

ISSN: 2521-7135

NDC SEMINAR PAPER



Proceedings

Seminar on

Rohingya Crisis: Challenges and Ways Forward

Organized by
Armed Forces War Course 2018
on 05 September 2018

VOLUME 03

NUMBER 05

SEPTEMBER 2018

NATIONAL DEFENCE COLLEGE

BANGLADESH

**Proceedings
Seminar on
Rohingya Crisis: Challenges and Ways Forward**

**Organized by
Armed Forces War Course 2018
on 05 September 2018**



**NATIONAL DEFENCE COLLEGE
BANGLADESH**

DISCLAIMER

The analysis, opinions and conclusions expressed or implied in this seminar proceeding are those of the presenters/authors and were presented as part of a course requirement of National Defence College for academic discourses and do not reflect any opinion or position or views of the College, Bangladesh Armed Forces or any other agencies of Bangladesh Government. Statement, facts or opinion appearing in this seminar proceeding are solely those of the presenters/authors/researchers and do not imply endorsement by editors, publisher or National Defence College, Bangladesh.

Foreword

The Rohingya is an ethnic group, who has lived for centuries in the majority Buddhist Myanmar. According to many historians, the Rohingya residence in Arakan dates back to as early as the 12th century. Due to the systematic marginalization, violence and persecution, hundreds of thousands of Rohingyas have fled to neighbouring countries over the course of many decades.

The humanitarian crisis caused by the Myanmar authority's ethnic cleansing of the Rohingyas has reached to extreme proportion. The Rohingya are turned into a stateless predominantly Muslim minority by the refusal of Myanmar to accept them as citizens living in parts of a hostile and overwhelmingly Buddhist country. The number of refugees is ever increasing.

Security concern, both internal and external, is another challenge that Bangladesh is already facing and it will intensify further in the future with the new influx of the Rohingya refugees. It has been reported in various news media that many local and international terror organisations are trying to make inroads among the Rohingya refugees.

The other pertinent issue is the danger of widespread environmental degradation due to the settlement of the refugees in areas close to hills and forest lands. Clearing of forest land, over exploitation of natural resources to support the livelihoods of the refugees will have serious consequences on the local environment. Bangladesh is globally recognised as an environmentally vulnerable country and the mentioned activities will further degrade the environment and make the country more environmentally vulnerable.

It gives me much pleasure to pen this foreword for "Rohingya Crisis: Challenges and Ways Forward". I congratulate all who have contributed to publish this paper. May Allah bless us all.



Lieutenant General Sheikh Mamun Khaled, SUP, rcds, psc, PhD
Commandant
National Defence College

Editorial

Rohingya, the marginalized majority Muslim community of Myanmar has been making headlines for years. The distressed and officially stateless people have suffered from the most horrific atrocities and human right abuse from who they thought to be their own government. Over a million Rohingya refugees have fled violence that took place in the northern Rakhine state of Myanmar.

The atrocity is referred as a textbook example of ethnic cleansing. Bangladesh is now faced with the burden of more than one million refugees to feed and the challenge of solving the issue by ensuring their return in a befitting manner. Rohingya crisis is said to be one of the most vulnerable crises in the history. The August 25 is the first anniversary of the mass flight of Rohingya refugees into Bangladesh following the attacks carried out by the Myanmar military in which thousands were killed and most of their houses were burnt.

This situation poses a number of challenges for Bangladesh for the short as well as longer terms. Providing basic necessities of life like food, shelter, healthcare would be the utmost priorities in the beginning and also for the rest of the period so long the Rohingyas stay in this country. Their prolonged stay will call for providing them with other services for continuing their lives in this country.

I must convey sincere thanks and deep felicitation to all concerned who endeavoured and co-operated in enriching the paper with their invaluable efforts and delicate suggestions. Moreover, I would like to thank “Editorial Board” for their relentless support and assistance to publish this paper.



