# POST 9/11 SECURITY SCENARIO IN SOUTH ASIA: OPTION FOR SECURITY OF SMALL STATES WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO BANGLADESH

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## INTRODUCTION

No part of the world has been more affected by the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 than South Asia. South Asia had to endure the strain of the consequences of the war to such an extent that few of the nations of the region are labeled as 'Failed State'. Emergence of asymmetric nature of transnational terrorism has created fluidity and uncertainty in many countries across the globe including South Asia. Subsequently many religious extremist groups have surfaced in Bangladesh and made security situation volatile, creating image crisis and negative impact on country's economy. One of the critical aspects of South Asian internal geopolitical realities is the mistrust and lack of cooperation due to their bitter historical backgrounds especially between India and Pakistan.

The strategic importance of South Asia lays in its geographical location also its political, cultural and ethnic structure. South Asia lies in the center of two volatile regions of West Asia and South East Asia, and it dominates the vital sea communications between the West and the East. To its north lies the great land mass of China, center of future geopolitical power hub. After the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, India began to review its foreign policy and developed closer ties with the EU and the US. Current Indian foreign policy is based on maintaining strategic autonomy to promote and safeguard national interests. Key recent developments include the rapid growth of India's economy and bilateral trade with US, a geopolitical coalition to balance the rise of an increasingly assertive China, the weakening of US-Pakistan relations. "The deeper US-India relationship was further lauded with Barack Obama's statement at his last visit to India on 26 January 2015, "the fortunes of the US and the fortunes of India are inextricably linked" (Price, 2015).

After September 9/11 attacks, US launched global war on terror in Afghanistan (October 2001) and stretched the security situation towards more complexities expanding from one Al Qaeda base in Afghanistan since 1990s to now pushed over into 15 different countries, causing more worries across the globe (Ibrahim 2015).

In Bangladesh, Harkat-Ul-Jihad-Al-Islami-Bangladesh (HUJIB) was formed in 1990 and Jamaat-ul-Mujahideen Bangladesh (JMB) was formed sometime in 1998 and gained prominence since 9/11. A series of bomb and grenade attacks since 2001 to 2006 killing hundreds of people including high profile personalities even attempt on the life of the then opposition leader Sheikh Hasina by religious extremist are few of the examples. Since 2013, Ansarullah Bangla Team (ABT), an Al Qaeda inspired Islamic extremist group has emerged in Bangladesh. The ABT objectives include the radicalization of youths in Bangladesh, inciting active participation in a local jihad and seeking control of areas in Bangladesh (TRAC, 2015). It is appropriate to comment that in the present socio-political situation, alongside the holistic national response, it demands also a shared regional response to combat such threat. As such, this study will focus on examining post 9/11 security scenario and its impact in South Asia and recommend strategy options for South Asian small states with special reference to Bangladesh. However, in this endeavor all pertinent NTS threats will be discussed.

# Post 9/11 Security Scenario and Its Impacts on South Asia

Global Geopolitical Dynamics. The terrorist attacks of 9/11 are a turning point in the global security scenario, which has shaped many future courses of global events. This incident revealed a remarkable degree of US vulnerability to an attack on its main land, for which USA enacted laws and executive orders including US Patriot Act and establishment of US Department of Homeland Security. It has furthered the US urge for unilateralism. Thus, "US decision to deal with the terrorists through military means in different parts of the world has generated anti-west and anti-US sentiments among Muslim community because of imprison torture and casualties of innocent civilians in Afghanistan and Iraq, which was capitalized by different extremist outfits in spreading terrorism further globally" (Zaman, 2015).

Regional Geo-Political Dynamics in South Asia. After 9/11, India, stimulated by the hope of strategic gains offered its all-out support to US. Pakistan joined the American war unconditionally for its vulnerability to the perceived US pressure. The war on terrorism has now moved to Pakistan territory. The shift to Pakistan territory has had several major consequences, facing even tougher challenges than Afghanistan due to internal destabilization especially in North West Frontier Provinces and Federally Administered Tribal Area (FATA) (Nayak 2005). The war on terrorism evidently has incited new cooperation between domestic religious



groups and foreign terrorists. The concentration of militant in Pakistan now threatens its domestic stability and risks making it the new regional center for terrorism.

