (eds.) *Victims, Perpetrators or Actors? Gender, Armed Conflict and Political Violence*, Zed Books Ltd. 2001, p.21.



A militarized situation like this puts the women in the margins. A Bengali settler woman told this author that she does not want this life. For generations they have been living an insecure life; with ration doled out to them by the state. The ration distribution is controlled by the leaders of the political parties. Their children have no future in the region as there are no job opportunities. Besides they live in constant fear of the Hill people. She further said that she wants to move out of the CHT. The same feelings and thoughts were shared of women belonging to the Bengali community with this author.<sup>vi</sup> This suggests that it is not only the Hill women but also Bengali women who are being affected by the conflict in the CHT. The above review indeed suggests that security remains a big dilemma for women. While in no way denying that it impacts upon men as well, women and children remain the worst sufferers. Worse indeed, is the fact that women's voices remain unheard and their sacrifices go unrecognized. It is only recently through feminist interventions and writings women are being recognized as actors in conflict scenarios. The need however is to humanize the society and the state.<sup>31</sup>

While making the plea for a humane society, I suggest that changes are required at the ideological as well institutional levels at the societal and political realms. The institutions responsible for maintaining law and order within the CHT can play a critical role in this regard. The paper now turns to a discussion of the role envisaged for the Ansar and VDP.

*Role of Ansar and VDP:*

Bangladesh Ansar and the VDP is in a unique position to approach the issues of the marginalized from a human security perspective. It is a civilian force endowed with military training acting as the second line of defence during conflict and war times. The Hill Ansars and VDPs were involved in the counterinsurgency period in

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<sup>31</sup> For details of the post accord CHT see, Amena Mohsin, *The Chittagong Hill Tracts, Bangladesh: On the Difficult Road to Peace*, Lynne Rienner, USA, 2003.

Focus Group Discussion with the author in Khagrachari, CHT in May 2004.

the CHT. The women members of Ansar and VDP can play a critical role in peace building and community building in the post accord situation. The above review not only brings to light the lack of confidence of the Hill people in the state; it also emphasizes upon the plight of settler Bengalis, who in fact remain far from 'settled'. The NGOs and INGOs are involved in community building activities in the CHT through their various socio economic activities. The local government is one area where they are actively participating. Members of the Hill Ansars and VDP can join in, in these activities. It is important that they reach the lower and remote rungs of the society and address issues of concern to them.

Peace building and community building are arduous jobs, requiring special skills and knowledge of the people concerned. It is expected that knowledge dissemination within this body would base itself upon an objective understanding of the varied perceptions of the different communities concerned. A pluralist understanding of society and its cultures indeed would add to the richness of the Ansar and VDP forces. Such knowledge ought also include human rights and human security perspectives. A state cannot be secure if its people are or do not feel secure. The dichotomy therefore between state and human security, arguably then is a faulty and artificial one. A state is not bereft of people, the edifice of state is built upon the society, it is therefore important to create a holistic knowledge system and endow the different organs of state participating and contributing towards human welfare and security with the same.

The Ansar and VDP are also working with women, they are mandated to work towards women's empowerment, bring them out of the parochial shadows of 'man made' values. The discussion on women and nationalism highlights the woman question. This institution is remarkably placed to break through these shackles. They can play an important role in this regard not only at the local government level, but also through the informal system of Shalish where women often have been 'victims' of fatwa. They through their consciousness raising campaigns against dowry, sexual violence can become important torch bearers for the marginalized and contribute towards a life free from want, fear and a life with dignity.

## *Human security debates and issues: From where can Bangladesh Ansar and VDP play their role*

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*“The world is not seen as a federation of religion nor as a federation of civilization nor as a federation of nation only, it is a collectivity of human beings” (Amartya Sen, 2006).*

*“We need to fashion a new concept of human security that is reflected in the lives of our people, not in the weapons of our country” (Mahbub-ul- Haq).*

### **I. Introduction and Conceptual Debate**

The concept of human security has emerged and evolved into a new tool for the universal quest for security in human society. The term human security was introduced by the UNDP as late as in 1994, but the underlying concerns are as old as human civilization. Idea of human security as opposed to highly state-centric security paradigm has historically evolved with some major global initiatives for development and peace in the world such as the Club of Rome report in 1968, the Brandt Commission's two reports, *North-South* (1980) and *Common Crisis* (1983), Olof Palme,'s *Common Security: A Blueprint for Survival* (1982), and the Commission on Global Governance report: *Our Global Neighborhood* (1995). Besides, the concept of human security overlaps with other major categories of security such as ‘comprehensive security’, ‘cooperative security’, ‘non-traditional or non-military security’ etc. which have drawn considerable attention in the post-Cold War era. Alkire gives a useful

overview of critical themes in wide-ranging debate on the conceptualization of human security (2003). The study refers to 25 definitions by major global reports, scholars, statesmen, and NGOs. Although it not conclusive lists of contributors to the idea of human security, it certainly reflects a rich and diverse array of thoughts on the subject. Two global reports are particularly significant to understand the notion of human security. *The 1994 Human Development Report* sponsored by UNDP has articulated the idea for the first time in lexicon of security discourse. According to the Report, human security is defined as: safety from chronic threats such as hunger, disease and repression and protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life – whether in jobs, in homes, or in communities (UNDP 1994: 23). As a corollary to the 1994 Report, the *1999 UNDP Human Development Report on Globalization* returned to the theme of human security under conditions of globalization. The second most influential global report is *Human Security Now 2003* prepared by the Commission on Human Security. The idea of an independent Commission on Human Security co-chaired by Amartya Sen and Sadako Ogata, was launched at the 2000 UN Millennium Summit.

The Commission defines human security as:

To protect the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and human fulfillment (2003, 4).