Brigadier General Mohammad Mahbubul Haq, PBGM, ndc, afwc, psc
Chief Instructor
National Defence College

Editorial Board



Chief Patron

Lt Gen Sheikh Mamun Khaled, SUP, rcds, psc, PhD



Editor in Chief

Brig Gen Mohammad Mahbubul Haq
PBGM, ndc, afwc, psc



Editor

Col Mohammad Shahrir Zaman
afwc, psc, G



Associate Editor

Lt Col A S M Badiul Alam, afwc, psc, G+, Arty



Assistant Editor

Lecturer Farhana Binte Aziz
Research Fellow



Assistant Editor

Md Nazrul Islam
Assistant Director

CONTENTS

Foreword by Commandant, NDC	05
Editorial by Editor in Chief	06
Editorial Board	07
Overview of the Seminar	09
Executive Summary	10
Address of Commandant, NDC	18
Address of Chief Guest	22
Keynote Paper-1: Rohingya Crisis: Challenges and Ways Forward By Armed Forces War Course Members 2018	27
Keynote Paper-2: Rohingya: History and Genesis of The Crisis in Relation to Bangladesh By Mr. Asif Munier	45
Keynote Paper-3: The Present Rohingya Crisis and Ways Forward By Dr. Imtiaz Ahmed, Professor of International Relations and Director, Centre for Genocide Studies, University of Dhaka	51
Summary of Interactive and Question-Answer Session	57
List of Participants	62

Overview of the Seminar

On 05 September 2018, the course members of Armed Forces War Course - 2018 organized a daylong seminar at NDC auditorium. This year, the theme of the seminar was “Rohingya Crisis: Challenges and Ways Forward”. The subject selected for seminar was very contemporary having a great effect on the security of the country in all possible dimensions.

Presence of Hon’ble Foreign Minister of Peoples Republic of Bangladesh Mr. Abul Hassan Mahmood Ali, MP as Chief Guest added a great value to the seminar. 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 - 2018.

The seminar started with the opening remarks by the Chief Instructor of AFWC wing followed by the welcome speech of the Commandant NDC. A group of four officers of AFWC 2018 course members carried out an in-depth study on the topic and presented the findings in first session of the seminar. Commodore K Misbah-Ul-Azim, NPP, afwc, psc, BN, Directing Staff (Navy) of AFWC wing chaired the first session. Right after the first session, respected Chief Guest of the seminar Hon’ble Foreign Minister of Government of the People’s Republic of Bangladesh Mr. Abul Hassan Mahmood Ali, MP gave his valuable speech. In the second session, Mr Asif Munier – an eminent former official of International Organization of Migration (IOM) and Professor Dr. Imtiaz Ahmed from Dhaka University presented their keynote speeches on “History of Rohingya and Genesis of Crisis” and “The Present Rohingya Crisis and Ways Forward” respectively. This session was chaired by one of the Directing Staffs of AFWC wing, Brigadier General Md Rafiqul Islam, SUP, ndc, afwc, psc.

The seminar ended with a vibrant and interactive Q & A session where all the participants took keen interest and actively participated by giving their thoughts, ideas, clarifications etcetera. A good number of queries came from the audiences which were very prudently and holistically answered by the presenters. At the end, the seminar offered numbers of thought provoking insights.

Executive Summary

Introduction

On 5 September 2018, Armed Forces War Course Wing arranged a seminar at the National Defence College auditorium. A very contemporary and pressing issue was selected as the topic of the seminar titled, 'Rohingya Crisis: Challenges and Ways Forward'. Honourable Foreign Minister of Peoples Republic of Bangladesh Mr. Abul Hassan Mahmood Ali, MP graced the seminar as chief guest.

Conduct of the Seminar

The seminar was conducted in two sessions. In Session-1, a selected panel of course members of Armed Forces War Course 2018 presented a well researched keynote paper. In Session-2, Mr. Asif Munier, an eminent migration expert and former official of International Organization of Migration (IOM) and Professor Dr. Imtiaz Ahmed, Professor of International Relations and Director, Centre for Genocide Studies at the University of Dhaka presented their keynote speeches. In the end, there was a lively interactive session where numbers of the participants put forward comments and offered their ideas, opinions and concerns.

Sessions of the Seminar

Session-1

- Keynote Paper-1: 'Rohingya Crisis: Challenges and Ways Forward' presented by a selected panel of course members of Armed Forces War Course 2018.

Session- 2

- Keynote Paper-2: 'Rohingya: History & Genesis of the Crisis in Relation to Bangladesh', presented by Mr. Asif Munier.
- Keynote Paper-3: 'The Present Rohingya Crisis and Ways Forward', presented by Professor Dr. Imtiaz Ahmed.