**Pre 9/11 Scenario in South Asia.** Traditional antagonism between the two arch rivals – India and Pakistan; nuclear and conventional arms buildup, ethnic unrest and insurgency kept the regional affairs volatile. A sense of insecurity and mistrust always haunted the smaller states. Lack of cooperation slowed down the progress of SAARC. In South Asia, India dominates the region, therefore, interstates disputes also hinge around India with other regional countries, and while at the core remains the India-Pakistan's long drawn disputes.

**Post 9/11 Scenario in South Asia.** In the post 9/11, there has been a shift in the US's diplomacy in South Asia. Pakistan appears to be gradually sidelined in US's regional policy agenda with India coming into prominence. The challenges of terrorism, proliferation of WMD and numerous organized crimes are on the rise. Besides that, issues of non-traditional threats have been emerging at the forefront. In the subsequent paragraphs, traditional and NTS threats are discussed below:

Traditional Security Threats. South Asia is a conflict ridden region where India and Pakistan have emerged as the two world's nuclear power. Another giant China's close proximity has made South Asia a nuclear concentration area raising high level of tension and volatility in the region. "South Asia's defence spending is one of the highest in the world dragging human security challenges towards more complexities. To reduce tension and to promote mutual trust and confidence there is no security architecture in South Asia" (Muniruzzaman, 2015).

Non-Traditional Security Threats. South Asia is characterized by extremely high environmental stress resulting from cyclone, floods, earth quake, and scarcity of water, high urban population density, energy shortages, and air pollution. Climate change is expected to exacerbate the existing vulnerabilities, leading to further depletion of scarce food, health and water resources, augmenting migration and increasing the number of internally displaced people raising poverty level, deteriorating law and order and transnational crime. Drug and human trafficking has emerged as a major security concern due to the porous South Asian borders. It should also be stressed that throughout South Asia two types of migration is taking place, across borders and within individual countries. Of late, thousands of illegal migration from Myanmar and Bangladesh are being rescued from the

Bay of Bengal near Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia. Discovery of mass grave of migration victims has signaled the horrors of human trafficking. It should be addressed nationally and regionally. The uneven distribution of energy supplies among South Asian countries has generated significant vulnerabilities to their economies. Threats to energy security in South Asia are predominantly caused by lack of political will. To optimize the region's economic potential, each South Asian state needs to explore the possibilities for regional energy cooperation and design long-term plans to secure its domestic requirement taking into consideration many opportunities for regional energy cooperation.

Transnational Crime, Terrorism and Gradual Radicalization. Organized criminal groups have been reported to smuggle banned prescription drugs i.e. Heroin, Phensidyl and Yabba across Myanmar, India and Bangladesh. In the aftermath of 9/11, religious militancy has intensified in South Asia. Political instability, poor governance and weak democratic institutions create a vacuum in the state functioning. Evidence exists of collaboration between terrorist groups from regional countries and extremists seeking safe haven or expanding their bases in neighboring states. Bangladesh has witnessed rising religious extremism in various manifestations for more than 10 years. A series of bomb and grenade attack in Bangladesh by HUJIB and JMB mirrors a deep rooted network across the region in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Myanmar. Of late, Al Qaeda has announced opening its branch in Indian sub-continent naming Al Qaeda in Indian Sub-Continent (AQIS). Without a regional cooperative approach it is not possible to address the issue.

India the Rising Power: Deepened Relation with USA. The 9/11 attacks have facilitated USA in establishing a "strategic partnership" and reshape its relations with India in the field of economy and military cooperation (Nayak 2005). Both the sides are concernedabout the protection of sea lanes carrying oil shipments and sea-born trade. They have agreed for civil nuclear deal and defence cooperation. US also recommended India for a permanent seat in the UNSC. "The US could be India's "best partner" and further decided to establish hotlines between the President and PM and between their national security advisors" (Price, 2015). Such scenario is likely to have negative impact in regional states of Indian Ocean and in resolving issues among South Asian states.



# Impact of 9/11 on South Asian Region

Impact on South Asia. Firstly, the US by dripping to pieces the Taliban regime, once again pushed Afghanistan into a new phase of insurgency and civil war. The unrest and turbulence in Afghanistan has leaked out into Pakistan and spread into neighboring countries. Second, the situation provided an opportunity for India to justify its previous allegation against Pakistan harboring terrorism in Kashmir and prompted India to justify a possible attack on Pakistan bringing the Kashmir insurgency into the US definition of terrorism. On the western border, Pakistan always likes to feel securethrough the presence of a friendly regime in Afghanistan. The war on terror has brought the Northern Alliances to the power in Kabul.9/11 has affected small states in a multi-dimensional way; impacting the ongoing insurgencies, fight for self-determination, struggles for autonomy, trade, foreign investment and their perceptions towards India and US.It brought a sudden slum in global aviation industry and Nepal's tourism was doubly hit. Nepal's position has been reduced from third highest destination of vacation to 14th.Impact on Sri Lanka and Bhutan was insignificant.

