Security Through Knowledge

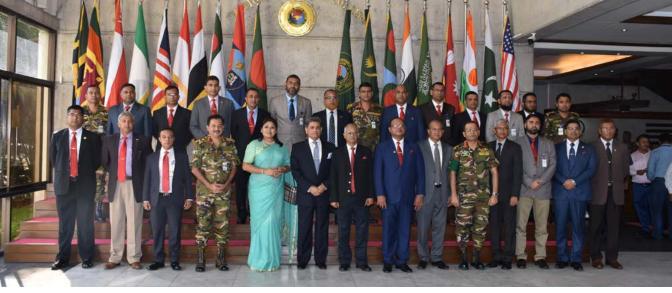# Proceedings

Seminar on
Media and Armed Forces – Perception and Reality: Bangladesh Perspective

Organized by
Armed Forces War Course 2017
on 19 October 2017

NATIONAL DEFENCE COLLEGE
BANGLADESH

Proceedings

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DISCLAIMER

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Foreword

'Media' is derived from the word 'medium'. It relates to acquire, interpret and circulate information to mass population. The media may be categorized judging its characteristics and impact.

Today's media demand complete freedom. We experience a large growth in numbers of dailies and periodicals in both English and Bangla. The small newspapers and periodicals are financially non-viable in Bangladesh. We find an increase in commercial orientation of the media. Private media have an easy accessibility to satellite-based electronic media.

The road to a better relationship between the military and the media institutions is paved with cultural clashes, stereotypes, and misunderstandings. The military and the media are both "woefully deficient in their knowledge of the other institution and in their training for those tasks necessary to make and report a news during a military operation." Therefore, more dialogue between the media and the military is necessary so that each institution can educate the other about its culture and professional responsibilities.

I like to express my heartfelt thanks to the Editorial board, all contributors, reviewers and all others involved in the process of publication of this paper despite their routine workload. May Allah give us enough fortitude to continue the publication of such papers in future.

Lt Gen Chowdhury Hasan Sarwardy, BB, SBP, BSP, ndc, psc, PhD
Commandant
National Defence College

Editorial

Over the last decades, and particularly in the more recent past, the military and media institutions have often been at odds. Current military attitudes about the media continue to interfere with the establishment of a more cooperative military-media relationship.

The first step towards identifying areas to improve media-military relations is to look at the makeup of the two organizations. The military is a disciplined, traditional, and hierarchical institution, surrounded by regulations. Its members live within a closed, corporate-oriented culture, and they focus on the performance of their mission, which is often centered on discretion, and even secrecy. The media, by contrast, are public-oriented and advocates of an open society.

At the end, we convey our sincere thanks and heartfelt gratitude to all concerned for their innovative thoughts and valuable suggestions. Having such support always on our side is a blessing. We wish to make the future issues more informative with your cooperation.

Brigadier General Mohammad Mahbubul Haq, PBGM, ndc, afwc, psc
Chief Instructor
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Group Captain Md Mustafizur Rahman, GUP, afwc, psc, GD(P)
Directing Staff (Air)

CONTENTS

Overview of the Seminar

Every year National Defence College (NDC) conducts a year-long Armed Forces War Course (AFWC) for the officers of the rank of Colonel/Lieutenant Colonel and equivalent of Army, Navy and Air Force. As part of the course curriculum, a daylong seminar of AFWC 2017 was organized on 19 October 2017 at NDC auditorium. The theme of the seminar was **"Media and Armed Forces: Perception and Reality-Bangladesh Perspective"**.

The subject was timely and pertinent which demands thorough study and discussion. All Faculty Members and Course Members of ND Course and AFWC 2017, invited guests from different institutions/organizatons and media personnel participated in the seminar.

Commandant, NDC delivered the welcome speech. The seminar was conducted in 02 (two) sessions. Air Vice Marshal M Sanaul Huq, GUP, ndc, psc, a Senior Directing Staff of NDC chaired both the sessions as moderator. In the first session selected members of AFWC presented the theme paper of the seminar. In the second session, a selected panel of resource persons also presented keynote papers related to Media and Armed Forces in Bangladesh.

The sessions were followed by interactive session. Professor Md Golam Rahman, PhD, Chief Information Commissioner graced the occassion as the Chief Guest and delivered the concluding remarks.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Introduction

NDC, Bangladesh arranged a seminar on "Media and Armed Forces - Perception and Reality : Bangladesh Perspective" on 19 October 2017. Armed Forces War Course Wing of NDC was responsible for successful conduct of the seminar.

Conduct of the Seminar

The seminar was conducted in two sessions. In Session-1, selected panel of Course Members from Armed Forces War Course-2017 presented a well researched keynote paper. While in the Session-2, a selected panel of practitioners in the field of Media, presented keynote papers on three themes. At the end, there was a lively interactive session, where many from the audiences, resource persons, academicians and practitioners gave their valuable comments.

Sessions of the Seminar

Session - 1

• Keynote Paper-1: Media and Armed Forces - Perception and Reality: Bangladesh Perspective, presented by a selected panel of Course Members of Armed Forces War Course - 2017.

Session - 2

• Keynote Paper-2: "Military Media Interface: Genesis, Global Trend and Military – Media Association in Bangladesh", presented by Major General Md Sarwar Hossain, BSP, SGP, ndc, hdmc, psc, PhD.

• Keynote Paper-3: "Integrated Power: Media - Military", presented by Ms Farzana Brownia, Chairman and CEO, Shornokishoree Network Foundation

- Keynote Paper-4: "The Media and the Military", presented by Brigadier General Shahedul Anam Khan, ndc, psc (retd), Editor, Defence and Strategic Affairs, The Daily Star.

Session - 3: Interactive Session

Findings of the Seminar

During presentation the presenters touched upon the key issues in their respective themes. The Major findings of the seminar are highlighted below:

- **Keynote Paper-1: Media and Armed Forces - Perception and Reality: Bangladesh Perspective.**

  - Relationship between Media and Armed Forces is not a new concept. Examples of working closely by Media and Armed Forces are many in different famous wars and campaigns throughout the world history.

  - Media and Armed Forces paved their journey together through the war of liberation in 1971.

  - Military remains restrictive in relation to information sharing, while Media wants to disseminate information quickly for the interest of people.

  - Armed Forces and Media both look after their respective corporate interests, which are almost opposite.

  - ISPR takes longer time to clarify the queries of Media.

  - Often Media houses seen telecasting/transmitting time sensitive information, which military is trying to protect or not yet ready to divulge for operational or some other sensitive reasons.

  - Armed Forces personnel, specially officers are exposed to media handling through short training packages. But soldiers are not equally equipped. While the Media personnel, mostly do not have required know how about military functioning, organizational practice, except for few

senior level journalists. Hence, often Media crosses the threshold and broadcasts news that are not wanted by military right at that moment.

- Media - military gap may be bridged through change in attitude and institutional reforms.

- Media and Military should set aside contentious issues, understand each other's requirement and while securing national interest.

- Media and Military should complement each other in any national issue.

- Military should understand the pattern how media works and use media in their favor for attaining any given task. Similarly, media should also understand the work pattern of military. Media and military both should be trained to work in harmony with one another.

- Media and military both need organizational and mindset reform for optimum output. The media liaison officers to be well trained to talk in common terms with both military and media.

- Military should be proactive to disseminate information timely before spreading rumors by media.

- Media and military have different organizational cultures, yet they foster similar attributes for their organizational development and sustenance. Both military and media have potential to work together and accomplish impossible.

- **Keynote Paper-2: Military Media Interface: Genesis, Global Trend and Military – Media Association in Bangladesh**

  - Media and Military are two important organs of a nation state. Media plays the critical role by recording, analyzing and broadcasting the events of the day and also monitors the functions of private and public institutions in an attempt to protect its citizens.

- Traditionally military - media association seemed to have a love - hate relationship. In an increasingly connected world with redefined military role, both media and military need each other in a much more constructive framework than current association based on dilemma and suspicion.

- Global media trends are usually the processes that bring fore significant changes in the application of new media innovations, practices and cultures while performing its role and trends are usually followed and replicated.

- The role of media had been outstanding in the War of Liberation in 1971. After the independence, country went through political crisis - two heads of the state were brutally killed in military coup including the Father of the Nation, Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. Although these events took place in the formative years of Bangladesh, these are certainly black spots in the past history and can't ignore the likely recoils which may have on effective civil-military relations.

- Country also experienced few spells of military rule when media was under very strict control. Historically military - dominated governments were least responsive to the needs and voices of the poor majority.

- Initially media - military relation in Bangladesh didn't grow very well. One important military engagement where media could play an enlarged role was military deployment in CHT. Role of media in promoting the issue, including military role has been far from adequate and the people at large are unaware of the developments in CHT.

- There are different reasons for conflicting media - military relations in Bangladesh, like clash of culture, human psychology, corporate objectivity, globalization etcetera.

- The working culture of military and media create differences. When these two entities go to perform their roles in a common issue. This is not likely to erode so easily unless each other allow larger space, more understanding and undertake frequent collaborative efforts, and

introducing defense journalism to reduce the existing cultural gaps fostering better understanding.

- Understanding limitation and constraints of both the organizations is also important for better working relation. One such constraint is the "Deadline, Headline or Redline phenomena" which are very demanding requirements for the journalists. Furthermore, since profit drives media, they tend to provide whatever sells; where accuracy and objectivity can sometimes become a secondary consideration.

- Unless we reorient ourselves with these fast-changing developments, we shall lag behind in protecting our interests.

- **Keynote Paper-3: Integrated Power: Media - Military**

  - Media and Military as two national powers of state which can influence national strength and integrity. But, characteristically they have their differences in the line of work.

  - The majority conflicting area is the dissemination of information where military is little conservative. But, media as the voice of the people; feels to inform people within the shortest possible time.

  - The challenge remains in striking balance between conservativeness of military and openness of media. Media bears the blame of both positivity and negativity.

  - Role of media in Iraq War, bears a big question mark as the basis of the war was proved to be a bluff by Bush administration. On the contrary, media can influence the foreign policy of a state as to the case in US forces' withdrawal from Somalia by Clinton administration.

  - In Bangladesh, both military and media has a significant historical legacy as both are born in the battlefield of the Liberation War in 1971. Revolutionary changes have taken place in the field of media in the recent past.

- However, the credibility has been lost due to lack of professionalism and corporate nature of the media. These need to be revisited to bring back the faded glory of the media.

- Military needs to reform its media policy and the ISPR to serve the national interest. The usual delayed response of military on any issue need to be reduced to curve rumours.

- Media needs to be aware of security concern of vital information and refrain from premature disclosure. There remains a need of understanding each other's perception and specialized training.

- An effective 'Media Policy' is needed, which is an off shoot of 'National Security Policy', but Bangladesh has neither of them.

- Military may formulate a one stop service centre named "Integrated Information Service Centre (IISC)" with trained and experienced personnel.

- **Keynote Paper-4: The Media and the Military**

  - The media - military relationship resides in the realm of civil - military relations, and when that is handled proficiently one can manage the media and its role in the pursuit of the national aim more efficiently.

  - Media and military relationship in Bangladesh has remained quite formal till now. However, presently there is a realization of the real nature of the two institutions and acceptance of the fact that the two must play a complementary role in order to attain national aim and preserve national interest.

  - While it illustrates the media's obligation in war, the obligation extends equally, in case of Bangladesh in particular, to fulfilling the peacetime obligation of nation building, an effort of which the military is also an indispensable part.

- The tussle between media and military arises from the compulsions of the two, which are seen as being mutually exclusive. While it is the responsibility of the media to keep the public informed, it has been the military's effort to give out as little as possible. That is a feature of the media-military relationship in other countries too.

- A classic example of not disseminating information and failing to take the media and, consequently, the public opinion along, was during the early period of the counter-insurgency campaign in the CHT. Failure to keep the public informed not only hampered operations, it gave rise to many half-true and speculative reports.

- However, it would be wrong to put the blame for the state of the military-media relations on the shoulders of the military alone. Misreporting, speculation, padded report by journalists with very little background knowledge of the issue, and even poorer knowledge of the military, among other things, were responsible for much of the tension between the media and the military.

- There is no reason that should continue to be so. As such, it is expected that military leadership will continue to reconcile the diverse requirements, the media for its part must understand the various constraints and compulsions the military has to work under. It is necessary to remember that both, the media and the military are essential for maintaining the republican character of Bangladesh.

Recommendations

- A Public Relation Wing to augment ISPR activities may be established in each Service Headquarters to provide information on operational matters. Students and experts on journalism may be recruited similar to the Education Corps Officers to serve in Public Relation Wing.

- The military need to be capable of benefiting itself from the role of the media as a force multiplier.

- Military need to promote a steady-state level of military-media engagement. Senior Public Affairs Officers should sponsor recurring conferences bringing representations of the two sides together in order to erase negative stereotypes and develop mutual understanding.

- The retired military officers taking journalism as their second profession can be invaluable to the editors and media management authorities to train and create correspondents to deal with military matters.

- Armed Forces and Media both are needed to develop a proactive approach in dealing with each other.

- Armed Forces and Media should work together to serve their respective fields as well as for the nation.

বাংলাদেশ সশস্ত্র বাহিনী : ঐতিহ্য-অর্জন-চ্যালেঞ্জ

Address of Commandant NDC

Lt Gen Chowdhury Hasan Sarwardy,

BB, SBP, BSP, ndc, psc, PhD

Bismillahir Rahmanir Rahim.

Respected Professor Md Golam Rahman, PhD, Chief Guest of today's seminar,

Distinguished Academics, Professionals,

Senior Military and Government Officials,

Representatives of Civil Society,

Resource Personnel, Members of Media, Faculty and Course Members,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Assalamu Alaikum and a very Good Morning.

Media is always a vibrant topic. In oxford Dictionary, 'media' is defined as 'the main means of mass communication'. It mentions about two important elements: Human desire of expression, and a medium of transmission. The significance of media in war has evolved over the time and the technological development has taken the war reporting in media to the real time. Thus it has become far more prominent than before. That makes media more responsible to portray the credible information to the people.