Session-3: Interactive Session

Findings of the Seminar

Keeping the present Rohingya crisis as central issue, the presenters gave their individual views in the keynote papers from different perspectives. The major findings are highlighted below:

Keynote Paper-1: Rohingya Crisis: Challenges and Ways Forward

- **Genesis of the Crisis**

- The time line of Rohingya crisis dates back to the British regime. The term Roang / Rohang / Roshang-the old name of Arakan-is of much antiquity. It is probably the corruption of Arabic term Raham (blessing, mercy) meaning the land of God's blessing. The term Rohingya is derived from the word Rohai or Roshangee, a terminology perverted to Rohingya. Rohai and Roshangee are terms denoting the Muslim people inhabiting in the old Arakan (Rohang/Roshang/Roang).
- During 1430-1530 Arakan in the north was confined to present-day Bangladesh-Burma.
- Many Historians claim Arakanese kings were Buddhists although they kept Muslim names and inscribed Kalema.
- Arakanese kings compared themselves to Sultans and fashioned themselves after Mughal rulers. They also employed Indians and Muslims in prestigious positions within the royal administration. Syed Alaol was a renowned poet of Arakan.

- **Ongoing Crisis**

- In 1948, Just after the formation of Pakistan. The Rohingya Community leaders demanded to M. A Jinnah that the state of Rakhain be taken over by the East Bengal administration. Jinnah refused to

include the state as a part of Pakistan because doing so would engage Pakistan in conflict with yet another neighbor. This refusal initiated the Bengali Muslims in creating Guerilla outfits as Mujahedeen to separate Rakhain from Burma.

- After the coup in 1962, Burma's military leaders began a systematic policy of discrimination against the Rohingya, and carried out military campaigns to drive the Rohingya out of Burma.
- Thereafter in 1982, Burma's military junta promulgated the Citizenship Law that effectively stripped the Rohingya of their citizenship. Under the law, Rohingya were again not recognized as one of the country's 135 ethnic groups.
- The radicalization on Rohingyas are mostly biased by islamophobia as the number of Rohingya population increased in the Rakhain state over the years. The phobia dates back to 1962, when the Burmese government enforced policies to control the Rohingya population, including restrictions on the freedom of movement, marriage and childbirth.
- The present Suu Kyi government continues to deprive Rohingya community of their basic rights. The chaos in the Rakhain state is considered by the government as the consequence of terrorist activities by ARSA. Suu Kyi fears that the condemnation of Army's activities would be costly for the fragile democracy.

- **Current Response**

- The exodus began with the military crackdown in response to the killing of security personnel by the ARSA on 25 August 2017. By 19 September, more than 415,000 Rohingyas fled to Bangladesh. By 24 October the number exceeded 600,000. By January 2018 the number rose to 700,000+. As of July 2018, Ministry of Home Affairs reported more than one million Rohingyas are in Bangladesh, out of which 815,506 are new arrivals.

- According to Article 1 A (2) of the 1951 Convention, Rohingyas do not fall within the category of Refugees. Refugees must go through the ‘Refugee Status Determination (RSD)’ process. They must have applied for asylum. They have a legal framework and they enjoy international legal protection. Rohingyas do not fulfill these criteria. So, Bangladesh term them as ‘Forcibly Displaced Myanmar Nationals (FDMN)’.
 - Bangladesh received good sympathy from the international community in terms of humanitarian assistance. UNHCR has been the leading organization for the relief operation. Many countries condemned the military atrocity namely USA, UK, Japan, France, Turkey, Nigeria, Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan and many more. Some countries supported the MN cause namely China, Russia, India, Cambodia, Laos, The Philippines, Vietnam, Belarus etc International Organization like UN, EU, OIC, Commonwealth called for investigation to the atrocities. Nobel Laureates, The Pope, Dalai Lama and the World Jews Congress expressed support for the Rohingyas.
 - Govt has responded well to meet the crisis. It has strengthened diplomatic effort. Honorable Prime Minister has visited G7 Outreach and the United Nations to meet the world leaders. ‘UN Security Council’ has been involved. Probe committee has been formed in the UN. Honorable ministers have visited Myanmar several times to solve the crisis.
- **Ways Forward**
 - There are pragmatic reasons for which Bangladesh needs to seek a sustainable settlement of the daunting crisis. Having faced multi-pronged risks to stability, Bangladesh needs to develop a roadmap for resolving Rohingya crisis which is to be prepared by delving deep inside the problem. This is not a bilateral issue. Rather it is a global concern and needs unified effort by all.
 - The five-point proposal made by the Honourable Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina at the 72nd UN General Assembly (UNGA) session on 21 September 2017 to find out solutions to the crisis should be materialized.