# Impact on Bangladesh

**Economic Impact.** Because of the 9/11 terrorist attacks, there was a wide spread cancellation of RMG export orders. Consequently, by mid-October 2001, around half of the 3000 garments factories registered under Bangladesh Garments Manufacturer and Exporter Association (BGMEA) had to close down. The overseas job market also shrank after the 9/11 events creating severe impact on Bangladesh economy.

Political and Security Impact. Adverse media coverage was a severe blow to the image of Bangladesh. Second were the role perceptions and utterances in India. India has been alleging about the possible nexus between the Pakistani Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) and Islamic forces in Bangladesh, which harbors not only the insurgents from the northeast but also Al Qaeda forces. Consequently, strains were added to Bangladesh-India relations with a good number of bilateral issues. No doubt, in recent times, the activism of the Islamic forces is on the rise. "Of late, the National Investigation Agency (NIA) of Indian sleuths probing the Burdwan blast case has claimed that a key suspect identified JMB member has confessed of chalking out a plan to assassinate Bangladesh Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina" (Sujan, 2014, p.1).

Geopolitical and Geostrategic Impact. "9/11 has generated instable global rule, distrust and tension across the globe. As regards to Bangladesh and South Asia, it has more social and political consequences, declined democratic practices and influencing the growth of extremism and terrorism" (Zillur 2015). Capitalizing the anti-American sentiments, terrorists have increased more violence in the name of Islam.On the contrary, rise of China and its increased involvement in the region to counter US hegemony is also gaining prominence.

# Option for Security of Small States in South Asia

Definition of Small State and its Vulnerability. Rothstein defined small state as "Which recognizes that it cannot obtain security primarily by use of its own capability and it must rely fundamentally on the aid of other states, institutions and processor development and so, the small powers' belief in its inability to rely on its own measure must also be recognized by other states involved in the international politics (Khan &Kabir, 1987, p.4). In fact, poverty, lack of national cohesion possesses greater potentials for insecurity to these nations. Political instability, poor governance, over population, unemployment and absence of rule of law has made Bangladesh susceptible to crime, terrorism and religious extremism.

Is Bangladesh a Small State? Considering the geographical size, small economy, smaller armed forces, weak political and democratic institutions and weak governance it can be said that Bangladesh is a small state. The crucial security challenge to the Bangladesh is an increased incidence of violence, particularly growing militancy.

South Asian Situation. The wide range of critical disputes has developed a state of mistrust and suspicion among South Asian states. The War on Terror in Afghanistan and the 'unjust war' in Iraq, resurgence of Taliban and Al Qaeda elements have been worsening South Asian security. Organized crimes like smuggling, illegal arms, drugs and human trafficking are on the rise. Besides, environmental degradation, natural disasters, epidemics, social and political deprivation and economic disparity are the growing concerns today. Scarcities of natural resources like water, energy and change of climate are also compounding the fragile economy and increasing poverty level. Nearly 570 million people are living below poverty line in South Asia (Canuto, 2013 p.1). Poor governance, lack of accountability, coupled with corruption infuses slackness and inefficiency



down the chain of state administration. "A large set of variables have been identified for this multifaceted insecurities. They include: irreconcilable national identities; lack of political development; weak economies; unsettled territorial disputes; and lack of regional institutions" (Paul 2010). SAARC is a South Asian regional forum could not be meaningful due to its weak charters and lack of political will. This reflects weak norms of cooperative behavior. Hence, the need for cooperation, nonintervention and territorial integrity is all the more important for regional security and development. Therefore, BIMSTEC, BCIM and SAFTA have huge economic potentials for South and South East Asia if engaged skillfully. Being a regional power the role of India is very crucial for stability, prosperity and harmonious South Asia.

# **Security Options for Small States**

**South Asian Security Architecture.** A South Asian Security Architecture may be developed in the line of ASEAN Defence Ministers Meeting (ADMM),to promote mutual trust and confidence through greater understanding of South Asian security challenges.

