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**Online Seminar on
Global Stability, Security and
Prosperity after COVID-19**

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**NATIONAL DEFENCE COLLEGE
BANGLADESH**

**Online Seminar on
Global Stability, Security and
Prosperity after COVID-19**



**Organized for
National Defence Course 2020 and
Armed Forces War Course 2020
by National Defence College
on 06 December 2020**



**NATIONAL DEFENCE COLLEGE
BANGLADESH**

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Foreword

The outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic is considered an acute public health and economic crisis of the 21st century that has disrupted the global order. The Novel Corona Virus has emerged as a massive strategic shock that could overturn the already struggling international system. As millions of people worldwide had been infected by the virus, the pandemic has triggered health insecurity, food insecurity, and economic insecurity among almost all the countries of the world among many others in South Asia.

It has profound impact on every sector of human activities ranging from the economic to environment. Uncoordinated decisions on a country by country basis disrupt the movement of both people and goods. As a result of the pandemic, the global economy is projected to contract sharply. Several industries have been adversely impacted due to the spread of COVID-19 globally. Global manufacturing declines, tourism and related businesses decline sharply, and tourism-based businesses and regions suffer. Global GDP stagnates, international trade falls, and there is a distinct possibility of global recession.

Therefore, there is a need for a critical study of the implications of the COVID-19 pandemic for human security in order to measure the emerging theoretical and policy issues in the region and beyond. Immediate measures should be taken to articulate a comprehensive strategy for how the world can defeat the novel coronavirus and bring about a renaissance for a new and adapted global system, mitigate the impact of COVID-19 and recover from the crisis as soon as possible.

However, it is my pleasure to pen this foreword for the proceedings on “Global Stability, Security and prosperity after COVID-19”. I would like to thank the faculty members and college staff for their tireless effort in organizing the seminar and making it a success. Finally, I appreciate the sincere efforts of the Research and Academic Wing and acknowledge the solemn endeavor of the editorial board to bring out the seminar paper.



Lieutenant General Md Akbar Hossain, SBP, SUP(BAR), afwc, psc, G+, PhD
Commandant
National Defence College

Editorial

At this moment we are facing an unprecedented global health crisis in the 100-year history, one that is killing people, spreading human suffering, and upending people's lives. But this is much more than a health crisis. It is rather a human, economic and social crisis. The COVID-19 pandemic is inflicting high and rising human costs worldwide, and the necessary protection measures are severely impacting economic activity.

As the COVID-19 virus spreads globally, economic paralysis and unemployment follow in its wake. But the economic fallout of the pandemic in most emerging and developing economies like Bangladesh is likely to be far worse than that in developed countries like China, Europe, or the United States. With inadequate health-care systems, limited capacity to deliver fiscal or monetary stimulus, and underdeveloped social-safety nets, the emerging and developing world is on the tip not only of a humanitarian crisis, but also of the most serious financial crisis since the World War II.

COVID-19 has diverse security implications across the globe. The devastating effects of the pandemic have no regard of national boundary. It rather stands to affect everyone, every country. Therefore, remedies also call for collective efforts necessitating public awareness and public health care in the very first place. Urgent and bold policy measures are needed, not only to contain the pandemic and save lives, but also to protect the most vulnerable in our societies from economic ruin and to sustain economic growth and financial stability.

In fine, I convey sincere thanks and deep felicitation to all concerned for their invaluable efforts and delicate suggestions in enriching the paper. Moreover, I would like to thank "Editorial Board" for their relentless support and assistance to publish this paper. I pledge to continue this endeavor to introduce more diverse and newer topics to the potential readers.



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Overview of the Seminar

NDC arranges a good number of seminars for the course members. The seminar on “Global Stability, Security and Prosperity after COVID-19” was held on 06 December 2020” as part of the course curricula of National Defence Course and Armed Forces War Course 2020. Considering the COVID-19 Pandemic situation, the seminar was held online.

H.E. Dr. A. K. Abdul Momen, MP, Hon’ble Minister, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Govt. of the People’s Republic of Bangladesh graced the seminar as the chief guest. The participants of the seminar include members from different national and international organizations, universities, media, faculty and course members of both National Defence Course and Armed Forces War Course 2020. The seminar was conducted in two sessions. In the first session, the panelists presented their keynote speech on three different sub-themes followed by interactive session each.

The seminar started with the opening address by the Commandant NDC, Lieutenant General Ataul Hakim Sarwar Hasan, SBP, SGP, ndc, afwc, psc, PhD. Dr. Mohammed Farashuddin, Former Governor, Bangladesh Bank acted as the session chair during the seminar. Professor Shahab Enam Khan, Department of International Relations, Jahangirnagar University presented Keynote paper on “Diplomatic Problems in the Post-Covid Age of Globalization” on behalf of Professor Joseph M. Siracusa, Department. of Political History and International Security, Curtin University, Perth, Australia. Dr. Ahmed Mushtaque Reza Chowdhury, Former Vice Chairperson, BRAC presented keynote paper on “COVID-19 and the Future of Healthcare in Bangladesh” and Md. Abul Kalam Azad, Former Principal Secretary & Principal Coordinator (SDG Cell) at Prime Minister’s Office presented keynote paper on “Challenges and Opportunities for Achieving SDGs during and after COVID-19: Policy Option for Bangladesh”. In the interactive sessions critique groups provided their comments and suggestions to the respective panelists.

Professor Dr. Imtiaz Ahmed, Department of International Relations, University of Dhaka moderated the sessions.

The topic of the seminar was very contemporary having a great effect on health security, economic security as well as the national security and development in all possible dimensions equally applicable to Bangladesh as well as other developing and the developed countries of the world. The presentation and the discussion session contributed a lot to fulfil the aim of the seminar. The queries from the audience were subtly and holistically answered by the presenters. In short the seminar offered a number of thought provoking insights into the subject.

Executive Summary

Introduction

National Defence College organized a seminar on “Global Stability, Security and Prosperity after COVID-19” on 06 December 2020 as part of course curricula of National Defence Course and Armed Forces War Course 2020. H.E. Dr. A. K. Abdul Momen, MP, Honorable Minister, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of the People’s Republic of Bangladesh, graced the seminar as the chief guest.

Conduct of the Seminar

The seminar was conducted in one session with three sub themes. Professor Joseph M Siracusa, Department of Political History and International Security, Curtin University, Australia and Professor Shahab Enam Khan, Department of International Relations, Jahangirnagar University jointly presented the keynote paper on the sub theme-1 “Diplomatic Problems in the Post-Covid Age of Globalization”. Dr. Ahmed Mushtaque Reza Chowdhury, Former Vice Chair Person, BRAC and Md. Abul Kalam Azad, Former Principal Secretary and Principal Coordinator (SDG Cell) at Prime Minister’s Office presented keynote papers on “COVID-19 and the Future of Healthcare in Bangladesh” and “Challenges and Opportunities for Achieving SDGs during and after COVID-19: Policy Options for Bangladesh” respectively. Each presentation was followed by an Interactive Session. The seminar session was moderated by Professor Dr. Imtiaz Ahmed, Department of International Relations, University of Dhaka.

Findings of the Seminar

COVID-19 has been considered the most critical contemporary Global phenomenon having severe impacts on global security and stability. Considering the multifarious implications of the Pandemic, the keynote speakers presented their individual views from different perspectives. The major findings are:

Session-1: Keynote Paper-1: “Diplomatic Problems in the Post-COVID Age of Globalization” jointly presented by Professor Joseph M Siracusa, and Professor Shahab Enam Khan.

- Diplomacy has become something much more than the diplomacy of states and governments in the era of globalization and states have been forced to change their diplomatic practices, both institutionally and externally.
- For the South Asian countries, the need for public diplomacy to acquire common good has been more apparent during the COVID-19 pandemic that can accelerate the climate crisis, widen economic inequality and give a political space for rising authoritarianism-demanding multilateral cooperation. Hence, the infrastructure of diplomacy needs to be revisited.
- Though the South Asian response to the coronavirus pandemic has exposed the shortcomings of foreign policy, the countries undertook proactive diplomacy, made prudent investments in early warning systems, and reached out for deeper engagement with an international partner. Hence, COVID-diplomacy and post-COVID diplomacy have become a crucial component for the South Asian countries.
- COVID-19 will be considered as a salient feature of the twenty-first-century history that cannot be addressed by military or nationalist might alone. Diplomacy, both traditional and military, should be the primary instrument for countries such as Bangladesh because it is the most effective tool for advancing Bangladesh’s national interests and social priorities.
- Globalization has rendered the world more sensitive to sudden crises such as financial meltdowns and pandemics. The shifting terrain of global relations virtually ensures that security issues of any kind can appear unexpectedly, and rapidly change in shape and scope.
- The scope of human security fitted well with objectives outlined in the UN’s Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). By putting people and their immediate needs at the forefront, the MDGs reshaped decision-making in developed and developing countries alike.

- In September 2015, the UN General Assembly adopted Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) building on the principle of “leaving no one behind,” while emphasizing a holistic approach to achieving sustainable development for all.
- The issue of measuring progress and the absence of chronic liability for inputs at all levels pose major challenges to meet the SDGs. The maintenance of peace through diplomacy in a universe where inequalities run deep, progress is uneven, and the poor remain overwhelmingly concentrated in some part of the world remains another challenge that needs to be addressed.
- The threat to international peace and stability by non-state actors continues to pose a major obstacle for both the Global North and Global South. The United Nations estimates that since the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020, an additional 247 million souls are marching toward hunger and starvation.
- The post-Cold War decades opened diplomatic avenues that were at once unfamiliar and complex. Into this dangerous and uncertain world, there emerged a new era of great-power competition. The components of this international system were much more varied, and the line ups much more difficult to control than in the Cold War.
- The new era evoked the recurrence of the multi-polarity that had marked global politics. Recent years have witnessed individualistic, self-interested actions in international politics that have shaped the current diplomatic landscape.
- Smaller states often have few options besides multilateralism, but new challenges and threats particularly affecting the security of all the major players might require a new diplomatic approach.
- New challenges, including those posed by the lack of international consensus in the post-COVID-19 world, might well lead to new forms of multilateralism and new bargains among the Great Powers exclusively.

- The Centre for Preventative Action's annual Preventative Priorities Survey (PPS) assesses ongoing and potential conflicts based on the likelihood of occurring in the near term and the contingency identified are-
 - Armed confrontation between Iran and the United States or one of its allies over Iran's involvement in regional conflicts and support of militant proxy groups.
 - A severe crisis on the Korean Peninsula following the collapse of the U.S. - North Korea denuclearization talks and renewed long-range missile testing.
 - An armed confrontation over disputed maritime areas in the South China Sea between China and one or more Southeast Asian claimant (Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Taiwan, and Vietnam).
 - A severe crisis between Russia and Ukraine following increased fighting in eastern Ukraine or a military clash in contested areas. A secondary concern is a deliberate or unintended confrontation between Russia and NATO members.
 - Stemming from assertive Russian behavior in Eastern Europe and halting the spread of nuclear weapons.
- The third decade of the 21st Century has reached a critical juncture where the nuclear rules of the road are gone, and Nuclear Weapons States are rushing to modernize their weapons and delivery systems including hypersonic vehicles.
- British diplomat Jeremy Greenstock implies that diplomacy and war remain two sides of the same coin, and that without the most incredible attention to the former, one could – and should – expect violence to resolve the great issues of the day. Therefore, serious attention should be given to diplomacy that is the first and last line of defence against disaster.

Session-2: Keynote Paper-2: “COVID-19 and the Future of Healthcare in Bangladesh” presented by Dr. Ahmed Mushtaque Reza Chowdhury.

- Bangladesh’s progress in some of its socio-economic development indicators has become a subject of global interest as Bangladesh is proudly moving forward weathering all the odds. Bangladesh has done exceptionally well in some areas e.g. increased life expectancy, reduced infant mortality rate, decreased maternal mortality ratio and so on though the decline in some other rates such as neonatal mortality (NNM) has been modest.
- Like most other countries, COVID-19 has taken our health systems by surprise and both the number of infections and deaths have been steadily increasing. In combating the Pandemic , India, Bangladesh and Pakistan are much behind the Southeast Asian countries like Sri Lanka, Thailand, Vietnam and Cambodia because their governments have prepared their populations and health systems better and well ahead of time.
- The COVID-19 have had very limited impacts in both Thailand and Cambodia for the participation of the greater community in the fight against the disease. Thailand has institutionalized the participation of the people in health matters through constitutional reforms by creating a National health Assembly and an independent National Health Commission.
- Poor management and governance, less priority for primary health care (PHC), shortage of appropriate health human resources, unregulated private sector, abysmally low Government. investment on health, inadequate research and lack of community involvement are some of the loose ends of our healthcare system as exposed by COVID-19 Crisis.
- It is the right time for Bangladesh to consider reforms for our health systems ensuring Universal Health Coverage (UHC) like UK and other Western countries. The health, economic and political benefits of introducing Universal Health Coverage (UHC) reforms in Bangladesh include:

- Improving health indicators to achieve the SDGs.
- Stimulating economic growth through improved human capital.
- Reducing and potentially eradicating poverty caused by health care costs in Bangladesh
- Enabling Bangladesh to achieve UHC before India and Pakistan in the next 20 years.

Session-3: Keynote Paper-3: “Challenges and Opportunities for Achieving SDGs during and after COVID-19: Policy Options for Bangladesh” presented by Md. Abul Kalam Azad.

Bangladesh is going through a rapid transformation and is on the way to become a dazzling Delta, the “Golden Bengal” of the Father of the Nation Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. With the remarkable socio-economic development, Bangladesh fulfilled all three parameters of achieving MDGs (Gross National Income, Human Asset Index and Economic Vulnerability Index) at a time in 2018 and graduated from Lower Income Country to Middle income Country.

Major SDG Implementation Strategy of Bangladesh: Bangladesh is marching towards achieving the SDGs following the principle of “Leaving No One Behind”. Hence the first SDG implementation strategy of Bangladesh includes identifying the area which is lagging behind. Some laws are enacted addressing rights of the persons with disabilities. A good number of human development programs and different types of support programs to ensure mainstreaming activities of supporting vulnerability have been introduced. Moreover, e-banking and mobile financing, union digital center along with ‘e-post’ office provide services for the local level people.

Achievement of Bangladesh: On the way to implementation of SDGs, Bangladesh showed remarkable progress in some areas like the proportion of population living below the national poverty line, proportion of population using safely managed drinking water services, proportion of population with access to electricity, renewable energy share in the total energy consumption, unemployment, total government revenue as a proportion of GDP etc.

Important areas to work in the process of SDG implementation: Data is one of the most important areas to work which is needed for fixing the targets, implementation and monitoring process of SDGs implementation and the government took very serious initiative on having this SDG related data collection. Another important area is financing. Bangladesh needs about 928 billion USD additional funding for implementing SDG till 2030.

Impact of COVID-19: From March 2020, the COVID-19 had devastating health effects hitting the poorest and the most vulnerable people the most.

- The socio-economic impacts of COVID-19 include acute food scarcity, decreased economic activities and accelerated poverty.
- Uncertainty in global and domestic economics will dampen both domestic investment and inflow in foreign direct investment.
- COVID-19 made the health facilities overloaded worsening other diseases, mental health problem due to isolation
- The closure of schools reduced the access to learning globally. In Bangladesh from March 2020, no major public examination held in 2020 except the Secondary School Certificate and for 2021 this is also uncertain.
- Beside formal economic sector, the informal sector is also a hard-hit area. Construction related projects are in a stalemate position, companies have been forced to shut down, small businesses are affected, unemployment increased a lot, and increasing inequalities worsened economic disparities.

Actions of Bangladesh Government for Combating the Pandemic:

- Under the Sendai framework of disaster risk reduction, Government started working on preparedness, response and coming back with the growth and development.