- If the million Rohingya people are not settled in their own land in Myanmar soon, then they will migrate all over in the region. UN has already warned that the next wave of trafficking is just beginning. At this backdrop, the well concerted effort by all the stakeholders should be orchestrated for the crisis resolution.

Keynote Paper-2: Rohingya: History and Genesis of the Crisis in Relation to Bangladesh

- The critical part is every stake holder is looking at the Rohingya crisis from own perspective. Bangladesh, Myanmar, United Nations, Rohingya, Buddhists and world leaders all have different view point. But long term and durable solutions will not be possible without viewing it from the perspective of Rohingyas (the affected group) and identifying the true challenges.
- The interesting part is none of the South Asian states/nations have signed the refugee convention but throughout the history of this region, there were several incidents of refugee and there is tradition of seeking refuge.
- In Myanmar, establishing communal harmony is completely left to the people. For many years the responsibility of communal harmony has been ignored by the government and left to the population.
- The Rohingya community has been deprived from very basic human rights by the state. So with political, social and economical exclusion Rohingyas are left with very little to do. Their social structure has been broken down. They even cannot speak for themselves having no leadership or spokesmen.
- Rohingya as a community is hated and treated as Rajakars and Al Badars are in our country. Rohingya has become a derivative word of traitor in Myanmar society.
- If this identity is not established then the key issue will not be addressed. If the world continues to call them displaced Myanmar people then the stand of Myanmar government of denying Rohingya as a distinct communal identity will be supported.

- Now about representing Rohingya population in the world forum. Bangladesh cannot represent and Myanmar will never do. Here comes the role of human rights organizations and aid agencies, which create the leadership and spokesman within the community. Best option is to find the leader from the deprived and suffering groups. There are outspoken persons in the Rohingya camps. These people could be picked and developed to represent them in the world forum.
- However for a political solution much of the efforts have not been seen by the international forums and world leaders. Even BIMSTEC, ASEAN etc have not taken any strong stand to resolve the issue. Only some discussions in UNSC, which has not been effective to stop the ethnic cleansing. A strong voice from international platform or a global stand on ethnic rights and violence conducted has to be promulgated.
- Rohingya people in Bangladesh do not want to be Bangladeshi; they want to be Rohingyas in their own country Myanmar. They even do not want separate land. They just want recognition, citizenship and basic human rights in Myanmar.
- It cannot be bilateral issue between Bangladesh -Myanmar and cannot be isolated effort by Bangladesh. It must have to be integrated approach by all regional and international partners.

Keynote Paper-3: The Present Rohingya Crisis and Ways Forward

- The first area of ‘ways forward’ is “Humanitarian”. We need to raise fund to support the Rohingya people. It is a big challenge and we need to gear it up. We need to do some ‘out of box’ thinking in regards to raising fund. Still we don’t see any ‘musical concert’ or ‘big celebrity concert’ coming up for Rohingya people. It is important not for the money only but to get the message across.
- Number two area is the “Empowerment” of Rohingya. The rich Rohingyas have left Myanmar long back. Bulks of them are in KSA. Only

left are the disempowered Rohingya. So, we have to invest for providing hundred percent literacy of this disempowered Rohingya population. This is very important because when they go back they will be able to integrate themselves with mainstream Burmese population.

- The third area of importance is the “Employment”. A serious employment timeline has to be built. This employment can be in the Ready Made Garments sector. This is an area where we can have back to back lot of components which means that the Rohingyas can be trained inside the camp. If these Rohingyas can be made skilled, they will be productive and when they go back, they go back as skilled manpower.
- On the issue of “Justice”, we have to wait for the report of UN fact finding committee to be approved in the general assembly and there is no reason why it will not be. Previously also the general assembly was with us overwhelmingly. For the first time the word ‘ethnic cleansing’ has not been used. Instead, the committee used clearly and internationally recognized definitions. These are ‘Genocide’, ‘War Crimes’ and ‘Crime against Humanity’. All are legally binding concepts and this is where our strength lies.
- We need to internationalize the issue and the reason is very simple. The moment genocide, war crime and crime against humanity are said, it cannot be solved bilaterally. it is no longer a bilateral issue rather it is an international issue and we need to prepare ourselves accordingly.
- Our missions abroad should start doing photography exhibition. It is important to have the photographs out and win over the citizens of those countries. At present there are good number of photography component now and we must reach to world community through our consulate, business house and even through UN.
- Our intelligence has failed as regards to giving dates that when and what Myanmar would do. We should have anticipated what is going to happen when ‘Kofi Annan Commission’ report will be published but we couldn’t. Let us rebuild on our intelligence.

