

# **DEVELOPMENT POLITICS AND SECURITY**

**Third World Context**

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**Edited by  
M Abdul Hafiz  
Mizanur Rahman Khan**

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Edited by

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**Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies,  
Dhaka.**

Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies,  
Dhaka 1990.

**Published by**

Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies,  
Dhaka 1990.

First Published : December 1990

Copyright : BIISS

Views expressed in the book are those of the authors and not  
necessarily those of the editors or the Institute.

Price : Tk. 250.00

US \$. 20.00

**Printed by**

Civil and Military Press

43/10 C, Swamibagh

Dhaka.



## FOREWORD

All the developing countries have the shared goal of raising the quality of the life of their people through planned development. Both in concept and design, the development plans were, in the initial years, pre-eminently economic in character reflecting a concern for rapid economic growth. Experiences gained in the process led to a growing recognition of the critical role played by the human factor in national development and, hence, to an increasing emphasis on the development of a nation's human resources as the central planning strategy.

It, however, appeared that the close interacting relationship between the dynamics of development and political and security issues was not yet adequately perceived, if at all, in many of the developing countries including Bangladesh. Economic underdevelopment was so inextricably inter-twined with political underdevelopment in their impact on the overall nation-building process and national security that the subject clearly merited a study in depth.

This perception led the BIISS to organize a 4-day international seminar on **Development Dynamics : Political and Security Dimensions** during 11-14 December 1989. About 178 participants from 10 countries in Asia, Europe and America, in their respective fields contributed to the deliberations which were enriched by the learned papers presented at the seminar and the illuminating discussion on them reflecting diverse view-points based on diverse experiences.

All in all, the seminar provided valuable insights into the complex problem of development dynamics and the wide-ranging factors impinging on it. It is hoped that the present volume containing the papers especially prepared for the seminar, the product of considerable labour and research, and a brief summary of the deliberations will be of some value to policy-makers, planners, scholars and analysts.

I wish to thank the editors of the publication and also all those who in various ways contributed to the purpose and success of this seminar on a critical issue of national and international concern.

Dhaka,  
15 January 1990

**Muhammad Shamsul Huq**  
National Professor  
and  
Chairman, Board of Governors  
BIISS, Dhaka.



## INTRODUCTION

Historically, the process of development in most of today's Third World began in the wake of the nationalist resurgence and subsequent political independence of the countries of Asia and Africa after the Second World War. The international support towards the cause of political emancipation of these countries led to heightened expectations for rapid socio-economic and political transformation. It was widely hoped that drawing on the world stock of knowledge and experiences accumulated for over three centuries in their developed counterparts, the Third World nations, newly-emergent from colonial rule, would be able to telescope the process of development into few decades. The industrialized nations and the global institutions like the UN were expected to support the process.

Realities prevailing in these societies and beyond, however, did not live up to such pious expectations. For centuries their socio-economic and political development was retarded under colonialism and upon independence the new leaderships were confronted with ensuring simultaneously the twin goals of *development* and *security*. However, the beginning had experienced basic flaws in their very foundation—the statehood. The transition from colonial rule to independence was propelled by a mere 'semblance' of nationalism in majority of the cases. This resulted in an 'uncomfortable marriage' of state and nation. Consequently, they were caught up in a crisis of statehood that led Rupert Emerson to call them as "not nations in being but only in hope". Naturally, the task of evolving an integrated modern nation-state had to face tremendous political, socio-economic and foreign policy constraints. Unlike in the developed world, vulnerabilities of these newly-forming nation-states were not only external, but mostly internal and non-military in nature. Poverty, hunger, illiteracy, economic stagnation, lack of national cohesion, weak state structure and lack of representative political institutions, political instability, ethnic and religious revivalism and so on continue to pose greater threats to security of these countries from within.

At the operational level, the development performance of the Third World nations over the last four decades was marked by contradictions, uneven pattern and wide disparity. On the one hand, the process of development itself had sometimes destabilizing



effects for, progress in a particular sector—such as economic growth or democratization process appeared to have caused upheaval in another—such as inter-ethnic and inter-communal relations. On the other hand, actions taken to fight backwardness or to improve competitiveness within the global economy led to more debilitating consequences, like staggering indebtedness and increasing ecological degradation. Nations which appeared to have performed best economically and emerged as the Newly Industrializing Countries (NICs) or are at the threshold of becoming so are in most cases lagging in political liberalization. At the other end, there are countries where chronic instabilities and insecurities stymied the pace and quality of development. Again, there are countries where economic development was hindered by factors linked to the political system. By and large, all of them appeared to have been affected in varying degrees by regional environment. The global politico-strategic climate was also critical because access of these 'weak' states both to external sources and market was primarily governed by perceptions and interests—economic, political and security—of the industrialized countries. As a result, they succumbed to external pressure and manipulation. Now with the end of the Cold War, benefits from increased East-West cooperation are yet to trickle down to the developing world.

Thus, development, politics and security are three interdependent aspects of the nation-building process. However, conceptually the interlinkage is at best vaguely stated, while at the operational level the relationship is most often understressed. In particular, development planning in the Third World countries is usually carried out without giving due attention to political and security considerations. But the primacy of politics and the dictates of state, whether planned or unplanned, affect the development dynamics and hence, the very nation-building process. It has been observed empirically that pursuit of patent development models by the Third World countries regardless of political and security considerations leave the states concerned economically underdeveloped, politically fragile and unstable and militarily weak/vulnerable.