- Honorable Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina has given 31 points directives to be followed to mitigate the risk.
- National committee headed by the honorable Minister for Ministry of Health and Family Welfare has been constituted.
- For tackling the COVID-19, 33 dedicated hospitals have been set up all over the country for Coronavirus patients and 2000 doctors and 5,000 nurses have been recruited as well. Additional 2000 doctors and 3000 health technicians are under recruitment process.
- Keeping the wheel of economy on move, government kept its expenditure in a normal fashion keeping a special eye on the health financing, especially due to COVID.
- Keeping the development at the core of combating COVID, Government provided a special stimulus incentive package for supporting the readymade garments, private sectors in agriculture and in small and micro credit areas.
- UNDP Bangladesh launched the Immediate Socio-Economic Response Plan (ISERP) for COVID-19.
- Government took some other steps along with health insurance and life insurance for frontline fighters and announced allocation of 100 crore taka cash incentives to frontline fighters.
- During this Corona, program of 'Digital Bangladesh' provided immense support of combating Corona spreading as well as combating the socio-economic disaster which could be caused by the pandemic.

World Response: For the first time in a 100 year, the world has focused a common goal that is beating Coronavirus. COVID-19 is forcing us to revisit our values and design a new idea of development that is truly balanced economic, social and environmental progress as envisioned by the 2030 agenda and the SDGs. Integrated solution are the only way in which we all be able to build a greener and more inclusive future to help countries.

Conclusion: The challenges of implementation of SDGs include resource mobilization, skill development, quality education, strong international development cooperation and effective partnership building, especially for COVID. Natural disaster, climate change along with the 1.1 million Rohingya made the situation further difficult.

In order to combat all these crises, Government have increased investment in human development overcoming the infrastructure gap with Padma bridge, Dhaka-Chittagong double rail line, Padma bridge railway link, establishing Payra Port, establishing deep seaport in Matarbari, providing one stop services to the investors, establishing 100 economic zones and 28 high-tech parks etc..

Areas of increased attention are quality education, skill development, research, innovation, digitization, improving governance, increasing female labor force participation and diversification of export. Though we are severely hit by COVID, we expect that we will be able to reach our target of upper middle-income country by 2031 and by 2041 to be a developed country.

Opening Address of Commandant, NDC

Lieutenant General Ataul Hakim Sarwar Hasan, SBP, SGP, ndc, afwc,
psc, PhD

Bismillahir Rahmanir Rahim

H. E. Dr. A K Abdul Momen, MP, Hon'ble Minister, Ministry of Foreign
Affairs

Esteemed Faculty Members of NDC,

Course Members of National Defence Course and Armed Forces War Course,
Distinguished Guests,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Assalamu Alaikum and a Very Good Morning.

At the very outset, I would like to express my profound respect and gratitude to the greatest Bangalee of all times, the architect of Bangladesh, the Father of the Nation Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. I would also like to reverentially recall the heroes of the Liberation War of 1971, who made supreme sacrifices for our nation.

I am honored and privileged to welcome you all to the online Seminar on “Global Stability, Security and Prosperity after COVID-19”. Considering the present national as well as global concerns raised afresh by COVID -19 as the most important security issue of the contemporary world, we have organized this seminar with “Security”, “Stability” and “Prosperity” as the core concerns. The aim of this seminar is to understand through discussion the potential challenges of COVID-19 on security and diplomacy fronts, evaluate its impacts from socio-economic perspectives, and assess its implications for sustainable development goals. From the learned panel, we fervently hope to learn invaluable lessons, which can help us overcome the challenges. I hope, from the deliberation of the keynote speakers and through interactive sessions the seminar will bring about comprehensive strategy options in addressing the crisis in a sustainable and pragmatic manner.

Distinguished Guests,

I take this opportunity to convey our heartfelt thanks and gratitude to our today's chief guest Dr. A.K. Abdul Momen MP, Hon'ble Foreign Minister for his gracious presence, which surely has taken this seminar to a greater height. It would greatly encourage the course participants, the keynote speakers and today's gathering. On behalf of all present here and all members of National Defence College I would like to express our sincere thanks and gratitude to you, Sir.

I am very thankful to the Session Chair, Moderator and all keynote speakers for accepting our invitation. This seminar would not be successful without the presence of this august gathering. I would like to take this opportunity to request their active participation during the open forum. At the end, I would like to thank Sponsor SDS and R&A Wing for arranging the seminar on such a contemporary and pertinent issue.

Thank you very much, thank you all. Long live Bangladesh.

Speech of Chief Guest

H.E. Dr. A. K. Abdul Momen, MP

Hon'ble Minister, Misistry of Foreign Affairs, Government of the People's
Republic of Bangladesh

Bismillahir Rahmanir Rahim

Lt Gen Ataul Hakim Sarwar Hasan, Commandant, National Defence College
Dr. Mohammed Farashuddin, Former Governor, Bangladesh Bank
Distinguished Panelists, Speakers, and NDC Participants

Good afternoon to all.

I thank the organizer for inviting me to speak in this Seminar, which is organized at a time when many countries are battling the second wave of the COVID-19. The pandemic has already caused unprecedented devastation, affecting our way of living on age old socialization, economy, our lives, and livelihoods. The COVID-19 arrived when nationalism, protectionism, and migration controls were rising in many parts of the world. During the pandemic, these forces have certainly amplified as countries scrambled to come up with an effective response to the crisis.

I would like to make a few points to highlight how the COVID-19 has impacted us and how we may overcome the challenge posed by it.

First of all, we all agree that the COVID-19 has caused a global crisis, unmatched in recent history. Nearly all countries and all people in the world-developed or developing, high or low-are affected in some way or the other. Perhaps for the first time in human history, we have seen how the fates of billions of people of the world are so closely bound together, and this time by a pandemic. The pandemic has tested our public health systems. It has tested our leadership. And it has tested our determination in our common fight against an invisible enemy.

Mr. Chair,

The pandemic's socio-economic fallouts have been colossal. Prolonged lockdown, school and border closures, and movement restrictions have affected nearly all sectors, including the economy, education, healthcare, migration, transport, travel, and tourism. The pandemic has threatened to push even the developed economies into economic recession. Those who were already living on the fringes run the real risk of relapsing into the poverty trap. The COVID-19 has seriously undermined our ability to reduce poverty, which is the overarching objective of sustainable development goals. We all know that mass poverty leads to instability which, in turn, fuels conflicts. The potentials of pandemic-induced conflicts, and security threats, therefore, cannot be entirely overruled.

Like the rest of the world, Bangladesh is also severely impacted. Indeed, the pandemic has dealt a particular blow to our migrant workers. Bangladesh, a major manpower exporting nation, saw a sharp drop in the number of Bangladeshis going abroad for overseas employment in 2020. For example, in January-August of 2019, around 460,000 Bangladeshi workers went abroad, but during the same period this year, only 176,000 workers could go, which is a decline of nearly 62% on year to year basis. To make things worse, between 1 April and 6 September 2020, a total of 1,11,111 migrant workers have returned home, leaving us with the responsibility and challenge to re-skill, reemploy, and re-export these workers or reintegrate into society.

Fortunately, both our export earnings and remittance have gradually pulled back. Many of the garment orders which were cancelled in the initial days of the pandemic have returned. Even amidst the pandemic, expatriate Bangladeshi workers, our hard-working brothers, and sisters toiling abroad have sent home record remittances with the inflows reaching \$19.8 billion so far this year, which is up 8.2 percent year-on, comfortably beating the gloomy remittance forecasts of the World Bank and IMF. Bangladesh's economy also grew 5.24pc in FY20 even during the pandemic, the highest in Asia. This shows the resilience of our entrepreneurs and workers to fight all odds with tenacity and determination.

And this is my second point—the fighting spirit of the people of Bangladesh. Historically, the Bengali nation has fought every adversity and disaster with forbearance and fortitude. The father of the Bengali nation, Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, taught us to stand firm against all odds and difficulties. Under his leadership, we defeated the oppressive Pakistani regime. And under the visionary leadership of Bangabandhu’s accomplished daughter, Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina, we are determined to defeat the pandemic.

Mr. Chair,

The way the government and people of Bangladesh have fought the COVID-19 remains a shining example for others to emulate. When most countries in the world have struggled to strike a balance between the need to flatten the curve and keeping the economy open, Bangladesh has deftly handled the crisis through bold and decisive early actions and prudent strategy that are effective in keeping the virus under control while putting minimal strain on the economy. While the world has experienced a somber reality with more than 1.3 million global deaths and hundreds more dying every day, more die in the process due to food shortage even developing country both the death toll and the number of infections remain much low in Bangladesh. The economic stimulus packages worth USD 14.14 billion, which is equivalent to 4.3% of our total GDP, announced by Hon’ble Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina early into the pandemic, minimized the impact of the pandemic and cushioned our business, employment, and productivity from its negative fallouts. Expansion of social safety nets, and effective and efficient distribution to the deserving and undertaking extensive measures to contain the second wave of the pandemic have also helped us to cope with the crisis effectively.

My point, the third point that I would like to make, is this. To surmount the crisis, the pandemic must be fought simultaneously at a global level with unprecedented international cooperation, with all countries on board. For that, we need determined national and global leadership. And we need solidarity-solidarity at the global level and on a national and local level.

Most importantly, we need effective global institutions. The need for more robust multilateralism with the United Nations at the forefront and a stronger

World Health Organization has never been greater. With fears of a new recession and financial collapse, times like this calls for resilient and strong leadership in healthcare, business, government, and the wider society.

Mr. Chair,

Now that several vaccines have been developed, this would help us defeat the pandemic, save lives, and accelerate our economic recovery. But we need to ensure universal, equitable, timely, and affordable access to vaccines for all, with no one left behind.

The world must treat the COVID-19 vaccine as a ‘global public good.’ We must recognize that the COVID-19 can never be brought under control in one place unless it is brought under control everywhere. Developing countries must receive the transfer of vaccine technology and IP rights waiver afforded under the TRIPS Agreement.

A ‘whole of society’ and indeed, a ‘whole of the international community’ approach is needed to combat the COVID challenges. All of us- the UN, International Financial Institutions, civil society alongside the national governments must walk together in collaboration and partnership and actively cooperate with each other to fortify us against our common enemy-the COVID-19.

My fourth point is, when we deal with critical issues, we must be honest and fact-based. We must provide correct briefing based on fact and reality. Although we know that US Secretary of State General Collin Powel, a very respective General once made a blunder by giving wrong briefing before the world body on the weapons of mass destruction in Iraq, such is not unique. The lesson has not been learned.

Recently, a Human Rights Rapporteur, on the basis of false and fabricated briefing, made some recommendation which unfortunately shows the bankruptcy of his intellect. It may be time to be more honest, and we must not play politics with pandemic.

Finally, my dear friends and colleagues, we all will die one day, today or tomorrow. Once we leave this planet earth, depending on our actions and achievements, people may remember. If you help humanity, your fellow human beings may remember you with honour and dignity. In this pandemic, let all of us commit ourselves to help humanity, the best we can. Let us create examples or models so that your family members, your neighbours and friends, your community and nation can be proud of you.

I thank you.

Joy Bangla Joy Bangbandhu!

Seminar Speech of the Session Chair

Dr. Mohammed Farashuddin

Former Governor, Bangladesh Bank

Bismillahir Rahmanir Rahim

The COVID-19 pandemic is an acute public health and economic crisis that is further destabilizing international system. The 21st century rules-based international system had brought decades of peace, prosperity, and freedom to the world while being under stress as the threats from the great powers and unrest within democracies placed great pressure on the system. These threats remain, but the emergence of the Novel Corona Virus has added a massive strategic shock. The COVID-19 pandemic is arguably the greatest disruption to global order since World War II and could overturn an already struggling international system. It has also unleashed secondary shocks and could result in additional jolts to the global order. The global economy is suffering from a severe downturn, US-China rivalry has intensified, the transatlantic alliance has frayed, and seemingly impotent international institutions are facing a legitimacy crisis. The future of the world order could proceed along several paths, ranging from a complete breakdown of the rules-based global system to one where the system is revitalized and adapted for the twenty-first century.

The most immediate threat presented by the pandemic is a rapidly spreading virus with no currently available vaccine or confirmed treatments. Millions of people worldwide had been infected by the virus. The COVID-19 global pandemic has triggered health insecurity, food insecurity, and economic insecurity among many others in South Asia. It has profound impact on every sector of human activities ranging from the economy to environment. There is a need for a critical study of the implications of the COVID-19 pandemic for human security in order to fathom the emerging theoretical and policy issues in the region and beyond.

The purpose of this Seminar is to articulate a comprehensive strategy for how the world can defeat the novel coronavirus and bring about a renaissance for a

new and adapted global system, mitigate the impact of COVID-19 and recover from the crisis as soon as possible. The strategy should focus on four domains of action: health, economy, governance and defense. Each domain contains a recovery track involving actions to limit the damage caused by the pandemic and facilitate a global rebound, and a rejuvenation track, consisting of actions to adapt and reenergize a rules-based global system. This strategy accounts for the fact that these domains, while analytically distinct, are interconnected. For example, achieving the central goal in the domain of health-defeating the virus-is a necessary precondition for a full economic recovery. A revival of the global economy, in turn, will diminish the prospect of political instability and help the United States and its democratic partners prepare for the future of warfare to defend a revised and adapted rules-based global order. With cooperation, determination and resolve, however, the world can recover from the crisis and revitalize an adapted system to bring about decades of future freedom, peace, and prosperity.

Hence, the seminar discussion provides an understanding of the consequences of the COVID-19 global pandemic for human security in the developed countries as well as the developing countries like Bangladesh. I hope this intellectually stimulating discussion provides a critical analysis and insights on this contemporary challenge to policy makers, health professionals, academics, students, researchers, NGO workers working with health, human security and anyone interested in health and human security. The seminar theme and sub-themes cover major human security areas, i.e. health security, food security, economic security, and environment issues. The role of regional cooperation and global health governance might also be covered in the domain of COVID-19. I expect that today's discussion fills the existing knowledge gap on the global human security linking with COVID-19 in general and in the context of Bangladesh in particular. From the perspective of policy, the insights of the study would guide the policy makers in reframing their security policies emphasizing human security issues and challenges.

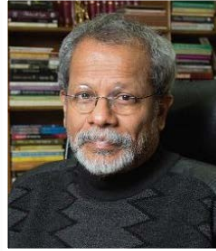
Session - 1



SESSION CHAIR

Dr. Mohammed Farashuddin

Chief Adviser, East West University
Founder Vice Chancellor,
East West University & Former Governor,
Bangladesh Bank



MODERATOR

Professor Dr. Imtiaz Ahmed

Department of International Relations,
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Keynote Speakers



Keynote Paper - 1: Diplomatic Problems in the Post-COVID Age of Globalization

By- Professor Joseph M Siracusa, Professor of Political History and International Security, Curtin University, Perth, Australia and Professor Shahab Enam Khan, Professor of International Relations, Jahangirnagar University



Keynote Paper - 2: COVID-19 and the Future of Healthcare in Bangladesh

By- Ahmed Mushtaque Raza Chowdhury, PhD
Professor of Population & Family Health, Columbia University
Convener, Bangladesh Health Watch
Founding Dean, BRAC University James P. Grant School of Public Health



Keynote Paper - 3: Challenges and Opportunities for Achieving SDGs during and after COVID-19: Policy Options for Bangladesh

By- Md Abul Kalam Azad
Special Envoy of the Climate Vulnerable Forum Presidency of Bangladesh and Former Principal Secretary & Former Principal Coordinator (SDG Cell) at Prime Minister's Office

KEYNOTE PAPER - 1
**DIPLOMATIC PROBLEMS IN THE POST-
COVID AGE OF GLOBALIZATION**

Professor Joseph M. Siracusa

Curtin University, Australia

And

Professor Shahab Enam Khan

Jahangirnagar University

Diplomacy in the age of globalization has become something very much more than the diplomacy of states and governments. It might be urged that it is still true that the legal formalities based on the Havana Convention of 1928 acknowledge only the diplomacy of states. Nor can one deny that the entire apparatus of traditional diplomacy is alive and well. It is relevant, indeed. This apparatus includes extensive consular networks sustained by the problems associated with the huge and continuing movement of peoples which is one of the salient features of our times, as well as the humanitarian disasters that impact the daily media. At another level, states have found themselves forced to alter their practice of diplomacy, both institutionally and in its external focus. The most commonly observed results of both of these have been the reduction of formal representation – for example, Australia languishes in 20th position of 34 OECD nations in the number of missions it has abroad (118 total posts), fewer than South Africa (124), Chile and Portugal (128), and Hungary (131) – the constant financial crises the diplomatic services face, the ever-presence of anxious discussions about what state diplomacy is now actually for, and the consequential emergence of the doctrines of ‘public diplomacy’.