- Firstly, for ‘drugs’, as we know that Myanmar is involved in drug trafficking and ‘narco-terrorism’ against Bangladesh by which politician, students, academician, police all are affected. So drug trafficking by Myanmar is one we need to take care and we need to build intelligence on this. The other one is ‘Radicalization’, if ever there is any.
- Last point on security is that we need to show some hard power, may be through defence purchase to show Myanmar that we are in business because at times hard power also need to be materialized to bring the issue on the table. We may even create local militia from the people of the camps to put pressure on the Rohingya.

Address of Commandant NDC

Lieutenant General Sheikh Mamun Khaled, SUP, rcds, psc, PhD

Bismillahir Rahmanir Rahim

Today's Chief Guest - Honorable Minister of Foreign Affairs, Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh Mr. Abul Hassan Mahmood Ali, MP,

Senior Military Officers, Government Officials,

Distinguished Academicians and Resource Persons,

Keynote Speakers,

Course participants of National Defence Course and Armed Forces War Course 2018 and august gathering present,

Assalamualikum and very Good Morning

I take this opportunity to welcome you all in our today's seminar organized by Armed Forces War Course (AFWC) Wing of National Defence College. Since inception, National Defence College (NDC), in pursuant to its thoughtful motto 'Security Through Knowledge', has always been forthcoming in examining pressing strategic and operational issues. In doing so, every year NDC conducts and organizes different curriculum. Seminars are the epitome of one of such endeavours. On 03 September, ND Course participants have organized a seminar and just after 02 days, today on 05 September Armed Forces War Course wing is staging yet another seminar on a very important and contemporary issue titled, 'Rohingya Crisis: Challenges and Ways Forward'.

Only about 10 days back, 25th August 2018 was the first anniversary of the latest mass exodus of Forcibly Displaced Myanmar Nationals to Bangladesh. Thereafter, throughout the year, we saw increasing world attention and multifarious national, international, multi-lateral and bi-lateral manoeuvres and actions related to the issue. On these account, the theme of today's seminar is very current, live and pertinent.

Distinguished Guests

All of we know that the Rohingya issue is an age old issue for Bangladesh. Since the establishment of Bangladesh in 1971, Rohingays were forcibly pushed to Bangladesh in different time frame, very few of them returned, few drifted to other countries and many, since then living here in Bangladesh.

The first notable large influx of Rohingyas started in 1972, followed by the massive exodus in 1991-92, 2012, 2015, 2016 and finally the grave and dreadful displacement happened on 25 August 2017. In last incident, more than 700,000 Myanmar nationals has left their country and entered Bangladesh to escape extrajudicial killings, torture, rape and arson attacks. The UN has termed it as a “textbook example of ethnic cleansing”. Under the able leadership of our Honourable Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina, government of Bangladesh has addressed the issue very prudently. Despite many provocation, Bangladesh has maintained its stance of a role model in negotiating the issue through peaceful settlement. Now more than about one million Forcibly Displaced Myanmar Nationals are living mostly in the South-east corner of Bangladesh. With the support of international community Bangladesh is providing necessary food, shelter, medicare, WASH (water, sanitation and hygiene), security and other basic needs to these large Forcibly Displaced Myanmar Nationals for more than a year. But, a sustainable solution of the crisis is a dire necessity and the need of the time.

Learned Presence

National Defence College is the premier and apex institute of the country on defence, security, strategic and development studies. Since its inauguration by the Honorable Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina in 1999, the college is pursuing its vision to emerge as the Centre of Excellence to meet the challenges of the future. The college promotes free and frank discussion following a non-attributable policy that allows for an environment of non-prejudiced open inquiry, exchange of ideas and crystallization of consensus. NDC continuously pursues academic activities like organization of different seminars, publication of a number of journals and conduct multi-dimensional studies. The participants of different courses carry out a good number of group and

individual research works. The prudent findings and recommendations of these research and studies are regularly forwarded to appropriate policy making levels. NDC thereby constantly involved in rendering intellectual input and substantial ingredients to policy makers and think tanks including concerned government organs and military outfits to assist in policy formulation and strategy development.

