

NEED FOR NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY: RELEVANT CONCEPT AND PARADIGM AND CONTEXT OF BANGLADESH

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Introduction

‘Security’ is a matter of vital importance to human being and to a nation, a matter of life and death, the path either to survival or to ruin. National Security Strategy (NSS) is the way to rule a country and safe guard its security. It is closely related to the rise or decline, survival or perishing of a country. Almost all the independent need to work out a way to safe guard the national interest and maintain stability of the country. Although there have been numerous practices and discussions on safeguarding national security, it is matter of disappointment that the relevant theories on NSS are scattered in academic subjects on military science, in different institutions without unique concepts, paradigm and laws. Now, it is imperative to clarify of relevant concepts and paradigm, practices and ideas for implementation of NSS.

National Security is a right balance between diplomacy, military power, techno-economic capabilities, interdependent linkages and participation in global institutional mechanism is needed to preserve and enhance national security¹. As such an appropriate NSS should start from the evaluation of domestic and international situation, identifying nation’s role and interest and than gaining better understanding of security threats. Based on this the basic elements of NSS need to be worked out, including goals and tasks, guidelines and principles as well as corresponding policies so as to guarantee national security. As there is no institutionalised planning process for the national security policy in vogue in Bangladesh thus study on NSS of various developing country need to be studied. Under such context it’s undoubtedly of great significance for Bangladesh like any other developing countries to gain in-depth understanding the concept and paradigm of national security strategy. Hence, having studied various documents, books, planning process of security strategy, methodology, an effort has been made to derive the concept and paradigm NSS and relating Bangladesh Context.

1. Issinger, Henry White House year Published by Little Brown, Boston (1979)

National Security: Genesis and Concept and Implication

Defining Security: The word Security in English “A state of safety being free from danger; often referring to the measures and organisation of safety purpose.” In French both ‘Securite’ and ‘Surete’ are used to mean ‘Security’ of English equivalent. In Chinese ‘Anquan’ also indicates ‘Being free from danger or Free from threat. A state where there is no threat, no accident, does not necessarily mean security.

The Encyclopaedia of International social science of USA defines ‘security’ as the “Capability of a nation to protect its internal interest from being attacked by external threats”. Robert Art considers security as capability of a nation to protect itself from attacks, invasion, conquest, and destruction². So to make an accurate definition of Security two things may be taken into consideration. Firstly security is a kind of state, which involves subjective and objective factors. Subjective factors mean to be free from threats or no danger, and objective factor means that the security is the non-existence of fearing mentality. Secondly, security is a kind of action to achieve the process of being safe from threat and dangers. As such security is that which can guarantee that the system is immune, safe and free from danger or least reduced from danger to the lowest degree.

Implication of National Security: The term National Security was used by nations as the expressions like “To bring peace and stability to the country” and “The country is prosperous and people leave in peace”. In his book entitled ‘National Security and International Relations’, American Scholar Peter Mangold believed that national security was an American concept in terms of its origin. According to the textual research, the modern uses of “National Security” first appeared in US Foreign Policy, a book published in 1943 and written by an American Columnist Walter Lippman James Forrestal, Chief of US Naval Operations used the term when he attended the Senators hearing in August 1945 which perhaps earliest use of the term by government official according to the record. Later US passed ‘National Security Act’ for the first time in legal documents since then term ‘National Security’ began to appear as policy documents around the world³.