For the South Asian countries, diplomacy is of paramount importance, though the structure of diplomatic engagements and international relations is plagued with colonial attitude and bureaucratic institutions. Nonetheless, the need for public diplomacy to acquire common good has never been more apparent during a once-in-a-century pandemic – COVID-19. A pandemic that can

accelerate the climate crisis, widen economic inequality and give a political space for rising authoritarianism – all demand multilateral cooperation. Hence, the infrastructure of diplomacy needs to be revisited. The South Asian response to the coronavirus pandemic, like any other region, has painfully exposed the shortcomings of foreign policy. The overall death toll in India is currently the third-highest in the world, deaths recorded in other countries in South Asia are lower than in many other parts of the world, in terms of numbers and per capita figures; nevertheless, reliability of data in a region with relatively low levels of public health spending remains as a concern. What is encouraging is that the countries undertook proactive diplomacy, made prudent investments in early warning systems, and reached out for deeper engagement with an international partner. Hence, COVID-diplomacy and post-COVID diplomacy have become a crucial component for the South Asian countries. COVID-19 will be considered as a salient feature of the twenty-first-century history that cannot be addressed by military or nationalism might alone. Diplomacy, both traditional and military, should be the primary instrument for countries such as Bangladesh because it is the most effective tool for advancing Bangladesh's national interests and social priorities.

On the ground, perhaps, it is impossible to ignore the diplomacy of the global economic system, ranging from the activities of the TNCs (transnational corporations) to the interventions of the global economic IGOs (intergovernmental organizations), particularly the World Trade Organization (WTO), in the midst of which the world trade order is undergoing a rapid transformation. This transformation challenges those European (small and large) open economies which have been its long-term promoters as members of the WTO and the European Union. However, the WHO-based order found itself in an institutional inertia by the mid-2000s. The minilateral free trade agreements such as the 2016 CETA (Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement between Canada, the EU and its member states) and the proposed TTIP (Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership between the EU and the U. S.) aimed at resolving this inertia. Negotiating them made the EU trade policy one of the main frontrunners in this asymmetric deepening of trade and investment relations. Since the mid-2010s the liberal trade order has, however, been openly questioned by a range of growing protectionist

critics. Besides the unilateral threats of import tariffs, real bilateral trade wars, and Brexit contradictions, along-awaited reform of the WTO, agitated by the US-China trade war, clearly is on the agenda.

All these developments have important diplomatic webs which operate both within and outside the traditional diplomatic system. The same is true of another vast area of diplomatic activity, the diplomacy of civil society organizations (CSOs). In any case, the unfolding saga of phantom, failed and failing states, civil conflict, and international terrorism has created an entirely new global world of urgent communications between states and NGOs (non-governmental organizations), between NGOs and IGOs, and amongst NGOs themselves.

The defining feature of twenty-first century globalization is the increasing complexity of global relations, and the rapidity with which information ricochets around the world, opening up new avenues for the conduct of diplomacy, while helping new participants to become involved. Globalization, for good or ill, has rendered the world more sensitive to sudden crises such as financial meltdowns and pandemics, however localized they might at first appear. The Great Financial Crisis that arose in 2008, with its cascading effects on to the world economy, was but a cautionary tale. The novel coronavirus pandemic crisis in 2020 (COVID-19), which affected 188 countries/regions resulting in the loss of hundreds of thousands of souls, millions of confirmed cases and a battered global economy, was the message writ large.

Equally important, the shifting terrain of global relations virtually ensures that security issues of any kind can appear unexpectedly, and rapidly change in shape and scope. Human security risks can usefully be thought of as 'polymorphous', in that, at any one point in time, people and their communities can be subject to political violence, or environmental scarcities, which, individually, can generate a host of future dangers: food and shortages, economic hardship, crime, disease, and human rights abuses. To define a security crisis as military, environmental, societal, or financial is to downplay the 'strings' or 'threads' of interconnected happenings, decisions, ideas, and beliefs that shape trajectories of risk.

Complex Crises

Human security crises usually ‘cluster’ around interconnected domains of risk, though there are always problems. In the arbitrary categorization of risks, for example, human security risk analysis tends to falter without an appreciation of the dynamics of interactions between risk factors. Drug trafficking, for example, creates a temporal linkage between the fates of communities in the developed and developing worlds, even if the numbers of persons involved is quite small. According to the UN Office of Drug Control (UNODC), over a 12-month period spanning 2005/6, an estimated 200 million persons used drugs illegally out of a global population of 6.475 billion. Of these, 110 million used drugs on a monthly basis, of whom 25 million, or 0.6 per cent of the global working-age population (15–64), were classed as ‘problem drug users’. The total annual US drug control budget alone stood at US\$12.5 billion in 2004, growing to \$27.57 billion in 2018 - more than three times the value of total US contributions to the United Nations. This is a measure of the scale of the drug ‘problem’ in America which extends far beyond the number of addicts, to the corrosive influence of traffickers and the webs of criminal activity that envelop the addicted. Corruption in police ranks and among government officials further corrodes law enforcement and public confidence in government institutions. At the regional level, drug production in Latin America destabilizes legitimate governments and creates de facto ‘narco states’ in territory beyond central government control.

The Grey Rhino

Pointing to the metaphorical grey rhino – that highly probable, high impact yet neglected event - former World Bank economist Nicholas Stern early laid out an alarming global scenario on the potential economic and social impacts of climate change. Synthesizing scientific data on climate change, Stern calibrated a sliding scale of natural and human disasters arising from the warming of the earth’s atmosphere. A worst-case scenario was predicated on a 5-degree Celsius increase in the earth’s temperature, causing sea levels to rise, extensive inundation of low-lying coastal areas, and widespread water stress threatening food security in India and China – effectively one-third of the world’s population – with obvious consequences for economic and political security at the regional

and global levels. Not even the United States could escape the ravages global warming's as the Mississippi Valley region would become a vast inland lake. It took a while for reality to set in, but diplomatic help was on the way.

The Paris Agreement, negotiated by representatives of 195 countries at a UN conference in Paris and adopted by consensus on 12 December 2015, was the first comprehensive global agreement to combat man-made climate change, that is, to deal with greenhouse gas emission, mitigation and finance starting in 2020. In a perfect world, the idea was to hold the increase in global average temperature to well below 2 degrees C. The decision of U.S. President Barack Obama to sign the treaty gave much hope to the climate change movement; President Donald Trump's decision in 2019 formally to withdraw from the Paris agreement struck a lethal blow to the global pact, as the United States was the first country to pull out of the accord. In any case, the absence of America as the world's largest economy and second-largest emitter of carbon dioxide proved a serious setback for the climate pact, though Joe Biden's victory over President Trump positions America for a 180-degree turn on climate change, as his administration promises to restore dozens of environmental safeguards Trump abolished and launch the boldest climate change plan of any American president.

Approaching Human Security

As the Commission on Human Security argues in its 2003 Report, conflict prevention, disease eradication, poverty alleviation, sustainable economic development, food security, and the promotion of human rights are interlinked security concerns. The scope of human security so defined fitted well with objectives outlined in the UN's Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) – 8 in total. The MDGs generated new and innovative partnerships, galvanized public opinion, and showed the immense value of the United Nations and its technical agencies setting ambitious goals. By putting people and their immediate needs at the forefront, the MDGs reshaped decision-making in developed and developing countries alike, helping to lift more than one billion souls out of extreme poverty, making inroads against hunger, enabling more girls than ever to attend school, and protecting the environment. There was more.

In September 2015, the UN General Assembly adopted the 2030 agenda for Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) – 17 in all, building on the principle of “leaving no one behind,” while emphasizing a holistic approach to achieving sustainable development for all. Strengthening equity, human rights, and non-discrimination, it was a universal call of action to end poverty, protect the planet and ensure that all people enjoy peace and prosperity by 2030. SDGs benefit from the valuable lessons learned from the MDGs. They also carry forward the unfinished agenda of MDGs for continuity and sustain the momentum generated while addressing the additional challenge of inclusiveness, equity, and urbanization, further strengthening global partnerships by including Civil Society Organizations and the private sector.

There are major challenges that need to be addressed for achieving the SDGs. To begin with, some of the SDGs that have been costed show that the cost of the SDGs is huge: for example, rough calculations have put the cost of providing a safety net to eradicate poverty at about \$66 billion a year. Then, there is the problem of measuring progress – a number of targets are simply not quantifiable; nor have the indicators for measuring such progress been yet identified. Also, there is the lack of chronic accountability for inputs at all levels; this was a problem that was not addressed properly at the MDG level, and there are few signs that this will improve at the SDG levels. More immediate is the maintenance of peace, through diplomacy, broadly defined, in a universe where inequalities run deep, progress is uneven, and the poor remain overwhelmingly concentrated in some part of the world. Add to this those disadvantaged because of their gender, age, disability or ethnicity, and an even grimmer picture comes into focus.

The threat to international peace and stability by nonstate actors continues to pose a major obstacle for both the Global North and Global South. Frightened and afraid, people are on the move. The United Nations’ Global Trends Report – released June 2019 – shows that nearly 70.8 million people were displaced at the end of 2018, with 13.6 million newly-displaced during the course of the year. Overall, 41.3 million were internally displaced persons, most of whom live in countries neighbouring their countries of origin; 26 million were listed as refugees - 57% of whom came from three countries - Syria (6.7 million),

Afghanistan (2.7 million), and South Sudan (2.3 million); and 3.5 million were identified as asylum seekers. Put another way, 37,00 people a day were forced to flee their homes because of conflict and persecution. Since the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic crisis in 2020, the United Nations estimates that an additional 247 million souls are marching toward hunger and starvation.

Great Power Competition

The end of Moscow-dominated communism, in particular the events between the evening of 8-9 November 1989, when the Berlin Wall came tumbling down, and Christmas Day 1991, when the Soviet Union was formally abolished, foreshadowed the end of the bipolar world of the Cold War, leaving Western policy makers without a conceptual blueprint for navigating global politics. In the place of containment and Mutual Assured Destruction, a gaudy optimism, masked as American “triumphalism,” took hold. Major threats were considered a thing of the past, while the end of history had presumably arrived. Democracy had won the Cold War. Nothing could have been further from reality.

While Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev succeeded in halting the Soviet-American nuclear arms race, the subsequent unravelling of the Soviet empire was an unintended side effect of Gorbachev’s reforms; termination of the Cold War was not. Though Reagan gets high marks for summit diplomacy, it was General Secretary Gorbachev who broke the ideological straightjacket that had paralysed Moscow and Washington’s ability to resolve their differences. Though politically weakened, Gorbachev conceded nothing to U. S. military superiority. Never did he negotiate from a position of weakness. In doing so, he faced greater political, even physical risks. After considering all of this, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that without Gorbachev, the end of the Cold War could have played out very differently and dangerously.

In the post-Cold War decades that followed, the United States focused its diplomacy on nation building, the war on terror, and humanitarian assistance and disaster relief. The events of these years opened diplomatic avenues that were at once unfamiliar and complex. Into this dangerous and uncertain world, there emerged a new era of great-power competition. The components of

this international system were much more varied, and the line ups much more difficult to control than in the Cold War. The new era evoked the recrudescence of the multi-polarity that had marked global politics for at least three centuries before 1939. If anything, it was even more extreme. Most important, the United States pursued an “America first” diplomatic strategy, harkening back to its political isolationism before Pearl Harbor. This has opened possibilities for its rivals, Great Powers like the People’s Republic of China and Putin-lead Russia, lesser one’s like Iran and North Korea, and multilateral organizations like the European Union, to exploit American disinterest by expanding or protecting their own interests. The United Nations seemed to have less and less relevance in maintaining peace and security. Since 2010, but especially since 2017, national interests took primacy over collective concerns, with trading arrangements increasingly negotiated among individual countries. The belief that global economic integration amounted to human progress, which had dominated the thinking of the powers for more than seven decades, was on the defensive.

And, even if the United States reverted to a more internationalist position after its 2020 presidential election, which is doubtful, the pre-Trump world cannot be rebuilt. Emboldened by America’s retreat and their own reluctance to abandon or not expand their gains, China and Russia, with their policy of displacing the U. S. in the Indo-Pacific and establishing spheres of influence near its borders, respectively, will continue on their course, as well as those of Iran and North Korea, each in search of its own regional hegemony. In this context, regional organizations, with their appeal to multilateralism will need greater reliance on their own diplomacy.

Diplomacy and Multilateralism

Fostering and maintaining an international order based on the diplomacy of multilateral decision-making is not only in the interests of small states and middle powers, which thereby receive a voice in global affairs, but should also be of crucial interest to powerful states, which gain legitimacy for their actions and compliance of smaller states, if they respect and follow rules set up by multilateral institutions. Multilateralism also decreases the costs of actions for all actors by pooling resources – a crucial aspect especially as the

world faces environmental, security, and health challenges that will require large investments and inter-state coordination. Nonetheless, the current state of international organizations and multilateral norms has its critics among powerful states, ranging from China and Russia to India and the United States.

Recent years have witnessed individualistic, self-interested actions in international politics that have shaped the current diplomatic landscape. Yet they were more than once met with a multilateral response. The Russian annexation of Crimea in 2014 led to the Enhanced Forward Presence (eFP) and refocusing of NATO on deterrence. Britain similarly contributed to more profound security and defence integration within the EU as illustrated, for example, by PESCO (Permanent Structured Cooperation by the EU on defence among member states). Can we expect a corresponding response in the case of the collapse of the nuclear arms control regime or Chinese engagement all over the world, through its Belt and Road Initiative or claims in the South China Sea? Equally important, more and more attention probably will be paid to redefining multilateralism itself. Smaller states often have few options besides multilateralism, but new challenges and threats particularly affecting the security of all the major players might require a new diplomatic approach. New challenges, including those posed by the lack of international consensus in the post-COVID-19 world, might well lead to new forms of multilateralism and new bargains among the Great Powers exclusively.

Moreover, Brexit in whatever final form it takes will transform the European Union and its members' diplomacy, while profoundly changing Britain's wider strategic, economic and political position. Non-state actors will continue to take the initiative in humanitarian development and other fields, once the preserve of governments by employing "soft power" - and official statecraft will also rely on this diplomatic strategy. Further add the wicked problems posed by nuclear proliferation, global warming, intense regional warfare, international terrorism and failed and failing states, and the challenges of 21st Century diplomacy become stark.

Crisis Diplomacy

The Centre for Preventative Action's annual Preventative Priorities Survey (PPS), in cooperation with the Council of Foreign Affairs, evaluates ongoing and potential conflicts based on the likelihood of occurring in the near term and their impact on America's global interests, broadly defined. In this way, the PPS aims to help the US diplomatic and policy-making community (and their international counterparts) prioritize competing conflict prevention and crisis mitigation demands. In short, the PPS is designed to assist policy makers where to focus their attention, and at what level, bearing in mind that summit diplomacy seems to be the preferred avenue of choice in the new era of Great Power competition. The problems are not new, easily susceptible to diplomatic solutions or going away soon. Five stand out above the others.

The first contingency identified in the PPS 2020 survey is an armed confrontation between Iran and the United States or one of its allies over Iran's involvement in regional conflicts and support of militant proxy groups. Teheran's ability to block the flow of oil in the Strait of Hormuz or employ proxy militias in Iraq and Lebanon, among other places, is undoubted. What is unknown is the depth of the resolve of the Iranian leadership to get to that point. The second contingency is a severe crisis on the Korean Peninsula following the collapse of the US-North Korea denuclearization talks and renewed long-range missile testing. On the Korean Peninsula, the primary concern in 2019 was that tensions would increase, following the collapse of these negotiations. The fear since then was that North Korea would continue testing long-range missiles or even nuclear weapons in the absence of negotiations, increasing the likelihood of a crisis.

The third contingency is an armed confrontation over disputed maritime areas in the South China Sea between China and one or more Southeast Asian claimant (Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Taiwan, and Vietnam). This crisis has been brewing for years, boosted by America's demand to ply these international waters, under Freedom of Navigation. The US-China trade war, with its economic polarization, is an ominous signal that Sino-American relations may freeze into a permanent conflict, and prelude to war. The fourth contingency takes the form of a severe crisis between Russia and Ukraine

following increased fighting in eastern Ukraine or a military clash in contested areas. A secondary concern is a deliberate or unintended confrontation between Russia and NATO members, stemming from assertive Russian behaviour in Eastern Europe.