Development of Democratic Institutions and Good Governance. There is strong evidence that mature democracies rarely fight each other. The emergence of strong democratic states (internally secure and legitimate) can change the dynamics of the region considerably. Therefore, it is essential to develop democratic institutions of the state, which should be transparent, functional and accountable to the state system.

Using SAARC as Multidimensional Cooperative Platform. Under the present reality, greater South Asian needs i.e. SAARC charter may be reviewed and complex issues related to security, economy, sharing of energy, water, enhancement of trade and commerce for equitable growth may be resolved in a multilateral platform.

Dialogue, Research and Training. Dialogue, research and training are essential for progressive development of any institution. Dialogue, seminar and workshop on critical security issues may be organized including sharing of information on common interest. Extensive research may be undertaken oncommon security issues, climate change, food, energy,health and disaster management. Training of Law enforcement officials would be undertaken at the Inter-Government level. Capacity building measures could be undertaken through training/exercises.

**Strengthening Defence Capability.** Any state must possess a physical defensive capability. The objective here is to face a possible aggressor with resistance and certainty of bloodshed. Even a lion would hesitate to attack a prey which is capable to fight back.

Holistic Approach on Water Sharing. A holistic approach with all the affected countries may be needed for a comprehensive solution of water sharing. The proposed UN Convention on the Law of the Non-Navigational Uses of International Watercourses-1997 may be followed as a guiding principle in overcoming shortfalls in agreement.

Environmental Awareness Campaign. National and regional diplomatic efforts in all international forums should emphasize to generate funds and mitigate the risks and challenges of global warming and climate change.

# SECURITY OPTIONS FOR BANGLADESH IN SOUTH ASIAN CONTEXT

# Bangladesh's Geopolitical Relation with India and Myanmar

Bangladesh - India Relations. "Bangladesh is surrounded on three sides by India with whom it shares a 4,095 km boundary, means that irrespective of whichever government may be in power, India will continue to be Bangladesh's primary interlocutor in foreign relations. Logically and ideally it should be in the interest of both countries to build a stable relationship based on mutual benefit (Sobhan 2015). Despite of many pending tricky issues, recently there has been a qualitative shift in bilateral relations between the two countries. These have helped to reshape political, economic and security issues between the two countries. "Bangladesh's trade with India has reached to \$ 6 billion in 2015; India has agreed to allow Bangladesh to export goods to Nepal and Bhutan using Indian territory. Beside, to increase connectivity, road, rail, air and water route will be made functional for trade and commerce between the two countries" (Ahmed 2015). To reduce trade gap, removing tariff and non-tariff barrier and to draw FDI from India positive developments are going on (Mamun 2015). After historical Land Boundary Agreement, Narendra Modi visited Bangladesh from 6-7 June 2015, where 22 deals, protocols and MOUs related to connectivity, security, trade andeconomy were signed between the countries. The Indian Premier also said, "I am confident that with the support of state governments in India, we can reach a fair solution on Teesta and Feni Rivers" (Karim 2015). Besides, both the countries



agreed to finalize three agreements of mutual legal assistance on criminal matters, transfer of sentenced persons and combating international terrorism, organized crime and illegal trade.

Bangladesh-Myanmar Relations. At present, Myanmar's inclusion policy, possession of huge untapped natural resources has made Bangladesh's 'Look East Policy' very promising. Myanmar can also be an outlet for Bangladesh to expand its trade and investment ties with the rest of South East Asia. Despite of some tricky issues, poor public diplomacy and absence of people to people contact is a major hurdle in developing relation with Myanmar. Absence of investment agreement and absence of banking facility to open Letter of Credit (LC) is a hurdle on investment in Myanmar (Islam 2015). In recent time, however, the relationship has moved ahead steadily because of profound changes in the domestic politics of Myanmar and exchange of several high level official visits. Bangladesh should give a high priority focus in developing relation with Myanmar. Only a skillful diplomacy can open the door of fortune and prosperity resolving outstanding issues.

China and India Factor. Bangladesh is considered as 'High Value Strategic Real Estate'. Due to the historical linkage, geo-politically India is of great significance to Bangladesh. Again, Bangladesh has established a good relationship with China, both at economic and strategic dimensions. The principle thrust of Bangladesh's foreign policy should be to try and work closely with both countries on a range of projects and initiatives. Bangladesh will pursue a non-partisan policy and make a critical balance with both India and China to secure its national interest (Sobhan 2015).