The history of mass communications is relatively short in the scope of world history. Books are the oldest media and the first book is known to be written in Egypt around 1400 B.C. Newspapers are otherwise considered to be the oldest mass medium which appeared as early as 100 B.C. in Rome in the form of news-sheets. However, the first regular newspapers made its debut in the 1600s. Subsequently the magazine had emerged much later in 1704.

The electronic media has developed comparatively more quickly. Radio emerged as a mass medium in the 1920s and the Television in the 1940s, followed by cable television and satellite communications in the latter half of

the century. The newest mass medium is the Internet, which has revolutionized communication system enormously. Over the years, each new medium has emerged to supplement and compete with the traditional media.

During the war of our liberation in 1971, media played a significant role both domestically and in the international arena as well. However, the particular scenario of the liberation war does not really replicate the media - military relations in true sense. Though in the early days of Bangladesh, the relation between media and armed forces was not very significant but gradually its necessity has been felt. That's the reason, a formal organization like ISPR has been established to speak on behalf of the armed forces through media.

At present, the media and armed forces relation faces number of challenges, like: lack of mutual trust, inadequate knowledge about each other's profession, unknown fear of effective engagement, restrictive military policies, unawareness of operational secrecy by the media persons etc. The correct identification of the challenges and sincere effort from both sides to address the issues would be the way forward for developing the relation. Such improvement in this relation between media and armed forces would bring synergistic effect.

Today military involvement in any conflict situation would take the place of lead news. As it goes, media wants to tell the story, and the military wants to win the war and keep casualties to a minimum. The media wants freedom, no censorship and total access. Additionally, media wants to get their stories out to their audiences quickly. So the dichotomy arises like "who needs whom" or "while the public has a right to know, do they need to know instantaneously?".

On the other hand, public support is crucial to military operations. And "Correct media coverage of military operations can be a force multiplier". The media, in the modern era, are indisputably an instrument of war. This is because winning modern wars is as much dependent on carrying domestic and international public opinion as it is on defeating the enemy on the battlefield. Therefore, it is very important for both the media and military to understand each other with right perspective.

That is the reason, it is very much pertinent that any war studies would take

media as its valued module. Thus media study should be embodied as an academic discipline for all comrades at arms. Similarly, the Armed Forces War Course has valued this understanding appropriately, and this arrangement of Seminar is the testimony. I hope, this intellectual discourse will be extremely beneficial to all of us, by way of strengthening our knowledge and creating an effective relationship between media and armed forces.

Distinguished audience, I think you will all agree with me that, selection of the theme of today's seminar is contemporary and very much appealing. I wish that, all the speakers will do justice to the selected topics through their rich and thought provoking deliberation.

Finally, I would like to express my heart-felt appreciation and sincere thanks to all the esteemed keynote paper presenters, the faculty, the staffs, all other support personnel, especially the Armed Forces War Course Wing, NDC for taking the initiative and organizing the seminar. I am very much optimistic that today's seminar will surely be a landmark event for taking the media and armed forces relation a step forward. I especially thank today's Chief Guest, Professor Md Golam Rahman, for sparing his valuable time and grace this occasion. I must also thank all the participants and guests for accepting our invitation and making the seminar more effective.

Thank you very much and wish you all a very successful seminar for rest of the day.

Address of Chief Guest

Professor Dr. Md Golam Rahman
Chief Information Commissioner
Information Commission
Government of the Peoples' Republic of
Bangladesh

Commandant, National Defence College,

Distinguished participants,

Ladies and gentlemen,

It's a great pleasure for me to be with this august gathering. I thank all the keynote speakers for their matured and well-planned presentation of the papers.

I appreciate the role of the Armed Forces for the nation and the greater humanity especially in CHT, preparing voter list, ID card, citing the example of Sierra Lion and so on. I reiterate that people of Bangladesh are proud of our Armed Forces. When we talk about media, the way they publish, makes differences. In making media relations and publications, I suggest that Armed Forces must come forward with real facts. If there is any vacuum, there are scopes of some rumors. We should not forget some incidents of inappropriate live coverage by media in the case of Holy Artisan and Rana Plaza which happened due to lack of experience, knowledge and non-intervention from any authority. As such there should be some intervention, some clarification given by authority for common interest of the nation to media, and then things should be easy. In this world due to technology nothing can be hidden as such hiding does not help managing the media.

I feel that journalists enjoy freedom and they should. But, it is only due to the lack of knowledge or for a few irresponsible and unprofessional journalists, the problem starts. They must know their professional ethics. And this learning should be developed in a larger way.

There should be more frequent interaction of Armed Forces with media.

Citing constructions of Hatirjhil project I realize that Military should not be confined, they should come out to people, interact with media very often to make the relation better. There are more interactions of leaders in media in last few decades than previously it used to be. So, things are changing and much more changes are still expected.

I am really thankful to all the speakers for increasing my knowledge in this field. I am really impressed with such vibrant presentations.

Thank you for inviting me here today. It is a privilege and pride for me. Thank you all.

Introductory Note by Sponsor Directing Staff of the Seminar

Brigadier General Md Rafiqul Islam, SUP, ndc, afwc, psc

Introduction

Media is considered as the 'Fourth Pillar of Democracy'. Media and military are two indispensable guardians of a democratic country. One defends the society against "external threat" in the form of aggression and "internal rebellion", while the other safeguards the interests of the citizens against governmental "excesses" by exposing the official apathy and informed public opinion. Their relation is considered to be critical in safeguarding sovereignty of a country.

Today, war is no longer an isolated affair left to the politicians and their generals. Media has also become an integral part of any military success. History bears this testimony through Crimean War, Vietnam and Somalia. Although media docility probably hit its zenith during WW-II, it is often viewed as the golden age of media-military relationship. Media-military relationship saw a significant peak during Gulf War 1990-91 when the concept of "Embedded Journalism" within military was introduced.

As in Bangladesh, media played a vital role in fighting the War of Liberation in 1971. However, the relation has experienced several twist and turns during the post war period particularly with the changed nature of the government. Over the years, media and military - both professions got highly structured and unique, developed a distinct code of ethics, and thus a complicated relationship has also developed between them.

Media and Armed Forces Association in Bangladesh

Media, military and governance are in an interlocking system that has been developed through time. Historically media - military relations has gone through frequent ups and downs throughout the British, Pakistan and Bangladesh period. The trend reflects a strategic culture of the media - military relation. In Bangladesh, media wants to uphold the public's right to know, whereas the Armed Forces screen operational information for security, hence tends to hold back information. A better understanding between each other's role would make the environment not only amiable, they can greatly substantiate each other's responsibility. The successful outcome of a military campaign depends a lot on having the media in the boat. The Forces need to work more closely with media for utilizing its potentials as force multiplier in war.

Although the association began with deep ties during the War of Liberation; the bond did not act as good while covering decades long Counter Insurgency Operations in Chittagong Hill Tracts by the Armed Forces. Presently, military engages media through ceremonies, monthly programme like Anirban and occasional other events that need to be publicised. However, in events like disaster management, nation building activities, in assistant to civil administration duties, and contribution to UN Peace Keeping; media plays an important role in maintaining the right image and moral of the Forces.

Present Media - Military Relations

In developed western countries, the public and press are well informed about the activities and sacrifices made by defence forces. However, in Bangladesh, it may not be such and there are scopes to improve upon the situation. For demand of security, information remain restrictive within the military; while media on instances have handled sensitive information in a way that the stances of the military were wrongly projected. In addition, there is scope of improving the understanding and reporting of operational failures and honest military mistakes.

Media sees some communication gap with the military. Media needs quick response in disseminating information. Success of journalism depends on time and people's interest on the issue. Events and incidents relating to Armed Forces do no reach media in time in all cases. This time delay puts pressure on journalists due to competitive nature of the system and thereby, media often put across local views of such incidents overlooking sensitivity of the issue.

The military - media relation gets more significant at editorial level. Editors remain in dilemma about whether to publish a specific information or not. Official clarification from Inter Services Press Release (ISPR) needs time which is difficult to accept in competitive media world. Often ISPR takes time to clarify the specific information unless the Army, Navy or Air Force inform them. As a result, media often publicises the information the military intends to guard or hold for the moment.

Media and Armed Forces: Perceptions/Conflicts

The conflict between Armed Forces and media often rises from fact that the Force is trained to guard operational security, while the media is trained to report what it comes to know and perceives to be truth. Military needs to maintain secrecy of operational plans and conceal some information both from its enemy and from the people. On the other hand media wants to inform the public of whatever happens for building public opinion. As such, differences in perception are quite evident between the two organizations.

By virtue of its role as a watch dog and recorder of history, media considers that it has a right to be at the battle front and report independently. While military feels that the presence of large number of independently moving reporters on the battlefield is a security hazard and would cost military resources and time. The Holey Artisan Crisis and BDR Killing or perhaps Rana Plaza crisis exposed the issues of inadequacies of media and its interfacing with Armed Forces. Professional journalism is a critical prerequisite in presenting war issues and representing the armed forces therein.

Although the Officers Corps of Armed Forces are educated on media through short and intense packages, soldiers are hardly exposed to media and hence not well educated. Armed Forces' spokes organization ISPR appears to be insufficiently organized and hence falters in their role and tasks. ISPR feeds the information to the media for publication and works as an interface between Armed Forces and media. But at times, it is felt that ISPR is not that responsive to provide information when asked by the media. ISPR is an organisation which can play an important role however, an assessment needs to be carried out to see how ISPR can be re-equipped to play an effective role in the new environment.

Media can greatly influence the public opinion that is critical to both the government and the Armed Forces in Bangladesh. However, every media agency perhaps do not act responsibly rather pursue their corporate interest. This remains as problematic area for the media since some media organizations pursue higher Target Rating Point (TRP) which requires sensational clippings to attract public interest. Such projection can subdue the national interest and the activities of security forces. This is potentially a dangerous trend which needs to be addressed.

Media and Armed Forces - Towards a Consolidated Relation

Military and Media are both components of national power and each is responsible in its own way for protecting national security. Both have an equally vital role to play in the development of a nation. While military conducts different types of operations with direct confrontation with threat forces, media conducts information operations to augment the efforts of the Forces fighting on ground. But since they have a different way of doing things, there is a need for recognizing and realizing each other's activities and responsibilities for complimenting each other's efforts. Differences between media and military can be minimised through attitudinal and institutional reforms by both the parties. The realistic approach is to educate each side, as much as possible, on

the peculiarities of each other's culture. The attitudinal reform of both the stakeholders should include change in the mind sets, generating mutual trust, respect and understanding between each other.

While working together for securing national interest, both military and media need to set aside their contentious issues, understand each other's requirements and complement each other activities without any prejudice. Wisdom, foresightedness and insight in understanding the overall scenario by both military and media personnel are essential to secure the national goal. While it is vital for the media not to indulge in exaggeration and ensure fair, substantive and unbiased coverage of defence matters; military also needs to be capable of benefiting itself from the role of the media as a force multiplier. Military need to establish clarity of purpose to media and uphold media as esteemed working partner. Media on the other hand should uphold the Armed Forces as a symbol of sovereignty, national unity and patriotism to the concerned subjects.

Organizational reform within both military and media is essential to foster Media-Military relationship. ISPR with incident evaluation, opinion research and anticipatory action capability need to act as a link between the services and the media. A Public Relation Wing to augment ISPR activities may be established in each service HQ to provide information on operational matters. Students and experts on Journalism may be recruited similar to the Education Corps Officers to serve in Public Relations wings. On the other side, the editors and media coordination should allow capable and selected correspondents to focus on defence and national security matters.

Both Media & Armed Forces need to develop a proactive approach in dealing with each other. Military must consider how to interact and engage the national and foreign press while being deployed within and outside the country. Military also need to promote a steady-state level of military-media engagement. Senior public affairs officers should sponsor recurring conferences bringing

representatives of the two sides together in order to erase negative stereotypes and develop mutual understanding. Media should also respond being equally vibrant and determine own means of being proactive to maintain the healthy relationships with the Armed Forces.

Conclusion

Media and Military are two powers which can influence national strength and integrity. However, they have their differences. Military is trained to be conservative in dealing with information. Media's job is to inform as much people as possible within shortest time. The exclusive organizational structure and unique working method of military and media will always remain in the back drop in their relation. And within this parameter, both media and military need to foster aspects like mutual understanding, enhance mutual support, secure the national interest and maintain a proactive attitude towards each other. Hopefully, these steps would eliminate any mistrust, prejudice and differences between the groups. Finally, these two powers should stand together, work together, holding each other's hand to serve the country and the nation.

Session-1

Session Chair: Air Vice Marshal M Sanaul Huq,
GUP, ndc, psc, GD(P)

Keynote Paper-1: AFWC 2017

Media and Armed Forces: Perception and Reality-
Bangladesh Perspective

Keynote Speakers

**Group Captain
Md Asadul Karim**
afwc, psc, GD(P)

**Captain
A K M Jakir Hossain**
(N), afwc, psc, BN

**Lieutenant Colonel Munsi
Mohammad Anik Bin Ashraf**
afwc, psc, Inf

**Lieutenant Colonel Mohammad
Mohtashim Hyder Chowdhury**
afwc, psc, Inf

SESSION-1

KEYNOTE PAPER-1: AFWC 2017

MEDIA AND ARMED FORCES: PERCEPTION AND REALITY-BANGLADESH PERSPECTIVE

Introduction

Media is one of the most important and well discussed topics in today's world. In today's modern and civilized society, media plays a significant role in every event of life and considered as the 'Fourth Pillar of Democracy'. In today's world media and military are two indispensable guardians of a democratic polity. One defends the society against "external threat" in the form of aggression and "internal rebellion", while the other safeguards the interests of the citizens against governmental "excesses" by exposing the official apathy and informed public opinion.

In Bangladesh, during War of Liberation in 1971, media was part of the fighting force. However, after independence the relationship has experienced several changes particularly with the change of the nature of government. Media and military - both professions are highly structured and unique, possess a distinct code of ethics, thus very complicated relationship prevails between them.