To these should be added a fifth contingency: halting the spread of nuclear weapons. Nuclear proliferation and non-proliferation can be confounding. Given the benefits that nuclear possession supposedly conveys upon a state – more or less securing their independence and protecting them from invasion – the fact that the number of states possessing the bomb is still in the single digits (US, Russia, UK, France, China, India, Pakistan, Israel, and North Korea), far fewer than anyone would have predicted a half century ago, is surprising. That we don't have definitive answers to the same questions we asked fifty or sixty years ago – Why do states decide to build or not build the bomb? How many nuclear weapons and what strategies are needed to deter? And can the nuclear umbrella be credibly extended to allies? – is equally surprising, if not frustrating. Instead of embracing the intellectual modesty that nuclear statecraft warrants, however, advocates of nuclear abolition and nuclear diplomacy, often double down. In any case, nuclear diplomacy can be difficult to practice – whether with Iran, North Korea or Russia.

In the end, our main preoccupation is understanding why there has not been a thermonuclear war, and what diplomacy can do to continue this streak. It is close to impossible to craft a policy about an event that never happened, though, there is a strong hunch that nuclear deterrence prevents other states from using their weapons. Deterrence, however, is based on characteristics – fear, resolve, assurance – that are psychological in nature, and hard to observe nor less measure except after deterrence has failed. The third decade of the 21st Century has reached a critical juncture where the nuclear rules of the road, drafted during the Cold War, are gone, and Nuclear Weapons States are rushing to modernize their weapons and delivery systems including hypersonic vehicles. The future of the nuclear regime is in uncharted waters.

British diplomat Jeremy Greenstock reminds us that humans are by nature a contentious and destructive species, and so every opportunity for peaceful interaction ought to be maximized. This is his polite way of saying that

diplomacy and war remain two sides of the same coin, and that without the most incredible attention to the former, one could – and should – expect violence to resolve the great issues of the day. Historically, this has always been so, and not much has changed in this respect from the time that Thucydides wrote about the Peloponnesian War in the 5th Century B.C. What has changed of course, are the weapons and magnitude of the level of violence at the disposal of our contrary species. In this sense, diplomacy remains the first and last line of defence against disaster and is thus worthy of serious attention. Perhaps, when it comes to the least integrated regions with the most homogenous characters, such as South Asia, the people who represent the region to the world should reflect the diversity of the South Asian people. Homogeneity matters as it reflects the majority of people. It is why the study of nature and ‘diplomacy in action’ matters.

KEYNOTE PAPER - 2

COVID-19 AND THE FUTURE OF HEALTHCARE IN BANGLADESH

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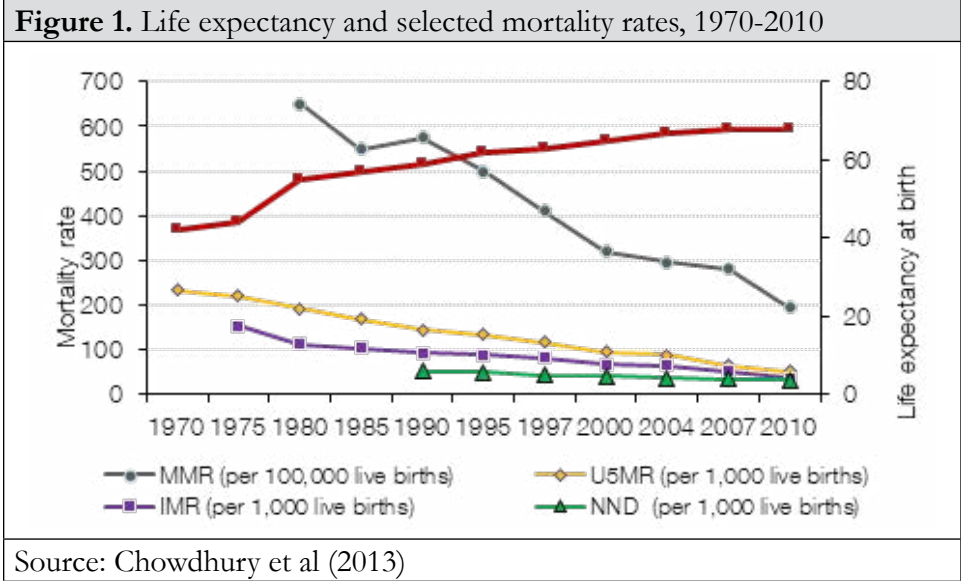
Founding Dean, BRAC University James P. Grant School of Public Health

Bangladesh's Exemplary Progress

Bangladesh's progress in some of its socio-economic development indicators has become a subject of interesting discussion globally. In an editorial titled 'The two Bengals', the influential and popular Indian daily, The Telegraph reflected on the recent history of Bangladesh and analyzed how the country has weathered all the odds and is now able to proudly move forward. It compared the Bangladesh achievements with that of his native West Bengal state and lamented how the latter was falling behind. It is not only this editorial but a host of writings in global development literature reported on how the rest of the world can learn from it. In a recent book David Lewis, a British development anthropologist, has also analyzed Bangladesh's achievements and compared it with that of Pakistan. Quoting Lewis, Guha wrote, "Once written off as a basket case, Bangladesh is now spoken of as a basket of innovation." The Lancet, a most prestigious and influential medical journal, recently published a series on Bangladesh's health sector which termed the recent gains in Bangladesh's health outcomes as 'one of the great mysteries of global health'.

Bangladesh indeed has done exceptionally well despite its perennial limitations and what is being said about it are only the acknowledgment of this reality. Life expectancy, which is a good measure of well-being, has increased by 70% since independence. In 1971, it was just over 40 years and now it is nearly 72 years. Interestingly, this has increased more for women. Until the late 1980's,

Bangladesh was one of the few countries in the world where women lived a shorter life than men. This has now been corrected with women living about two years more than men. The country has reduced its infant mortality rate (IMR defined as number of deaths under one year of age per 1000 live births) tremendously: from 150 or above in the early 1970s to less than 30 now. Similarly in women’s health, the maternal mortality ratio (MMR defined as number of deaths during pregnancy and after 42 days after birth of a child per 100,000 live births) has decreased in the same period from about 800 to less than 200. The decline in some other rates such as neonatal mortality (NNM) has unfortunately been modest (Figure 1).



The COVID-19 Onslaught and the Future of Healthcare

Like most other countries, the COVID-19 has taken our health systems by surprise. Both the number of infections and deaths have been steadily increasing, although there is a downward trend in the pattern recently (Figure 2). Table 1 shows three Covid-related statistics for Bangladesh in comparison to some of our neighbours. It shows that amongst the three South Asian neighbours of India, Bangladesh and Pakistan we are somewhere in the middle. However, all these countries are much behind Sri Lanka and the countries to the east of us

– Thailand, Vietnam and Cambodia. Why the Southeast Asian countries have done better than us? There are many reasons but one of them is the fact that their governments have prepared their populations and health systems better and well ahead of time.

Figure 2: Daily reported confirmed COVID-19 cases and deaths, 8 March-23 November 2020, Bangladesh

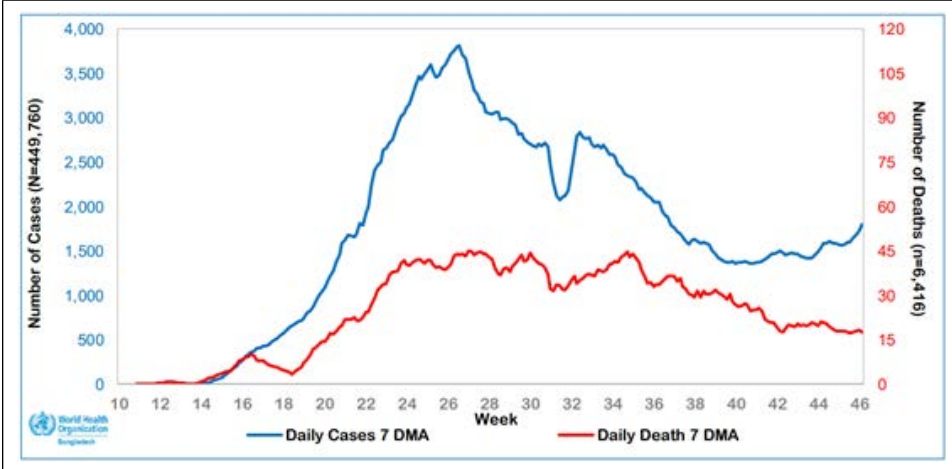
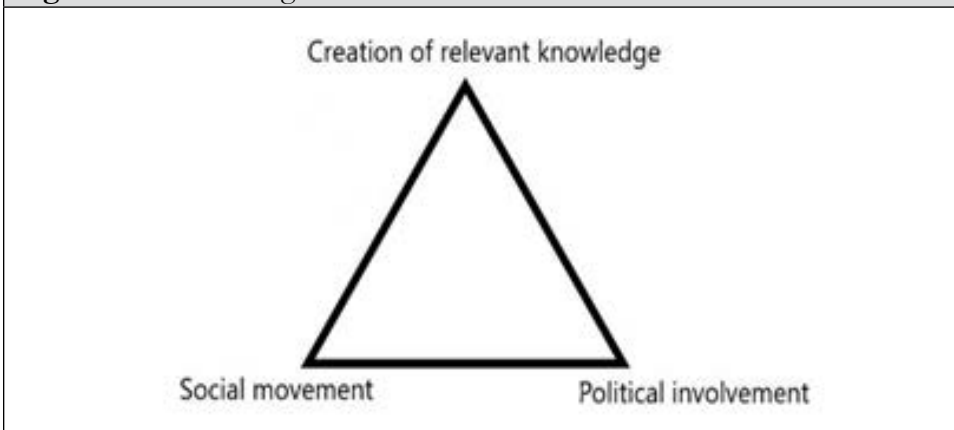


Table 1: COVID-19 statistics for Bangladesh and selected countries (December 5, 2020)

Country	Cases per million population	Deaths per million population	Tests per million population	Total Population (in millions)
India	6,934	101	104,437	1,380
Pakistan	1,855	37	25,654	222
Sri Lanka	1,238	6	40,838	21
Bangladesh	2,866	41	17,150	165
Thailand	58	0.9	13,994	70
Vietnam	14	0.4	13,708	97
Cambodia	21	-	14,095	17

Both Thailand and Cambodia, where the COVID-19 have had very limited impacts, ensured participation of the greater community in the fight against the disease. Thailand has institutionalized the participation of the people in health matters through constitutional reforms by creating a National health Assembly and an independent National Health Commission. The famous ‘Triangle that moves the mountain’ has been enshrined in the work of the Thai government (see Figure 3), making social movement through community participation an important pillar of their health policies and strategies.

Figure 3: “The Triangle that Moves the Mountain”



The COVID-19 crisis has exposed some of the weak and loose ends in our health systems which include the following:

- Poor management and governance
- Less priority for primary health care (PHC)
- Shortage of appropriate health human resources
- Unregulated private sector
- Abysmally low GoB investment on health (less than 1% of GDP)
- Inadequate research
- Lack of community involvement

Never let a ‘good crisis’ go to waste: The case for Universal Health Coverage

The crisis has also given us an opportunity to think about our future health systems. It is said that every crisis has its ‘silver lining’. The United Kingdom and the rest of the European countries built their health systems after the end of the Second World War through ensuring universal health coverage. Rwanda introduced UHC after the genocide of the mid-1990s. Universal Health Coverage (UHC) is achieved when everyone can access health services they need without suffering financial hardship. It is thus the right time for Bangladesh to consider reforms for our health systems. The benefits of launching UHC reforms would be immense and would be realized very quickly. The following gives a snapshot of health, economic and political benefits of introducing UHC reforms in Bangladesh:

- Demonstrate decisive and effective leadership in tackling the COVID-19 crisis which would deliver nationwide results quickly
- Rapidly increase the consumption of effective healthcare by the people, which would improve health indicators and propel Bangladesh up in international health league tables including achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)
- Reduce health inequalities, because the sick and the poor would benefit the most through improved access to services and reduced health related impoverishment
- Stimulate economic growth through improved human capital. An International Commission on “Investing in Health” estimated in 2013, that the return on investing in UHC was 9-22 times the increase in public financing. Furthermore, 269 eminent Economists publicly signed a declaration recommending investing in UHC before the SDG Summit in 2015. The Nobel Laureate Amartya Sen has also written extensively about the economic benefits of UHC and argues that this is why China (which has UHC) consistently outperforms India (whose UHC situation is very similar to Bangladesh)

- Reduce and potentially eradicate poverty caused by health care costs in Bangladesh, which is currently plunging 3-4 million people below the poverty line every year
- Generate enormous political benefits to the Prime Minister as Bangladesh celebrates 50 years of independence. Across the world it has been demonstrated that UHC reforms can deliver rapid benefits to people nationwide in a surprisingly quick timeframe. This is important because a number of the Prime Minister's other development priorities, involving economic policies and infrastructure investments, will deliver results more gradually and in a less perceptible way
- Enable Bangladesh to achieve UHC before India and Pakistan and boast that it is the first big country in South Asia to reach UHC. It would also beat the US to UHC and after China, Indonesia and Brazil would be the 4th biggest UHC system in the world
- Ensure that Hon'ble Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina becomes Bangladesh's UHC champion. From the given global trends it is inevitable that Bangladesh will make the transition to publicly financed UHC at some point in the next 20 years. As there are sufficient resources in the country to achieve this now, there is no reason why Sheikh Hasina shouldn't become Bangladesh's national UHC hero and write her name into the history books in the next 5 years.

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KEYNOTE PAPER - 3

CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR ACHIEVING SDGs DURING AND AFTER COVID-19: POLICY OPTIONS FOR BANGLADESH

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Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman has the dream, the dream of Golden Bangle. Under the dynamic leadership of his able daughter honorable Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina, we are on the way to realize the dream to become a dazzling Delta. Socio-Economic development of Bangladesh in the last decade is remarkable. Literacy rate in Bangladesh in 2008 was only 54% which in 2018 has become about 74%. Per capita GDP was 640 US dollar in 2008 and in 2019 it is 1909 dollar. GDP growth rises from 6% to 8.15% from 2008 to 2019. In respect to life expectancy, there is remarkable change from 2008 to 2018 that is from 69 years to 72 years. We have our export growth from 14.1 billion US dollar in 2008 to \$40.5 billion dollar in 2018-2019. Foreign direct investment was 0.74 billion in 2008 and it is about four times that is \$3.88 billion dollar in 2018. Foreign reserves was 7.5 billion in 2009 and in the last December 2020, it crossed \$42 billion dollars. Electricity generation capacity was only 3.36 giga watts in 2009 and in 2020 it crossed about 24 giga watts.

With the remarkable development, we achieved MDG from 2000 to 2015. If we consider the score card of MDG, we will find, out of important 18 targets of 8 MDG we achieved seven targets well ahead of time. Those are national poverty, underweight children, enrollment in primary education, gender parity in primary education and also in secondary education, under five mortality and infant mortality. In five area, we were on track that is we could achieve the target by 2015. Those were the completion in primary education, child delivery with the care of the skilled birth attendant, antenatal care, HIV prevalence and safe

drinking water. In five cases, we were lagging behind; tertiary education and gender needs to be taken care further. We need to work on maternal mortality, tuberculosis prevalence, forest in protected area and also basic sanitation. In sanitation, we had very good progress, but we were lagging behind in hygienic sanitation. Among 18, only in one area, we were mostly lagging behind that is the forest coverage. We all know a small country in terms of geography, forest coverage was mostly unattended because the larger number of population and having the limited geographical area. But in terms of tree coverage, we could achieve well.