2. Robert J Art, “ A Defensible Defence: America’s Grand Strategy after the Cold War”, In international Security Vol.15, No.4 spring 1995)

3. Peter Mangold, National Security and International Relations, London and New york: Routledge, 1990).

Strategy and National Security Strategy

Origin and Concept of Strategy and National Security Strategy: To define NSS we must start with basic perception of ‘strategy’. The term ‘strategy’ in English and ‘strategie’ in French, whose roots is Hellenic. The word ‘stratos’ in Hellenic means military forces. And the word ‘strategeia’ means campaign. In around 580 A.D, Maurice, Emperor of East Roman Empire wrote a book entitled Strategikon which means, “Study on Generalship”. Later in 1770, J.D Maizeory, a French translated the book Strategikon and he coined the word ‘strategy’ according to the title of the book and used first time in the War theory⁴. The concept of strategy has undergone a process of development, which can be classified in 3 stages:

- The first stage is strategic period before 18th century in the west when strategy was not separated from the tactics. During that time strategy means ‘war planning’ and always refers to the military struggle in limited time and space.
- The second stage was the strategic period from 18th century to the outbreak of WWI. During this period Heinrich Dietrich Bulow, a Prussian for the first time separated strategy from tactics. Later A.H. Jomini and Clausewitz gave strategy with new definition. For example Clausewitz defines “ strategy is the employment of the battles to gain the end of war” these definitions laid a basis for the concept of western military strategy⁵.
- The third stage of Strategic Period of the Contemporary times which refers to the period after WWI and especially period after WWII. The concept of grand strategy came in being where it indicates the role of grand strategy is to coordinate and direct all resources of a nation or group of nations, towards attainment of political objective of the war.

Objective of National Security Strategy (NSS)

The objective of strategy serves as the basis and direction within the composition of strategic system. Dennis M. Drew and Donald M. Snow indicated the significance of strategic objective “if there is no target, you cannot hit the bull’s eyes. If you do not know the objective, you cannot make successful course of

4. Yang Yi Guo Xinning “Theory of National Security Strategy” National Defence University Press, China, 2012.
5. Carl von Clausewitz On War , Amazon Com Wildside Press 2009

action⁶.” In these context objectives are not only the starting point for NSS, but also the destination for the implementation of NSS.

Understanding National Security Environment: Necessity of Systematic Approach

Assessment of National Security Environment: National security environment refers to the situation and conditions of achieving national interests in political, economic, military, cultural and other areas. In today’s world, due to the rapid globalization and multi-polarization of the world, few of the new dimensions of security environment are as follows:

- **Realism:** Realism has long been in the central position in the theory and practice of international politics. As one of the footstones of realism the theory of “Rational Choice⁷” Jeffrey W Legro and Andrew Moravcsik assumes that a subject capable of thinking will choose the action he thinks is the best according to its evaluation of strategic environment. Main signpost of political realism is the “Concept of Interest” defined in terms of power. For example USA (maximal realism), Iran (minimal realism). Some of the prominent realist things about realism:
- **Liberalism:** When liberty and freedom given to the people authoritarian political pattern would likely to disappear, democracies would flourish; there will be no war but peace and prosperity. For Example, Most of the middle power western countries, Canada and Scandinavian countries.
- **Neorealism:** The structure of the international anarchic system rather than power and status characteristics of actors in the system has the most influence of the puzzling behavior of states. In this system no one else can be trusted for the security of the state. Neorealism is a security oriented strategy based on the need to compete for security and Israel is the burning example⁸.

6. Col Dennis M. Drew and Dr Donald M. Snow, Making Strategy: An Introduction the Senate Armed Services Committee,” manuscript briefing, 23 April 1991,.

7. Jeffrey W. Legro is Associate Professor of Government and Foreign Affairs, ...and International Relations (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1999) pp 15- 55.

8. Lt Gen Mohammad Mahfuzur Rahman, rcds, ndc, afwc, psc, PhD, Presentation on “Understanding Global, Regional and National Security Environment: at NDC on 18 Oct 2016.