Today, war is no longer an isolated affair left to the politicians and their generals. Media has also become an integral part of any military success. History bears this testimony through Crimean War, Vietnam and Somalia. Media docility probably hit its zenith during WW-II, however, it is often viewed as the golden age of media - military relationship. Media-military relationship saw a significant change during Gulf War 1990-91 and the concept of "Embedded Journalism" was introduced.

Media and Armed Forces Relationship in Different Countries

The relationship between the media and the Armed Forces in any country reflects the history and the political ideology of the country, in particular the relationship

is based on values of transparency, freedom, collaboration and responsibility that the country propound to their population through its institutions.

For example, the US military has one of the most controversial relations with media particulalry in 19th century. However, it has gone through several stages: censorship, openness, controlled access, and cooperation. Today the changing military goals and strategy combined with Media's fluid behavior forces this relation to evolve into fifth stage: "engagement".

Like USA, relationship between media and military in UK has also underwent many changes. Genesis of such strain can be traced back to Crimean War (1854–1856) and it was evident in Falkland War (1982) as well. At present, UK has a Green Book, which covers Ministry of Defence's working arrangements with the Media. This document is produced in consultation with media as a general guide to the procedures that the Ministry of Defence's will adopt while working alongwith the media throughout the full spectrum of military operations.

The media and military of India and Pakistan are mature institutions. Their relationship plays a vital role in projecting their military ability and the ethical stand of the activities conducted by their respective armed forces. In Bangladesh a healthy media - military engagement can be found during our War of Liberation in 1971. In 71 media worked as a force multiplier by supporting the fighting forces very closely. Media focused all spheres of the liberation war. Various print media published pictures and news on genocide to mobilize the world opinion in favour of the War of Liberation and supported the Freedom Fighters. Similarly, the radio channel "Swadhin Bangla Betar Kendra" successfully carried out its intellectual war and aired patriotic songs including programs like Chorompotro, Jallder Darbar, Bojro Kontho which greatly inspired the freedom fighters.

All these reflect a healthy media-military relationship prevailed during that time. Actually the liberation war of 1971 was unique opportunity where the media and military worked closely with the single aim of liberating the country. Displaying a phenomenal role during the war of liberation, nascent media and military started their journey in "Independent Bangladesh". In the process of creation of institutions, there were interactions but scanty in nature. Still a healthy relationship succeeded at that time.

However, after 1975, there was a significant changes. The print and electronic media of Bangladesh lived under strict vigilance by the government authorities. Even military did not have any scope to interact with media remaining within any policy. And thus the media-military relationship suffered. After 1990 when the country regained her democratic flavour, the media started flourishing. However, the relationship between media and military still remained dormant for quite some time. With the passage of time military involvement in different nation building activities have increased and thereby media-military engagement improved a lot. This ultimately created a conducive relationship between media and military in Bangladesh. However, today in the 21st century, when Bangladesh has seen a 'media explosion in information age', still there are scopes to enhance the relationship where both media and military need to work together.

Cooperation, patience and tolerance are required for an effective media-military relationship. Actually media can neither be controlled nor some one should try to do so. Similarly military actions might bear operational secrecy and all may not be disclosed. The best way to manage is to bridge the gap by giving necessary information at appropriate time. For which development expertise is needed. That is the biggest challenge Bangladesh has.

Media and Armed Forces Association in Bangladesh

Media, military and governance are in an interlocking system. Media-military relations has a historical ups and downs either in British, East Pakistan or Bangladesh period. This overall trend reflects a strategic culture of the media military relation in Bangladesh. Here media wants to uphold the public's right to know, whereas the Armed Forces screen operational information for security. A better understanding between each other's role would make the environment amiable. The successful outcome of a military campaign depends a lot on having the media on the side. The Armed Forces and media relationship in Bangladesh has had some difficult times. It is needed to work more closely with media for utilizing its potentials as force multiplier in war. Relationship between media and Bangladesh Armed Forces can further enhanced by articulating a policy and streamlining the organizations responsible for media management.

The media-military relations of Bangladesh may be analyzed under eight governing factors such as, freedom of expression, reaction by media on certain issues, delay reaction time of ISPR, centralized command and absence of suitable representative at lower echelon or on scene, overstating by media, security, status consciousness and interactions. As per media, the freedom of expression is wedged at certain issues. Some improper reactions were seen during various occasions. In present day context the presence of military remained in the media through ceremony, a monthly programme like anirban and occasional appearances. However, on aspects like disaster management, nation building activities, in assistant to civil administration duties like election, and contribution in UN role of Armed Forces have been substantially covered in media.

Present Organogram of Armed Forces in Relation to Media Management

The ISPR Directorate was established in 1972 to serve the needs of the Armed Forces and other defence organizations in matters relating to information, publicity, public and press liaison. The ISPR Directorate is one of the many attached organizations under the administrative control of MOD. The Intelligence Directorates of the Services provide necessary assistance to ISPR for news items based on revised policy guidelines and instructions (revised) of 1991. The policy covers only list of ceremony or service related program to be covered in media. It does not indicate any policy on war related matters. ISPR does not have any representative at the field formation level. The present organization faces difficulties in performing the functions entrusted on them. The functions also need review and revision matching the present day's requirement. At present ISPR coordinate some activities with Armed Forces Division (AFD).

ISPR with its extremely limited manpower and infrastructure cannot perform the entrusted tasks efficiently and effectively. Moreover, most of the personnel have limitation on operational matters. There are some policies given time to time but a complete policy covering war and peace time activities are not in place in consonance with national media policy. The organization is less conditioned to operate in an operational environment, whether in peace or in war.

Existing Press Release Procedure

The present chain of media coverage procedure follows a long que. The field formations forward the news to Service HQ, Service HQ send it to ISPR, which comes to print/electronic media:

Formation	→	Services Headquarters	→	ISPR	→	Print/ Electronic Media

Present Media - Military Relations: Public Perception

In Bangladesh, military has earned the trust and faith of the common people through their patriotism and dedication, though there were some ups and downs especially during the military regime. Even after 1/11, Bangladesh Armed Forces could earn the confidence of the general mass for their contribution by participating in nation building activities. Armed Forces was also hailed for their contribution in UN peace keeping missions and role in internal security (IS) duties and disaster management. These positive image and role was upheld by all the print and electronic media also. Media has come closer with the military and military could also earned trust and faith of the media though there are rooms to improve in both the sides. General people still believe that Bangladesh Armed Forces can perform any type of task assign to them with the satisfaction of the people.

Armed Forces Perspective about Media-Military Relations

In the western countries, the public and press are very well informed about the defence forces. However, in Bangladesh, it may not be such and there are scope to improve the situation further. In Armed Forces, sometimes because of the security reason information remain restrictive. For media, sometimes we may find lack of specialized knowledge about the Armed Forces. Media leads to many positive activities in Bangladesh. At times there is delay from media to correct mistakes made in earlier programs. This adds to the general inaccuracy of real time reporting. In addition, there is scope of improving the understanding of the military resulting from honest mistakes.

Perspective of Media Personnel about Media-Military Relations

Media feels that there are some communication gap between media and military.

- Media needs a quick response and dissemination of information. Success on selling of information depends on time and peoples interest on the issue. Whenever there is an accident of a fighter crash or a fire in a ship, media ask for query about the incident which military personnel hesitate to answer in some of the cases. At times even for a known cases, they seek for higher authority permission which is a laid down procedure in armed forces. This time delay is not welcomed by media personnel due to competitive nature of the system and thereby, they put the reference of the local people.

- Media does not believe in media-control nor in management. They believe that they should not be answerable for dissemination of information rather only for false information. In case of some crisis, there may be some communication hub at local level, as the media local reporter is the whole authority for any report. In other way, decentralization is necessary at military for media – military communication.

- Media is more concerned about real time news without giving much concern about status, which military has to accept. A person disseminating information is more important than any other person reluctant to provide even the known information. At military programme, interaction with media personnel will surly improve the understanding. A military spokesman even at local level is necessary who will verify information or guide media on dissemination of information.

- At editorial level, whether to publish the information or not is a dilemma for media. Clarification to ISPR need time which is difficult to accept in this competitive world. The gap between the ISPR and the military formations need to be minimized, because most of the time ISPR does not know the information unless the Army, Navy or Air Force HQ inform them. So, sometimes media gets the information that is necessary for military to disseminate through media not those information that media need.

Media and Armed Forces: Perceptions/Conflicts and Reality in Bangladesh

It was quite evident that this mutual relationship has remained important but, invariably a thorny issue in almost all post World War II conflicts and other disasters involving military forces. It was also revealed that, where every military force would endeavour to persistently guard the sensitive information, avoiding its pre-mature disclosure to even friendly press, the media would assert its maximum to extract and speedily disseminate all possible information without even realizing the consequences of these overtures on friendly forces. As such, there is an opportunity for the media and the armed forces to work closely to understand each other better. General John M Shalikashvili, former US Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff had once said 'we do not win unless CNN says we win'. That encapsulates the reality of war in the age of information and mutual reliance.

National Security vis-a-vis Media

Eminent Media anchor like Ilana Dayan said, "The role of press in democratic society is not to take national security into consideration, it is not to implement national policy, and it is not to be patriotic. It is to be aggressive, it is to be suspicious, it is to be sceptical, and it is to be hostile to the government." Now in quid pro quo, during discussion about the moral strength of a secret governmental agency the former CIA Director, William Colby in an answer to a question said, "Should we reject secret intelligence in order to protect our freedoms, and look to a resulting moral strength to save us from the threats or must we accept limits on our freedoms in order to preserve our community in a dangerous world?" From this opposing mind-set of media and national security agencies it is well understood there are misperception, lack of trust among these agencies. For example, during pre and post insurgency era of Chittagong Hill Tracts a lot of bloods were spilled in there for the maintenance of security. Ironic as it may sound, nation merely knows about the unwavering sacrifice and dedications of the Armed Forces members like Shaheed Lt Mushfiq, Lt Ahsan, L Cpl Atiar, Snk Bashar and so many who laid their lives in the line of duty for the betterment of the Motherland. This is where Armed forces members think that they deserved somewhat better projection to the nation where media could play a dominant role.

Areas of Disagreement

Differences in Perception: The military is trained to keep any plan secret to achieve surprise, while the media is trained to report what it come to know and perceives to be truth at any cost. Military feels that it needs to maintain secrecy of operational plans and conceal some information both from its enemy and from the people. On the other hand media wants to expose the military plans in response to public interest. As such, differences in perception is quite evident between the two organizations. In the part of Armed Forces, 'Media Management' still remains within the traditional boundary of press and television presence. It has now dawned upon the Armed Forces that the usage of this term needs to be curbed as it gives an impression that the media shall be and can be 'managed'. The media in general strongly resents this term. At best the media can be understood, trusted, befriended and possibly co-opted.

Access of Media to the Military Activities: By virtue of its role as a watch dog and recorder of history the media considers that it has a right to be at the battlefront and report independently. While accepting the inevitable media presence in the battlefield, the military feels that the presence of large number of independently moving reporters on the battlefield is a drain on military resources and time, and also not permitted in most military situations. The Holey Artisan Crisis and BDR Killing or perhaps Rana Plaza crisis exposed the issues of inadequacies of media and its interfacing with Armed Forces. Particularly, professional selection of words and phrases were missing as well as related skills were missing in the part of journalism.

Media Education: Media awareness of the Armed Forces members still has rooms for improvement. This happens because of inadequate scopes of media education and interaction. In Bangladesh, usually officers are given with limited exposure to media related study in Staff course and higher courses like National Defence Course and Armed Forces War Course. The soldiers are mostly not exposed to media personnel as such the role and importance of media can hardly be realized by them.

Passive Military Response: It is already learnt about, ISPR which feeds the information to the media for publication and works as an interface between Armed Forces and media. But at times, it is felt that ISPR is not that responsive

to provide information when asked by the media. Many say that military tries to avoid giving information in the name of security. Most of the times, it becomes one-way traffic. ISPR is an organisation which can play an important role. However, an assessment needs to be carried out to see how ISPR can be re-equipped to play an effective role in the new environment.

Analysis

The relationship between the military and the media is changing, propelled by certain momentous developments, in all the major democracies of the world, including Bangladesh. This scenario of change, which has evolved over a number of years, has shifted the balance towards the media and in the process, thrown up a new series of challenges to the military. The role of the press in reporting on the military is likely to be enhanced, and the military is increasingly to be fixed in the media focus. More particularly, over the most recent years it has been hastened by four major factors:

- The demise of the immediate threat of total war and increasing probabilities of limited conflicts and Non-Traditional Security (NTS) threats.

- The emergence of democratic institutions in Bangladesh which has enabled the media to flourish.

- The technological advancement which has empowered the mass public to obtain information on military across the world.

- Increased discourse on security and safety among the people from all walks of life.

Media can greatly influence the public opinion which of prime importance for both the government and the Armed Forces in Bangladesh. However, every media agency perhaps do not act responsibly rather pursue their corporate nature. That remains as the problematic area for the media since some often pursue on increasing their Target Rating Point (TRP) which requires sensational clippings to attract public interest and sway public opinion. For example, whenever there is a deterioration in law and order situations in Chittagong Hill Tracts which involves engagement of Armed Forces, some of the leading newspapers of Bangladesh meanderingly tries to tag the miscreants as ADIVASI or Indigenous people which contradicts with Government policy

and also maligns the role of Armed Forces. Such projection completely subdue the national interest and the activities of security forces. This is potentially a dangerous trend which needs to be addressed.

Bangladesh allows idealism and neoliberal growth of media but there is also a need to make a balance between national security and limit of information. In Bangladesh context, the impact of the media on making or influencing government policy should not be overstated. The information provided by the media does go into generating public opinion or pressure, but the power of the media, in real terms, lies in highlighting situations not solving them. 'Bad publicity' is yet another challenge which the military has to tackle. Criticism from media must be handled with an open mind and a sense of equanimity. At the same time requirement for developing a more responsive and flexible models for media engagement by Armed Forces is now the need of the hour.