If we consider LDC graduation, Bangladesh having a recommendation of United Nations Development Committee in 2018, it fulfilled all three parameters Gross National Income (GNI), Human Asset Index (HAI) and Economic Vulnerability Index (EVI) at a time for becoming graduate from the list of the Least Developed Countries (LDC). We all know, to be graduate, one country needs to achieve at least two parameters out of three to be recommended twice in a gap of three years and then finally declared graduate which is effective after three years. The next three-years, a less developed country can avail the facilities of an LDC. In 2018, the threshold value of graduation in GNI per capita was USD 1230. Bangladesh achieved \$1274 dollar. In another parameter a combination of five ingredients, threshold value of Human Asset Index (HAI) in 2018 was fixed 66 and above. Bangladesh has a value of 73.2. In the third area, Economic Vulnerability Index, which has eight components and threshold value should be less than 32, where Bangladesh in 2018 achieved 25.2. For observing and monitoring the issues of LDC graduation and coordinating all these activities national taskforce for monitoring the implementation of roadmap for LDC graduation were formed. Bangladesh is the single country who achieved these three areas at a time. We need to face the annual review in 2021 which is undergoing and we were supposed to be declared graduate finally in 2024. But due to COVID, we had to rethink it. In the meantime, government of Bangladesh, urged the United Nations to spread the time to be graduated from 2024 to 2026. So that final graduation may not happen in 2024 but in 2026. We all know Corona had changed the global economy and in different way, economic growth of Bangladesh hampered.

In 2015, when journey of Sustainable Development Goals started, honorable Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina in her speech in UN told “I’m confident that Bangladesh could show its capacity in achieving SDGs, the way it achieved the MDG goals”. Our Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina is one of the few elected leaders who signed both this document of MDG in 2000 and SDG in 2015.

The basic concept of Sustainable Development Goal is based on five ‘P’. The first ‘P’ is ‘People’ that is to end poverty and hunger in all forms, ensure dignity and equality; taking this globe for the Sustainable Development Goal. We have to consider the livable planet; Second ‘P’ is to ‘Protect’ our ‘Planet’, Natural Resources and climate for future generation. We need to have the prosperity; third ‘P’: Ensure ‘Prosperous’ and fulfilling lives in harmony with nature. The fourth ‘P’: ‘Peace’ is the core of the implementation of SDG, foster peaceful, just and inclusive societies. Finally, fifth ‘P’ is ‘Partnership’; implement the agenda through a solid Global Partnership.

We all know in SDGs, there are 17 goals, 169 targets and 232 indicators. In SDGs, sustainable development is at the core of the whole agenda and four magical word, the ‘Mantra’ “leaving no one behind”. Sustainable development is that development which meets the needs of present looking towards the needs of the future; that is without hampering the needs of the future generation. And the globe always looks into fulfilling the needs of the vulnerable: youth, women, children, aged people, aboriginals, different minor professions and so many. Sometimes, the average issues are considered for “all people”. But unfortunately, ‘all people’ frequently miss vulnerable and they used to leave behind. So, SDG in its core value kept leaving no one behind and it used every, for all, inclusive, universal, equitable, equal right etc. in several SDGs. These 17 SDGs are- no poverty, zero hunger, good health and well-being, quality education, gender equity, clean water and sanitation, agriculture, affordable and clean energy, decent work and economic growth, industry, innovation and infrastructure, reduce inequality, sustainable cities and communities, responsible consumption and production, climate action, life below water, life on land, peace justice and strong institution and finally, partnership for the Goals.

'Leaving no one behind' is one of the core areas for achieving SDGs. The whole globe needs to identify who might be left behind. Looking into this issue, Bangladesh SDG implementation strategy took the agenda up to sub district that is the Upazila and district level to identify the area where the specific sub district and the district lagging behind. For implementing SDGs, government from 169 targets, identified 39 core areas including health, education, climate etc. and +1 that is the needs of the specific area the sub district and district.

Bangladesh had its National Social Security Strategy (NSSS) following the lifecycle approach to ensure 'leave no one behind'. Also, some laws are enacted addressing rights of the persons with disabilities. Actually, Bangladesh started working on 'leave no one behind' from 1996 when Awami league government assumed the power. Again, with a revitalized strategy and action plan, it started working from 2009. Agenda of SDG further strengthened socio economic activities for supporting the vulnerable people. In Bangladesh, we have the huge social empowerment program which is about 150 types of social safety network covering 28.7% families and almost all through last decade, 15% of our budget is spent for the social safety net. Government introduced a good number of human development program for giving skills to the vulnerable for coming back into modern life. Government has different types of support program also to ensure mainstreaming, activities of supporting vulnerability; online payment system from government to person G to P in different way, stipend for aged people, widows, women, school students has been introduced through e-payment. In May 2020, government decided to provide a special support for 5 million corona vulnerable families; financial Inclusion that is e-banking and mobile financing helped a lot. About 50% populations have the bank account and people used to get digital services from more than 5000 one stop service which is the Union Digital Center. We got union digital center along with that 8500 'e-post' office to provide services for the local level people.

In the process of SDG implementation, data is one of the most important areas to work for fixing the targets, implementation and monitoring process. In 2016, when SDG started its journey, only 46% baseline data was available and 54% were completely unavailable. Data is most important, keeping this in mind, the government took very serious initiative on having this SDG

related data collection and in 2020 about 67% baseline data are available and about 80% data are updated regularly. This gives much more synergic effect in implementing the SDGs agendas.

Another important area to work is the financing. Bangladesh studied that it needs about 928 billion USD additional funding for implementing SDG till 2030 which is annual average of more than 66 billion and about 20% of accumulated GDP from 2017 to 2030. We had the plan of having 80% domestic financing which is about \$800 billion and 15% from external financing, this is \$132 billion. For this 85% domestic financing, we planned to have government financing about 33.5%, private sector participation 42%, Public Private Partnership having 5.5% and participation of non-government organizations 4%. In external resources 15%, we planned that 5% will be aid and grants and 10% will be the foreign direct investment (FDI).

On the way to implementation of SDGs, Bangladesh is early bird in so many areas, especially proportion of population living below the national poverty line. We have the target of having upper poverty limit (UPL) 9.7% and lower poverty level (LPL) 3.5% in 2030. Target of UPL and LPL is 18.6% and 8.9% respectively in 2020. In 2019 we achieved 20.5% and 10.5% respectively. At the end of SDG period we have a target to achieve neonatal mortality rate 12 per 1000 birth; in 2018 we reached 16 per 1000. We understand that we can reach the target of 2030 very easily. Likewise, death rate due to road accident injuries, proportion of population using safely managed drinking water services, proportion of population with access to electricity, renewable energy share in the total energy consumption, unemployment, manufacturing value added as a proportion of GDP, number of death, missing persons and directly affected persons attributed to disaster and total government revenue as a proportion of GDP; in these area, Bangladesh showed remarkable progress. From March 2020 in Bangladesh, with the whole globe we are combating the COVID which is not only a health disaster. This affects the socio economic corners taking a huge number of people into poverty and health poverty. UNDP administrator Achim Steiner told “The world has seen many crises over the past 30 years, including the Global Financial Crisis of 2007-2009. Each has hit human development hard but, overall, development gains accrued globally

year-on-year. COVID-19, with its triple hit to health, education and income, may change this trend”.

This shows global seriousness and agony in combating Corona. Alongside the devastating health effects of COVID-19, socio economic assessment shows that the poorest and most vulnerable are hit by the pandemic. ILO study shows that 1.6 billion informal sector workers have lost 60% of their income, 70 million refugees and displaced persons risk disproportionate impacts. UN Women identified crowded households, substance abuse and reduced support are causing a spike in gender-based violence. World Food program mentioned 265 million people face acute food necessity. COVID-19 decreased the economic activities and accelerated poverty globally. The least developing countries are hard hit with COVID socio economic impacts. Uncertainty in global and domestic economics will dampen both domestic investment and inflow in foreign direct investment.

The Globe predicted reduced food production and to combat that, from the very beginning honorable Prime Minister of Bangladesh urged the people not to keep a single piece of land vacant and encouraged to bring those under cultivation. It is well known that COVID made the health facilities overloaded, worsening of other diseases, mental health problem due to isolation and challenges of getting access to health services for the non COVID patients also. Globally closure of schools reduced the access to learning and obviously psychological pressure by remaining home. In Bangladesh from March 2020 government had to defer time to time the date for opening the educational institutions. No major public examination held in 2020 except the Secondary School Certificate and for 2021 this is also uncertain. The government is very much optimistic to conduct these examinations. COVID made waste hit against education. In our country, government tried to have online education by having best use of different virtual platform including ‘Teachers Platform’, Sheikh Russel Digital Lab and also one terrestrial TV channel: special use of Shangsad TV (Parliament Television). Students of urban and semi-urban area got good opportunity of learning but in practice in the rural area, a good number of vulnerable family could not avail the opportunity of digital connectivity and also lack of smart hard devices like smartphone or television, computer or laptop

all the students could not avail the opportunity of e-learning very effectively. Other than the formal economical sector, the informal sector is a hard-hit area. Construction related projects are in a stalemate position, companies have been forced to shut down, small businesses are affected, unemployment increased a lot, increasing inequalities worsened economic disparities, increased likelihood of conflict also.

For combating the COVID-19 under the Sendai framework of disaster risk reduction, where the first step is preparedness, second is the emergency response, and third is rehabilitation to get the momentum of high economic growth and development back. Government started working in all these three-area preparedness, response and coming back with the growth and development. Honorable Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina has given 31 points directives to the citizen to follow to mitigate the risk, also national committee headed by the honorable Minister for Ministry of Health and Family Welfare has been constituted. For tackling the COVID, 33 dedicated hospitals have been set up all over the country for Coronavirus patients having 11,730 General bed and 564 ICU bed. In each of the Upazila and District hospital, five extra bed were added, a significant numbers of private sector hospitals are also involved in the treatment of Coronavirus; 2000 doctors, 5,000 nurses have been recruited and they have already started working. Additional 2000 doctors and 3000 health technicians are under process to recruit. Keeping the wheel of economy on move, government kept its expenditure in a normal fashion keeping a special eye on the health financing, especially due to COVID. Keeping the development at the core of combating COVID, Government provided a special stimulus incentive package of more than 12 billion US dollar which is about 3.7% of our GDP for supporting the readymade garments, a good number of other private sectors in agriculture and in small and micro credit areas so that financing for the working area stimulus package for informal area continue which brought economic strength. United Nations globally had a call for immediate socio-economic response; keeping that in mind UNDP Bangladesh launched the Immediate Socio-Economic Response Plan (ISERP) for COVID-19. Government also had its special program for combating the COVID. World Bank and Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) has the COVID emergency response and pandemic preparedness project.

COVID-19 Response Emergency Assistance Project, assistance by Asian Development Bank (ADB) has been approved. And also, about 15 million US dollar grant from World Bank's pandemic Emergency Financing Facility, Asian Development Bank came forward with a grant of 5.65 million USD for supplying of logistics and medicines, another 40 million US dollar support from South Korea as budget aid and Japan allocated 9.5 million US dollars grant to purchase medical equipment. Government took some other steps along with health insurance and life insurance for frontline fighters and announced allocation of 100 crore taka cash incentives to frontline fighters. Cash aid of 2500 Taka for each of the 5 million households, low income people living in urban area having less purchasing capacity were given support of 10 Taka kg rice under the open market sale program.

For the first time in a 100 year, the world has focused a common goal that is beating Coronavirus. Getting back to normal is simply not feasible and not possible because normal got us here and we need to think on every time looking into 'now normal' and ultimately to 'New normal'. The crisis has showed us how deeply connected we are, COVID-19 is forcing us to revisit our values and design a new idea of development that is a truly balanced economic, social and environmental progress as envisioned by the 2030 agenda and the SDGs. Integrated solution are the only way in which we all be able to build a greener and more inclusive future to help countries. During this Corona, program of 'Digital Bangladesh', which has been declared in the election manifesto of 2009 provided immense support of combating Corona spreading, combating the socio-economic disaster which could be caused by the pandemic. We all know, globally poverty has increased and many of the countries are facing negative growth. At this backdrop, Asian Development Bank (ADB) predicted that Bangladesh will have 5.2% growth that is the highest in Southeast Asia, and the average in Southeast Asia is minus 0.7%. The GDP growth in 2020 in Bangladesh is highest among all the Asian Developed Bank countries, and it is predicted that Bangladesh will perform best in this region. We have export of 3.9 billion in July 2020, which was ever highest. In August 2020, RMG see's 44.63% growth after seven months minus growth.

For implementation of SDGs Bangladesh has developed 10 special support that is called “Sheikh Hasina special initiative” and these are very effective for combating the Corona. Women empowerment is one of the most important area of these 10 initiatives, which enables Bangladesh to bring huge number of unemployed women into workforce and economists commonly say this brought Bangladesh into the global limelight. The second area which is the shelter project, in Bangla, we call ‘Ashrayan project’. For the poorest of the poor, having no land, having no house, government had a plan of Ashrayan project in different parts of the country. Second category of people who have less than 10 decimals of land, but no house; government with its own cost, build a house under the program, ‘Jar Jomi Ache Ghor Nai’. Another type of people having houses but not well to do. Bangladesh bank has a special program of supporting building houses with less than 5% service charges. These schemes, not only providing the shelter, but also providing different skill training and having creating the opportunity for the vulnerable people to reach the resources. The third area is the ‘Education Assistance’. In Bangladesh, the single country in the globe, distributes 320-360 million books every year free for primary and secondary education along with books in the language of some aboriginals, digital devise for the visually impaired students, stipend for the girls students, stipend for the higher education, supporting the infrastructure of educational institutions took us to the golden way of educating the nation. The fourth area is ‘My home My Farm’ in Bangla, ‘Amar Bari Amar Khamar’; each of the house under program turns to a farm, it may be an agriculture farm or a Dueky farm or a poultry farm and having skills in different areas of handicrafts or some other productive area. Under this project, more than 60,000 small co-operatives having 60 members in each of the co-operative, 40 women and 20 men, providing resources and training. This program may be called a pioneer program of micro-savings; each member deposits 200 taka as savings in his/her account in Palli Shonchoy Bank and government also deposits same amount of money in each account for two years and this collective fund of the members is used for income generating activities of the members. The fifth area, the ‘Digital Bangladesh’, which enables us to draw a huge dividend in terms of connectivity, networking, e-commerce, financial inclusion, combating Corona and also new product of export by setting up the data center and also developing software. The sixth area is the ‘Community

Clinic’, which is the foundation of the health infrastructure. A clinic for each 6000 people all over the country, totally more than 13000 distributing 32 types of medicine free. So, along with these huge infrastructures in grassroot level, Union, Subdistrict, District and Specialized hospitals ensures health services in the country. Bangladesh had its plan of establishing 100 economic zones, providing investment development opportunity and also 28 High Tech parks. A huge number of investors already started working in these areas. Special incentive package along with One Stop Service (OSS) could draw the attention of the global best players in investment area. The eighth area is the ‘Environment Protection’. We all know Bangladesh is severely affected by the climate change. Last year also, we had a devastating Cyclone “Amphan”. In 1970, the super cyclone ‘Bhola’ took 5 hundred thousand lives but in climate resilient situation in 2020 ‘Amphan’ with almost same magnitude, we combated so efficiently, it could take less than one hundred lives in Bangladesh. In the last decade disaster could affect us very less. Not only this area, in all other area Bangladesh is trying to keep up environment though we have no contribution or very less contribution in polluting and deteriorating the environment. More than 150 types of social safety net is in Bangladesh starting with special incentive and stipend for the aged people, widow, the poor mothers those who are expecting to give birth child under a ‘Shopno’ project. Finally, ‘Electricity for All’; in 2009, Bangladesh could provide electricity only in 47% households having frequent load shed in some of the area 12 to 16 hours a day. But this year, we are achieving 100% coverage of electricity having seven times of its production from 2009.

On the way to SDG implementation, challenges are resource mobilization, skill development, quality education, strengthen international development cooperation and building effective partnership especially for COVID. Natural disaster, climate change along with the 1.1 million Rohingya made the situation further difficult.

Bangladesh looks forward to combat all these crises. So, we have increased investment in human development. Overcoming the infrastructure gap with Padma bridge, Dhaka-Chittagong double rail line, Padma bridge railway link, establishing Paira port, establishing deep seaport in Matarbari, providing one

stop services to the investors, establishing 100 economic zones and 28 high-tech parks, Ease of doing business. Areas of increased attention are quality education, skill development, research, innovation, digitization, improving governance, increasing female labor force participation and diversification of export. Our target is to become upper middle-income country by 2031 and by 2041 to be a developed country. We plan for extinction of extreme poverty by 2031 that is about 2.55% from the present 9.3% and the moderate poverty hit people which is about 20.5% in 2020 to bring it down to 7% in 2031 and 2.59% in 2041. We projected our growth 8.2% in 2020, and in 2041, 9.9%. Though we are severely hit by COVID, we expect that we will be able to reach that. Per capita income which is about 2000 US dollar now, we plan to reach about \$6,000 by 2031 and \$12,500 by 2041 and reach a high-income country.