Basic Contents and Methods of Assessing International Security Environment

Basic contents of assessing international security environment not only involves the influence of external events or relationship on national security, but also the country's reactions to its external security like geostrategic, global, regional security environment. Following features may be considered for assessment:

- **International Security Situation:** It refers to the security situation resulted from interactions of activities of different countries and forces in the international society, which is influenced by both international economic, scientific and technological development and relations between major powers.
- **Geo-security/Geostrategic Environment:** Geo-security is the most basic, direct and popular method in the study of international relations and national security strategy. For assessing geostrategic security environment, British Scholar Halford Mackinder (1861–1947; “Who rules Eastern Europe commands the heartland, who commands the heartland commands the world (Fig 1). Subsequently American Scholar Nicholas Spykman (1893–1943) argued that “Heart Land” theory underestimated inner crescent (Rim Land) the area between heartland and marginal sea. He continued, he who controls Rim land should rule Eurasia. Who rule Eurasia controls the destiny of world (Fig 2) . As the geographical location of a country is unchangeable, geographical factors exert long-term influence on the country's security.

Figure 1: Commands the Heartland Commands the World

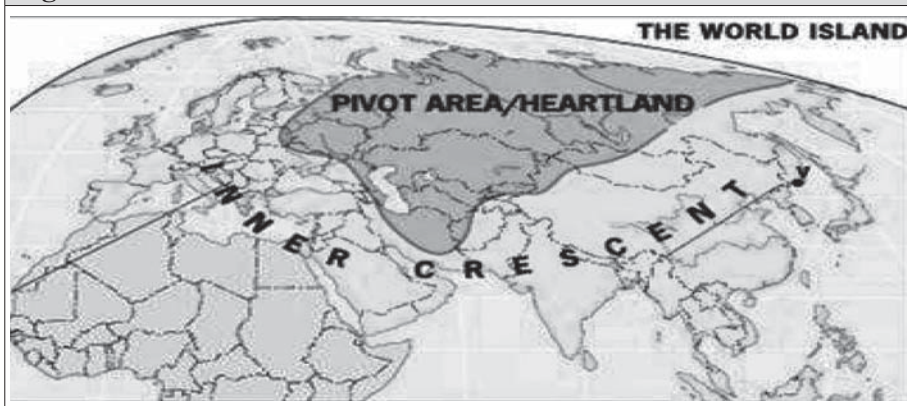
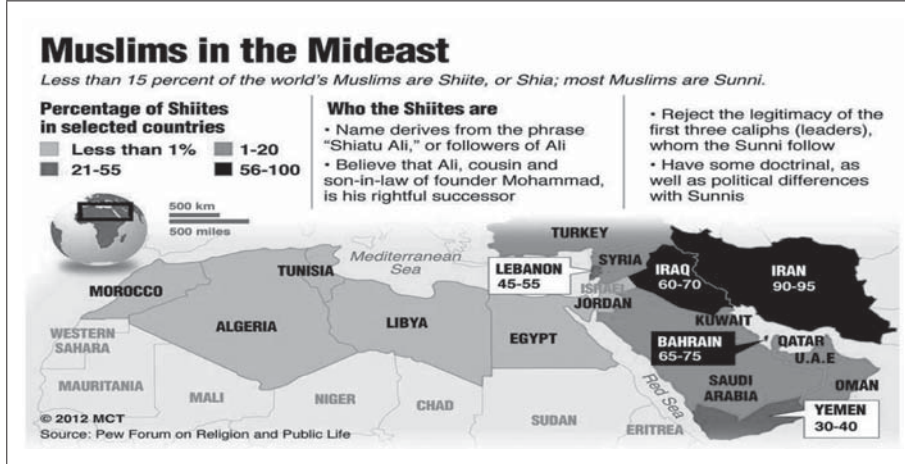


Figure 2: Controls Rim Land Controls the Destiny of World



- **Assessment of Global Security and Climate Change:** Since the end of the Cold War, great changes have taken place in international relations because of emerging global issues like Ideological factors, radicalization and environment etc. Following are the most concerned area for assessing International the Security Environment.
 - Inequality in respect of Economic, Political, Social and maintaining Double Standard
 - Climate Change causing huge number of Environmental refugees including water crisis in China, India, Pakistan & Bangladesh
 - Radicalization using Political Islam, Shia-Sunni divide (Fig:3)