## SECURITY DIMENSIONS OF BANGLADESH

# Internal Issues of Bangladesh Security

**Political Instability and Poor Governance.** Instable politics is keeping the country seriously vulnerable to internal and external security threats. Poor governance results in corruption, nepotism, political interference in economic activities result in inefficiencies, wastage of public fund and lower rate of growth, and threatening the fabric of national security. "Political turmoil of late 2013 and early 2015 has resulted loss in the economy. Different estimates of GDP foregone ranges from 0.55% to 1.1% of GDP" (Salehuddin 2015).

**Economic Insecurity.** Despite achieving significant landmarks in food production, microcredit expansion and RMG export, poverty remains still a daunting problem. "Major challenges of the economy remain political instability; lack of good governance; reform measures; impact of climate change; improving human welfare: education, health, safety nets, income distribution. Risk factorsare insufficient infrastructures, constraint in domestic revenue mobilization, low level of financial development: capital market, insurance market, and hedging / future markets, accelerate pace of reforms to attract more FDI, contract enforcement, land registration for industries, (Salehuddin 2015).

**Social Insecurity.** An ever-increasing number of hard-core poor and floating population with no access to basic amenities pose a substantial threat to the social fabric of Bangladesh. Migration of poor people from rural to urban area in fact making slumization within urbanization giving rather a gloomy look to the city. Criminalization of politics andrent seeking are making the scenario more compounds (Barakat 2015).

**CHT Peace Treaty Implementation.** Slow pace of Peace Treaty implementation has the potential for an internal security threat to Bangladesh with cross border ramifications, which may destabilize the situation.

Weak Diplomacy. Diplomatic efforts are so weak that go at times against national interests. Signing of Trade and Investment Framework Agreement (TICFA) and deprived in getting GSP facility from USA is due to shocking diplomacy (Parvez 2015). For lack of proactive diplomacy, infrastructure, bureaucratic bottle neck and corruption, prevailing gloomy investment climate are failing to draw FDI.

**Faulty Education System.** Faulty education system in Bangladesh is producing unemployment, also failing to instill moral and ethical values. Such unemployment in an instable political environment is likely to act as breeding ground for religious extremism. For lack of moral values, most of the professionals causing anxiety at every tier of public, private and social service.

Religious Extremism and Radicalization. At present, religious extremism has become one of the major security challenges for Bangladesh. Numbers of militant organizations are actively operating across the country. Mohammad Ayoob, a security expert opines that the intensity and extensiveness of religious militancy since 1999 (Annex A) has been one of the major security challenges facing Bangladesh. It has significantly threatened the state structures, institutions and terrorized the people across the country and undermined the Constitution



and the democratic system (Akhter 2010). Due to the ideological affinity, religious extremists have established a strong network across the region. West Bengal has been used as a transit corridor by the militants to carry out subversive acts in Bangladesh. According to Bhattacharjee, (2014) "Bangladesh has emerged as the major coordinating centre of international jihadi groups and their local collaborators. It is essential to note that state failure in satisfying basic needs of the people, growing criminalization of the economy and politics, inequalities in the society, mass illiteracy, increasing unemployment, and lack of people's confidence in the main stream political system are conducive for growing radicalization in Bangladesh". All indication reveals that they are now in 'Strategic Stalemate' situation (Akhter 2010).

Absence of Integrated National Security Mechanism. With 160 million people Bangladesh is facing a host of challenges. Forty million people are still below the poverty line. Maintaining sustainable food sufficiency is a big challenge. Impact of climate change and scarcity of water is likely to throw more challenges. Shortage of energy, poor infrastructure and bureaucratic bottle neck is a major hurdle towards industrializationand FDI. Above all exploiting the confrontational political environment transnational crime, terrorism and radicalization have compounded the situation further. To come out of these menace, Bangladesh needs to adopt a holistic and well-integrated approach to secure its ever vulnerable national security with a higher security management platform.

**Untapped Experience of Peacekeeping Operation.** The engagement of peacekeepers in a multi-linguistic and multinational environment may be considered as a research laboratory, where continuously Bangladeshi peacekeepers are gaining rare experiences, which mostly remained untapped to counter future Bangladeshi security challenges.