The Reports further elaborates:

Human security means protecting fundamental freedoms – freedoms that are the essence of life. It means protecting people from critical (severe) and pervasive (widespread) threats and situations. It means using processes that build on people's strengths and aspirations. It means creating political, social, environmental, economic, military and cultural systems that together give people the building blocks of survival, livelihood, and dignity. The vital core of life is a set of elementary rights and freedoms people enjoy. What people consider to be 'vital' – what they consider to be 'of the essence of life' and 'crucially important' – varies across individuals and societies. That is why any concept of human security must be dynamic. And that is

why we refrain from proposing an itemized list of what makes up human security (2003, 4). Scholarly works on human security are expanding. Some major thinkers include Haq (1996), Axworthy (1999, 2001), Sen (2000), King and Murray (2000), Thomas (2000), Paris (2001), Hampson *et al* (2002), Leaning and Arie (2002), Sen and Ogata (2003), Ogata (2003, 2004), Ogata and Cels (2003), Fukuda-Parr (2003, 2004). Mahabul Haq, the architect of the *Human Development Index*, conceptualizes human security as a transformation in its underlying meaning.

Table 1: Basic Parameters of Human Security

Security for whom?	Primarily the people and individuals
Security of what values?	Personal safety and well-being and individual freedom – freedom from fear and freedom from want.
Security from what threats?	Direct and indirect, intrastate and global concerns, particularly those of indirect and intrastate.
Security by what means?	Promoting human development, democratization, good governance

Source: Partly taken from Waisove 2003.

As the basic parameters of human security demonstrate, it challenges the traditional assumptions of security – dominated by state. It shows that sources of threats are primarily intrastate and they can be both direct and indirect. Human security is best understood through identifying the threats or situations of human insecurity which are linked to survival of human beings. The UNDP gives a comprehensive list of threats to human security: economic security (unemployment, job insecurity, disparities in income and resources, poverty and homelessness), food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security and

political security. In its report, *Human Security Now*, the Commission examined six broad areas from a human security perspective: the condition of people in conflict situations; people on the move (refugees, migrants, and internally displaced populations); the transition phase between war and peace; economic security; health; and education. Fukuda-Parr highlights new threats to human life. These are global crimes, human trafficking, financial crisis, labor market instabilities, spread of disease, and intrastate conflicts (2003). This comprehensive list of threats has strong relevance for understanding human security. Human security is basically understood as a way to reduce or eliminate the multidimensional threats, risks and vulnerabilities for individuals and people. It is particularly a high priority issue in the socio-economic and political conditions of the developing countries.

It appears that the agenda of human security is strongly pushed by the IDC and the UN agencies since the publication of the *1994 Human Development Report* in relation to policy towards underdeveloped countries. Waisova (2003) identifies two main approaches to human security – the UN approach and Canadian approach. The UN agenda of human security is mostly incorporated into the works of UNDP and UNCHR. For UNDP the concept of human security is very significant because it prioritizes the individual over the state, and emphasizes the role of indirect threats (underdevelopment, environmental degradation, population displacement and resource scarcity). The Canadian conception of human security is based on the importance of the role of the state for the maintenance of human security. It focuses on territorial integrity and domestic good governance. It has same old stereotypes as it is targeted towards the governments of developing countries (Axworthy 2001). Duffield argues that human security is a technology of governance to donor agencies and states (Duffield 2005).

The literature on human security frequently refers to conflict or war-torn societies, transition countries, ineffective governments etc. It has overlapping concerns and challenges of human development, governance and sustainable development. It has broad and

comprehensive focus. In order to reduce the threats of human insecurity, two strategies are considered - protection and empowerment. Protection strategies, set up by states, international agencies, NGOs, and the private sector, shield people from menaces. Empowerment strategies enable people to develop their resilience to difficult conditions. It is assumed that people protected can exercise choices and people empowered help prevent and mitigate the impact of insecurities and devise improvements in the protection infrastructure (Ogata and Cels 2003: 274). Finally, the notion of human security is also criticized on a number of grounds, particularly by the realists and neo-realists. Paris thinks that the concept of human security is vague while Buzan, Waeaver and de Wilde identify it with incoherence. As Buzan argues much before the notion of human security came to its current usage, the idea of security is easier to apply to things than to people (1991, 35). Another point highlighted is the arbitrary selection of threats to human security. King and Murray (2001) criticize the UN approach of human security as overly broad and fuzzy. These criticisms are common and do not obscure the critical importance of human security in the contemporary world. It is a new terrain of security studies with particular relevance for the underdeveloped countries.

## **II. Challenges of Human Security in Bangladesh**

Bangladesh has one of the highest population densities in the world. Its 149 million inhabitants—as many people as more than ½ of the United States population—live in a land mass approximately the same size as England and Wales, or of the US state of Wisconsin. By the number of population it is ranked 8<sup>th</sup> in the world. It has combined population of France and Germany. Bangladesh is an ethnically homogenous society, with 98% of its people of Bengali descent. The villages of Bangladesh are home to 80% of the country's population and 65% of the total labor force works in agriculture. Bangladesh is categorized as a medium human development country by UNDP, a low income economy (LIC) by the World Bank and a least developed country (LDC) by the UN, but by the size of Gross National Income (GNI) the country is ranked 51<sup>st</sup> in

the world. Not surprisingly, threats to human security in Bangladesh are commonly observed and most of them exist in rudimentary forms.