Figure 3: Commands the Heartland Commands the World



Contents and Factors of Domestic Security Environment

Since domestic security is an important guarantee for achieving national development, safeguarding domestic security should be the top priority for a government. Domestic security mainly fall into the following three factors:

- **Economic Security Factor:** Economic factor is the basis for security. And the most basic condition for a country to safeguard a peaceful and stable political and social order, and develop military and diplomacy. Regarding domestic politics, the key for a country to maintain social stability, for a party to win people's hearts and minds, and for a government is administrative effectiveness.
- **Political Security Factor:** Political stability means that political systems are operating and functioning in an orderly and smooth way. In observing domestic political stability, priority should be given whether the social politics is corrupt or not. In today's world where all countries are closely interlinked, one country's unstable politics, social turbulence and occurrences of emergencies will not only harm its own security, but will also have spill-over effects, affecting security of other countries and regions.
- **Social Security Factors:** To observe social security factor, we should proceed from national cohesion. In addition, contradictions among different ethnic groups will also lead to grouping riots, and even social turbulence. On top of that, political corruption and problems in legal systems inside a country lead to social chaos, and hinder national security.

Essence of Strategic Goals and Tasks of National Security

Strategic goals of national security are the reflection of a country's roadmap, guidelines and policies in a certain historical period and it is the starting point to formulate NSS. When determining strategic goals of national security, we should pay attention in grasping following basic characteristics to ensure perfection:

- Strategic Goals of National Security are Matters of Overall Significance.
- Strategic Goals need be Scientific.
- Strategic Goals must be Farsighted.
- Strategic Goals should remain Relatively Stable.

- Strategic goals must have a Clear Orientation.
- Strategic goals can be decomposed.

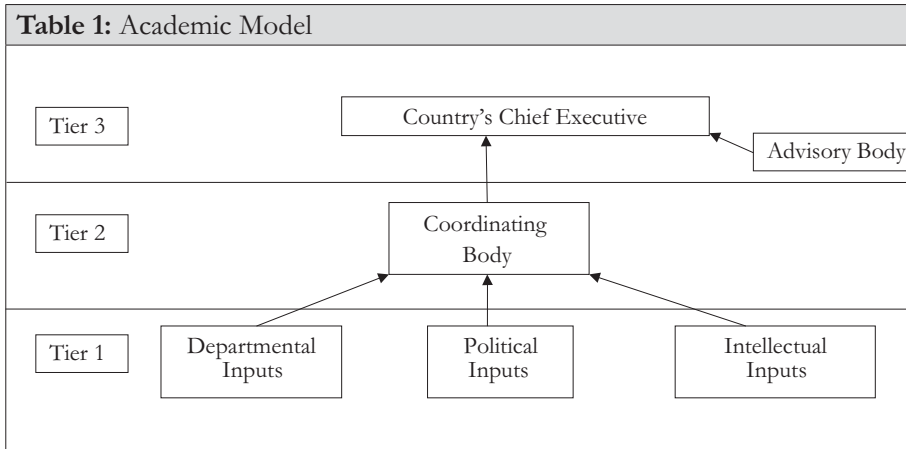
Planning and Formulation Methodology of National Security Strategy for Weaker and Developing Nation

The NSS is the nation's plan for using all its instruments and resources of power to protect and advance its national interests most effectively. The strategies for the weak nations have their inherent characteristics:

- Firstly, due to the limitation in strategic interest and resources, the security strategy of a weak nation is more obviously for self-defence in comparison with that of a strong nation. The internal security issues of the weak nations are grave and diversified as such the strategic objectives for these countries are to protect themselves.
- Secondly, in comparison with strong nations, weak nations have less direct approaches because of their weak strength. In face of strong opponents, if the weak nations are to attain the established objective of maintaining national security, they are usually supposed to develop more extensive strategic resources and more spacious room for freedom of actions instead of implementing direct confrontation and collision with the strong nations or merely adopting direct simple approach.