Media and Armed Forces - Towards a Consolidated Relation

British Writer Alan Hooper, who has multiple publications on Media-Military relation wrote in one of his book named "The Military and the Media",

> *"The newsman and the military officer consider many of the same qualities to be important in their respective professions: initiative, responsibility, professionalism, dedication, efficiency, team-work, delegation of authority, self-discipline, forward planning and flexibility."*

Media and military though have different organizational culture, yet they foster similar attributes for their organizational development and sustenance. This gives an immense hope and aspiration that military and media have potentials to work together and accomplish impossible. With due considerations to perceptions, differences of opinion and realities of media-military relationship in the context of Bangladesh, few measures will be proposed subsequently which may create a more consolidated relation than the existing one. But prior to the proposals one aspect need to be clarified:

- Are the military and media two conflicting groups?
- Do they have different agendas?

- Is there any conflicting interest between them?

In the quest to these answers from the preceding discussion, few optimistic facts were evident. Both military and media have quite similar goals but they have different ways of doing things. In military term it may be said that both the groups have same objectives and end state i.e. protection of national interest but they follow different lines of operations. The most important realization about this relation is that military and media do not have any confrontation, contradiction or conflict within themselves while they are performing their role aptly. It is also to be mentioned that in Bangladesh the media - military relationship is surely in workable state but it needs to be taken further.

Core Issue that Need to be Addressed

Despite having good number of similarities and no confrontation or conflict there are few differences between media and military, and the core reason of this differences are due to their exclusive organizational cultures and unique working methods. While Military is conservative in its attitude, media believes in openness. Military argue that they are in the best place to judge what is, or is not, of operational value; and secrecy of forces activity is unquestionable when they are deployed by democratically elected government. Journalists, on the other hand, argue that the common people do have a right to know the way in which the military discharges its business on their behalf. Within these disputes, more meaningful and better workable relationship between 'Media-Military' can be achieved through attitudinal and institutional reforms by both the parties. The realistic approach is to educate each side, as much as possible, on the peculiarities of each other's culture. The attitudinal reform of both the stakeholders should include change in the mind sets, generating mutual trust, respect and understanding between each other etc.

- **Understanding Each Other**

  - Military and Media are both components of national power and each is responsible in its own way for protecting national security. Both have an equally vital role to play in the development of a nation. While military conducts different types of operations with direct confrontation with

threat forces, media conducts information operations to augment the efforts of the forces fighting on ground. But since they have a different way of doing things, there is a need for recognizing and realizing each other's activities and responsibilities for complimenting each other's efforts. The key to success in this relationship is understanding the other's side and being in a position to endure a few setbacks due to the process followed by the counterpart in accomplishing their responsibilities.

▪ In the approach to comprehensive, consolidated and interdependent relation, the military need to realize few things. Firstly, journalists are not the 'yes man' and will seize the opportunity to highlight the shortcomings of the military as it is seen by them. Secondly, Media is not to report the mundane affairs; instead the unusual events or happenings that are considered to be of concern for a large number of people in society will be reported by the Media personnel as 'NEWS'. Media also perform the watchdog function in the society; the press tends to highlight failures more than the success. Media cannot afford to spare 'the disharmony of the society' because in doing so it loses its own credibility. On the other side, it is expected and desired that, media personnel will realize, military is a structured organization and it works through an established command and control system. Officers and men of the Armed Forces perform operational responsibilities following the 'Need to Know' theory in most of the instances. An instant comment from any member of Armed Forces on administrative or operational issues are unlikely and beyond military norms, this shortcut method will also provide media with partial information which may lead towards wrong assessment. Following prescribed procedure according to established command structure is essential to get the correct picture on operational or administrative issues.

• **Supporting Each Other**

While working together for securing national interest, both military and media need to set aside their contentious issues, understand each other's requirements and complement each other activities without any prejudice. Wisdom,

foresightedness and insight in understanding the overall scenario by both military and media personnel are essential to secure the national goal. While it is right for the media not to indulge in exaggeration and ensure fair, substantive and unbiased coverage of defence matters. The military also need to be capable of benefiting itself from the role of the media as a force multiplier. Military need to establish clarity of purpose to media and uphold media as esteemed working partner. Media on the other hand should uphold the Armed Forces as a symbol of sovereignty, national unity and patriotism to the concerned subjects. Taking the example of Gulf War and Afghanistan, it can be said that, military can provide the best possible assistance to media in regards to their passage and protection in the conflict zones. Military can also be their best guide to advice the reporting contents that might not harm the operational secrecy and national interest and allow overall success against the threat forces.

- **Organizational Reform**

Organizational reform within both military and media is essential to foster Media-Military relationship. ISPR with incident evaluation, opinion research and anticipatory action capability need to act as a link between the services and the media. ISPR representatives are to act as a liaison officer without interfering the reporting process but need to be aware about the news items that are likely to undermine the image of the Armed Forces or the country. A Public Relation Wing to augment ISPR activities may be established in each service HQ to provide information on operational matters. Students and experts on Journalism may be recruited similar to the Education Corps Officers to serve in Public Relations wings. On the other side, the editors and media management should allow capable and selected correspondents to focus on defence and national security matters. The correspondents should not be put under pressure to create opinions and news that contradicts national interest. Correspondents with in depth knowledge on national security matters need to be created within media organizations who can realize and perform media responsibilities that can augment military's efforts in confronting and mitigating national crisis. The retired military officers taking Journalism as their second profession can be invaluable to the editors and media management authorities to train and create correspondents to deal with military matters.

- **Proactive Attitude**

Taking the present time, the likely threats and the information age in to considerations, both media and Armed Forces need to develop a proactive approach in dealing with each other. This will allow preventing and neutralizing forces that are prejudicial and detrimental to national interest. Military must consider how to interact and engage the national and foreign press while being deployed within and outside the country. Military also need to promote a steady-state level of military - media engagement. Senior public affairs officers should sponsor recurring conferences bringing representatives of the two sides together in order to erase negative stereotypes and develop mutual understanding. Media should also respond being equally vibrant and determine own means of being proactive to maintain the healthy relationships with the Armed Forces.

Conclusion

The proposed model for the Media - Military relation can be taken into cognizance, where, the exclusive organizational structure and unique working method of Military and Media will always remain in the back drop. And within this both media and military need to foster aspects like mutual understanding, enhance mutual support, secure the national interest and maintain a proactive attitude towards each other. Along with all these, the aspects that need to be eliminated are mistrust, prejudice and differences between the groups.

Session-2

Session Chair: Air Vice Marshal M Sanaul Huq, GUP, ndc, psc, GD(P)

Keynote Speakers

Keynote Paper-2: Military-Media Interface: Genesis, Global Trend and Military-Media Association in Bangladesh

By- Major General Md Sarwar Hossain, BSP, SGP, ndc, hdmc, psc, PhD

Keynote Paper-3: Integrated Power: Media – Military

By- Ms Farzana Brownia

Keynote Paper-4: The Media and the Military

By- Brigadier General Shahedul Anam Khan (Retd)

SESSION-2
KEYNOTE PAPER-2:

MILITARY-MEDIA INTERFACE: GENESIS, GLOBAL TREND AND MILITARY-MEDIA ASSOCIATION IN BANGLADESH

Major General Md Sarwar Hossain, BSP, SGP, ndc, hdmc, psc, PhD

Introduction

The media not only plays the critical role by recording, analyzing and broadcasting the events of the day but also monitors the functions of private and public institutions in an attempt to protect its citizens. Military being the pivotal organization dedicated to protecting and defending the constitution comes under keen scrutiny by media and therefore military needs to maintain a harmonious relationship with the media.

Traditionally there has been a lot of hiccups between these two. They seemed to have a love-hate relationship. Newsman are adored when they prepare reports highlighting military exploits in combat and hated when they broadcast information undermining military/national security or become overtly blunt about poor combat performance. But in an increasingly connected world with redefined military role, both media and military need each other in a much more constructive framework than current association based on dilemma and suspicion. There are certainly other reasons for which the media-military relation suffers.

In view of foregoing, this paper will have a closer insight to this subject focusing on growth of media, global trends including their replication in various war and conflicts as these are the areas where both media and military has a role to

play and a glance over shared media-military experience and other issues that may have impacts on their relationship.

Aim

The aim of this paper is to focus on the genesis, global media trends in various war scenario including the media-military association in Bangladesh with conflicts.

Genesis

Cave dwellers paintings made thousands of years ago used to express the life and activities of ancient people. We also know the use of Papyrus plant as writing surface. But it took another 3000 years to come up with the idea of paper which was invented in China around 100 BC. Next big change was the printing press invented by Guttenberg in 1440. When he first printed the complete edition of Bible, it was an act that enshrined him in history. That was in a way liberating the words of God from the control of the priests' fairly significant event. By 1500 printing presses were available in every major city in Europe and literacy spread through Europe. In 1517, when Martin Luther published his "Ninety-Five theses"- highlighting abusive practices of the Church, is considered as the founding event that led to the creation of division in Germany and the emergence of Evangelical Church.

First weekly newspaper was published in the Italian City of Venice in 1556. The first regular newspaper titled "Relation" was published in 1605 in the city of Strasbourg situated on the border between France and Germany. It was followed up by other European cities. The first American newspaper was published in Boston in 1690 but was banned by the British after the first issue. Late seventeenth century to early eighteenth century marked the beginning of the era of Enlightenment. Around this time, a group of Philosophers namely Immanuel, Newton, Voltaire, Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson argued that publicity and openness provide the best protection against tyranny and the excess of arbitrary rule. Since then the press is regarded as the "Fourth Estate" of government to provide a kind of check and balance in its functioning.

In 1814, photograph was invented. When journalist Brady for the first-time

displayed the photographs of American civil war, the people were both horrified and fascinated. All these started making impacts in the minds of audience from far and near. Then came the Morse Code invention in 1843. It was something capable of rapidly transmitting messages over a long distance much faster than the speed of the horse. In 1876, Bell invented the telephone that broke the distance barrier. It was no longer necessary to be in the same room or in front to speak to someone. In 1920, the first Radio was broadcasted in the USA and marked the introduction of modern mass media. Lasting until World War II, radio was the most reliable source of information and news. In 1950 with the introduction of television, new era of media commenced. And now we are in the internet and satellite era which is ever changing in its growth and character.

Global Media Trend

Global media trends are usually the processes that bring fore significant changes in the application of new media innovations, practices and cultures while performing its role and trends are usually followed and replicated.

- **European Renaissance and the Power of Print Media:** The widespread dissemination of printed works in the form of books, magazines, posters, fliers and papers - gave direct rise to the European Renaissance. In 1453 to be precise when Turkey invaded Italy and rest of Europe, some of the scientists and philosophers namely Plato, Aristotle, Cicero and others managed to escape with their scientific and literary works to Germany. In Germany too, there was a beginning of the era of enlightenment led by Martin Luther who was then working as Monk. Being disillusioned with the corrupt practices of Church, Luther left his job and joined as Professor of Divinity in the University of Wittenberg. He then started saying people not to listen to the Church as they set up their empire all over Europe and were reaping benefits at the expense of the commoners. This mediaeval age Europe was dominated more by mysteries, superstitions and miracles. That was the time, when people knew that the sun is going around the earth. Galileo for the first time said that it's not the sun, rather the sun is fixed, it's the earth including other planets going around the sun. The availability of Bible to be read not only in Latin by the priests but in the languages of

the common people, led to the Protestant revolution, including everything that has led to the advancement of modern world.

- **American Civil War - Role of Newspaper and Telegraph.** The Civil War proved to be an important era for newspaper and telegraph. The advent of telegraph and newspapers combined were able to produce reports from great distances very rapidly. Because of this, people in the North and South, were able to remain abreast with the war updates. Although newspapers sometime published biased accounts, but a quiet war for public support was on both in the North and the South, with the newspapers serving the crucial role. Issues like conscription, employment of slaves as soldiers, and the validity of total war were hotly debated in the papers. Lincolns telegrams to the Generals were the turning points in military history. This was for the first time that a C-in C communicated with the generals in real time. The civil war had to be won, of course, on the battle field. But the telegraph and newspaper, specially the way these were used by Lincoln, had tremendous effect on the outcome.

- **Media during World War I - Controlled Media:** During WW I, the US congress imposed severe restrictions on press. It prohibited publication of any information that could offer any aid to the enemy. UK too banned reporters in the battlefield. By 1915 only few were allowed though were kept under heavy control. This was the trend with most countries. There used to be lot of misreporting, like in the battle of Somme where in the 1st day of the battle nearly 60,000 British and French soldiers died. But it was reported that the battle was going fine with Britain and France. The then British Prime Minister Lloyd George believed that if the people knew the truth, the battle would stop tomorrow. Germany on the other hand had a working propaganda machine from the beginning of the war. They had a Central Bureau of Propaganda in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It was assigned to draw attention to naval blockade and disproving enemy propaganda. They used to generate nearly 7,400 press releases, posters, fliers, illustrations, papers and handouts every day.

- **Media in World War II - Use of Propaganda as Media Strategy:** In 1930s when Adolf Hitler's Nazi Party rose to power in Germany, it was a very phenomenal event. The Nazis strongly believed in media power. Hitler used to simplify messages and played on the emotions of the German people. He ensured every German citizen has a radio to listen to his lectures with hatreds and anger against the Jews. The Minister of Propaganda, Joseph Goebbels, just about a month after Hitler was appointed Chancellor of Germany reiterated that "Now it will be easier for us to carry on with the fight as we can employ all the resources of the State. Radio and press are at our disposal. We shall stage a masterpiece of propaganda". Mein Kamph meaning 'My struggle' which was written by Hitler while he was in prison became the bible for all the propaganda efforts. That's how Media can make use of propaganda to persuade people.