August Gathering

The aim of organizing the seminars in NDC on contemporary national and international subject matters and themes in general is to gain a wide-ranging understandings of the nuances and intricacies on the subject matter. The particular aim of today's seminar as the name sake suggests is to analyzed the challenges of Rohingya crisis and to find out the probable ways forward towards a sustainable solution of the crisis. At present, not only Bangladesh rather the whole peace loving world community is striving to solve this crisis. In this context, we really need to examine the challenges that impinging upon this crisis at present and the probable future complexities that to follow. Besides, the ways forward is expected to shade due light on the probable future measures in charting through the crisis. I hope, from the deliberation of the keynote speakers and through question and answer session the seminar will be able to bring out comprehensive strategy options in addressing the crisis in a sustainable and pragmatic manner.

Distinguish Guest

I take this opportunity to convey our heartfelt thanks and gratitude to our today's chief guest Honourable Foreign Minister Mr. Abul Hassan Mahmood Ali, MP for his generous presence. Surely his presence has taken this seminar to a greater height. Despite his busy schedule he has spared much of his valuable time to attend this seminar. Surely it would greatly encouraged the course participants, the key note 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 to you, Sir.

I would also take this scope to convey my thanks to all the resource personnel who will be contributing in this seminar by giving their intellectual inputs. We deeply acknowledge your invaluable contribution on college curriculum, in fact you are the sources of inspiration for all our academic endeavours.

This seminar would not be successful without the presence of these august gathering. I also acknowledge their vibrant participation. On behalf of all members of National Defence College and the participants of this seminar, I would extend my thanks for your generous presence. At the end, I would like to thank Chief Instructor, faculty and course members of Armed Forces War Course 2018 for arranging such a vibrant seminar on a very contemporary issue. I would also thank all the staffs of National Defence College who has worked relentlessly remaining behind the scene to make it a successful one.

Thank you very much, thank you all. Allah Hafez.

Address of Chief Guest

Mr. Abul Hassan Mahmood Ali, MP

Hon'ble Foreign Minister

Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh

Commandant National Defence College

Distinguished Participants, Resource Persons,

Ladies and Gentlemen

I am delighted to be here, in this august gathering. Today I will not deliver any prepared statement rather provide you my views and the Bangladesh Government's appreciations on the situation, what we have been doing and what is the latest situation with regard to the repatriation process and the general scenario in the international arena.

As you know, as a career diplomat I have negotiated the return of the Rohingya refugees in 1991-92 that gave me a great deal of insight in to the problem and possible solution. This was the second time rohingya people were thrown out of Myanmar. In December 1991 when I visited Myanmar to start negotiation, we were using the term Refugees. This time also the UN Secretary General Antonio Guterres used it, it's not actually under the UNHCR system. That creats complication and difficult to get out of the situation. Therefore when we use the term refugee, that is in a very general sense, Bangladesh is not a signatory to that agreement.

You know how the Myanmar military behaves, use of the fake photographs as brought out by Reuters and Myanmar Military had to beg apology for that. Their apology should be welcomed also. At least they have admitted their wrong doings.

In 1991, during my visit to Myanmar, I met senior military leadership at Yangoon. The meeting with senior military leadership was not successful as there was no response from senior military leaders.

Later their foreign minister came to Dhaka and we had a break through. He was assisted by a Deputy Attorney General, who called Rohingya as member

of Myanmar society. So, we took that term and had an agreement. Therefore 237000 people returned to Myanmar.

Falling back to present situation, I have few point to make. I would like to mention that the name of the Arakan was ROSHAN, pronounced as Rohan by local people. The Rohingya people are a mix group of people and they are living in that area for almost 2000 years. That has been recorded and accepted by the academia.

Off course they have affiliation with Bengali language. During the arrival of Arabs, many mosques were built in Akyab and Sittwe area. Therefore the connection with Islam and Arabic dates long back.

During the Mughal period, Aurangzeb send his brother Shouza to Arakan with all his family and resources. Later Shouza was killed and his family, entire retinue and resources were taken over by Buddhist king. That was the large scale movement of Indian muslims from Dhaka area to Arakan.

When British took over, Bahadur Shah moved to Yangoon with his troops and personnel, later he died and buried in Yangoon. That was also a huge scale of muslim movement from Delhi.