The political and security dimensions of development, thus, constitute an area which remains under-researched. Even the burgeoning field of Political Economy is biased more in favour of economics than politics, with security considerations, if any, lying at best in the periphery. The political and security contents of development need



to be identified and assessed in order to put the triangular balance among development, politics and security in proper perspective.

The present volume collates different viewpoints on the interlinkage between development, politics and security in the context of the Third World. The papers contained in the book were presented during a four-day Seminar on **Development Dynamics : Political and Security Dimensions**, organized by the Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies, Dhaka on 11-14 December 1989. The basic purpose of the Seminar was to bring out the interface between the process of economic development on the one hand and that of political development and security planning on the other. Specifically, the seminar was intended to bring out the political and security contents of development in domestic, regional and global context. It provided a forum for triangular academic exchanges among economists, political scientists and security experts on issues related to this complex and multidimensional theme. The main focus of the deliberations was the developing countries.

The volume contains four sections. The point of departure was to define the "Conceptual Framework" of the theme where three papers were presented. While reviewing the existing literature on development theories, *Prof Muzaffer Ahmad* in his article on "Economic Development, Political Modernization and Internal Security: A Review of Certain Conceptual Issues," suggests that the classical writings on economic development had always been considered in the context of a conducive democratic polity representing the mass as well as the socio-administrative and political organizations. *Dr. M.G. Kabir* in his paper on "Politics, Security and Development: The Interlinkages" stresses that in the context of the Third World the concept of development needs to be viewed as an integrated whole that subsumes economic, politico-military and environmental dimensions of security. In the article on "A New Approach to the Definition of Security and Development : Logical Sequences in International System" *S.A. Ghadri and Braham Mosoud* attempt at defining security and development from a philosophical standpoint, using what they call the method of 'logical sequence.' Juxtaposing the legal and political definitions of the concerned concepts, the authors reach the conclusion that development is the materialization of conditions under which the rate of growth of national product reaches an average of cent percent.



The second section on "Domestic Dimensions of Development, Politics and Security" contains four articles. In the article on "Indonesia's Political Modernization and Economic Development" *J. Kadjat Hartojo* analyses the relationship between political modernization and economic development in the context of Indonesia. He seeks to bring out the dynamic interactive forces behind economic and political changes in Indonesia. In the paper on "Political Instability, External Vulnerability, Underdevelopment : The Vicious Circle" *Dr. Iftekharuzazaman* brings out Bangladesh's impediments to development in terms of a vicious circle between domestic constraints, political instability and external dependence. *Dr. Atiur Rahman* in his article on "Missing Dimensions of Poverty : The Issues of Vulnerability and Insecurity" argues in favour of alternative paradigms of development which focuses on removing isolation of the poor, bringing them into collective organizations and thus, increasing their own capabilities and reducing vulnerabilities. *Hosne Ara Karim, A K M Abdus Sabur and Maimul Ahsan Khan* in their paper on "Uneven Development in South Asia: Political and Security Implications" posit that the solution to the politico-security problems emanating from uneven development in the countries of South Asia must be found primarily through national efforts.

Looking beyond state frontiers, development pursuits in the Third World demand first and foremost an environment of peace and stability in the respective regions. However, historical compulsions often guide perceptions of national security in the Third World countries, resulting in a syndrome of sustained conflictual relationship in the neighborhood. This is perhaps no where more acute than in the region of South Asia. On the other hand, there is also another trend going on for quite some time in the Third World—a process of regional cooperation, the SAARC being the latest addition. The effectiveness of the latter has, however, been constrained by impediments rooted in the complex matrix of interstate relations. These regional dimensions of Third World development dynamics have been dealt with in *Section III* that contains seven articles : "The New Self-Image of India : Alternatives for Future Regional Security Order" by *M Shahiduzzaman*, "Regional Stability in the Developing World : Managing the Acceleration of History" by *John Chipman*, "Problems and Prospects of Regional Economic Cooperation in South Asia" by *R.L. Varshney*, "Regional Security and Cooperation in South Asia" by *Zheng Ruixiang*



"Indian Security Perspectives" by *Sheedhar*, "Economic Dependency and Active Foreign Policy: The Choice for Nepal" by *Dev Raj Dahal* and "Parameters of Security and Development in South Asia" by *K.R. Singh*.

Global dimensions of development, politics and security have been dealt with in *Section IV*—in three articles. *A Alekseyev* in his article on "Security in Asia: New Approaches, New Horizons" propounds Gorbachev's New Political Thinking as reflected in Soviet policy towards Asia and the Pacific. *Juichi Inada* in his article on "Japan's Development Aid: Economic, Political and Security Considerations" argues that in pursuit of 'comprehensive national security' Japan's aid diplomacy is becoming more political and strategic in orientation. Finally, in "Anatomy of a Systemic Transition: The Case of Poland" *Mizanur Rahman Khan* seeks to analyse the triangular balance among development, politics and security in Poland during an unprecedented systemic transition from socialism to capitalism and its impact on global order.

The final chapter titled *Summary of the Proceedings* contains the consensus viewpoints of the participants in the seminar. The draft of the Summary prepared by a team of participants was presented in the concluding session and after discussion, with some amendments it was adopted by the house as the *document* of the seminar.

The book is intended to provide greater understanding of the dynamics of development in the Third World, putting its political and security dimensions in perspective. The present volume, however, is by no means exhaustive in this regard. The main objective of this publication is to provoke further debates on the interlinkages among development issues of the Third World. It is hoped that the book will be of immense help not only to the students, academicians and researchers, but also to policy-makers of the Third World societies.

**M Abdul Hafiz**  
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