The basic socio-economic indicators as mentioned in Table 2 suggest that Bangladesh is considerably vulnerable to human security. As a low income country and as a politically unstable society human security is a paramount concern in Bangladesh. Although the challenges of human security are widely uttered both by analysts and activists, there has not been done much research on this issue in the social context of Bangladesh. The UNDP published for the first time a study on *Human Security in Bangladesh: In Search of Justice and Dignity* in 2002. This report deals with only legal aspects of human security threats in Bangladesh. According to the report, “*most people in Bangladesh are simply priced out of the judicial system*”. The enormous costs of going to court and delays in court proceedings, and the lack of legal aid facilities has made the judicial system virtually inaccessible for the vast majority of the poor and disadvantaged (UNDP 2002). The report further shows that people face enormous sufferings, if not impossibility, to seek legal remedies for violation of human rights. This is directly linked with personal safety of the citizens of the country. Blair’s work provides an important insight for understanding the challenges of human security in Bangladesh (2003). According to Blair, there are four clusters of security concerns in Bangladesh: destitution – food, shelter, clothing; disaster - environmental and health; crime - violence, extortion from *mastaans* and domestic violence; and state: police (esp. violence and extortion) and corruption. On the other hand, development concerns include: agriculture - growth and equity; human resources - education and health; family: gender and dowries; and infrastructure: roads, transport and energy. Sobhan conceptualizes existing scenarios in Bangladesh that have clear relevance for understanding human security challenges in this country. According to him, the major concerns for the citizens of Bangladesh include the persistence of mass poverty, unbridled corruption, the tyranny of patronized criminals, the alienation of the administration from the people, the commodification of law enforcement and the recent emergence of terrorism in the name of religion (*The Daily Star* 23 May 2006).



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Table 2: Basic socio-economic indicators of Bangladesh

Land (sq. km.)	144,000	Population with access to sanitation (in %)	48
Population (in million)	149.0	Life expectancy at birth	61.4
Urban Population 23.9%			
Density per sq. km.	1142	Population with access to improved water sources (in %)	75
Gross National Income (in billion US \$)	104.7	Literacy ratio gap Men/Women	0.73
Per capita income (in US \$)	700	Internet users (per 1000)	2
Human Development Index Value	0.520 (139)	Personal Computers (per 1000)	3
Population living less than \$ 1 a Day (% of Population)	36	Telephone mainlines (per 1000)	5
Population below \$ 2 a Day (% of Population)	82.8	Public health expenditure (of % GDP)	1.5
Population below the national poverty line (% of Population)	49.8	Public education expenditure (of % GDP)	2.3
Undernourishment (% of Population)	30	Military expenditure (of % GDP)	1.1
Adult Literacy (% of Population)	58.9	Total external debt (in million US \$)	18,778
Primary enrolment ration (in percentage)	87	Total debt servicing-(of % GNI)	1.3
Infant mortality (per 1000)	46	Per capita debt (in US \$)	10
Under 5 Mortality (per 1000)	69	Agricultural land (in %)	69.29

Sources: World Bank, *World Development Indicators 2012*, *World Development Report 2006: Equity and Development*, New York: Oxford University Press; *Advance Social Watch Report 2003*, Montevideo: Instituto Del Tercer Mundo; UNDP, *Human Development Report 2005*, New York: UNDP.

Broadly, there are several specific dimensions of challenges of human security in Bangladesh. The first and foremost human security challenge in Bangladesh is existence of pervasive human and income poverty. The population below one-dollar poverty line increases over the years. In 1981 26.2 percent of population in Bangladesh was below \$ 1 a day poverty line, which increased to 36.0 percent in 2000. On the other hand, based on national poverty line, population below poverty line is 49.8 percent in 2000 (World Bank 2005; SAARC Secretariat 2004). In both criteria population under poverty line represents a staggering number of poor people. Incidence of poverty by head count ratio on the basis of Food Energy Intake (FEI) reduced from 44.7 per cent in 1999 to 42.1 percent in 2004. On an average, the annual poverty declining ratio was about 0.5 per cent. During the same period, at the urban level, the poverty declined by about 1 per cent (*Report of the Poverty Monitoring Survey 2004*). About 50 percent of the households are functionally landless while six percent of the land owning households controls more than 40 percent of the total land (Acharya et al 2003). The incidence of rural poverty is still high. The 1995-96 Household Expenditure Survey based on the cost of basic needs (CBN) method suggested that about 40 per cent of the rural population were below the lower poverty line and about 57 percent were below the upper poverty line (BBS 1995). This is compounded by the problems of undernourishment and access to sanitation. The second biggest source of threats to human security comes from unemployment and underemployment of huge labor force in Bangladesh. The size of the civilian labor force in Bangladesh is 56 million of which 45.8 million are rural and 10.2 million are urban. The number of men that constitute the labor force is 34.7 million while the number of women is 21.3 million. There are 1.4 million unemployed, but of total employed population more than one third is underemployed (Acharya et al 2003). Besides, working conditions in various sectors pose human insecurity situations in Bangladesh. Garments workers, particularly women, and unskilled and low skilled laborers work in considerably unsafe and risky conditions.

Third, personal security is now a big concern of the citizens given the rising tide of crime, political violence and religious militancy in

the country. The perennial confrontational political behavior by the major political parties further worsens these negative tendencies of Bangladesh politics and society. It leads to gross erosion of democratic values and norms in political environment. *Hartal*<sup>32</sup>, a political weapon widely used during the colonial and autocratic rule, has become a major feature of present day politics. It directly hinders daily life, personal safety and economy of the country. It is a unique source of threats to human security in Bangladesh. In addition, there are widespread abuses and infringements of civil rights by law-enforcing forces. Fourth, the crisis of domestic governance is exacerbating human security concerns in Bangladesh. Referring to the *1999 Human Development Report for South Asia* Huda states that the politician-criminal-bureaucracy nexus has hijacked processes of governance with the result that the common people's access to resources and justice are denied with impunity. In such a scenario, the state itself becomes a threat to human security perpetrating crimes against its citizens (2006). The patronage and rent seeking behavior of the state has been perpetuated amid continuing problems of accountability, transparency, and corruption. State remains repressive and non-responsive for the poor, low income and middle class citizens of the country. Discriminatory and sloppy enforcement of political, civil, economic, and social rights contributes to a poor state of governance.