Bangladesh having its strategic plan to reach Golden Jubilee of independence this year 2021 which this present government planned in 2009. Last year honorable Prime Minister declared a special plan for climate, that is the 'Mujib climate prosperity decade 2021-2030' which is under process and in the meantime we are implementing SDGs on the way to reach our delta plan 2100, intermediate stage we will reach developed country by 2041 and celebrate 100 years of our independence in 2071. Digital Bangladesh will be innovative Bangladesh by 2041.

Endnotes

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Summary of Interactive Session (Keynote Speech-1)

General

A seminar was held on “Global Stability, Security and Prosperity after COVID-19” at National Defence College (NDC), Bangladesh on 06 December 2020. The seminar was conducted in one session, where there were three keynote papers delivered by three distinguished speakers on three different dimensions of the subject of seminar. Each keynote presentation was followed by separate interactive session. Professor Dr. Shahab Enam Khan presented the first keynote speech on the theme titled, “Diplomatic Problems in the Post-COVID Age of Globalization.” The focus of the first keynote paper was on the various dimensions of complexities likely to be caused by COVID that might influence global security and stability. The speaker mentioned about the perception about pricing of vaccine and highlighted the undetermined role of NGOs and INGOs that might create insecurity and instability in global setting. Inclusiveness and global equities are now further being challenged, while achievement of SDGs is now in question. This is where the problem of the governance will persist which would be a grey area in the post-COVID scenario. The speaker also discussed the international peace and stability from the non-state actor’s point of view. He shows that the number of internally displaced population might increase because of the aspiration to have a better life in post-COVID situation, and there is a vulnerability of Bangladesh in this projection. Another area the paper looks into is the great power competition. The paper highlighted on the diplomatic norms and speaker looked into the international security perspective. The fear lies that whether new alliances or multilateral initiatives will prove to be satisfactory for public aspiration. The first interactive session of the seminar is summarized in subsequent paragraphs.

Comments from Professor Dr. Imtiaz Ahmed (Moderator)

Professor Dr. Imtiaz thanked Commandant, NDC for arranging a seminar on a global issue the future of which is very much timely and it is very much difficult to think what would even happen tomorrow. He mentioned that the

organiser preferred to title it 'After COVID-19' when we are in COVID-19, and that needs quite an imagination. He said that the line-up for the seminar were very known faces to him, and it was well understood that all of them would have to imagine more than that was required as to what would happen after COVID-19. He then invited Professor Dr. Shahab to deliver first keynote speech, which was a paper by Professor Siracusa and co-authored by Dr. Shahab Enam. Having infected by COVID-19, Professor Siracuasa could not make him available and so, Dr. Shahab presented the first keynote speech as co-author.

Questions to the Keynote Speaker-1

Question-1 (Air Commodore Sharifuddin Sharker, Course Member of National Defence Course-2020): In the recent time we saw two contradictory arguments in the academia concerning COVID's effect. In his article, Kishore Mahabubani mentioned about the possibility of a changed world order in post COVID situation with lead role played by Asian countries like China, South Korea and Singapore. On the other hand, Professor Joseph Nye argued in favour of not seeing a change in the world order. What will be the geopolitical pivot and geopolitical structure or fault lines in the aftermath of COVID-19. Will it remain same or change?

Response from Professor Shahab: This is one of the very important theoretical issues that NDC course members have been addressing throughout this year. Perhaps Kishore Mahbubani, who has a UN background and multilateral background, was talking about the world to be much more from an idealist perspective. On the other hand, Joseph Nye who is the author of soft power diplomacy, has the idea of a structural realism by saying that the global order will continue to be at a very status quo level. Now the problem is with the domestic institutions; how these domestic institutions will take the shape. Starting from health to the AI to the defence and so and so forth, this is where the state has to prioritize what they want to do. And that's exactly where the ideas, such as Marshall Plan comes in, and perhaps he is now talking about something in the form of Indo-Pacific Strategy (IPS), which can match the ideas, such as Belt Road Initiative (BRI). Indians have one definition of

IPS-free and open maritime resources. On the other hand, the Japanese have come up with the new idea, and obviously, we now have the Australians, who have finally joined the Malabar exercise. Meanwhile, if we look at the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP), this is probably going to be the largest ever trade alliance that we are going to see over the period. So we are now observing that different models of multilateralism are coming in. The basic structures of the states will remain same but how these are going to be played out in future will determine what will be the case and obviously I agree with the idea that the new projects such as Marshall Plan will come up to make America great again. Obviously, which is certainly the assumption of the global policing role, which was missing during the President Trump's time.

Question-2 (Joint Secretary Dr. Amin, Course Member of National Defence Course-2020): There are clear impacts of COVID-19 in the geopolitical scenario. These include withdrawn of membership and funds from WHO by USA, EU and US divide on WHO, US-China decoupling of the trade, persistence accusation by USA towards negligence by China to stop Corona Virus and Indo-China conflict in Ladakh in 2020 etc. In this context, is there any light at the end of the tunnel?

Response from Professor Shahab: This is not a very new thing in the US foreign policy and perhaps this has been reinforced by Trump. However, that does not mean that Biden will continue to follow Trump. Again, the problem with President Biden will be to reconstruct his administration, the Washington Foreign Policy Circle and to find out an effective modus operandi regarding China. Obviously, Biden has historically been a great supporter of multilateral financial regimes and which essentially will bring him closer to Paris Agreement once again along with WTO and NATO. So again, we are mindful that Sino-Chinese conflict that we have seen this year can be an important factor. However, certainly this is not going to influence Washington largely in re-determining its engagement with China. Rather Chinese engagement with Washington or Washington's engagement with Beijing will be largely dependent on the healthier competition. This will possibly drive the agenda of President Biden. In one of the articles that has come up in the NDC Journal where it has been argued that after COVID-19, there is a risk that the world could be yet more divided conflictual and nationalistic, but an alternative scenario is

also within reach. In this scenario, more rapid and peaceful exit from the crisis may be possible through collective action plans and strategies. Though the examples are not yet visible, we are hopeful that such plans will definitely be considered. However, discrimination and jingoistic nationalism in the United States, China and India may put additional pressure on the global system. In addition, such disturbances will make international cooperation more difficult. Therefore, I would like to echo the opinion of Professor Imtiaz by saying that there are still much confusion regarding domestic policies of major players and the effect of these policies on the post COVID recovery. We need to keep in mind that the social contract is fundamentally changing worldwide.

Question-3 (Brigadier General Aftab, Course Member of National Defence Course-2020): How are we going to see the rebalancing of relationship of Bangladesh with the USA and China once the pandemic is over?

Response from Professor Shahab: If we analyze past history of USA's foreign policy and particularly of the Democratic Party, I would like to hold a very solemn optimism of Joe Biden's electoral pledges and probably we are going to see much more of a cooperative competition rather than hostile competition. As such, this is of mutual interest for all the countries particularly when the reconstruction and restructuring of national and global economy has become a matter of paramount importance.

Question-4 (Air Commodore Readad Hossain, Course Member of National Defence Course-2020): As we know by the idea of scholars that visible US forces are needed to deter Russia and China from overt aggression and lower level efforts to undermine the US led international order. However, the problem is that COVID-19 made it difficult to maintain the readiness of the forces for USA. The opinion was sought regarding the impact of COVID-19 in the ability of US to engage in the greater power competition with China and Russia.

Response from Professor Shahab: The need for visible military forces' presence by USA is in place, but again on the other hand, the problem lies in the economic capabilities of all the countries. Then here we should not exclude any of the countries by saying that they are immune to any of the problems.

So perhaps how they are going to re balance their economic priorities will also be an important factor. Now, if we look at China, the manufacturing sector is coming back. If we look in Japan, manufacturing sector is actually picking up. Moreover, in the United States, the economic indicators are gradually moving towards the positive direction. On the other hand, if you look at the downfall in the greater economies starting from the European States to the Middle East and perhaps even in India, perhaps we are now seeing a massive economic recession in terms of supply and demand coming in. Moreover, if we have a demand problem in the countries, which has billions of people worth of population perhaps the economic situation may not be very effective very soon. Therefore, I think this may not immediately affect the US capabilities in terms of its military engagement across the world, but it may perhaps in the longer-term affect its modalities or the cost effectiveness of their engagement. Now we are seeing that they are withdrawing from Afghanistan and planning to withdraw forces and everything from Iraq, and last week, they have reduced half of the diplomats in Baghdad. Therefore, we are now seeing that whether it is in the case of security crises or perhaps economy crisis, we are yet to evaluate that.

Question-5 (Brigadier General Bahauddin, Course Member of National Defence Course-2020): Besides physical health, COVID-19 has seriously affected mental health during this ongoing pandemic. Because COVID is causing isolation, loss of income, fear etc. However, a recent data by WHO showed that only 2% of the investment of the health sector has been counted for mental health, which needs a revised attention. He opined that during this lockdown we should consider the state of mental health especially for the upbringing of our future generation, since approximately 50% of the global students are now affected by COVID scenario.

Response from Professor Shahab: Obviously emotional mental health is a big issue, and if we have to invest in anything then we have to invest in emotional, intelligence, or mental health. Emotional intelligence has become one of the critical factor now in the technology debates. Since we have people who believe in technologies and we have invented technologies, which no other creature in the planet has ever been able to do. However, technology creates a different kind of pressures too: misinformation comes in, social media comes in,

different interpretations of any given subject creates pressure on human mind and now we are seeing that much more emotional crisis looming everywhere than ever. Now we might interpret it from a generation gap perspective, but we can also interpret it through the perspective of technologies. I, therefore, agree with you about the emotional side of the pandemic. This is one of the issues that the National Defence College may eventually explore in future as a matter of academic interest.

Question-6 (Lieutenant Colonel Tarikul Islam, Course Member of Armed Forces War Course-2020): In the pandemic of COVID-19, we see the ongoing shift towards the increased anarchy reflected in “everyone for himself”. In this backdrop do you foresee further weakening of international institutions and what can be the pragmatic approach for Bangladesh?

Response from Professor Shahab: Of course weakening of international organization may have been a case. Again, on the other hand, we are now seeing there is a picking up on the international institution. Even if I speak as Devil’s advocate, I would always say that Beijing would not allow any opportunity to be missed in taking leadership in the international multilateralism perhaps even RCEP and EPP if it comes back and all these things. As we can see, in Paris Climate Agreement Trump stepped out and Xi Jinping jumped in. So you’re now seeing that whether one country is willing to push multilateralism or is not, but the other country will obviously come in for their own national interest and of course, their aspiration to be a global power.

Question-7 (Brigadier General Syed Sabbir Ahmed, Course Member of National Defence Course-2020): COVID-19 has accelerated the transition to a more fragmented world order in which the future organizing principles of the international system are equals an unclear. As we see, economic effects of COVID-19 would increase downward pressure on US and likewise the other world powers in defence budgets, which could affect the future polarization of international order. Also in the great power competition paradigm, most of the national security strategies of US and its allies are likely to be reshaped as we come out from COVID-19 pandemic and its economic fallout.

Response from Professor Shahab: While defence budget is not likely to decrease significantly, but this belongs to contradict the traditional budgeting provisions and that is exactly where the global power will come up and exercise their authorities in the countries which are at least developing or perhaps least developed. That is where the hegemony comes in the center periphery of international relation and perhaps you may want to study Holstein's Idea of Center Periphery.

Question-8 (Lieutenant Colonel Md Ashraful Kader, Course Member of Armed Forces War Course-2020): Do you think the vaccine nationalism or inequitable access to COVID-19 vaccines across the countries can affect the global security and stability? Do you think that the absence of a global framework to counter the infectious disease is a prime cause, which is causing this instability?

Response from Professor Shahab: Global frame is already there. I mean, this is not an issue of global framework. Rather, it is an issue of whether the country is feeling secured with the global framework or not. Particularly if you look at the wake of COVID the first few months, the way the states behaved is much more of a schizophrenic way. I mean state in schizophrenia or perhaps state in hysteria was there because everybody was blind with this particular virus. Moreover, this virus is not new, as Air Commodore Sharif has mentioned, this has been there for historic like thousands of years and in future, we will find more viruses being dipped up. I mean, even with the more climate change, more water resources depleting, more snow and ice melting, we will definitely see that at the age old viruses are coming out and that's been the case in Mexico, that has been the case Siberian Tundra when 75,000 years old Reindeer was excavated and the virus started to work. So that is more coming, I mean, the more Antarctica will lose its ice, more it will be. However, one good thing about the COVID-19 is that this has given a wakeup call to the nations to really prepare and better manage the future. Now, how we are going to do that is something that we will be looking forward, may be next year or the year later.

Summing up by Moderator

Unfortunately, pandemic came at a time when there were right wing governments in major countries that include USA, UK, India, Brazil, Australia and all could anticipate pandemic. There will be theories and books written on the subject of appearance of pandemic with many possible forecasts on the next outbreak. Therefore, the recent outbreak was not a surprise for those who worked on this area. Virus works in the more or less similar fashion irrespective of the globalization of trade and commerce. During Spanish Pandemic, there was no commercial airline but one billion people was infected, which is unthinkable; more than 5 million was killed. However, unfortunate is that we had right wing government in key states but they carry politics of singularity, and that is the problem. If we had different form of government in those countries, it is believed that global partnership would have made it different. Because some countries like Japan and Vietnam made it different. The second point is that there will not be an UN reform; we may think off several UN. I hope that Biden being President, USA might come back in WHO, and there will be a relationship with China. Secondly, on the issue of climate change if USA want to do something they will need China. Lastly, regarding diplomacy, this is where I find uncomfortable with the western discourse on diplomacy, whereas far better diplomacy is presented in Kautilya where one has complex structures and these are much relevant.

Summary of Interactive Session (Keynote Speech-2)

General

Dr. Mushtaque Reza Chowdhury delivered the second keynote speech on “COVID-19 and the Future of Healthcare in Bangladesh”. During the interactive session, few important questions as well as comments were put across to the keynote speaker, which are highlighted in the subsequent paragraphs.

Comments and Questions to the Keynote Speaker-2

Comment-1 (Joint Secretary Abdullah Sazzad, Course Member of National Defence Course-2020)

Mr Abdullah Sazzad slightly disagreed to the point highlighted by the professor regarding poverty rate in Bangladesh due to COVID. He said that, it was observed in various papers and journals that at present, state is around 41% and which is alarmingly increasing day by day. He also added due to less focused on social distancing during this pandemic, beggars are increasing.

Response from Dr. Mushtaque: Dr. Mushtaque Reza Chowdhury highlighted that, he quoted poverty state from only one source. He also added that it might vary depending on methodology. However, no doubt it is increasing, which is the main message, and it is not only Bangladesh but in other countries too. However, there was no serious food crisis because part of the action taken by the stimulus package from the Government and distribution of food by some NGOs. Therefore, the whole of society approach was important to handle the situation.

Question-1 (Director General Toufiq Islam Shatil, Course Member of National Defence Course-2020)

Mentioning about poor condition and vulnerability of the health service that has been exposed during the COVID-19, Mr Toufiq Islam Shatil opined that Bangladesh has shown comparatively better condition in this sector when fighting with COVID-19 considering other South Eastern countries. Does that mean that Government has lately been successful in this regard?

Response from Dr. Mushtaque: Dr. Mustaque Reza Chowdhury highlighted that, it is true Bangladesh is combating COVID nicely. Still there is a lack in whole of society approach. He told about Kerala, India; due to whole of society approach they became model in South East Asia to fight COVID-19.

Question-2 (Lieutenant Colonel Delwar Hossain, Course Member of Armed Forces War Course-2020): So far, Government is very successful in handling the pandemic through various stimulus programs in all sectors. However, second wave is expected to come with more crisis. In this context how Government may prepare its various organizations to handle the crisis more meticulously.

Response from Dr. Mushtaque: Dr. Mushtaque Reza Chowdhury expressed that, more stimulus package will be required to fight second wave of COVID-19. Again, when the vaccine comes it would be very important for the government to set the priority as to who should receive the vaccine first.