- **Vietnam War - The Television War:** In fact, Television began to make its way into American homes after World War II. Yet, by the onset of the Korean War in 1950, viewership had not been large enough for building public perception. In 1950 the number of TV viewers were only 9% as opposed to 93% in 1968. By 1968 American viewers had already been living with images of the Vietnam conflict for several years. The year was a turning point in the war, not just because of the battles that took place in South East Asia, but for the ones that were fought at home, on television screens and the front pages of newspapers. During the war in Vietnam, reporters and photographers enjoyed complete freedom without any censorship. The reporters in Vietnam didn't get any opportunity to join military forces, observe their daily lives and later write about their experience. As such their reports were often subjective and the sources not only disagreed with one another on some issues, but also stayed anonymous. This left the readers distanced from the war efforts. Press simply did not feel the responsibility to present news with a certain consideration for a political agenda of the government. The media also played a key role in providing momentum for the anti-war movement. That's why Vietnam war is called as the Television war.

- **Satellite and Internet Era:** The capability of a reporter equipped with ultra-lightweight camera, able to transmit live on to news network from everywhere,

cannot be understated and has brought the media to the dawn of what media personality Nik Gowing has described as 'the tyranny of real time news', which significantly reduces the military's ability to censor output. Millions around the globe witnessed how precision-guided missiles annihilated targets in downtown Baghdad during Gulf War exploring real-time connectivity. These days quiet often, the reporters will precede the military in combat zone and transmit images as they emerge. The media's dominating role was even noticeable in the Kargil War in 1999. Kargil was fought and won as a result of infiltration of Pakistani soldiers and Kashmiri militants on India's side of the Line of Control. Although media persisted before, it was during the Kargil war that news channels began to air live coverage of battle field actions. The media greatly helped India gain sympathy and diplomatic recognition for its position. At the global level, particularly the Bush Administration remained active in covering the recent war against terrorism. Immediately following the collapse of World Trade Center in September 2001, US including western media persistently condemned the Muslim sponsored terrorist networks for the event. They succeeded in making the world believe that Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction. On that pretext, Bush Administration invaded Iraq and rest we all know. Even recently we witnessed how Turkish President Erdogan effectively turned a military coup abortive using social apps in his smart phone.

Media-military Association in Bangladesh

The role of media had been outstanding in the Liberation War. After the independence, Bangladesh had handful newspapers and BTV. Before war-ravaged country could achieve some kind of stability, the nation observed two heads of the state were brutally killed in military coup including the Father of the Nation, Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. Although these events took place in the formative years of Bangladesh, these are certainly black spots in our past history. None can ignore the likely recoils they may have on effective civil-military relations. We also experienced few spells of military rule when media was under very strict control. In those days harsh media treatment was the order of the day. Not to forget that military leadership owed a lot to the Pakistan Army. The senior officers of Bangladesh, in those days, were trained and groomed under united Pakistan certainly conditioned

their outlook and approaches. While discussing about the Pakistan Army, I remember a very interesting comment made by Indian Parliamentarian and once UN Undersecretary General Mr. Shashi Tharor. As he said, "All state has an Army but the Pakistan Army has a State." And historically we carried that inheritance until 1990s.

We also saw intrusion of military into politics and its ramifications in the later years. Historically military-dominated governments were least responsive to the needs and voices of the poor majority. In order to curb civilian demands and unrest, military-dominated governments relatively used force more frequently than others. With this backdrop the media-military relation in Bangladesh didn't grow very well. One important military engagement where media could play an enlarged role was our deployment in CHT. For couple of decades Bangladesh Army is deployed in CHT, made great sacrifices and still working for the peace. Media role in promoting the issue including military role has been far from adequate and the people at large are unaware of the developments there. For obvious security concerns, tourists and civilian are allowed limited access which are often misunderstood. Media houses in Dhaka depends on local reporters for gaining information which often becomes lopsided. Despite 15th amendment terming the tribal people as "Ethnic Minorities' many media houses still terming them as "Indigenous" without even understanding the connotation. The government view is that people in the CHT are not "Indigenous" since they are not pre-settlers on Bangladesh soil as has been the case of the Aborigins in Australia or Maoris in New Zealand or Red Indians in North America. Media role in PKO operations is however remain praiseworthy.

Reasons for Conflicting Media - Military Relations in Bangladesh

The reasons identified are described below:

- **Clash of Culture:** The armed forces are seen by journalists as the epitome of establishment, because of the hierarchical structure, strict discipline, and their tight-lipped approach to media. The military personnel are often guided by their own cultures and norms and they remain focused on their tasks which are often secretive and classified in nature. The media by contrast, are people oriented and advocates of an open society. Media

considers they have a journalistic responsibility to probe, challenge and criticize institutions and public officials playing the role of watch dog of the government. If you remember the incident of Tanu Murder case near Comilla Cantonment, the media instantly reported stories in a way pointing fingers towards the military. When media could afford to make such premature conclusions, military couldn't handle it in the same way or for that matter so simplistically. Military has their well-defined procedure. In every tier there are specific people or office to talk, investigate or do something on a specific subject. This is the difference between the working culture of military and media. When these two entities go to perform their roles in a common issue they often bump on each other. This is not likely to erode so easily unless each other allow larger space, more understanding and undertake frequent collaborative efforts. We may also think of introducing defence journalism to reduce the existing cultural gaps fostering better understanding.

- **Deadline/Headline/Redline Syndrome:** Sometime military doesn't try to understand the constraints faced by media. One such constraint is the "Deadline, Headline or Redline Phenomena". For the journalists these are very demanding requirements and in their search for timely, topical, and interesting stories, they are always guided by time limits. Furthermore, since profit drives media, they tend to provide whatever sells; where accuracy and objectivity can sometimes become a secondary consideration. Unfortunately, good news is rarely worthy of headlines, and so the media resort to stories of scandal, incompetence, fraud, real or imagined. If you remember Palin murder in Mymensingh Cadet College, beating of tribal youths by military, or even beating of maid servant by military officer's wife can be hot cakes for the news readers than whatever good things military doing elsewhere. Although in the broader sense these events may not have any significance.

- **Human Psychology - An Integral Factor:** The amygdala situated at the back of our brain is the danger detector. It literally scans through all the sensory inputs to locate any kind of a danger. This is strongly considered while preparing news diets for the newspaper readers or TV viewers. That's why 90%news in any paper or television is negative because that's what we

pay attention to. People crave for something different which only comes from bad news rather than good. I am sure you can still remember the Holey Artisan Attack that happened on 1 July 2016. When the miscreants were encircled by the law enforcers few TV reporters were doing live coverage. When the entire nation was glued with the TV screen, CEOs were competing with each other to bring fore probably the deadliest scenes to raise their TRPs. Not to forget, the miscreants were watching the Television too. And from inside after watching the law enforcers, they threw hand grenades that killed few on that occasion. I was personally calling and requesting them to refrain from such senseless broadcasts, but with little effect.

- **Corporate Media & Its Impact on Objectivity:** The way radio, television, newspapers, magazines, etc. are is owned, produced and controlled by Corporate Houses and it has a negative impact. To run these media houses, they mostly depend on advertising. Therefore, the media owners want their newspapers and TV news and programs to be viewed by the affluent people who buy lots of stuff. So, the news and programmes are also deigned and made to attract the affluent class, not the commoners. Apart from any political biasness, the owners might themselves have economic interests. This trend is increasingly growing and might relegate the military interests or issues being national in nature.

- **No Escaping from Globalization:** Media organizations are very much subject to the process of globalization. Even national television and mainstream media outfits are increasingly relying on news feeds from foreign channels. Because of advanced technological reach, a soldier working in the remote CHT or in mission area might become a regional/ international news headline. Are we in a position to manage these realities psychologically and technologically? The answer is a clear NO. Unless we reorient ourselves with these fast-changing developments, we shall lag behind in protecting our interests. Still Inter Service Press Release office operates with handful staff and limited expertise. Recently several intelligence organizations set up their own media cells and they have been doing a fairly good job by bridging the gap between the media and the military. Yet we need an elaborate plan for a much faster network with efficient workforce to cover the entire range of military deployment/ activities - only then we shall be in a better position to protect our interests.

SESSION-2
KEYNOTE PAPER-3

INTEGRATED POWER: MEDIA – MILITARY

Ms Farzana Brownia

Chair of the seminar, Commandant NDC, distinguished Professors, Keynote Presenters, Faculty, Course Members of NDC, Fellow media personnel, ladies and gentleman, Assalamualaikum and good morning to all.

I am grateful to NDC to select me as a keynote speaker on such topic when I was born and raised in a military family and worked nearly two decades for media. With my limited knowledge and experience I will try to address such an august gathering on media and military and their relationship especially in Bangladesh.

Introduction

The 'Armed Forces' of state is an element of national power which is responsible for its security and protecting sovereignty. Since Second World War the media has established itself as an element of national power while the executive, judiciary and legislative are important organs of state. Mark Twain rightly opined that there are two sources of power which can surely reach every single corner of the world and bless them with lights, the sun from heaven and the associate media down here. Media and military are two powers which can influence national strength and integrity. But characteristically they have their differences. The Armed Forces when decides to achieve a strategic aim are more conservative in dealing with dissemination of information. While media feels it is necessary to inform as much people as possible within the shortest possible time. Because it is the voice of people. Now, whether these two powers can stand together, can work together, holding each other's hand is a matter of discussion.

May I refer the film "Gallipoli" here to explain the relationship between two Characters, the General and the Journalist in the film to give a light on the reason of the struggle of being side by side for media and military. The General asks the Journalist to follow his command on dissemination of information from war field. The Journalist replies with frustration, "Nobody reads me anymore".

The Challenge

In one hand the conservative policies of Armed Forces restricts the light that media likes to emit to billions of people of the world. On the other hand, the transparent and too openness of media may draw a country in danger by disclosing the precious secrets of military plan. This is where the balance that we would like to draw.

Behavior of Media

Media bears the blame of both the positivity and negativity. Iraq war is still fresh in our mind. The country was almost destroyed by the force led by USA on the blame of possessing weapon of mass destruction (WMD). It was media who were loud in accusing President Saddam and Iraq for having WMD. Later, media confessed that total information was a bluff by Bush administration. The British Prime Minister apologiesed for taking part in that operation in the coalition forces. But the destruction of a state that cost life of millions, internally displaced another few millions, violation of women, crime against children was serious ramification.

The peace loving people of the world has a right to ask whether media will accept the burden of this massacre or not? If the answer is `no', then military has a reasonable option not to take media in full confidence. They have an alternative option to pursue Directed Media Policy (DMP).

There are also good number of positive contribution of media in recent past; specially the electronic media. Let's talk about CNN 24/7, which had been televising the severe attack of the militants of Somalia in 1990. Following this, due to people's pressure president Bill Clinton had to withdraw the US forces from Somalia. This indicates media has a role in reshaping the foreign policy of a nation. American invasion in Afghanistan to fight the Taliban militants

and following which spread of terrorism in the world has been known to the people through media. The US policy of war against terror has been revisited by Obama Administration and he started cutting down the size of Armed Forces. This was basically done to reduce US involvement in conflict and pursue more of soft power. Present President of the United States of America Mr. Donald Trump has maintained his policy close to Obama Administration. But Media still remains committed to reduction of forces.

Historical Legacy of Media in Bangladesh

Our constitution has given us the right to express freely by article 39. It is a free and transparent media that stands as a platform for our citizen to exercise their right. On the other hand, our Armed Forces are pledge bound to protect the constitution and our sovereignty. Therefore, these two elements of national power are equally important to our people.

The clarion call of our great War of Liberation and its strategic concept was given on 7th March 1971 by our great leader and Father of the Nation, Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. This was broadcasted by the radio on 8th March 1971 and published by all national dailies. Later the final declaration was given on night, 25th March 1971 by our Father of the Nation. This call was then spread throughout the country by a Bengali soldier over Shadhin Bangla Betar on 27th march 1971. The source of power, our 7.5 million people, where mobilized by military and media together. People from all walks of life came forward and organized our freedom movement, along with Armed Forces against the most organized occupation army of Pakistan. Since then Media established itself as a source of national power. Therefore, the birth of our Armed Forces and media took place in the battle field. However, both use the authority of people. Both stands for protecting our sovereignty. Media is thus recognized as people's voice while military is recognized as a symbol of national integrity and trust.

Recent Trends of Media

In the recent past media has undergone a revolutionary change. Introduction of mobile phone, internet connection, Facebook, Youtube etc. have made this dissemination of information faster, yet unreliable because of easy entry

of untrained yellow journalist. They lack motivation and commitment to this noble profession. Most of the countries are facing this menace. In Bangladesh, media is mostly owned by corporate and businessman. Entry of highly professional group are fading away. This is because authority of people's voice has been encroached by easy access of black money and neo journalism. We need to revisit these challenges. Our media had a bright history.

Balancing Factors

It is now a subject of concern, as to what extend military will reform its media policy to reach to the people at the most earliest and transparent manner. Presence of both media and military in crisis emits trust and confidence to our people. The usual delay occurs due to decision making process (DMP) by ISPR causes misinterpretation and misunderstanding in the mind of media and people. The receiver wants quick dissemination of information. In absence of such reliable source of media, people tend to depend on Facebook, online news, Youtube etc. causing great damage to our national security. Therefore, I feel ISPR may revisit its policy for greater national interest. Media is aware of the security concern of Armed Forces to protect the vital information which may affect the operational aim because of premature disclosure. Yet it seems there needs a more close coordination, co-operation and understanding of each other's perception. This needs special training and developing experience over the period.

Armed Forces and Media

I am aware and respectful to the contribution the Armed Forces have made over the period in CHT sacrificing their life, blood and youth. I am proud of its contribution made to uphold the red and green flag in foreign soil as part of peace keeping force. I salute the officers and their men who sacrificed their day and night comfort in Cox's Bazar and Ukhia in taking care of Rohinga refugees. But such sacrifice and dedication are not reflected through media, nor it is talked about at political level with high note. I feel either military is not much aware of the strength of media or media is failing to highlight our great sons of the soil. To make a balance between these two is really a challenge.

Why Media Policy?