Fifth, economy is dominated by corrupt practices and state patronage. Widespread tax evasion, non-compliance of rules and regulations, non-payment of bank loans, black money and informal activities dominate business sector. According to a one estimate, black money in Bangladesh amounts to Tk. 175 thousand crore which is equivalent to national budgets for a couple of years (*Amardesh*, Dhaka, 1 July 2006). Specifically, loans defaulting culture is strong in Bangladesh. Finance Minister, M. Saifur Rahman, in mid November 2003 declared that Banks in Bangladesh

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<sup>32</sup> A report published by UNDP on 10 March 2005 calls *hartal* a vicious spiral and states that *hartals* cost Bangladesh economy by 3-4% of GDP annually. During 1995-2002 611 days were called *hartals* by political parties. More than 90 per cent people in Bangladesh think that *hartals* are damaging for the country.

are in fact currently stacked with US \$ 3515 million in default loans. (*The Daily Star* November 17, 2003). Loan defaulters are also politically powerful in Bangladesh. The poor and low income people face the ultimate burden of these immoral and unlawful business practices. Sixth, environment and natural disasters particularly floods and cyclones undermine human security in Bangladesh causing enormous sufferings for the millions of farmers and low income people. A devastating cyclone in 1988 submerged 80 percent of Bangladesh and left 25 million people homeless. Every year flood submerges about 25 percent of Bangladesh. Besides, in Bangladesh, deforestation has doubled the area vulnerable to flooding-- to nearly two-thirds of the country's territory.

Seventh, arsenic water in Bangladesh has emerged a major hindrance to access to safe drinking water. Of the estimated 10 million wells in Bangladesh, over 1 million are thought to be affected by arsenic contamination. It is believed that some 30 million people are drinking contaminated water with risks of diseases such as keratosis, pigmentation disorders, conjunctivitis, bronchitis, etc. Eighth, although Bangladesh has improved in narrowing down gender gap, it remains a major problem for social development. The literacy ratio gap between women and men is 0.73. The net tertiary enrolment ratio gap is 0.50. By the UNDP gender empowerment measure Bangladesh is ranked 76 in the world. Female economic activity rate is 66.4% which is 76% of male. Female employment is largely concentrated in agriculture sector (77% which is 144% of men) and women contribute to 81% of family works (*Human Development Report 2004*). Finally, aid dependence can be considered another challenge of human security in Bangladesh. As table 2 shows, Bangladesh has US \$18.78 billion outstanding external debt for which the country pays a huge amount for debt servicing (1.3% of GDP) annually. It is also estimated that per capita debt in Bangladesh is \$10. Every year the government needs to rely on foreign assistance amounting between \$1-1.6 billion for funding development programs. Aid dependence has implications for two major aspects.

On the one hand, aid comes with a host of conditions in the shape of market oriented economic reforms. Most notably, over the last 15 years, Bangladesh has been exposed to the neo-liberal economic policy reforms introduced by the World Bank and IMF through their *Structural Adjustment Programs* (SAP) and *Enhanced Structural Adjustment Policies* (ESAP) and currently through *Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper* (PRSP). On the other hand, it has implications for donor community's intervention in domestic political process in Bangladesh. Donor countries and agencies are becoming increasingly influential actor in Bangladesh politics. In this situation, the government loses its moral power and guts to resist harmful and unnecessary conditions of donors while receiving foreign aid. This has direct impact on the people as they face it in diverse ways from price hike to income inequality.

### **III. Mitigating Threats to Human Security and the Role of the Bangladesh Ansar and VDP**

Although Bangladesh has achieved success in some vital indicators of socio-economic development over the past 15 years, the current scenario is far less satisfactory and is rather a major source of concern. The above-mentioned challenges pose clear threats to human security situation in the country. The paradoxical relations between the state and people become a reality in Bangladesh while identifying human security threats. The absence of solid and sustainable democratization process and good governance in administrative operations has worsened the situation with the passage of time. In order to mitigate these threats, several state and non-state actors are in play in Bangladesh. The functioning of state actors under the organs of the government – executive, judiciary and legislature – is critically important to create an environment where human beings will not face threats to their lives. At the same time, social movements, humanitarian agencies, development groups and media are also vital agents for bringing about positive changes in the society. However, one has to consider the fact that different state agencies both in civil and non-civil spheres are crucial for addressing the threats to human security.

Against this backdrop, the Bangladesh Ansar and VDP has emerged as a positive force in ensuring human security in Bangladesh. Many of the challenges to human security in Bangladesh are directly related to the activities and the mandate of this organization. In this context it is important to mention the mission of the Bangladesh Ansar and VDP, which includes:

- To assist the government or any organization under the government in matters/works related to public security.
- To participate in any other work related to public security.
- To participate in any work related to public welfare for socio-economic development of the country.
- To assist Bangladesh Army, Navy, Air Force, BDR, Police and Battalion Ansar as and when directed by the government.<sup>33</sup>

Apart from its human-centric mission the organization has the largest number of members totaling 4.9 million in the country with strong commitment to human resource development. The role of Bangladesh Ansar & VDP can be understood in several ways. First, this organization has widespread networks in the country from remote village to the capital city. It is the only organization, which has representative in each and every village of Bangladesh. Second, the formation of the Village Defence Party (VDP) in 1976 has contributed to breakdown age old shackles of subjugation in different forms in rural area. It ensures the mechanism for spontaneous participation for attainment of self-reliance, education and self-confidence as an independent human entity. Third, the greatest advantage of this organization is that the members of the force continue to live in their own community and know the ground well. Fourth, it has natural advantage to contribute to promote human security as the Largest disciplined force having potentialities to undertake various types of responsibilities related to peace, security and development. Fifth, Bangladesh Ansar-VDP has gender balance

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<sup>33</sup> See for details, <http://www.ansarvdpbd.org/>

in distribution of human resources that promoted women empowerment at the grassroots level. Sixth, it has already been engaged in activities such as skill development of common people, micro-credit facilities, awareness building programmes, women empowerment and human resource development. Finally, Bangladesh Ansar-VDP is a benign force for change since it is not part of dominant power relations among the state actors in Bangladesh.