Planning Process for National Security

Academic Model: Taking into history, practice, analysis of previous chapters planning process may start from academic model for National Security Strategy. The Process would involve a three-tier process (Table:1). First tier involves departmental, political and intellectual input. In the Second tier a coordinating body organizes these inputs and in the Third tier chief decision-maker of the country would accord approval. The first tier inputs generally fed to the coordinating body/advisory body are described in succeeding paragraphs with diagram:



- **Departmental Inputs:** These inputs come from various ministries like those of defence, external affairs, internal affairs and finance. For example, foreign office would give a strategic appraisal on external environment; interior office would provide input on domestic environment including internal political situation; for intelligence appraisal on 'external as well as internal security scenarios are equally important.
- **Political Input:** Security strategy planning should be based on political guidance. Cabinet ministers, ministers and special committees for security matters provide political inputs. This would largely include the thinking of political organs / parties and their perceptions about national security in the wake of geo-strategic and domestic environment. Such inputs help strategy / policy makers in understanding the degree of consensus on issues of national security. At the same time build environment of consensus before rendering a decision.
- **Intellectual Inputs:** Inputs from think tanks, distinguished scholars and strategic institutions, NGOs and media contribute immensely towards the national security planning process. In some scenarios, think tanks, strategic institutions and even distinguished scholars are assigned to analyse on important security issues.

Core Values/National Purpose

- **Core Values:** Core values of a society or a nation are most cherished on which its entire structure is founded. While evolution of our core values it is seen that it has inhibited by our diverse plurality as well as colonial rule equally

those have been a part of our religion and civilization from times immemorial. No doubt values are the 'collective will' of the people but however, in recent strategic environment, in the era of persistent conflict, the survival of the nation as a sovereign entity, prosperity of the nation, equality, freedom of nations are the values which are accepted by majority of the people⁹.

- **National Purpose:** National Purpose lays the foundation for all the national structure as well as serves as the foundation stone for formulating and deriving National Aims and Objectives. It also influences the national interests and objectives that a country seeks to achieve. The purpose of a nation is reflected in the State Constitution. The National Purpose of a nation is founded on following fundamentals:
 - The historical perspective of a nation.
 - Socio political environment.
 - Beliefs and values.
 - Religious leaning.
 - National power potential, and
 - Vision of the nation.

National Interest

- **National Interest - Definition and Implication:** 'Interest' or 'National Interest' is the most common word for policy or strategy in any form. So, to simply define national interest is the nations perceived need and encompasses three basic issues like values, goal, and aspiration for both national and international environment¹⁰. It is important on two ways, one is pursued of goal or goal to be pursued another is legitimacy and political support. For example border dispute and water sharing with India, Rohingya issue with Myanmar is our national interest, which are determined by governments and keep varying from time to time.

9. Dr. Rashed Uz Zaman presentation on "National Aim, Objective and Core Value on National Security at NDC on 17 Oct 2016.

10 Lt Gen Mohammad Mahfuzur Rahman, rcds, ndc, afwc, psc, PhD, Presentation on "Understanding Global, Regional and National Security Environment: at NDC on 18 Oct 2016.

National Objectives and How to Link with National Interest?

- **Defining National Objectives and Implication:** The national objectives are future state of affair (or end state) that is considered desirable by the government. In a democratic state, these are based on national interests and the coconscious of majority of the population. It is important to know whether the achievement of a nation's aims requires a change or whether it involves continuation of status quo. A Policy should designed to encompass following objectives:
 - Promoted by the national governments.
 - Shared by a sizable or at least an important segment of national population.
 - Directed towards or having considerable effect upon the people of other nations.
- **National Objectives Linkage with National Interest:** According to Frankel, objective national interests are those, which relate to a nation-state's ultimate foreign policy goals, independent of but discoverable by policy makers through systematic enquiry. The objectives should be appropriate, finite, and achievable and should directly secure one or more stated interests. An effective step in articulating an objective is to attach an 'appropriate verb' to each facet of the previously identified national interests like National Interest is Territorial Integrity and Objective is Defend territorial Integrity.