My understanding of these challenges suggests that we need an effective media policy. A media policy essentially needs its mother document, 'National Security Policy'. We have none of them in written or circulated form. Maybe it is still in the mind of our political masters. It maybe relevant here to say it is not a challenge to make a policy but it is definitely a big challenge to implement the policy in true sense. That was the opinion of Thomas Jefferson.

My thoughtful mind suggests me to have a one stop `Integrated Information Service Center (IISC)' for Armed Forces. The spokesperson should be a senior military officer having adequate knowledge about media relation. A new model maybe more appropriate which I like to present here.

A recent experience of `Savar Rana Plaza Tragedy Rescue Operation' had used close to the similar model under the directive of our HPM Sheikh Hasina in April, 2013. This rescue and humanitarian operation was conducted by Bangladesh Army (9 Infantry Division) under Lt. Gen. Chowdhury Hasan Sarwardy, Bir Bikram, where media remained exclusive partner to inform and mobilize support of our people. Whole nation irrespective of party affiliation came together to help this humanitarian operation.

Media and Military are Born to Work Together

Every state has an army but very few armies were born in the battle field of liberation war. Our 'Armed Forces' is our pride. In the same soil the Armed Forces of Pakistan was known as occupation rouge Army, while the members of our Armed Forces were our brothers and our sisters. Our Father of Nation said, "Dear Armed Fores members, you belong to people; people belong to you. You are not a separate entity. You are not their lord, rather servant. They give tax to run your family. Remain beside them in their need." We can feel it when we see our brothers and sisters in Armed Forces in peace and war, in disaster management and development works. Their footsteps ar marked everywhere, even while making a Guinness World Record for Bangladesh by making the "largest man made flag" or 'Lakho Konthe Shonar Bangla'.

My Expectation

The victory of our peasants, the story of Shorno Kishorees (adolescent girls), the sacrifice of our soldiers are all embedded together; a red and green Bangladesh, a homogeneous people – the Bengali, we speak the same language. We live for each other, we die for each other. These success stories need to be known to 170 millions people of our country and seven billion around the globe. For that we are in need of an effective media-military relation, effective media policy. Here I would like to quote Tagore:

"Of different branches, birds we are.
Yet we dwell on the same tree.
Alike we are not, indeed.
Therefore, we tied knot, together to be."

Let us work together for a beautiful Golden Bangladesh.

SESSION-2
KEYNOTE PAPER-4

THE MEDIA AND THE MILITARY

Brigadier General Shahedul Anam Khan, ndc, psc (Retd)

"The press is the watchdog over the institutions of power, be they military, political, economic or social. Its job is to inform the people of the doings of their institution" **-- B E Trainor**

Having spent 35 years in uniform and the last twelve years as a journalist, and having lived on both the sides of the fence, I perhaps have the benefit of looking at the issue from both sides of the divide, with greater objectivity hopefully, and with more dispassion.

The form and substance of the media that I encountered when I joined the military 50 years ago, have gone through great transformations requiring newer innovative methods on the part of the military in dealing with it. The advent of internet in the information domain, along with the remarkable strides in the field of IT, has influenced the minds of the military planners in their approach towards the media. So much so that at least two largest militaries in the world have decided to utilise the third dimension – or vector if you like, of the media – the social media, in communicating and keeping the public informed about military affairs.

In UK, a newspaper report in The Guardian in February 2015, suggested that the, "British Army was creating a special force of Facebook warriors, skilled in psychological operations and use of social media to engage in unconventional warfare in the information age. The 77th Brigade, to be based in Hermitage, near Newbury, in Berkshire, will be about 1,500-strong... the Brigade will be responsible for what

is described as non-lethal warfare... against a background of 24-hour news, smartphone and social media, such as Facebook and Twitter, the force will attempt to control the narrative." And closer to home, the Indian MoD is also planning to open a twitter account to, "disseminate authentic info and latest updates from the Indian Ministry of Defence"

If MMR, which is a very important adjunct of civil-military relations, occupies the minds of the political and military leaders today, it is mainly due to the frictional process through which the relationship has evolved in most countries and the acknowledgment now by the leadership, more so the military leadership, that without the media on board, the military objectives my remain largely unfulfilled.

The following remarks of a US General in 2005 illustrates the power of the media. "The [US] Marines in Fallujah weren't beaten by the terrorists and insurgents, who were being eliminated effectively and accurately. They were beaten by Al-Jazeera. . . . The media [are] often referred to off-handedly as a strategic factor. But we still don't fully appreciate [their] fatal power. . . . In Fallujah, we allowed a bonanza of hundreds of terrorists and insurgents to escape us - despite promising that we would bring them to justice. We stopped because we were worried about what already hostile populations might think of us. . . We could have won militarily. Instead, we surrendered politically and called it a success. Our enemies won the information war. We literally didn't know what hit us."

Regrettably, the rueful remarks that, "There can be few professions more ready to misunderstand each other than journalists and soldiers" made more than sixty years ago by a military scholar dwelling on this topical subject still holds true in many countries, even, regrettably, in ours too.

However, one is very encouraged to see the very positive trend in this regard at the moment in Bangladesh. The fact that the future military leaders of the country are spending a good part of their time dwelling on this particular aspect indicates the sense of awareness of the military regarding the relevance of a very important element in the fulfillment

of its role in whatever scenario that it could be conceivably deployed. Given the current internal security scenario, interface between the military and the media has assumed even more salience.

To some it may appear that inquiring into the media-military issue is an acknowledgement of a continuing tension that underlines the relationship between the fourth estate and the military. That is actually so. However, such an environment is not unique to Bangladesh -- it exists in all countries where the military has a significant influence in the country's policy prerogatives, in both peace and war.

In Bangladesh, the divide has sometimes been more pronounced, while at other times there was a realisation of the real nature of the two institutions and acceptance of the fact that the two must play a complementary role in order to attain national aim and preserve national interest.

Let us also acknowledge the reality that both, the media and the military, are national institutions that must work under a definite regime, for the military that regime is more codified, in order to deliver the public good to the people. On the other hand it is the media's role to keep the people informed about all sectors of the government, media included. And this is where the avoidable tension stems from. Therefore, the situation can brook no adversarial relationship between the two.

According to military historians the "first real confrontation between the military and the media was in the Crimean War, when William Howard Russell of the London Times exposed gross incompetence within the British high command -- and brought down the government. He proved that, "an unfettered journalist is a burden to the military in the field, anathema to a government at home, but essential to a free society." And we have evidence to believe that the pressmen were the most unwelcome creatures in the military camps during times of war.

This is what General William Sherman, the famous general of the American Civil War, had to say of newsmen. He said: "I hate newspapermen. They come into camp and pick up the camp rumors

and print them as facts. I regard them as spies, which, in truth, they are. If I killed them all there would be news from Hell before breakfast." (Such a perception about the media had preoccupied the minds of the military in Bangladesh too since the inception of the country, and the tussle has continued with varying degree of intensity ever since. However, the responsibility for that particular state of relationship was not of the military establishment's alone). Nevertheless, one notices an attenuation in the degree of the severity of the tension due to some very positive moves on the part of the military.)

Apparently, the Unionist General had very little idea about the magnitude of the media's role, and of the newsmen's, in the successful pursuit of military campaigns. It has been, after almost 150 years, articulated by another scholar of the American military fraternity that, "The media, in the modern era, are indisputably an instrument of war. This is because winning modern wars is as much dependent on carrying domestic and international public opinion as it is on defeating the enemy on the battlefield. And it remains true regardless of the aspirations of many journalists to give an impartial and balanced assessment of conflict."

While that illustrates the media's obligation in war, the obligation extends equally, in our case in particular, to fulfilling the peacetime obligation of nation building, an effort of which the military is also an indispensable part. This notwithstanding, the fact is that in Bangladesh the hiatus, that had existed not very long ago, and which had deepened particularly after the tragic events of 1975, have reduced to a very great extent, and both the media and the military have come to realise that without reconciling the diverse (but not mutually exclusive) considerations, the nation's progress towards a democratic and egalitarian society will be stunted.

No one can take issue with the contention that, "The press is the watchdog over the institutions of power, be they military, political, economic or social. Its job is to inform the people of the doings of their institution." However, at times, in its attempt to bring a current incident of national import to the public, the media may have gone overboard

without realising the ramifications of doing so. This was illustrated by a TV channel's overenthusiastic reporter during the tragic BDR incident on 25 February 2009. This can be put down to the ignorance of the reporter regarding the demands of conflict sensitive journalism and about everything that objective coverage of a situation like that of 25 February 2009 entails. It was heartening to see that following that incident the media, particularly the electronic media, were engaged by the military and the matter was sorted out to the satisfaction, and one might add, to the satisfaction, of all parties.

Also, in some cases, to play the watchdog role the media may step on some sensitive toes or mistakenly emphasize on a particular matter that may convey a seemingly distorted picture of the actual happenings. This too, I would like to emphasize, is done unwittingly since no newspaper would deliberately distort facts that are so manifestly clear. The media-military relationship resides in the realm of civil-military relations, and when that is handled proficiently one can manage the media and its role in the pursuit of the national aim more efficiently.

I think the tussle arises from the compulsions of the two, which are seen as being mutually exclusive. While it is the responsibility of the media to keep the public informed, it has been the military's effort to give out as little as possible. That is also a feature of the media-military relationship in other countries too. And this phenomenon, as an American scholar puts it while describing media-military relations in his country, occurs when the "members of the fourth estate seek to obtain and report the truth, while the military seek to control the flow of the truth. This tension, combined with goals and unique personality traits of those called to each profession, has been cause for a multitude of disagreements and high level of distrust."

The military psyche has been a legacy of the colonial rule that was difficult to shrug off. The military during the colonial rule was part of the colonial power, constituting a coercive arm of the state used as an instrument for suppressing the people. The Pakistan Army, before and up to 1971, displayed a similar psyche, and preferred to be treated

like a holy cow. The military was like a creature living in a watertight compartment, isolated from the outside environment, hoping that no news would prove to be good news for the media and the military. But, in fact, the underlying motivation, that created such an attitude in the first place, was perhaps an intense lack of trust in the media, either to be able to project the military in the right manner or to deliberately misproject it.

The consequence was inevitable. Lack of information was the mother of all speculations. In fact, the attempt to distance the media was seen as an effort to keep the people from knowing what the military was up to, and there was perhaps plenty to keep away from the public. In Bangladesh, the typical military psyche, inherited from the Pakistan military determined its attitude towards the media. An attitude of remaining in isolation was the order of the day, where the military was distanced not only from the media but also from the society at large during the seminal stages of our existence.

What the leadership at that time, both at the political and military levels, overlooked was the fact that information was power, and one of the four constituent elements of Grand Strategy. A classic example of not disseminating information and failing to take the media and, consequently, the public opinion along was during the early period of the counter-insurgency campaign in the CHT. Failure to keep the public informed not only hampered operations, it gave rise to many half-true and speculative reports.

However, it would be wrong to put the blame for the state of the military-media relations on the shoulders of the military alone. Misreporting, speculation, padded report by journalists with very little background knowledge of the issue, and even poorer knowledge of the military, among other things, were responsible for much of the tension between the media and the military. There is no reason why that should continue to be so.

There is no doubt that our military leadership is well aware of the fact that in the age of information technology, and in the conduct of military strategy, the mass media has been added as the tenth Principle of War. And perhaps they need no reminding what General Eisenhower had to say on the eve of the Normandy invasion. The truth that, "The first issue in military operations is that no information of value is given to the enemy. The first issue in newspaper work and broadcasting is wide-open publicity. It is your job and mine to reconcile those sometimes diverse considerations," holds even today.

And while we are sure that our military leadership will continue to reconcile the diverse requirements, the media for its part must understand the various constraints and compulsions the military has to work under. It will be well for us to remember that both, the media and the military are essential for maintaining the republican character of our state.

Summary of Interactive and Question-Answer Session

Comment 1: Professor Dr. Abul Mansoor Ahmed, Mass Communication and Journalism, Dhaka University mentioned that ISPR was born in 1972. He suggested enhancing capabilities of ISPR need to be enhanced referring to ISPR of Pakistan which is headed by Major General or Lieutenant General. Mass media depends on source, anything happens in Armed Forces, media tend to get information from ISPR as the prime source of information. As Armed Forces are very regimentative, ISPR depends to get information from the intelligence agencies of Army, Navy and Airforce and that takes time. Mass media is deadline bound. They try to get information early and that spread the rumor. Armed Forces should have specific policy to enhance the capability of ISPR and that can improve the relation between media and military. We want to see the relationship more productive and more meaningful.

Comment 2: Lieutenant Colonel Mohammed Rashidul Hasan, Director ISPR informed the house that ISPR was raised in 1972. In 1977, the strength of ISPR was increased and again capability was reduced in 1982. With that capability, it is still working. Sometimes, ISPR receives information from media. In 1972, ISPR used to work with 4 print media and 1 electronic media. Now, it is working with 28 electronic media, more than 100 print media and also online media. Regarding question of delaying information, he replied saying, ISPR is like a moon, it does not have its own light, it illuminates as per the light from Armed Forces. Sometimes, ISPR gets information from media before Armed Forces; and at times ISPR make some answer to get back to media later as the correct information is not yet received. It is the responsibilities of Armed Forces to give information correctly and timely. There are websites of ISPR now a days and lot of information can be obtained from there. Sometimes media asks for interviews. Those are processed with due procedures. Media has to understand, if they are asking for a General's interview, it is not possible to arrange in a day. There are orientation training program planned in ISPR in the first week of November. Regarding strengthening ISPR, a new organization has been prepared with northern and southern part of the country. Authority has realized that capacity of ISPR has to be enhanced. Now email and direct communication is available. Media shall get some information whenever they contact ISPR.

Comment 3: Major General Jibon Kanai Das (Retd), Former Commandant, NDC highlighted the examples of 1971 and commented that media is necessary for successful conduct of war. He emphasised bridging the gap between media personnel and military. At individual level Armed Forces personnel need to be positive. Regarding mutual respect, he reiterated that both media and military should respect each other's position.