In reality, the organization may be engaged in many areas, which have critical significance for human security in Bangladesh. First, Bangladesh as a developing nation is committed to achieve Millennium Development Goals as decided by the United Nations in 2000. These goals are explicitly related to human security challenges such as poverty, illiteracy, child mortality, environmental sustainability etc. Bangladesh Ansar and VDP can play a vital in achieving the targets of MDGs. Second, with its nation-wide presence, the organization can build community networks at rural level which is a precondition of people's empowerment. Third, as a unique organization, Bangladesh Ansar and VDP can build partnership with private and non-governmental organizations as well as it can mediate to build partnership between the private and NGOs. Fourth, the organization may be used to provide informal education to the common masses particularly who are living in villages. Fifth, the organization has been playing a crucial role in improving personal safety situation in Bangladesh. The involvement of its members from traffic management to protection of law and order situation at rural level is a testimony in this regard. Finally, Bangladesh is a country of migrant workers and the prospective migrant workers need massive training for skills. A skilled worker is a worthy human resource for the country. Through its widespread networks Bangladesh Ansar and VDP can provide skill development training programs for millions of marginalized and rural people.

#### IV. Conclusions

The preceding analysis clearly demonstrates that the idea of human security is critically significant for a country like Bangladesh. Conceptually, human security draws attention from both the policy community and academic community. There has been observed a degree of debate about the parameters and scope human security. Particularly, the dilemma between state and individual becomes prominent in the human security debate. Over the time, human security, particularly in the underdeveloped and transition societies, has become a major policy choice for building a better society. The abstract notion of national security finds it hard to remain in the forefront in the post-Cold War era. Individual has become the focal point as a referent object of security at every level, specifically in the state. The need for empowerment, emancipation, dignity and justice has been considered a critical policy engagement of governments in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

While coming to Bangladesh, the nation faces challenges of human security in various dimensions ranging from basic needs to environmental degradation and natural disasters. These challenges are substantially different from war-torn societies or transition economies. It is argued that Bangladesh Ansar and VDP is well placed to play a vital role in mitigating some of the threats to human security in Bangladesh. In addition to its key functions, the challenges emanating from poverty, illiteracy and technical inefficiency at the national level can effectively be addressed by the involvement of millions of members of this organization. Hence, the role of this organization is critical for education, training and awareness-raising at mass level. This requires further capacity building of Bangladesh Ansar and VDP through its greater engagement in the country and higher training of its members.



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## *Media, Globalization and Human Security*

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In this paper, my goal is to find out the links between three disparate concepts--media, globalization, and human security. For this, we first need to define the concepts. Let us start with human security. Human security means safety from any threats and protection from any hurtful disruptions.<sup>35</sup> How do the media and globalization relate to this?

Many attempts have been made to define globalization. British sociologist Anthony Giddens<sup>36</sup> defined globalization as time-space distanciation or action at a distance. Geographer and anthropologist David Harvey<sup>37</sup> defined globalization as time-space compression. This means the time of production and circulation declined increasing the turnover of capital. The underlying theme of these definitions is that the world has become more interconnected than before. Media and communication technology have been a key instrument for globalization. The invention of telegraph, telephone, and undersea cable interconnected the world in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. News agencies like British Reuters, French Havas, German Wolf, and American Associated Press were the first global media. The invention and expansion of the Internet has provided the backbone of

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<sup>35</sup> UNDP (1994). *Human Development Report 1994*. New York: UN

<sup>36</sup> Giddens, Anthony(1981). *A Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism: Power, Property and the State*. London: Macmillan.

<sup>37</sup> Harvey, David (1991). *The Condition of Postmodernity*. U.K.: Wiley-Blackwell

the contemporary globalization. The transnational financial and banking system, the transportation system (e.g., air traffic control system), and the global production system rely on the Internet.

The Internet is at the epicenter of human security as it is used to deliver threats and disrupt life. In an Internet based society individuals face many threats. The common threats include: identity theft (i.e., stealing someone's identity to gain illegal benefits), phishing (i.e., collecting information by pretending to be someone who could be trusted. For example, in case of online banking someone may ask for your banking ID and password by impersonating a bank manager), blackmailing or fraud (e.g., criminals send false mails offering lucrative prizes). The Internet is used as a communication means to deliver threats. Finally, harm is done by uploading and distributing objectionable pictures and pornography on social networking sites such as face book and twitter.

Even the network itself is also at risk. One can break into a network by cracking the password. One can steal system data by using keystroke loggers or keyloggers (i.e., a hardware set between the keyboard and the pc or a software set between the keyboard and the operating system). A keystroke logger set in a computer system records whatever the user writes or does and supplies the information to the person who set this device or software. Criminals can prevent or impair the normal functionality of a network, using Trojans, viruses, or worms. The Internet along with other media can be used as propaganda tools to create a human security policy or change the course of the existing human security policy.

These cyberthreats are unique because of many reasons. First, criminals can remain anonymous to common people. Second, threats can be transborder in nature. For example, people from outside the border can deliver the threats as the Internet is by nature a transnational medium. Third, criminals are more knowledgeable than regular Internet users.

The question is: how do these threats are fought against? Two approaches—authoritarian and liberal democratic—are used to deal

with them. Under the authoritarian approach, a surveillance system by using filtering software at the control points of the Internet at the backbone level is developed to prevent the infiltration of unwanted content and monitor the use of computers. Countries like China, Cuba, and Iran have developed such systems. Under the liberal democratic approach, people are made aware of the risks and criminals are hunted down and punished by respecting human rights. All western democratic countries including the U.S. and the U.K. follow this approach.