# Options Available For National Security of Bangladesh

**Political Stability and Good Governance.** Having established a healthy political environment, all the political parties should work to build national consensus on vital national interests like national identity, development of national economy, formulating defence and foreign policies in establishing good governance.

**Economic Development.** Faster GDP growth consistent with the poverty reduction goals can be met if; firstly the efficacy and quality of regulatory bodies (Bangladesh Bank, Bangladesh Energy Regulatory Commission, etc.) advance

significantly. Secondly, if the efficiency of the government bodies (Planning Commission, Tariff Commission, etc.) enhances considerably. Thirdly, if the agencies responsible (BOI) for promoting business become more dynamic and pro-business. Fourthly, if the bodies representing the business interests like FBCCI, BGMEA work in tandem with the government for sustainable and equitable development to ensure benefits of the poor and disadvantaged (Salehuddin 2015).

**Review of Education System.** Integrating moral science at all tiers of education system, a well thought out education program including madrasa education may be chalked out to generate employment and meet the need of today's globalized world.

Strengthening Foreign Policy and Diplomacy. Bangladesh needs huge investment in strengthening diplomacy and negotiating skill (Sobhan 2015). Ministry of Foreign Affairs may take the opinion of public, stake holders and civil society think tank while formulating foreign policy. It needs to be proactive in formulating foreign policy to ensure welfare of the people. Concrete steps may be taken to recruit quality personnel in Foreign Service providing higher training andacquiring state of the art in diplomacy.

Reliance on United Nations (UN) and International Legal Systems. Bangladesh should continue to participate actively in peace-keeping to enhance its global image and seek opportunities to become member of the UNSC and other UN agencies. The UN forum and any other international legal system should be used for drawing attention to a problem that is vital to the interests of Bangladesh.

National Security Council. Combining all elements of national power, government has to develop a comprehensive security plan with a higher security management platform. In this regard, government should seriously consider the need for a National Security Council (NSC) (with Honorable Prime Minister as the head), to counter its ever vulnerable multidimensional security challenges (Zaman, Faiz and Muniruzzaman 2015).

Bangladesh Bilateral Approach with India and Myanmar. At bilateral level, Bangladesh should adopt cooperative approach with India and Myanmar to safe guard its vital national interest, which will be sustainable and beneficial to its people. Bangladesh should use state of the art in diplomacy with both the countries.



Military Options: Modernization of the Armed Forces with Total People's War Concept. Bangladesh can only be successful in ensuring its security in the face of any strong aggressor if it uses 'state of the art' defensive weapons and extensive training is conducted for its forces. In order to maintain a strong and effective armed force, Bangladesh needs to continually strive to create deterrence through modernization. In this regard, Bangladesh may opt for medium but highly skilled armed forces with the concept of total people's war (Das 2015).

**Regional Cooperation as a Security Strategy.** Regional cooperation needs to be expanded and deepened, particularly in the areas of intra-regional trade, investment and industrial cooperation, for equitable gains of all participating member states as part of its security strategy.

**Exploiting Peacekeeping Experiences.** The experience of peacekeeping operations should be studied systematically for broader understandingtoformulate a guide line in countering similar or different forms of future security challenges in Bangladesh.

**Economic Diplomacy.** To materialize the "Vision 2021" and "Vision 2030" Bangladesh needs to achieve prescribed economic goals within stipulated time frame. Therefore, Bangladesh should endeavor to develop special relations with countries which are economically and strategically important to Bangladesh.

### RECOMMENDATIONS

Basing on the research, options have been suggested for the security of South Asian small states. Options have also been suggested as a security strategy for Bangladesh. However, finally, I wish to put forward the following recommendations:

- 1. There may be a separate study on (ASEAN) ADDM or any other such regional forum to formulate a framework and detail modality for South Asian Security Architecture.
- 2. A detailed study may be carried out on India, Pakistan and Sri Lankan NSC to formulate an effective higher level security management platform for Bangladesh to combat emerging multidimensional security challenges.
- 3. A separate study may be carried out to streamline age old education system to make it progressive, employment generating, moral and ethical bound.

4. An in depth study may also be carried out to organize a crisis management cell with realistic training and state of the art equipment and armament to combat natural and man-made disasterslike earth quake, building collapse and terrorism.