Question-3 (Brigadier General A K M Aminul Haque, Course Member of National Defence Course-2020): Although Government is trying hard in handling the pandemic through various stimulus programs in all sectors. However, involvement of NGOs are not significant during this crisis except very few as it was also mentioned in the speech. This rises question in the ethical obligation of the NGOs in socio-economic development. In your opinion, what could be the reasons of NGOs for not getting involved in this crisis of pandemic?

Response from Dr. Mushtaque: Dr. Mushtaque Reza Chowdhury expressed that, there is less involvement of leadership effort to support the affected people by the NGOs. Besides there is a resource crisis like funding by the other countries are not enough.

Question-4 (Colonel Md Ehsanul Hoque, Course Member of Armed Forces War Course-2020): Replying to a question in the Parliament, Hon'ble Prime Minister said, the global pandemic has successfully been tackled in Bangladesh so far with the visionary leadership of the Government, timely decision and efficient management. The hammer and dance movement of COVID-19 has spread as we saw the first wave and the second wave has already struck our door. Considering that, COVID-19 has taken a true test for leadership as regards to deciding the roadmap and strategy for Bangladesh to strengthen the basic health service up to the sub district level.

Response from Dr. Mushtaque

We have to think about strengthening our primary health care system. The western model that we have followed so far by building big hospitals in the cities with huge budgets has deprived the primary health care. One of the major issues that we are facing now is the governance and the management that is the reason behind why we do not have doctors in the sub district level or Upazilla Health Complex, which should be attended 24 hours a day. We have to deal with this from an open mind; we can create Universal Health Coverage (UHC) by being committed to this.

Question-5 (Joint Secretary Mrs Khorsheda Yasmin, Course Member of National Defence Course-2020): From the presentation it was observed that the death rate of male is higher than that of female in COVID-19 pandemic, which would cause the families more vulnerable and society would become more imbalanced. It would ultimately have a negative impact in our socio-economic condition. In this regard, what could be the probable measures to face this challenge?

Response from Dr. Mushtaque: Dr. Mushtaque Reza Chowdhury expressed that, male and female divide in terms of being affected by COVID is not yet very clear. However, male comparatively spend more time in the outside environment or in the working station, which could be one of the important findings to be affected. Our knowledge about COVID is not complete, and new aspect about virus is being discovered every day. Therefore, we have to wait to make any conclusive comment about the issue.

Summing up by Moderator

Prof Dr. Imtiaz conveyed that, the country with better public health system are doing well in combating COVID-19. Although our country is trying hard to face this crisis despite having serious limitations in public health system. Maintaining social distance, using mask, washing hands would be the whole of society approach. NGOs should put forward their serious efforts by working in village to village to generate general awareness and to support affected people.

Summary of Interactive Session (Keynote Speech-3)

General

Md Abul Kalam Azad, Former Principal Secretary & Former Principal Coordinator (SDG Cell) delivered the third keynote speech on “Challenges and Opportunities for Achieving SDGs during and after COVID-19.” The core theme of SDG is ‘leaving no one behind’. Therefore, inclusivity is very important for SDG implementation that has been challenged under COVID-19. The impact of COVID-19 is seen in all areas of life that includes food insecurity, health and household, economic activities, education, agriculture etc. However, in these areas Bangladesh Government took timely steps for combating COVID through emergency response and rehabilitation programme. Our Hon’ble Prime Minister had 31-point instructions; we had the good committee to look into the SDGs. Our achievement in terms of GDP growth, per capita income and export during this pandemic also shows the resilience of our country. Comments during the interactive session are summarized below:

Questions to the Keynote Speaker 3

Question-1 (Brigadier General Mamun-ur-Rashid, Course Member of National Defence Course-2020): The question is related to the SDG implementation vis-a-vis graduation of Bangladesh to a middle-income country. In relation to the Dream Trajectory of Bangladesh, it is no denying that we are fighting to meet the challenges of COVID-19 to be in track of the economic trend and adjust with the new normal. Under this circumstance, what should be our focus to persist with the flow of SDG implementation or pursue the graduation to the middle-income country by 2021 having the additional challenges imposed by COVID-19 for Bangladesh?

Response from Md Azad: About the SDG and LDC graduation the performance of Bangladesh is tremendous. We know that graduation from LDC needs to be passed in three parameters: one parameter is GNI per capita, in 2018 that was about \$1230 minimum; and second one is the human asset index, the parameter was 66; and the economic vulnerability parameter was 32 or less. Out of these three parameters, one country needs to pass in at least two parameters, but Bangladesh passed in three parameters at a time in 2018 and not passed narrowly, but with very remarkable margin. In addition, the implementation of LDC graduation until 2019 before COVID was excellent. We still hope that we will gradually graduate; but for COVID-19 reason, this may be deferred. The implementation of SDGs and implementation of LDC graduation, these are running side by side. Therefore, the dream trajectory can help achieving the SDGs in the middle of its manifestation.

Question-2 (Lieutenant Colonel G M Shohag, Course Member of Armed Forces War Course-2020): The question was regarding the educational challenges in the new normal condition. The education system has been facing a great challenge during this COVID-19 pandemic. While all the educational institutions are remaining closed since March of this year, children of the primary level and especially at the secondary level have been most vulnerable; whereas, progress of this level of education is one of the consideration for the measurement of SDG (Goal 4). Most of the examinations are postponed and could not be held, which is a great barrier of ensuring the quality education. In addition, it is a great obstacle to reach the SDG (Goal 4) that is ensuring universal primary and secondary education, which leads to relevant and effective learning outcomes. Given this scenario, what study option is suggested for the Government to combat this educational challenge in the ongoing new normal condition?

Response from Md Azad: The educational challenge in COVID-19 is a great concern, but it is encouraging that we are pursuing a very good 'Digital Bangladesh' outlook. There are many digital centers at union level where we have provisioned for 4G; in some of the areas we are having 5G. However, to fulfill the aim of leaving no one behind, the remote areas still need to have further facilities with more speed. In addition, obviously, the idea of having

the 'digital divide' is now being discussed. Unfortunately, not all the people have television and smartphones. Therefore, they are handicapped because we are conducting some classes in our National Broadcasting System. In support of the education at the beginning of the each education year, books worth of 30 to 36 crore taka are given free. From year 2022, instead of distributing books, efforts will be taken to provide digital device like tabs and also in the meantime, all the unions will be connected with the broadband and that will help us in diminishing the digital divide in education.

Question-3 (Joint Secretary Dr. Md Monirul Huda, Course Member of National Defence Course-2020): Owing to the various problems and multipronged adversities caused by COVID-19 pandemic, the rapid and timely implementation of SDGs is likely to be hampered. He sought the comment from the presenter on this issue.

Response from Md Azad: It is obvious that implementation of SDG will be challenged by time factor. Owing to COVID-19 the Government had to address the additional health issues that comprised recruiting of so many doctors and nurses including provisioning of different new facilities; when the whole world was not prepared for this, we were not also as a LDC with limited resources. However, fortunate enough that, though one death is not desirable, in our country the death rate is in comparison to some other country is much lower. However, implementation of the development projects will obviously be hampered because for few months all the development works were completely closed with exception in few mega projects like nuclear power plant, the Padma Bridge etc. Again, the amount of money that was allocated for combating the COVID is also huge and it is continuing.

Question-4 (Director General Toufiq Islam Shatil, Course Member of National Defence Course-2020): The question was regarding attainment of SDG 9 that is industrialization, infrastructure and innovation. This is an area, which is crucial for LDCs to attain overall SDG goals as mentioned by UN high officials. How Bangladesh can be affected in this area due to the global economic downturn, which might lead to reduction of foreign direct investment (FDI), especially in the context when we are looking for this foreign investment in our economy through Special Economic Zones?

Response from Md Azad: The adverse effect of COVID-19 in the area of industrialization, which is crucial for SDGs, has been counted in one way; but in other way it has opened up new horizon. Many industries from China, especially investment of Japan, they are being shifting due to the higher production cost. It was effected before the COVID also, but with COVID, the same has been accelerated. If we go to our Special Economic Zones (SEZ), you will find that every day during these pandemic huge investors from China, Japan, Korea and some other countries are assembling, they are snatching the opportunity to invest in our economic zones. In the meantime, for implementing about hundred Special Economic Zones, Government has taken so many steps, which are very encouraging for the investors. Given different incentives, one stop service facility and investment friendly environment, investors are being attracted in large number to these SEZ and the High Tech Parks.

Question-5 (Joint Secretary Md Daud Miah, Course Member of National Defence Course-2020): The question is related to the easy access of Corona vaccine. This crucial global issue is relevant for the SDGs as well. Bangladesh has rightly raised its voice to declare Corona Vaccine as global property; but it has an issue of intellectual property rights, that may impede the process of making this available to all in quick time, which would not help the cause of pursuing SDGs. How plausible would be the idea of making Corona Vaccine global public goods? In this connection, can there be a possibility that the World Health Organization to obtain the whole intellectual property rights from the vaccine developing companies and subsequently it can open up the intellectual property rights to all the countries of the world?

Response from Md Azad: Regarding the vaccine, there are concerns over easy access to this medicine, and about its price; however, the issue is not yet very clear. This is obvious that it is a huge business, an opportunity for investors. Therefore, this is high time for making profit for the medicine companies; hence, WHO and United Nations need to intervene from humanitarian ground. Otherwise, the countries like us will be affected more.

Question-6 (Lieutenant Colonel Md Khalid Saifullah, Course Member of Armed Forces War Course-2020): The question is related to over reliance on external sources for financing the SDGs. Bangladesh was ranked 109th

among 162 nations in 2020 SDG index. Presently 48% of the government's ADP budgets, which is amounting to 24.2 billion, is being financed by external sources mainly coming from foreign aid (35%) and foreign borrowing (13%) while the rest is financed by the revenue surplus, and domestic borrowing. One of the risks of relying on external resources is that it can decline the effect of COVID-19 in the macro economy. For instance, the recent COVID-19 crisis has shrunk the loan and grants for Bangladesh to 46% compared to the same period in the previous fiscal year. What can Bangladesh do to draw balance in financial security in present and post COVID-19 scenario?

Response from Md Azad: Contrary to the perceived idea, the implementation of our budget is not dependent so much on the development partners, it is even not more than 15% to 20%. But fortunate enough that almost all these development partners, they are the multi-Regional Development banks like World Bank, ADB, Asian Infrastructure Bank, and also bilateral the biggest one is JAICA. Therefore, the allocation is not reduced. Moreover, I believe along with the FDI, this support of the development partners will be continuing for implementation of SDG and for implementing our mega projects.

Question-7 (Brigadier General A K M Aminul Haque, Course Member of National Defence Course-2020): The question was regarding perceived effect of COVID-19 on the projected timeline of Dream Trajectory. Clarification was sought whether the benchmarks in the dream trajectory can still be achieved for Bangladesh despite having received the impact of Corona.

Response from Md Azad: The benchmarks of the dream trajectory is not likely to be affected by the impact of COVID-19. It may be considered that every difficulty introduces new opportunity; hence, if one door is closed, hundred doors are opened. Government has taken thoughtful steps for skill development in our country. Number one, an organization has the skill development authority under the Prime Minister's Office. Number two, one hundred Economic Zones and more than 30 High-tech Park created huge opportunities. Number three, focusing on blue economy which almost equals another Bangladesh. If we can harness the resources from these areas, I believe it will not be very difficult to continue the journey towards the SDG implementation.

Question-8 (Joint Secretary Dr. Aminur Rahman, Course Member of National Defence Course-2020): The Paris Agreement sets out a global framework to avoid the dangerous climate change by limiting the global warming to well below 2 degree Celsius while the perusing efforts to limit it 1.5 degree Celsius. We know that it is first ever universally legal binding under global climate change agreement. Can we see the possibility of keeping the global warming below 2 degree Celsius under the effect of COVID-19?

Response from Md Azad: For the last two, three months and Joe Biden being selected as U.S. President, the hope is stronger now. The whole globe is united. In the last month our Prime Minister also sat with all CBF countries to prepare the midnight declaration. This year on celebrating the fifth year of Paris Agreement, the UK and UN global leaders are gathering to have enhance commitment to keep the global warming up to 1.5 degree but not more than 2 degree. Again, bad part of it is that developed countries sometimes commit but they do not implement. However, this time this has become the life and death question for all the countries. Therefore, it is expected that they will come to sense now and implement the target of 1.5 degree.

Summing up by Moderator

Bangladesh is one of the few countries in the world, which is going for the development without any enmity. Bulk of the countries in the world develop enmities in the process of national development. We are blessed in many ways. Myanmar may try to make us enemy but we are not even interested and we do not consider Myanmar as enemy although we have serious issue with Rohingya crisis. But it is their issue and they have to solve this. So, that is a plus point when it comes to our development. Our country is having the pre 71 formula, “friendship to all and malice to none” that has worked remarkably. We need to keep that and we need to have friendship with all. Secondly, SDG is most focused on scarcity as human cannot take too much scarcity. Because scarcity creates fear, and fear creates intolerance, from intolerance we see violence. Therefore, the theory of scarcity has a limit to it. I think we should focus on theory of abundance that is what we have more. That is how the EU actually developed after WW II, they focused more on abundant particularly France

and Germany. That is the reason they have done much better. So, in terms of Bangladesh we have two things in abundance: one is people and other is water. Somehow, we have not matched the population and water. Water is a big asset; it is solid gold from heaven because no one can stop that, since it comes from rainwater. 80% of our river water is from rainwater. We have to match these two things and this is the best time. When we talk about population, we need to go with a campaign for 100% literacy; this should be our goal and that should go village after village. Finally, when it comes to pandemic we have to give some credit to agriculture. This agriculture helped us immensely this time. We are so much blessed and hopefully, investors would not go to Malaysia, Canada and Australia or elsewhere. It is important that children should be brought in and it is important part of Bangladesh Dream. If the 'Dream Trajectory' has to be there, children have to be brought in the way Singapore and China have done it. Pandemic has shown how agriculture can make a difference to a country when comes to sufferings.