The mechanisms used to deal with cyber threats in Bangladesh correspond to the liberal democratic approach. The Information and Communication Technology Act 2006 provides the basis for dealing with the threats. It talks about the types of offences and penalties, and formation of cybercrime tribunals to deal with the offenders. Some relevant provisions of the CrPC (Criminal Procedure Code) are also used. There are cybercrime prevention agencies such as the Computer Security Incident Response Team (BD-CSIRT) at the BTRC to curb cybercrimes. The CSIRT marks websites with content that could spread social, political, religious, or national hatred, and takes them down. The Rapid Action Battalion (RAB) has a cybercrime prevention unit. However, the legal framework to deal with cyber threats is still inadequate as cyber tribunals and cyber appellate tribunals are yet to be created. There is also no means to deal with transborder threats. Mass people are still unaware of the threats and mechanisms to deal with them.

The government should create the cybercrime tribunals immediately by hiring the judges and other personnel. A cyber-crime commission should also be created involving Internet policy experts, computer experts, lawyers, law enforcement agency members, and Internet service providers. It will do research on cyber threats and provide policy guidelines and evaluate the performance of cyber-crime prevention laws and bodies.

To deal with transborder threats, Bangladesh can pursue one or all the three options. First, Bangladesh can ratify the *Council of Europe Convention on Cybercrime*. Already more than 30 western and developing countries ratified this treaty. Ratification of this treaty



will help Bangladesh to deal with the threats which are delivered by using the space or computer networks belonging to the member countries. Second, Bangladesh also can deal bilaterally with the country where the threats generated. Finally, it can join China and Brazil at the Internet Governance Forum (IGF) to demand the creation of a UN organization to deal with cyber threats.

The Ansar & VDP as a law enforcement agency could take some measures to deal with cyber threats. It should create a cyber-cell to monitor cybercrimes and equip its members to deal with the cyber threats and protect its networks. It should hold town-hall type meetings regularly at the villages to make people aware of these new threats.

## *The trend of Human Security in Bangladesh: an Historical Observation*

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### **1. Preface:**

If anybody wants to identify the human security, he will face many criticalities. Because the issue which is related with the human life. The definition of life is given very tough for anybody even for a philosopher also. However, that is not my article's theme, so I shall not go through that direction. I like to point out the question of human security from the perspective of economic security with historical analysis. My raising question is why and how economic security played a significant role for a society, especially under developing country as like Bangladesh. To find out my question answer I try analyzing this from historical point of view. My case study field will be limited in Bangladesh.

### **2. Definition of Human security:**

The materialization of the human security discourse was the artifact of a junction of factors at the end of the Cold War. These challenged the supremacy of the neorealist paradigm's meeting point on states, "mutually assured destruction" and military security and briefly enabled a broader concept of security to emerge. The increasingly rapid pace of globalization; the failure of liberal state building through the instruments of the Washington Consensus; the reduced threat of nuclear war between the superpowers, the exponential rise in the spread and consolidation of democratization and international human rights norms opened a space in which both 'development' and concepts of 'security' could be reconsidered.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Human\\_security](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Human_security).

At the same time, the increasing number of internal violent conflicts in Africa, Asia and Europe (Balkans) resulted in concepts of national and international security failing to reflect the challenges of the post Cold War security environment whilst the failure of neoliberal development models to generate growth, particularly in Africa, or to deal with the consequences of complex new threats (such as HIV and climate change) reinforced the sense that international institutions and states were not organised to address such problems in an integrated way.<sup>39</sup>

According the definition of UNDP stated that by Kofi Anan, “Human security, in its broadest sense, embraces far more than the absence of violent conflict. It encompasses human rights, good governance, access to education and health care and ensuring that each individual has opportunities and choices to fulfill his or her potential. Every step in this direction is also a step towards reducing poverty, achieving economic growth and preventing conflict. Freedom from want, freedom from fear, and the freedom of future generations to inherit a healthy natural environment -- these are the interrelated building blocks of human – and therefore national – security.”<sup>40</sup>

Now the question of the list of human security, if the list of threats to human security is long, but most can be considered under several main categories:

- Economic security
- Food security
- Health security
- Environmental security

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<sup>39</sup> [www.wikipedia.com](http://www.wikipedia.com).

<sup>40</sup> Kofi Annan. “Secretary-General Salutes International Workshop on Human Security in Mongolia.” Two-Day Session in Ulaanbaatar, May 8-10, 2000. Press Release SG/SM/7382.

<http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2000/20000508.sgsm7382.doc.html>  
08/27/01

- Personal security
- Community security
- Political security<sup>41</sup>

### 3. Historical point of view:

However, my article's theme is why and how economic security can provide our society into better place. To answer this question answer I like to review our history from the context of economic point of view. To understand this point we must have to understand the social structure of society.

#### 1. Mode of Production:

Before subjugated of the East India Company in the Battle of Plassey in 1757, the Bengal society belonged, a mode of production that is according Karl Marx "Asiatic Mode of Production." Therefore, the social structure was straight. The peculiar character of this system may be judged from the following description, contained in an old official report of the British House of Commons on Indian affairs, which was stated by Karl Marx as follows of verbatim:

"A village, geographically considered, is a tract of country comprising some hundred or thousand acres of arable and waste lands; politically viewed it resembles a corporation or township. Its proper establishment of officers and servants consists of the following descriptions: The *potail*, or head inhabitant, who has generally the superintendence of the affairs of the village, settles the disputes of the inhabitants attends to the police, and performs the duty of collecting the revenue within his village, a duty which his personal influence and minute acquaintance with the situation and concerns of the people render him the best qualified for this charge. The *kurnum* keeps the accounts of cultivation, and registers