## CONCLUSION

The wide range of critical disputes has developed a state of mistrust and suspicion among South Asian states. South Asia is one of the poverty stricken regions plagued with many traditional and NTS threats. Global war on terror in Afghanistan and 'Unjust' war in Iraq has provoked Al Qaeda and other religious extremists tospread gradually across the globe, including South Asia. In the post 9/11, extremism has become more complex and volatile and posing threat to our national security. SAARC charter should be reviewed to resolve all its contentious bilateral and multilateral issues. To defuse any kind of tention, South Asia should develop a South Asian Security Architecture.

Since independence, weak state characteristics and poor governance results in absence of justice, deterioration of law and order, trans-national crime and terrorismin Bangladesh. In the post 9/11, the situation has becomemore compound.Bangladesh needs to adopt a holistic and well-integrated approach to secure its ever vulnerable national security. No singular security solution will be able to counter the present challenges. Combining all elements of national power, government should develop a comprehensive security plan with a higher security management platform. NSC is now a need of the time. Healthy political environment, good governance, economic development, employment generating education system, strong foreign policy with economic diplomacy, progressive bilateral approach with India, Myanmar and a cooperative approach with regional countries are crucial for the national development.

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# ANNEX A

Number of Bomb/Grenade Attack and Killing by the Activists of Religious Militancy		
Year	No. of Bomb/ Grenade Attack and Killing	Name of the Incident
1999	2	1.On the public meeting of Udichi, and 2. on Ahmadiya mosque.
2000	0	0
2001	6	1. New Year's celebration in Ramna, 2. Time bomb explosion in Church Gopalganj. 3. Awami League office, Narayanganj, 4. AL election meeting, Mollahat, 5. Killing of Hindu educationist, Principal Gopal Krishna Muhuri, and 6. CPB public meeting, Dhaka
2002	2	1.Cinema halls, Circus in Shatkhira, 2. Four cinema halls in Mymensingh and 3. Killing of Buddhist monk, Gainjoti Mohathero
2003	2	1.Bombing in Sufi Shrine, Tangail and 2. Mess (dormitory) Dinajpur
2004	6	1. Bombing in Shahjalal Sufi Shraine, Sylhet, 2. Attack on Prof Humayun Azad, Dhaka, 3. Bombing in Shahjalal Sufi Shraine, 4. AL public meeting Sunamganj 5. 3 cinema hall, Sylhet, and 6. AL public Meeting
2005	12	1. AL public meeting, Hobiganj, 2. bombing on NGO office (BRAC), Naogaon, 3.Orosh or religious celebration Akhaura, 4.Akhaura Sufi Shraine, 5. Explosion in 63 districts, 6. Court premise In Laxmipur and Chandpur, 7. Court Premise in Chittagong, 8. Suicide bomb on Judge's car, Jhalokhathi, 9. Suicide attack On court premise, Chittagong, 10. Bombing In lawyers building in Gazipur, 11. Bombing In DC's office Gazipur, 12. Bombing in Udichi cultural program, Netrokona
2006	0	0
2007	1	Three explosion at the main railway Stations in Dhaka, Chittagong and Sylhet.
2008	0	0
Source: ZohraAkhter, 2010, Trends in Militancy in Bangladesh, page.62		

# Author

Brigadier General Mohsin was commissioned in the Regiment of Artillery on 26 June 1987. He served in various command, staff and instructional appointments at different tiers of the Armed Forces. He commanded a military police unit, field regiment artillery and an artillery brigade. He served in Special Security Force in various appointments including Private Secretary to the Director General. He also served in Army Security Unit. He was Chief Instructor in Training Regiment of Artillery Centre and School.

Brigadier General Mohsin attended various trainings on professional courses both at home and abroad. He is a graduate of National Defence College and Defence Services Command and Staff College, Dhaka. In the service of peace keeping he served as a Provost Officer of a contingent in Sierra Leone in 2001-2002 (UNAMSIL). He served in UNMIL Liberia as Chief Military Public Information Officer (Staff Officer) in the Forces Headquarters in 2009-2010. He served as Forces Provost Marshal in MONUSCO, Forces Headquarters, DR Congo in 2012-2013.

Brigadier General Mohsin is a Master of Defence Studies (MDS) from National University of Bangladesh.

Brigadier General Mohsin has traveled different countries, which include India, Nepal, Bhutan, Thailand, Singapore, Korea, Dubai, Sierra Leone, UK, Turkey, Liberia, Ivory Coast, Ghana, DR Congo and Uganda. He is married and has one daughter and a son. He plays golf occasionally and passes time by reading books.