Comment 4. Journalist Saiful Islam said that media is the fourth estate and contributing a lot through criticism. Pointing Rana Plaza incident, he commented that due to few bad follow up media coverage, Bangladesh garments earned very bad image in the international community. A few of the media shows the bad things which degrades the national image. He suggested that military has people's confidence and media is aware of it. He cited article 39 of the Constitution and expressed that media has to have freedom of expression. With that reality there should be bridge between the media and military.

Comment 5: Lecturer Nushrat Jahan Aronno, a faculty member of Mass Communication and Journalism, Bangladesh University of Professional, said that the seminar contributed in changing some of her perceptions in regards to military and media playing important cooperation and bonded relations in national security matters. Referring to the perceptions on media, like 'it is aggressive, sensational, and mundane affairs are not news'. She suggested that we need to look at how media works or conducts. Media investigates at lower level first, then it goes to upper level. Non - verbal communication at lower levels sometimes cause mistrust. She suggested that military has to be friendly with the media to have a consolidated relation.

Comment 6: Mr. Ranjit Kumar Sen, ndc, Director BPATC, commented that it is encouraging that ISPR is thinking of conducting orientation courses. However, due to the lack of appropriate media policy everything is going wrong. A sound policy may cover rules, regulation, establishment and manpower issues besides solving all other existing problems. He urged for making an appropriate media policy with a view to having a consolidated media military relations.

Comment 7: Brigadier General M Shakhawat Hossain (Retired) pointed out the fact that in Bangladesh there are so many newspapers and the knowledge of media personnel on Armed Forces are very meager. Referring to the first embedded journalist Russell Howard's writing in 1857, and frequent questions he came across from the journalists like: 'relative comparison between forces strength of Myanmar and Bangladesh', 'do we have artillery' or 'what is a tank' and so on, opined that media is not really aware about the Army, as such suggested that few of the young journalist are to be trained about the Army, their functions and other armies around. Problem is perception; problem is we are making a barrier. Only way forward is that they are aware. So it is important that a few journalists from television and newspapers should be given some orientation course on the Armed Forces and they must remain in concern desk. There also has to be regular engagements and interactions with senior editors. Lastly, the retired officers from Armed Forces in touch with media, writers or televisions may be provided with some information. This will bring interactions, enhanced mutual bondages and cooperation.

Comment 8: Professor Dr. Syed Anwar Hossain, Dhaka University, commented that, military is state sponsored institution. While media, apart from few exceptions, is mostly private. What we are thinking of is something like a public private cooperation, combination, participation and development. This is important from development perspective. There is much to get from media- military relation. There are much more to be done. He shared a personal relevant anecdotes citing his work on CHT patronized by ISPR. He emphasized revamping ISPR. ISPR should be broad based enough to get across properly to media. It may organize training for journalists. The young journalists do not have requisite experiences for them. ISPR personnel should also have sufficient grounding on media, as such, some vocational training at media houses may be organized. Above all, ISPR should have more personnel and funding.

Comment 9. Professor Rashed Al Titumir, Dhaka University, commented that media-military relationship is discussed more often focusing on operational issues. The strategic issues are missing in that discussion. How media and Armed Forces would operate in a country that depends on the political authorities. In the absence of institutional realities of the state, what can we expect? How do you decide on the defence policy? How do you decide on defence structure? How

do you communicate? If we are talking about embedded journalism, you talk about a situation where there is a check and balance between the three organs of state. We are not solving the causal issues, we tend to be circulating around operational issues. There are also tendency of modification. It is dangerous. We must not go around characteristics and features of the organized structure of the institutions of state. Armed Forces has its own structure, it cannot go around its structure. In the name of engagement, there is a danger in terms of deviation, when there is more engagement. Absolutism may have danger, and when there is two sided engagements. We have to be have a Green Book. There is a war cabinet, security adviser, National Security Council, National security Advisory Board, and engagement and over sighting institutions. So, we must talk about institutions, if there are institutions, operations will follow soon.

NDC Participants (Faculty and Staff)		
Ser	Rank and Name	Appointment
1	Lieutenant General Chowdhury Hasan Sarwardy, BB, SBP, BSP, ndc, psc, PhD	Commandant
2	Rear Admiral Muhammad Anwarul Islam, NGP, ndc, afwc, psc, BN	Senior Directing Staff (Navy)
3	Air Vice Marshal M Sanaul Huq, GUP, ndc, psc, GD(P)	Senior Directing Staff (Air)
4	Major General S M Shafiuddin Ahmed, ndu, psc	Senior Directing Staff (Army)
5	Maj Gen Md Mizanur Rahman Khan, ndc, afwc, psc	College Secretary
6	Brigadier General Abu Taher Muhammad Ibrahim, ndc	Senior Directing Staff (Army)
7	Additional Secretary Shahid Hasan, ndc	Senior Directing Staff (Civil)
8	Director General Shah Ahmed Shafi, ndc	Senior Directing Staff (FA)
9	Brigadier General Mohammad Mahbubul Haq, PBGM, ndc, afwc, psc	Chief Instructor, AFWC
10	Brigadier General Md Mahbubul Haque ndc, afwc, psc	Directing Staff (Army)
11	Brigadier General Hasan Md Shamsuddin, afwc, psc	Directing Staff (Army)
12	Brigadier General Md Rafiqul Islam, SUP, ndc, afwc, psc,	Directing Staff (Army)
13	Commodore Khondkar Misbah-Ul-Azim, (TAS), afwc, psc, BN	Directing Staff (Navy)
14	Gp Capt M Mustafizur Rahman,afwc,psc,GD (P)	Directing Staff (Air)
15	Colonel Sajjad Hossain, psc	Colonel Administration
16	Colonel Abdul Motaleb Sazzad Mahmud, afwc, psc	Directing Staff (Army)
17	Colonel A K M Fazlur Rahman, afwc, psc	Director (Research & Academic)

18	Colonel Muhammad Ali Talukder, afwc, psc	Directing Staff (Army)
19	Lieutenant Colonel Khandoker Anisur Rahman, psc, G+, Arty	Senior Research Fellow
20	Lieutenant Colonel Syed Jamil Ahsan, afwc, psc	General Staff Officer-1(Training)
21	Lieutenant Colonel A N M Foyezur Rahman, psc, Engrs	Senior Research Fellow
22	Lieutenant Colonel Md Anwar Hossain Bhuiyan, psc, Arty	GSO-1 (Administration)
23	Major Md Saiful Islam, psc, ASC	Mechanical Transport Officer
24	Major Md Masud Amin, Inf	General Staff Officer-2 (Administration)
25	Major Quazi Habibullah, psc, E Bengal	GSO-2 (Coord), AFWC Wing
26	Major Mohammad Tanvir Hasan Chowdhury, AEC	GSO-2 (Staff Duty)
27	Major Md Monowarul Karim, GL, Inf	GSO-2 (Accounts)
28	Major A S M Khairul Hasan, psc, Arty	General Staff Officer-2 (Planning & Coordination)
29	Major A B M Zahidul Karim, AC	Quarter Master
30	Major Tahmina Haque Munia, Sigs	GSO-2 (Network Administration)
31	Major Humaon Kabir, Inf	GSO-2 (Coordination)
32	Squadron Leader Mohammad Iqram Hossain, Edn, BAF	GSO-2 (Protocol)
33	Lieutenant Commander Israth Zahan, (ND), BN	GSO-2 (Training Support)
34	Senior Assistant Secretary Md Ismail Hossain	Research Coordinator
35	Flying Officer Sadia Monsur, Admin	GSO-3 (AFWC Wing)
36	Lecturer (English) Farhana Binte Aziz	Research Fellow (BCS Education)
37	Md Nazrul Islam	Assistant Director (Library)

NDC Participants (Course Members of National Defence Course-2017)

Ser	Rank	Name	Country
Allied Course Members			
1.	Staff Colonel	Amir Gouda Moussa El Sayed	Egypt
2.	Air Commodore	Mohan Gupta, VM	India
3.	Brigadier	Dheerendra Singh Kushwah, SM	India
4.	Commodore	Mahadevu Goverdhan Raju, NM	India
5.	Colonel	Rudy Adrianto, S.E	Indonesia
6.	Staff Colonel	Talhah Bin Obaydullah Al-Ahmmdi	KSA
7.	Captain	Mohammed Misfer Al-Otaibi	KSA
8.	Captain	Azhar bin Adam	Malaysia
9.	Brigadier	Nirmal Kumar Thapa	Nepal
10.	Colonel	Nash Yakubu	Nigeria
11.	Colonel	David Gyobe Allu	Nigeria
12.	Colonel	Adeyinka Ayodeji Adereti	Nigeria
13.	Colonel	Mohammad Idris Abdulkadir	Nigeria
14.	Colonel	Muhammad Takuti Usman	Nigeria
15.	Captain (NN)	Kem Kelechi Iheanacho	Nigeria
16.	Captain (NN)	Sunday Adoyi Yahaya	Nigeria
17.	Group Captain	Nazib Mohammad Aliyu	Nigeria
18.	Group Captain	Precious Namdi Amadi	Nigeria
19.	Group Captain	Ahmed Yousuf Dari	Nigeria
20.	Group Captain	Mohammed Said Al Harrasi	Oman
21.	Commodore (Ops)	Rahat Ahmad Awan SI(M), nswc, psn	Pakistan
22.	Brigadier	J C Gamage, psc	Sri Lanka
23.	Commodore	Wijessoriya Mudiyanselage Senarath Chandratissa	Sri Lanka
24.	Air Commodore	Camillus Bertram Labrooy, WWV, RSP, USP, MMS, HDMC, psc	Sri Lanka
25.	Colonel	Jeffrey P. Gottlieb	USA

Ser	Rank	Name	
26.	Senior Colonel	Ibrahim Moussa	Niger
27.	Colonel	AC Sibuti, psc, hcds	Tanzania

Ser	Rank	Name
Bangladesh Army - Course Members		
28.	Brigadier General	Md Gazi Ferooz Rahman
29.	Brigadier General	Md Sanaul Haque, SGP, psc
30.	Brigadier General	Ahmedul Kabir
31.	Brigadier General	Md Bayezid Sarwar
32.	Brigadier General	Asif Ahmed Ansari, afwc, psc
33.	Brigadier General	Md Sajjad Hossain, BSP, psc
34.	Brigadier General	Sultanuzzaman Md Saleh Uddin
35.	Brigadier General	Md Nazmul Alam, hdmc, psc
36.	Brigadier General	ASM Mahmood Hasan, psc
37.	Brigadier General	M Masud Ahmed, psc
38.	Brigadier General	Mamun Mahmud Firoz Chowdhury, G
39.	Brigadier General	S. M. Mahbub-Ul-Alam, OSP, SGP, psc
40.	Brigadier General	Shaikh Muhammad Rizwan Ali, psc, te
41.	Brigadier General	Salim Mahmud Chowdhury, BP, BGBM
42.	Brigadier General	Mustafa Kamal Rusho, psc, G
43.	Brigadier General	Khondoker Farid Hassan, PBGM (BAR)
44.	Brigadier General	Md Zahirul Islam, psc
45.	Brigadier General	Nahidul Islam Khan, BSP, psc
46.	Brigadier General	Mohammad Shaheenul Haque, hdmc, psc
47.	Brigadier General	Md. Sazzad Hussain, afwc, psc
48.	Brigadier General	Shams Alauddin Ahmed
49.	Brigadier General	Md Tazul Islam Thakur, afwc, psc, G
50.	Brigadier General	Md Khled-Al-Mamun, psc
51.	Brigadier General	Taef Ul Haq, psc, G
52.	Brigadier General	Abdul Quayyum Mollah, psc

Ser	Rank	Name
53.	Brigadier General	Md Sanuwar Uddin, psc
54.	Brigadier General	Iqbal Ahmed, afwc, psc
55.	Brigadier General	Md Muhsin Alam, psc
56.	Brigadier General	Md Habib Ullah, SPP, afwc, psc

Ser	Rank	Name
Bangladesh Navy - Course Members		
57.	Commodore	Salim Reza Haroon, (G), PCGM, afwc, psc, BN
58.	Commodore	Abu Nasar Muhammad Rezaul Huq, (S), afwc, psc, BN
59.	Commodore	Mohammad Nazmul Hassan, (N), NPP, ncc, psc, BN
60.	Commodore	Abu Mohammad Quamrul Huq, (ND), NGP, afwc, psc, BN
61.	Commodore	Mohammad Anwar Hossain, (ND), afwc, psc, BN
Bangladesh Air Force - Course Members		
62.	Air Commodore	Qazi Mazharul Karim, BUP, psc, GD(P)
63.	Air Commodore	M Khalid Hossain, fawc, psc, GD(P)
64.	Group Captain	Abdullah Al Farooq, psc, GD(N)
65.	Group Captain	A K M Enayetul Kabir, Engg
66.	Group Captain	Mridha Md Ekramuzzaman, afwc, psc, Engg
Bangladesh Civil Service - Course Members		
67.	Joint Secretary	Syed Mizanur Rahman
68.	Joint Secretary	Md Taslimul Islam
69.	Joint Secretary	Sakeun Nahar Begum
70.	Joint Secretary	Md Hasanul Islam
71.	Joint Secretary	Khondoker Mostafizur Rahman
72.	Joint Secretary	Md Abdul Karim
73.	Joint Secretary	Md Mashiur Rahman
74.	Joint Secretary	Md Abu Bakar Siddique
75.	Joint Secretary	Md Nuruzzaman Sharif
76.	Joint Secretary	Salima Sultana

Ser	Rank	Name
77.	Joint Secretary	Abul Kalam Khan
78.	Director General	Md Tauhedul Islam
79.	Deputy Inspector General	Md. Shamsuddin
80.	Deputy Inspector General	Biswas Afzal Hossain

NDC Participants (Course Members of Armed Forces War Course-2017)