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<sup>41</sup> United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). *Human Development Report 1994*, New York: Oxford University Press, pp.24-25.  
<http://www.undp.org/hdro/1994/94.htm> 08/02/01

everything connected with it. The *tallier* and the *totie*, the duty of the former of which consists [...] in gaining information of crimes and offenses, and in escorting and protecting persons travelling from one village to another; the province of the latter appearing to be more immediately confined to the village, consisting, among other duties, in guarding the crops and assisting in measuring them. The boundary-man, who preserves the limits of the village, or gives evidence respecting them in cases of dispute. The Superintendent of Tanks and Watercourses distributes the water [...] for the purposes of agriculture. The Brahmin, who performs the village worship. The schoolmaster, who is seen teaching the children in a village to read and write in the sand. The calendar-brahmin, or astrologer, etc. These officers and servants generally constitute the establishment of a village; but in some parts of the country it is of less extent, some of the duties and functions above described being united in the same person; in others it exceeds the above-named number of individuals. [...] Under this simple form of municipal government, the inhabitants of the country have lived from time immemorial. The boundaries of the villages have been but seldom altered; and though the villages themselves have been sometimes injured, and even desolated by war, famine or disease, the same name, the same limits, the same interests, and even the same families have continued for ages. The inhabitants gave themselves no trouble about the breaking up and divisions of kingdoms; while the village remains entire, they care not to what power it is transferred, or to what sovereign it devolves; its internal economy remains unchanged. The *potail* is still the head inhabitant, and still acts as the petty judge or magistrate, and collector or renter of the village.”<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Karl Marx, *The British Rule in India*, in the New-York Herald Tribune 1853 Source: MECW Volume 12, p. 125; Written: June 10, 1853; First published: in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, June 25, 1853; Proofread: by Andy Blunden in February 2005. In writing this article, Marx made use of some of Engels’ ideas as in his letter to Marx of June 6, 1853

However, the intervention of East India Company as state ruler they introduced capitalism in agriculture in the name of Permanent Settlement.<sup>43</sup>

On this ground, Karl Marx showed his argument that:

‘England, it is true, in causing a social revolution in Hindostan, was actuated only by the vilest interests, and was stupid in her manner of enforcing them. But that is not the question. The question is, can mankind fulfil its destiny without a fundamental revolution in the social state of Asia? If not, whatever may have been the crimes of England she was the unconscious tool of history in bringing about that revolution.’<sup>44</sup>

However, the reality was different. Because after the proclaimed of Permanent Settlement the lowly subalterns are there too-much at the receiving end-but they are not the focus of this work.<sup>45</sup> Therefore, the Bengal society failed to turn as a capitalist society. A new type of Mode of Production was introduced here. New Marxist political economist Hamza Alavi pointed out this type of mode of production as ‘new colonial mode of production’. If the mode of production as like capitalist mode of production but its main nature is central development. Therefore, the periphery failed to get attention for their development.<sup>46</sup> Binoy Gosh also pointed out same way. For this reason, he gave the example from Rabindranath Tagore family. He pointed out that in this way:

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<sup>43</sup> To further study on permanent Settlement, see also, Ranajit Guha, Chirastahi Bandobaster Sutrapat (The preparatory of Permanent Settlement), Talpata, Calcutta, September 2010.

<sup>44</sup> Karl Marx, *Ibid*.

<sup>45</sup> Ranajit Guha, *Ibid*, pp.137-38.

<sup>46</sup> Hamza Alavi, *INDIA AND THE COLONIAL MODE OF PRODUCTION*, [www.socialistregister.com/index.php/srv/article/view/5384/2283](http://www.socialistregister.com/index.php/srv/article/view/5384/2283)

*Darakanth Tagore may be forgotten that none can belong at the same time as a Zamindar and capitalist class. If any body wishes to stay in double class at last, only he could stay the unmoved Zamindar class, not the moving business class. Darakanth Tagore may be forgotten this reality. For this reason, he could fit in only unmoved Zamindar class.*<sup>47</sup>

That was the reality of Bengali society for its social structure. That is why the society failed to upgrade as an industrial society. Therefore, we look after that the Bengali society developed based on land and government officials or any other job. The long time result of the permanent settlement that the Bengal society had failed to develop as an entrepreneur society. It created a new type of social structure. So Marxist, discussion did not run for Bengal society. In the colonial period, a new type of mode of production was arisen here. State always took place against the nation's desires. The Indian people started their movements in different times in different ways against British colonial power.<sup>48</sup> At last, 1947 the sub-continent was divided into two parts based on two-nation theory.<sup>49</sup> By this time, the nature of mode of colonial mode of production did not change. Under this, circumstances when the newly born Pakistan and India created lot of hopes and aspirations kernel in the people's heart for their better future. The East Bengal<sup>50</sup> became the part of Pakistan.

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<sup>47</sup> Binoy Ghosh, *Banglar Samajik Itihaser Dhara*, Sandesh, Bai Mela, Dhaka, 2000, p.141.

<sup>48</sup> In different times, the Indian people tried to build up the social, political and cultural movement against British Colonial Rule. For detail, discussions see also, Sekhar Bandyopadhyay, *From Palassey to Partition: A History of Modern India*, Orient Longman, India, 2006.

<sup>49</sup> For detail, see also, Richard S. Wheeler, *The Politics of Pakistan A Constitutional Quest*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London, 1970.