Portugeese also came as a part of Rohingya language. The history of Portugeese were also came up during a discussion with the UN Secretary General.

But the Myanmar top Supreme Commander, General Ming Aung Hlaing calls them as a Bengali and says the Bengali problem arose during WW II which is not true at all. During WW II Rohingyas supported British people and through Arakan they attacked Burmese.

In the first democratic constitution 1947-48, in Burma there is no indigenious group, all are out comers. Those who lived in Burma during eight of the last 10 years they will be given full citizenship of Burma. So the question of citizenship in 1948 independent Burma was based on residence, there was no question of ethnic groups, whether they lived in Burma or not.

A book published by free Rohingya Coalition, written by Dr. Mong a pure Burman academic belonging to main Burman group. He has shown an article in Burmese language and later translated to English. It is written that, the speech of Brig Gen Aung Jee, Vice Chief of staff which was delivered during surrender ceremony of Mujahid insurgents in 04 July 1961 just before General Ne Win took over power. Gen Aung Jee said that, due to inter-connected border we have Islamic faith lying two side of the border where the people living on east side were called as rohingya, he mentioned that a one single racial or ethnic group settles the border between countries. In this speech Gen Aung Jee said about ethnic groups and people along Burmese-Chinese borders and Thai-Burma border. So, he said that the people living on Burmese side of border are the people of Union of Burma. During my visit to Myanmar, this book was handed over to Minister Swee Minister of Aung San Suu Kyi government and main negotiator. However, there was no response, in fact, this is how they carry on negotiation.

During the visit of UN Security Council delegation in Dhaka, Cox's Bazar and Myanmar, there was discussions with both sides. In a meeting, the Russian representative said about Russian support will be in favour of Bangladesh, the Chinese representative also said Bangladesh China friendship and support will remain, they committed support for both Bangladesh and Myanmar. Besides, there was a visit by the joint working group to assess the situation.

As a recent development, the Ministry of Social Welfare, Myanmar representative visited Bangladesh and interacted with the Rohingya people in Kutupalong area. It is learnt that Myanmar authority is building infrastructures for Rohingya in North Rakhine state. Hopefully we can repatriate a first batch of Rohingya soon.

We have started various exchange programs and trade with Myanmar. We are looking forward to set up joint venture garments factory in northern rakhine state also. We like to increase engagement from our side. Recently Aung San Suu Kyi said before ASEAN meeting in a foreign ministers meeting said that we are neighbor of Bangladesh we must live in peace and security. From Bangladesh as well, we want to maintain peace. To resolve the issue, there was a inter-faith dialog including muslims, budhdhists, hindu and Christian leaders

in Myanmar, we can also send chief monk from Bangladesh and other religious persons too. There are lot of opportunities to improve bilateral situation.

I would like to mention that all the seminar participants have done good and reflected an analytical insight. I just want to say that there are many books, we must try to read more for further understanding.

Finally, I think as a nation and society we must stand together and maintain national solidarity and unity. We have to be very careful about the camps, Bangladesh security forces are working well to secure the camps. We have to maintain control of the camps and the international NGOs as well. We have to preserve and protect our national interests.

With these words I would like to thank the seminar participants and speakers, as well as the members of the civil society for this beautiful seminar.

Thank you all.

Session-1

Session Chair



Commodore Khandkar Misbah-Ul-Azim
(TAS), afwc, psc, BN
Directing Staff (Navy), AFWC Wing

Keynote Speakers: AFWC 2018



Lieutenant Colonel
Mohammad Mahmudul Hasan
psc, Inf



Lieutenant Colonel
Muhammad Azharul Islam
psc, Ord



Commander
Khan Mohammad Emon Rashid
(ND), psc, BN



Group Captain
Md Mostafa Mahmood Siddiq
psc, GD (P)

SESSION-1

KEYNOTE PAPER-1

ROHINGYA CRISIS: CHALLENGES AND WAYS FORWARD

Genesis of The Crisis

Introduction

Nearly a million Rohingya people have crossed from their homes in western Myanmar into southeast Bangladesh since August 2017, joining hundreds of thousands of their brothers and sisters who made the same journey in previous years. The Rohingya fled what the United Nations calls “a textbook example of ethnic cleansing,” recounting horrific stories of burned villages and killings at the hands of Myanmar’s military.