Ser	Rank	Name
Bangladesh Army - Course Members		
1.	Lieutenant Colonel	Md Khairuzzaman Mollah, SUP, psc, AC
2.	Lieutenant Colonel	A K M Kayes, psc, AC
3.	Lieutenant Colonel	Md Abul Kalam Sumsuddin Rana, psc, G, Arty
4.	Lieutenant Colonel	Md Khurshid Alam, psc, G, Arty
5.	Lieutenant Colonel	A S M Badiul Alam, psc, G+, Arty
6.	Lieutenant Colonel	Mohammad Reazul Kabir, psc, G, Arty
7.	Lieutenant Colonel	Shah Zulfikar Ali, psc, Arty
8.	Lieutenant Colonel	S M Merazul lslam, psc, Engrs
9.	Lieutenant Colonel	Muhammad Saifur Rahman, psc, Engrs
10.	Lieutenant Colonel	Mohammad Shofiul Azam, SUP, psc, Engrs
11.	Lieutenant Colonel	Md Monowarul lslam Sarder, SPP, psc, Engrs
12.	Lieutenant Colonel	Md Aminul Hoque, psc, Sigs
13.	Lieutenant Colonel	Ekram Ahmed Bhuyan, psc, Sigs
14.	Lieutenant Colonel	A B M Abdul Batin Imani, psc, Inf
15.	Lieutenant Colonel	M Imran Hamid, psc, Inf
16.	Lieutenant Colonel	Fida Mahmud, psc, Inf
17.	Lieutenant Colonel	Md Shawkat Osman, psc, Inf
18.	Lieutenant Colonel	Mohammad Mohtashim Hyder Chowdhury, psc, Inf
19.	Lieutenant Colonel	Mahmud Mawla Don, psc, Inf
20.	Lieutenant Colonel	Mohammed Mazhar AI Kabir, psc, Inf
21.	Lieutenant Colonel	Muhammad Ali Haider Siddiqui, SBP, psc, Inf

Ser	Rank	Name
22.	Lieutenant Colonel	Munsi Mohammad Anik Bin Ashraf, psc, Inf
23.	Lieutenant Colonel	Sohel Ahmed, psc, Inf
24.	Lieutenant Colonel	Md Sajjad Hossain, psc , ASC
25.	Lieutenant Colonel	Md Abdullah AI Mamun, psc , Ord
Bangladesh Navy - Course Members		
26.	Captain	A K M Jakir Hossain, (N) , psc, BN
27.	Commander	Kutub Uddin Mohammad Amanat Ullah, (G), psc, BN
28.	Commander	Mostafa Zillur Rahim khan, (TAS), psc, BN
29.	Commander	Mohammad Kibria Haq, (TAS) PCGMS, psc, BN
30.	Commander	Mohammad Ismail Arman (S), psc, BN
Bangladesh Air Force - Course Members		
31.	Group Captain	Syed Sayeedur Rahman. BUP, psc, GD (p)
32.	Group Captain	MD Abdullah Al Mamun, psc, GD (P)
33.	Group Captain	MD Asadul Karim, psc,GD (P)
34.	Group Captain	Md Rabiul Hasan, psc, ADWC
35.	Wing Commander	MD Sajjad Hossain, psc, ATC

Keynote Persenters

Ser	Name	Rank/Designation	Organization
1	Group Captain Md Asadul Karim afwc, psc, GD(P)	Course Member of Armed Forces War Course-2017	NDC
2	Captain A K M Jakir Hossain (N), afwc, psc, BN	Course Member of Armed Forces War Course-2017	NDC
3	Lieutenant Colonel Munsi Mohammad Anik Bin Ashraf, afwc, psc, Inf	Course Member of Armed Forces War Course-2017	NDC
4	Lieutenant Colonel Mohammad Mohtashim Hyder Chowdhury afwc, psc, Inf	Course Member of Armed Forces War Course-2017	NDC

Ser	Name	Rank/Designation	Organization
5	Major General Md Sarwar Hossain, BSP, ndc, hdmc, psc PhD	Military Secretary to the Hon'ble President	President's Office, Bangabhaban
6	Brigadier General Shahedul Anam Khan, ndc, psc (Retd)	Editor, Defense & Strategic Affairs	The Daily Star
7	Ms. Farzana Brownia	Chairman	Shonokishoree Foundation

List of Outside Participants

Ser	Names	Appoinment/ Designation	Organization
1	Commander Mohammad Shaheen Majeed	GSO-1 (Media)	Armed Forces Division
2	Brigadier General Mohammad Omar Zahid, ndc, psc		Army Headquarters (AHQ)
3	Brigadier General Md. Anisur Rahman	Director, Staff Duties	AHQ
4	Brigadier General Fakhrul	Director, Military Intelligence	AHQ
5	Colonel Md Muniruzzaman, psc, Engrs	Chief Instructor, MES Training Cell	AHQ
6	Colonel Kazi Mahfuzur Rahman, afwc, psc	Military Operation Directorate	AHQ
7	Lieutenant Colonel Molla Mohammad Kamruzzaman		AHQ
8	Major Md. Ekhlasur Rahman	Overseas Operation Directorate	AHQ
9	Captain Nizamul Haque	Drafting Commander	Naval Headquarters (NHQ)
10	Captain Sheikh Firoz Ahmed	Director, Hydrography	NHQ

11	Air Commodore Md Al Amin Talukder, ndu, ndc, psc		Air Headquarters (Air HQ)
12	Group Captain S.M Muied Hossain, afwc, psc		(Air HQ)
13	Group Captain Haider Abdullah, ndc, fawc, psc	Director of Recruit	(Air HQ)
14	Group Captain Munim Khan Majlish		(Air HQ)
15	Colonel Md Selim		Director General of Forces Intelligence (DGFI)
16	Commodore M Anamul Haque	Director, Research and Development Bureau	DGFI
17	Major General Md Shamsul Alam	Director General	National Security Intelligence (NSI)
18	Brigadier General Md. Zakir Hossain, ndc, psc	Director (CTAC)	NSI
19	Brigadier General Shahriar Ahmed Chowdhury, ndc, psc	Additional Director General (Administration)	Border Guard Bangladesh (BGB)
20	Colonel Md. Shahriar Rashid, psc	Deputy Director General	BGB
21	Lieutenant Colonel Md. Najrul Islam	Director (Training)	BGB
22	Commodore Mir Imdadul Haque, ndc, psc	Deputy Director General	Coast Guard
23	Commander Sanaul Noman	Judge Advocate General	Coast Guard
24	Md Mohsin Hossain, ndc	Additional Inspector General of Police	Police HQ
25	Benazir Ahmed, BPM (BAR)	Director General	RAB Forces
26	Colonel Md. Anwar Latif Khan	Additional Director General (Operations)	RAB Forces

27	Deputy Inspector General Zamil Ahmed	Additional Director General (Administration)	RAB Forces
28	Commander Mufti Mahmud	Director (Legal and Media)	RAB Forces
29	Major General Golam Rahman		President Guard Regiment
30	Md. Hasan Nahid Chowdhury	Director (Academic)	Police Staff College
31	Md. Masud Karim	Director (Training)	Police Staff College
32	Professor Syed Anwar Hussain	Professor	Dhaka University
33	Major General Md Rafiqul Islam, ndc, psc (Retd)		
34	Major General Jiban Kanai Das, ndu, psc (Retd)	Former Commandant	NDC
35	Brigadier General A K M Farid Uddin, ndc, psc (Retd)	Former Faculty Member	NDC
36	Brigadier General Ferdous Hasan Khan, ndc, psc (Retd)	Former Faculty Member	NDC
37	Brigadier General A S M Mustafa Kamal Khan, ndc, psc (Retd)	Former Faculty Member	NDC
38	Brigadier General Md. Anisuzzaman Bhuiyan, ndc, psc (Retd)	Former Faculty Member	NDC
39	Brigadier General Md. Latiful Haider, ndc, psc (Retd)	Former Faculty Member	NDC
40	Commodore K M Ahmed, G, ncc, psc, BN (Retd)	Former Faculty Member	NDC
41	Air Commoodre Ishfaq llahi Chowdhury, ndc, psc (Retd)	Former Faculty Member	NDC

42	Additional Secretary A F M Nurus Safa Chowdhury, ndc (Retd)	Former Faculty Member	NDC
43	Additional Secretary Nurjahan Begum, ndc (Retd)	Former Faculty Member	NDC
44	Brigadier General Md Mahbubul Alam, afwc, psc	Former Faculty Member	NDC
45	Md. Masum Khan	Joint Secretary,	Ministry of Defence
46	Ferdousi Shahriar	Director General (EP)	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
47	Md. Mizan-Ul-Alam	Joint Secretary	Ministry of Information
48	Md. Mosharraf Hossain	Additional Secretary	Ministry of Information
49	Md. Kamal Hossain	Joint Secretary	University Grant Commission (UGC)
50	Md. Omar Faruque	Additional Director	UGC
51	Nazmul Arifeen	Research Fellow	Bangladesh Institute of International & Strategic Studies (BIISS)
52	Moutusj Islam	Research Officer	BIISS
53	Kamuar Nahar	Principal Information Officer	Press Information Department (PID)
54	M Saifullah	Deputy Press Information Officer	PID
55	Rifat Zafreen	Senior Information Officer	PID

56	Md. Zahidul Islam	Executives Producer (News)	Bangladesh Television (BTV)
57	Mohammed Nasir Uddin	Deputy Director General (News)	BTV
58	Nasir Ahmed	Director (News)	BTV
59	Anwara Begum	Director	Press Institute of Bangladesh (PIB)
60	Quamrun Nahar	Assistant Professor	PIB
61	Additionall Secretary Ranit Kumar Sen, ndc	Member Directing Staff	Bangladesh Public Administration Training Centre (BPATC)
62	Md. Abul Basher	Deputy Director	BPATC
63	Lieutenant Colonel Md Rashidul Hasan	Director	Inter Service Press Release
64	Captain M Shafiul Bari	Senior Instructor (Navy)	Defence Services Command & Staff College (DSCSC)
65	Group Captain Mohammad Moyeen Uddin	Senior Instructor (Academic)	DSCSC
66	Group Captain Md Afzal Hossain	Senior Instructor, Computer Science & Engineering Department	Military Institute of Science & Technology
67	Commodore Syed Misbahuddin Ahmed	Dean	Bangladesh University of Professionals (BUP)
68	Air Commodore M Aminul Islam, afwc, psc	Chief, Public Relation, Information & Publication	BUP
69	Colonel Md. ShameemYazdany	Faculty of Medical Studies	BUP

70	Colonel Abu Saleh Md. Rafiqul Islam	Centre for Modern Language	BUP
71	Captain Md. Shahid Iqbal	Director, Centre for Higher Studies & Research	BUP
72	Lieutenant Colonel Md. Kawsar Ali Sarker		BUP
73	Nuzaira Tarannum	Lecturer, Dept of Mass Communication and Journalism	BUP
74	Sidratul Safayet Daniel	Student	BUP
75	Tabassum Nuha	Student	BUP
76	Rashed Al Mahmud Titumir	Professor, Department of Development Studies	Dhaka University
77	Dr. Abul Mansur Ahmed	Professor, Department of Mass Communication & Journalism	Dhaka University
78	Ms. Suriya Begum	Associate Professor	Dhaka University
79	Marzia Rahman	Lecturer	Dhaka University
80	Md. Asaduzzaman	Lecturer	Dhaka University
81	Tahmina Haque	Lecturer	Dhaka University
82	Meer Jubayer Hosain	Student	Dhaka University
83	Md Abdul Karim	Student	Dhaka University
84	Md Uzzal Miah	Student	Dhaka University
85	Md. Rafiqul Islam	Associate Professor, Department of Mass Communication & Journalism	Jagannath University
86	Ibrahim bin Harun	Lecturer, Department of Mass Communication & Journalism	Jagannath University

87	Md Zakaria Khan	Lecturer, Department of Mass Communication & Journalism	Jagannath University
88	Hasan Morshed	Student, Department of Mass Communication & Journalism	Jagannath University
89	Suraiya Ali Urmi	Student, Department of Mass Communication & Journalism	Jagannath University
90	Sheikh Adnan Fahad	Assistant Professor, Department of Journalism and Media Studies	Jahangir Nagar University
91	Nishat Parvez	Lecturer, Department of Journalism and Media Studies	Jahangir Nagar University
92	Professor Abu Taher	Professor	Open University
93	ABM Mahbub Hossain	Associate Professor	Education Directorate
94	Mr. Motiur Rahman	Editor	Prothom Alo
95	Ferdous Mobarak	Chief News Editor	Asian Age
96	Jamil Mahmud		Daily Star
97	Ilias Mahmud		Janakantha
98	Rumi Talukder		ETV
99	Sahadat Hossain		Jamuna TV
100	A Salam Ripon		News 24
101	Md Bashir Uddin		RTV
102	Shahnawaz Riton		SA TV
103	Mahmud Rakib		Shomoy TV

104	Sadia Nusrat	Student	Mirpur Cantonment Public School & College (MCPSC)
105	Ramisa Rukaiya	Student	MCPSC
106	Labiba Yousuf	Student	MCPSC
107	Saimoon Islam	Student	MCPSC
108	Kashfia Srabonty	Student	MCPSC
109	Iftekhar Matin	Student	MCPSC
110	Sudipto Debanath	Student	MCPSC
111	Hamim Sheikh	Student	MCPSC
112	Quazi Rafiqul Hafiz	Student	MCPSC
	Akib Iqbal	Student	MCPSC

Moderator/Coordinators			
1	Air Vice Marshal M Sanaul Huq, GUP, ndc, psc, GD (P)	Senior Directing Staff (Air), NDC	Moderator
2	Brigadier General Md Rafiqul Islam, SUP, ndc, afwc, psc,	Directing Staff (Army), NDC	Sponsor Directing Staff for the Seminar
3	Colonel A K M Fazlur Rahman, afwc, psc	Director, Research & Academic, NDC	Chief Coordinator
4	Lieutenant Colonel A N M Foyezur Rahman psc, Engrs	Senior Research Fellow, NDC	Associate Coordinator
5	Md Nazrul Islam	Assistant Director (Library), NDC	Assistant Coordinator
6	Lecturer Farhana Binte Aziz	Research Fellow, NDC	Assistant Coordinator