| Table 2: Possible Policy/ Strategy Flow for a Developing Nation / Bangladesh | | | | |
|---|------------------------------|---|---|---|
| Step | Policy/ Strategy Flow | Explanation | | |
| Step-1 | National Purpose | As an independent sovereign state ensure security, prosperity and freedom to pursue our culture, religion and national aspirations | | |
| Step-2 | National Interest | Safeguard sovereignty and territorial integrity ensuring prosperity and well being of the masses. | | |
| | National Aims and Objectives | Ensure defence of the country | Maintain adequate balance of power | Ensure peace and tranquillity |
| Step-3 | National Policy | Deter war Defeat aggression | Active role in the Region Adequate military capability International and economic stability | Avoid war Economic well being Internal Peace |
| Step-4 | Instruments | Foreign policy Defence Policy Economic Policy | Foreign Policy Defence Policy | Foreign policy Defence policy Economic policy |
| Step-5 | National Strategy | Guidelines to ministries in order to achieve given objectives. | | |

National Security Planning Process in Context of Bangladesh

In the case of Bangladesh so far no formal policy are published. If we consider the academic model, mentioned in Tier 1 involving inputs from various departments, political organs, and intellectuals remains the same. However, in Tier 2 these inputs are received and collated by Defence Committee of the Cabinet (DCC), who drafts and discusses / debates the issues. Having developed consensus, it is then presented to the Chief Executive of country. After approval by the Chief Executive, the National Security Policy would be published and copies sent to all concerned for developing their respective policies and strategies.

Steps for Evolving National Security Strategy for Bangladesh

A format for Evolving National Security Policy has been added, which would illustrate step-by-step approach but without any further elaborate explanation.

Step 1: National Core Values / Purpose and National Interests

National Purpose

- Write down the National Purpose, which is derived from the State Constitution or as agreed in the State Policy.
- National Purpose is:
 - Raison d'être - reasons to be a nation.
 - Desire / will of the people to lead their lives according to their shared common values and beliefs.
 - Non-verbal consensuses of major values of the people.
 - A phrase/statement depicting the shared/common beliefs and values, usually expressed in the preamble to the constitution.

National Interests: List out national interests, which are being pursued by the state as per its enunciated policy considering domestic environment and resources available. National Interest are:

- Interpretation of National Purpose, in the prevailing conditions.
- Assessment of future prospects.
- General and continuing ends for which a state acts.
- A justification for political action.

Step 2: Determination of National Objectives

- National Objectives are derived from the National Interests. In other term, these are broad goals designed to support national interests.
- National objectives are defined as targets, conceptual or physical whose accomplishment would lead to progressive attainment of national aims.

- **Vision** It is an image of desired future outcome and direction to that shape and control the change to its benefit. It provides direction to both formulation and execution of policy. Vision statement must be:
 - Clear and unambiguous
 - Paints a vivid picture
 - Remarkable and engaging
 - Reflecting aspirations that are realistic.
 - Aligned with the national values and culture

Step 3: Strategic Appraisal - Analysis of Environment

- **Strategic Appraisal:** For Strategic Appraisal every interest is analysed under the prevailing, obtaining or perceived strategic, economic, diplomatic and military context. It can be written in concise format, which is expressed in succeeding paragraphs.
- **Analysis of the Environment:** A review and analysis of global, regional and domestic environments and it should include:
 - Controversies over facts and intelligence.
 - Convergence and divergence of interests with major actors and regional players in the international arena.
 - Projections of future trends.

Reappraisal of the Current National Policy: In the light of threats and the opportunities, carryout a reappraisal of national interests and the national policies in vogue.

Policy Recommendations: This is the most important part of the Strategic Appraisal. The recommended changes must protect national interests against the threats, while exploiting the opportunities. Alternately, altogether fresh policies can be recommended.