<sup>50</sup> The name of East Bengal was officially changed to East Pakistan on 23 March 1956 when the first Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan came into effect. Prior to that date, it was referred to both ways in official documents. After 1971, the same region became Bangladesh. I have used Bangladesh, East Bengal and East Pakistan interchangeably. The upper

### 5. Economic Points:

The reality is for our society is that during the colonial period they started a colonial mode of production. Later the part of Pakistan era, it was sustained. Therefore Bengali people started a struggle for independence against Pakistani state mechanism. The history of 1947-71 brief is not my objective. My objective is whether we can gain our economic security against poverty. Now I try to point out what are the criterions of economic insecurity. For this reason I just verbatim the report of 'Human security in Bangladesh SAFERWORLD MAY 2008.' The report is given below: <sup>51</sup>

There are three main forms of **economic insecurity** were identified: general poverty, economic exploitation and 'price hikes' in basic commodities. With 50 percent of Bangladeshis living below the poverty line, poverty and unemployment are the greatest concerns for most people. **Poverty underlies many other problems.** It is a major cause of food insecurity, since many people lack the resources (including land and agricultural products) either to grow their own food or to buy it from others. Limited resources make it harder to access basic services such as healthcare, sanitation and education. Poverty and unemployment are also seen as being the two most important drivers of crime and injustice.

Some Bangladeshis felt that as they work for low pay – often in poor conditions – they were victims of **economic exploitation**. This was a particular concern for a number of focus group participants working in tea cultivation, stone supplying and the readymade garment industry. Participants also suggested that particular NGOs running micro-finance initiatives were also guilty of exploitation, citing cases

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lines are verbatim from Ahmed Kamal, *State Against The Nation The Decline of the Muslim League in Pre-independence Bangladesh, 1947-54*, The University Press Limited, Dhaka, 2009, P. xv.

<sup>51</sup> Human security in Bangladesh SAFERWORLD MAY 2008,

[www.humansecuritygateway.com](http://www.humansecuritygateway.com)

[/SAFERWORLD\\_Bangladesh\\_humansecurity.pdf](#)



of people spiraling into debt as a result of borrowing money from a succession of different NGOs in order to pay off earlier loans.

The '**price hike**' in the cost of basic goods such as rice, fertiliser and fuel in late 2007 and early 2008 had many causes, several of which were beyond the Government's control, but this was a considerable source of insecurity for much of the population. Like all sources of insecurity, threats to economic stability cannot be analysed in isolation. For example, soaring costs of basic foodstuffs can lead to food insecurity, as households may struggle to purchase sufficient stocks to live healthy lives. This, in

turn, can further deepen economic insecurity by limiting productivity at a personal or community level.

Poor **health security** includes the risk of poverty-related health problems, the spread of infectious diseases, and low standards of healthcare provision. Poor health is a threat to human security because it undermines social and economic development. There has been significant investment in healthcare in recent years, and most health indicators are improving. However, 30 percent of the population are still below minimum

levels for dietary energy consumption, infant mortality remains high (54 for every 1,000 live births in 2005), and various infectious diseases, such as pneumonia and tuberculosis, are still rife. Moreover, avian influenza is disrupting farming and animal

husbandry, which will further weaken food security and economic development. Accidents and injuries (including high numbers of road accidents) are also a major cause of health problems.

Another key factor influencing standards of healthcare is the sensitive topic of **population levels**. Although fertility rates are falling, the population is still growing rapidly; the impact of this is multidimensional, but specifically large numbers of children being

born into poverty make it difficult to improve the overall percentage of people enjoying basic health security. Having a growing

population also intensifies other categories of insecurity, as it generates increased pressure on land and infrastructure resources. In turn, intense competition for resources is a key factor in creating both tenure insecurity and wider social instability. Indeed, several key informants suggested that Bangladesh suffers from ‘over-population’.

**An economic possession of political uncertainty on poles apart precedes classes:**

The World Bank estimates that Bangladesh mislaid approximately 5% of its yearly GDP in the 1990s owed to *hartals*, and the Bangladesh Garments Manufacturers and Exporters Association (BGMEA) report that its members lose US\$18 million per day of *hartal* (Category Report A: 11). The UNDP estimates a lower figure of around 3-4% of GDP lost based on extrapolating the number of days lost as a proportion of a productive year (UNDP 2005: 32-3). However, these figures are likely to vary year-to-year as the UNDP also points out that different groups are continuously evolving coping strategies to deal with *hartals*. But we do not know how effectively vulnerable groups have coped with recent *hartals*. Moreover, while we have some tentative figures for *hartals*, we do not have any estimates for the economic losses due to other types of political insecurity. The list here is very large and includes the collection of tolls or *chanda* from different sectors and economic classes, the effects of political rent-collection on different types of service delivery, and so on. No estimates exist on the magnitude or direction of change of these costs.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Mushtaq H. Khan1, BANGLADESH HUMAN SECURITY ASSESSMENT (2005). [eprints.soas.ac.uk/9959/1/BHSA\\_Final.pdf](http://eprints.soas.ac.uk/9959/1/BHSA_Final.pdf) -

## **6. Recent development:**

If we just look after the recent incidents of our country, the political situation is looking very attaching mode. Therefore, if we want to ensure our economic security at the same time we need to realize that without political stabilization it's very much impossible to ensure our economic security. For this reason, everyone should come forward and take proper steps to ensure political stability to continue economic works of the people. Very recently, we look after that a tragic story of fire at Tazreen Fashion at Asulia, where according the report of national daily newspapers that more than 110 people had died,<sup>53</sup> nevertheless Bangladesh's garment industry can save at least \$150 million a year by introducing an environment friendly production method, according to a study of the International Finance Corporation. Cleaner production will also make the industry more competitive in the global market, said the study.<sup>54</sup>

## **7. Conclusion:**

At last, I try to say that economic security is a big concern to sustainable development and ensure the human security of our country. For this reason, the central and periphery need to work combine. Because the grass roots development can be the sustainable development for the country. Here Ansar and VDP can played very significant role to create entrepreneurship in the rural area. Though they have very well organized infrastructure, if it could be use in proper way the sunny day is not so far from our country.

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<sup>53</sup> *The Daily Star*, December 11, 2012

<sup>54</sup> *The Daily Star*, December 16, 2012

**The End**