NDC Participants (Faculty and Staff)

Ser	Rank and Name	Appointment
1	Lieutenant General Ataul Hakim Sarwar Hasan, SBP, SGP, ndc, afwc, psc, PhD	Commandant
2	Air Vice Marshal Shaikh Abdul Hannan, BUP, nswc, fawc, psc, GD (P)	Senior Directing Staff (Air)
3	Rear Admiral M Shafiu Azam, NUP, ndc, psc	Senior Directing Staff (Navy)
4	Major General Anwarul Momen, SBP, rcds, psc	Senior Directing Staff (Army)
5	Major General Md Rashed Amin, rcds, ndc, psc	Senior Directing Staff (Army)
6	Major General Abul Hasnat Mohammad Khairul Bashar, BGBM, PBGM, ndc, afwc, psc	Senior Directing Staff (Army)
7	Additional Secretary Md Mofazzal Hossain, ndc	Senior Directing Staff (Civil)
8	Brigadier General Hamidul Haque, nswc, psc	College Secretary
9	Brigadier General Md Shamim Kamal, ndu, afwc, psc, M phil	Chief Instructor
10	Brigadier General Md Naheed Asgar, ndc, afwc, psc	Directing Staff (Army)
11	Brigadier General Md Abu Bakar Siddique Khan, ndc, afwc, psc, G+	Directing Staff (Army)
12	Commodore M Atiqur Rahman, (G), NPP, afwc, psc, BN	Directing Staff (Navy)
13	Brigadier General Abdul Motaleb Sazzad Mahmud, SGP, ndu, afwc, psc	Directing Staff (Army)
14	Brigadier General Abu Mohammad Sarwar Farid, afwc, psc	Directing Staff (Army)
15	Brigadier General Md Hakimuzzaman, SGP, afwc, psc	Directing Staff (Army)
16	Commodore Md Shariful Islam, BPP, afwc, psc, GD (P)	Directing Staff (Navy)

Ser	Rank and Name	Appointment
17	Brigadier General Muhammad Ali Talukder, ndc, afwc,psc	Directing Staff (Army)
18	Air Commodore Syed Shaiful Islam, (TAS), BSP, afwc, psc, BN	Directing Staff (Air)
19	Brigadier General Gulam Mahiuddin Ahmed, SGP, afwc, psc	Directing Staff (Army)
20	Group Captain Muhammad Mustaqur Rahman, BPP, afwc, psc, ADWC	Directing Staff (Air)
21	Captain Mirza Mamun-Ur-Rashid, (G), afwc, psc, BN	Colonel General Staff
22	Colonel S M Imranuzzaman, BSP	Colonel Administration
23	Colonel M A Saadi, afwc, psc	Director (Research & Academic)
24	Colonel Golam Kibria Zaman, afwc, psc	Directing Staff (Army)
25	Lieutenant Colonel Md Kamrul Islam, BGBM, psc, Arty	General Staff Officer-1 (Administration)
26	Lieutenant Colonel Kazi Shazzad Hossain, afwc, psc, ASC	General Staff Officer-1 (AFWC Wing)
27	Lieutenant Colonel Nizam Uddin Ahmed, afwc, psc, Engrs	Senior Research Fellow
28	Lieutenant Colonel Mohammad Mohsin Chowdhury, psc, AC	General Staff Officer-1 (Training)
29	Lieutenant Colonel Muhammad Alamgir Iqbal Khan, psc, Arty	Senior Research Fellow
30	Major Syed Arshad Ahmed, Arty	Company Commander
31	Major Ahmed Ashequl Arefin, Inf	General Staff Officer-2 (Administration)
32	Major Md Akhlaq-Uz-Zaman, SPP, EB	General Staff Officer-2 (Coordinator)
33	Major Md Shakhawat Ali, Arty	General Staff Officer-2 (Planning & Coordination)
34	Major Md Asrafuddowla, psc, ASC	Mechanical Transportation Officer
35	Major Md Showkat Ali, EB	General Staff Officer-2 (Accounts)

Ser	Rank and Name	Appointment
36	Major S M Mahbubul Murad, psc, Inf	General Staff Officer-2 (Staff Duties)
37	Major Afsana Rahman, psc, Sigs	General Staff Officer-2 (Network Administrator)
38	Major Mohammad Abdul Awal Bin Sayeed, psc, Inf	General Staff Officer-2 (Army), AFWC Wing
39	Major Saquib Ibne Rashid, AC	General Staff Officer-2 (Coordinator)
40	Major Md Mahmudul Ahsan, Inf	General Staff Officer-2 (Coordinator)
41	Major Shahriar Rahman Abir. ASC	General Staff Officer-2 (Coordinator)
42	Lieutenant Commander Israth Jahan, BN	General Staff Officer-2 (Training Support)
43	Lieutenant Commander Sharif Ahmed, BN	General Staff Officer-2 (Navy), AFWC Wing
44	Lieutenant Commander Fahim Ahmed, (S), BNVR	General Staff Officer-2 (Coordinator)
45	Squadron Leader Md Shahporan, Edn	General Staff Officer-1 (Administration)
46	Squadron Leader Tabidul Zahid, Admin	General Staff Officer-2 (Air), AFWC Wing
47	Squadron Leader Faijus, BAF	General Staff Officer-2 (Coordinator)
48	Senior Assistant Secretary Shaheen Akhter Sume	Research Coordinator
49	Assistant Professor Nishat Sultana	Research Fellow
50	Captain Mohammad Anuwar Hossan, Arty	Quarter Master
51	Assistant Director Md Nazrul Islam	Assistant Director (Library)

NDC Participants (Course Members of National Defence Course - 2020)

Ser	Rank	Name	Country
Allied Officer			
1	Colonel	Zhao Lei	China
2	Staff Brigadier General	Wael Abdelwahab Abdellatif Hikal	Egypt
3	Brigadier	Neeraj Gosain	India
4	Commodore	Shidhaye Prashant Dattatraya	India
5	Air Commodore	Guduru Krishna Mohan	India
6	Colonel (AF)	Jatmiko Adi	Indonesia
7	Staff Colonel	Meshal Bin Abdullah Al-Shamrani	KSA
8	Staff Captain (N)	Abdullah Bin Abdulrahman M Al-Amri	KSA
9	Staff Captain	Faisal Bin Mohammad Al-Shehri	KSA
10	Staff Colonel	Khaled Abdulrahman Al-Loqmani	KSA
11	Staff Colonel	Naseer Bakheet Al Harbi	KSA
12	Colonel	Fadouga Traore	Mali
13	Colonel	Dinesh Kumar K. C.	Nepal
14	Group Captain	Imoke Emeng Imoke	Nigeria
15	Colonel	Nicholas Nenmetne Rume	Nigeria
16	Captain	Shuaibu I Muhammad	Nigeria
17	Captain	Idouye Christopher Ketebu	Nigeria
18	Colonel	Adeleye Tadtik Lawal	Nigeria
19	Colonel	Ememe Jones Oji	Nigeria
20	Captain	'Awadh 'Abdul Rahman Ali Al Ma'mari	Oman
21	Brigadier	Muhammad Shareef	Pakistan
22	Brigadier	Haputhantri Gamage Pradeep Manjula Kariyawasam RSP psc IG	Sri Lanka
23	Commodore	Mahamudalige Herby Nishantha Peiris	Sri Lanka
24	Air Commodore	G G W T K Gunawardana	Sri Lanka
25	Captain (N)	Switbert Novat Ruta	Tanzania

Ser	Rank	Name
Bangladesh Army		
26	Brigadier General	AKM Aminul Haque, afwc, psc
27	Brigadier General	Md Ashraful Islam, psc
28	Brigadier General	Md Abdul Baten khan, psc,G
29	Brigadier General	S M Zia-Ul-Azim, afwc, psc
30	Brigadier General	A K M Rezaul Mazid, afwc, psc
31	Brigadier General	Mohammad Mamun, psc
32	Brigadier General	Mir Mushfiqur Rahman, BSP, SUP, psc
33	Brigadier General	Md Maksudul Haque, afwc, psc
34	Brigadier General	Mamun Ur Rashid, afwc, psc
35	Brigadier General	Mohammad Emdad Ullah Bhuiyan, psc
36	Brigadier General	A K M Fazlur Rahman, afwc,psc
37	Brigadier General	Syed Sabbir Ahmed, afwc, psc
38	Brigadier General	A B M Humayun Kabir, psc, te
39	Brigadier General	Md Ziaul Hoque, afwc, psc
40	Brigadier General	A S M Anisul Haque, SGP, BGBM, PBGM, psc
41	Brigadier General	Syeed Ahmed, psc
42	Brigadier General	Md Khairul Islam, afwc, psc
43	Brigadier General	Md Jamal Hossain afwc, psc
44	Brigadier General	Mohammad Rakib Uddin Khan, psc
45	Brigadier General	Kazi Iftekharul Alam, psc
46	Brigadier General	Md Salahuddin Ahmed, afwc, psc
47	Brigadier General	Hussain Muhammad Masihur Rahman, SGP, SPP, afwc, psc
48	Brigadier General	Mohammad Moazzem Hossain, afwc, psc, G
49	Brigadier General	Mohammad Hafizur Rahman, afwc, psc
50	Brigadier General	Md Shahedul Islam, hdmc, psc
51	Brigadier General	Mohammad Kamrul Hasan, SGP, hdmc, psc
52	Brigadier General	A S M Bahauddin, SUP SPP, afwc, psc , G
53	Brigadier General	Md Aftab Hossain, BSP, afwc, psc
54	Brigadier General	G M Shariful Islam, afwc, psc, G
55	Brigadier General	Md Arman Hossain, BGBM, psc
56	Brigadier General	Md Sohrab Hossain Bhuiyan, PBGM, psc, G+

Ser	Rank	Name
Bangladesh Navy		
57	Commodore	Mohammad Zohir Uddin, (S), NUP, afwc, psc, BN
58	Commodore	Sayed Mohammad Moniruzzaman, (C), ncc, psc, BN
59	Commodore	Rajib Tripura, (E), psc, BN
60	Commodore	Abdullah-al-Maksus, (TAS), psc, BN
61	Captain	A K M Jakir Hossain, (N), afwc, psc, BN
Bangladesh Air Force		
62	Air Commodore	Md Sharif Uddin Sarker, GUP, BPP, psc, GD(P)
63	Air Commodore	Md Moazzem Hossain, afwc, psc, Engg
64	Air Commodore	Sadikur Rahman Chowdhury, GUP, psc, GD(P)
65	Air Commodore	Abul Fazal Muhammad Atiquzzaman, GUP, psc, GD(P)
66	Air Commodore	Md Readad Hossain, BUP, afwc, psc, ADWC
Bangladesh Civil Service		
67	Additional Secretary	Abdullah Sazzad
68	Joint Secretary	Dr. Md. Monirul Huda
69	Joint Secretary	Md. Waliullah Mia
70	Joint Secretary	Khaled Mamun Chowdhury
71	Joint Secretary	Khorsheda Yasmeen
72	Joint Secretary	Md. Khorshed Alam
73	Joint Secretary	Dr. Md. Aminur Rahaman
74	Joint Secretary	Md. Mahmudul Hasan
75	Joint Secretary	Saima Yunus
76	Joint Secretary	Md. Abdur Rauf
77	Joint Secretary	Md Nazmul Huda Siddiqui
78	Joint Secretary	Abu Ahmed Siddique
79	Joint Secretary	Md. Daud Miah
80	Deputy Inspector General	Md. Mainul Islam
81	Deputy Inspector General	YM Belalur Rahman, BPM
82	Director General	Mr. Toufiq Islam Shatil

NDC Participants (Course Members of Armed Forces War Course-2020)

Ser	Rank	Name
Bangladesh Army		
1	Colonel	Md Mesbah Uddin Ahmed, SPP, psc
2	Colonel	Md Ehsanul Haque, SUP (BAR), psc, Engrs
3	Colonel	Md Kamrul Hasan, PPM, psc, AC
4	Lieutenant Colonel	Mohammad Tarikul Islam, psc, AC
5	Lieutenant Colonel	S M Morshed Sorower, psc, Arty
6	Lieutenant Colonel	Omar Bin Masud, psc, G+, Arty
7	Lieutenant Colonel	Rubayet Mahmood Hasib, psc, G, Arty
8	Lieutenant Colonel	Mohammad Zillur Rahman, psc, G, Arty
9	Lieutenant Colonel	Md Shariful Islam Meraj, psc, Arty
10	Lieutenant Colonel	Abdullah Mohammad Arif, psc, Arty
11	Lieutenant Colonel	Md Saifullah, SGP, psc, G+, Arty
12	Lieutenant Colonel	Shahriar Javed Chowdhury, psc, G, Arty
13	Lieutenant Colonel	Syed Mohammad Nurus Saleheen Yousuf, PPM (Sheba), psc, Engrs
14	Lieutenant Colonel	Mohammad Farid Uddin, SUP, psc, Engrs
15	Lieutenant Colonel	Md Mahmudur Rahman , psc, Engrs
16	Lieutenant Colonel	Mohmmad Emran Islam Bhuiyan , psc, Engrs
17	Lieutenant Colonel	Md Delwar Hossain Talukder, BSP, psc, Engrs
18	Lieutenant Colonel	Monowar Ahasan, psc, Sigs
19	Lieutenant Colonel	Md Khalid Saifullah, psc, Sigs
20	Lieutenant Colonel	S M Moniruzzaman, SGP, psc, Sigs
21	Lieutenant Colonel	Mohammad Ashraful Quader, SGP, psc, Inf
22	Lieutenant Colonel	Golam Mohiuddin Haider, psc, Inf
23	Lieutenant Colonel	Ghulam Ariqul Alam, psc, Inf
24	Lieutenant Colonel	Jamilur Rahman, psc, Inf
25	Lieutenant Colonel	Mohammad Shafquat-Ul-Islam, SPP, psc, Inf
26	Lieutenant Colonel	Hasan Mahmud, psc, Inf
27	Lieutenant Colonel	Mohammad Moshiur Rahman , psc, Inf
29	Lieutenant Colonel	Moshiur Rahman, psc, Inf
29	Lieutenant Colonel	Md Habibur Rahman, SGP, PPM, psc, Inf

30	Lieutenant Colonel	Golam Azam, SBP,psc, Inf
31	Lieutenant Colonel	Zahidur Rahman, psc, Inf
32	Lieutenant Colonel	G M Sohag, psc, Inf
33	Lieutenant Colonel	Imtiaz Mahmud, BSP, psc, Inf
34	Lieutenant Colonel	Md Ahsan Habib, SPP, psc, ASC
35	Lieutenant Colonel	Md Shah Shibly Noman, psc, Ord
36	Lieutenant Colonel	Md Ahsanul Haque Bhuiyan, psc, EME
Bangladesh Navy		
37	Captain	Mirza Mahmmad Mehedi Hassan, (TAS), PC-MGS, psc, BN
38	Captain	Mirza Ali Akbar Shirazi, (N), psc, BN
39	Commander	Mohammad Farhad Hossain (ND), psc, BN
40	Commander	Fahid Abdullah, (ND), psc, BN
41	Commander	Abul Kalam Mohammad Ikramul Hossain, (G), psc
42	Commander	Md Abdullah Al Moin Bhuiyan, (G), psc
43	Commander	Mohammad Ariful Haque, (S), psc, BN
44	Commander	Muhammad Arif Hossain, (C), psc, BN
Bangladesh Air Force		
45	Group Captain	Md Moinul Hasnain, BUP, psc, Engg
46	Group Captain	Md Al-Amin khan, psc, ADWC
47	Group Captain	Md Quamrul Ershad Matin, psc, GD(P)
48	Group Captain	Md Muktasim Billah, psc, GD(P)
49	Group Captain	Mohammed Mahfuz Uddin, acsc, psc, GD(P)
50	Group Captain	Muhammad Nayeemuzzaman Khan, psc, GD(P)
51	Group Captain	Md Noor-e-Alam, psc, ATC
52	Wing Commander	Md Zahurul Haque, psc, Log

Outside Participants

Ser	Rank, Name and Appointment	Organization
1	H.E. Dr. A. K. Abdul Momen, MP, Hon'ble Minister	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
2	Professor Dr. Mohammed Farashuddin Chief Adviser	East West University
3	Professor Dr. Imtiaz Ahmed	Dhaka University
4	Professor Shahab Enam Khan	Jahangirnagar University
5	Dr. Ahmed Mushtaque Raza Chowdhury Former Vice Chairperson	BRAC
6	Md Abul Kalam Azad Former Principal Secretary & Principal Coordinator (SDG Cell)	PM Office
7	Director General (Training)	Armed Forces Division
8	Director (Military Training)	Army Headquarters
9	Director (Naval Training)	Naval Headquarters
10	Director (Air Training)	Air Headquarters
11	Commandant	Defence Services Command and Staff College (DSCSC)
12	Vice Chancellor	Bangladesh University of Professionals (BUP)
13	Commandant	Military Institute of Science and Technology (MIST)
14	Chief Instructor	Defence Services Command and Staff College (DSCSC)
15	Commander	Headquarters Logistics Area
16	Commander	Headquarters 6 Air Defence Artillery Brigade
17	Commander	Headquarters 14 Independent Engineer Brigade
18	Commander	Headquarters 86 Independent Signal Brigade

19	Commander	Headquarters 46 Independent Infantry Brigade
20	Director (RDB)	Directorate General of Forces Intelligence (DGFI)
21	Director (Admin)	National Security Intelligence (NSI)
22	MDS (Academic & Research)	Police Staff College
23	Director General	Bangladesh Institute of International & Strategic Studies (BIISS)
24	Director General	Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies (BIDS)
25	President & CEO	Bangladesh Enterprise Institute (BEI)
26	Chairman	Centre for Policy Dialogue (CPD)
27	Chairman	Power and Participation Research Centre (PPRC)
28	Chairman	Policy Research Institute of Bangladesh

Coordinators

1.	Major General Abul Hasnat Mohammad Khairul Bashar, BGBM, PBGM, ndc, afwc, psc	Senior Directing Staff (Army)	Chief Coordinator
2.	Colonel M A Saadi, afwc, psc	Director, Research and Academic	Coordinator
3.	Lieutenant Colonel Muhammad Alamgir Iqbal Khan, psc, Arty	Senior Research Fellow	Associate Coordinator
4.	Assistant Professor Nishat Sultana	Research Fellow	Assistant Coordinator
5.	Md Nazrul Islam	Assistant Director (Library)	Assistant Coordinator



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