Step 4: Assessment of Power Potential and Resources

- This is a very important but tricky stage where realistic and dispassionate assessment of latent or potential power is carried out. Power potential and resource capacity will guide and lead towards correctly prioritization and segregation of national aims and objectives.

- The elements of national power potential include National Determinants and Social Determinants. The National Determinants are Geography, Population and Natural Resources) whereas the Social Determinants encompass Political Stability, Economic Sustenance, Military System. Informational Capacity.

Step 5: Policy Framework

- The prioritized list of national issues confronting the nation at the time of formulation of National Security policy forms the basis of policy framework. Keeping objectives and available time, various policy options or courses of action are worked out for each issue (see table below) and these policy options are analysed and prioritized in light of following factors:

| Issue | Option -1 | Option-2 | Option-3 | Adopted |
|-------------------|----------------|--------------|------------------------|-------------|
| Defence | Deterrence | Defence | Deterrence and Defence | Option-3 |
| Internal Security | Reconciliation | Use of Force | Development | Option-1 |
| Economy | Agriculture | Industry | Services | Combination |

Policy Statement: It is a carefully prepared expression on the selected issues, representing Govt's view on each issue, while advocating a particular course of action. It reflects aspirations and responsibilities of govt. For example, Chief Executive's vision "Social uplift of masses through knowledge based economy, while promoting soft image of the nation" may be translated through policy framework as follows:

- Educate and train future generation of Bangladesh through an integrated system of education by bringing modern schools closer alongside vocational training institutions to produce useful and productive members of society contributing towards economic growth.

Step 6: Risk Assessment

This step is vitally important because here the perceived national objectives are weighed in relation to the resources available. A country like Bangladesh will never have resources sufficient enough to ensure complete success of the strategy. If the risk is determined to be unacceptable, the strategy must be revised by way of either, reducing the objectives, or changing the concepts, or increasing the resources, or reducing the threat. Theoretically risk assessment is done at every stage of NSS formulation.

Criteria - Risk Assessment

- What are you trying to achieve?
- How does this fit in the (prioritized) list of national objectives (seeing impact of today's action on other long term objectives)?
- Can you make enough means available to ensure achievement of laid down objectives?
- Are the costs of achieving desired effects worth the benefits? (degree of certainty of judgment)
- Can sufficient support (domestically or internationally) be built for the policy under consideration?

Step 7: Policy Guidelines

The policy guidelines suggest the principles for conduct of national policy, which lays a broad mandate for Stable conduct, and are subject to interpretation by concerned ministries as physical targets. The policy guidelines to be formulated on the basis of bottom up approach as the concerned ministries provide input to NSP in keeping with the policy framework. These may be expressed in executive way with verb at the beginning or as action plan indicating the strategies to put the policy into action.

Conclusion

National Security Policy formulation is a complex as well as an interesting process. Contrary to numerous principles and elements of military and operational strategies evolved by military philosophers, there are no set principles or rules defined for formulating NS Policy or Strategy. Every Nation State and its Government follows methodology most suitable to them. Further, it is influenced by the strategic vision and outlook of the personalities evolving it. However, generally accepted methodology would include strategic appraisal of environment in keeping with the particular features of the time, place and personalities involved. This documents is likely to provide some guidelines have been listed, which would offer an approach and structured methodology for the strategists attempting to achieve the coherence, continuity, and consensus that policy makers seek in designing, developing and executing national security.

The NSS document needs to be concise yet it should flag all major issues concerning a security strategy and provide guidelines to concerned departments to pre-frame suitable action plans. Since the global and regional situation is dynamic, the NSS document should be revised periodically. It is important to underline that a National Security Strategy document should be realistic and balanced. While recognizing the challenges, it should also underline the opportunities. Thus, a successful NSS for Bangladesh can give a boost to our national consciousness, economy and socio-economic development, thus creating a safe environment conducive for national development.

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