Rohingya can be defined as a minor Muslim community living in Rakhaine. Around a million Rohingya have fled from violence in Myanmar’s Rakhain State and took shelter in Bangladesh with horrific stories of atrocities. This has become the world’s fastest-growing refugee crisis.

The Arakan History (100-955 AD)

The Arakan Mountains, at Victoria Peak, separate Rakhine State from central Myanmar. The Arakan was an independent kingdom until the end of the 18th century, mainly due to its geographical position. There are two major ethnic communities in Arakan. The Rohingyas are majority population of Arakan are Muslims and Maghs (Rakhaings) are the minority are Buddhist.

The term Arakan is of Arabic or Persian origin with the same meaning is the corruption of the word Arakan, the plural of the word Rukn meaning a pillar. The fundamental tenets of Islam are called ‘five pillars of Islam’. Thus the word Arakan signifies the land of Islam or peace. During this Indo-Aryan

Settlement, the people were mostly Indo-Aryan from central India, the rulers were from Chandra Dynasty. Dinnyawadi was ruled by 25 kings (146-746 AD). In 788 C.E. a new dynasty, known as Chandra, founded the city of Vesali. Total 12 kings (788-994 AD) ruled the city. This city became a noted trade port where thousands of ships came annually.

Rohang was a very familiar region for the Arab sea farers. The Arab Muslim traders had good contacts with Arakan because of resources. In 680 AD Mohammed Hanofiya arrived at Maungdaw in the Northern Arakan. Kaiyapuri, the queen of Cannibals ruled this hilly deep forest. Mohammed Hanif attacked and defeated the queen. She was later on converted to Islam and married to him. The descendants of these mixed people formed the original nucleus of the Rohingya Muslims in Arakan.

Mongolian Invasion in Arakan in 957-1430 AD

Mongolian invasion in Arakan ended the Chandra dynasty in 957 C.E. The assimilation of Mongolians and Tibeto-Burmans left only two distinctive races in Arakan -the Rohingyas and the Maghs. Dissatisfaction among the Buddhist section leads to the plot to oust Naramekhla by inviting the Burmans. The king of Ava, Minkhaung, sent his son Minye Kyaw Swa to invade Arakan. Naramekhla fled to Bengal leaving the country at the hand of the Burmans. Naramekhla embraced Islam and adopted the name, 'Solaiman Shah'. Wali Khan sent by Solaiman Shah drove away the Burmans but he betrayed him. Sandi Khan overthrew Wali Khan and restored Solaiman Shah to the throne in 1430 C.E.

1430-1784 AD (Mrauk-U Dynasty of Muslims and Buddhists)

In 1430, Solaiman Shah regained control of Arakan and agreed to abide 6 points. He also established his new capital in the city of Mrauk U. the six points are;

- Return the twelve towns of Bengal.
- Receive Muslim title for the kings of Arakan.

- Court emblem must be inscribed with Kalima Tayuba in Persian.
- Coins, medallions must be inscribed with Kalima Tayuba in Persian.
- Use the Persian as court language of Arakan.
- Pay taxes and presents annually.

In 1531, Zabuk Shah (Minbin) ascended the throne. He died in 1553, and the throne was taken by a commoner named Dikka whose reign was marked with misrule that lasted from 1553 to 1555. Zabuk Shah was one of the strongest rulers in the history of Arakan and was the founder of 'Arakanese Empire'. He conquered Chattogram and dominated a coastline of 1000 miles. Sultan Sikandar Shah (Min Phalaung), son of Zabuk Shah, ascended the throne in 1571 and ruled up to 1593. During his time Arakanese gained possession of the whole of Chattogram including the Hill Tracts and retained it for about a century. Hussain Shah (Min Khamaung) eldest son Selim Shah proved to be a great and most successful king of Arakan. He subdued the rebels of his kingdom, crippled the power of Portuguese, dared the world-conquering Moghul army and baffled the aggressive designs of the Burmans. With the death of Salim Shah II in 1638, the period of Arakan's greatness came to an end and the period of decline began. He was succeeded by his son Meng Sani but was murdered by a commoner. He took the throne and assumed the title of Narapati. Narapati was a Magh Buddhist commoner. Dogmatic Buddhists could not tolerate the rule of Muslim kings. In 1784 the King of Ava, Bodawphaya, invaded Arakan by land and sea, and after slight operations gained a complete victory. Thus the independence of Arakan came the end.

1784-1826 AD (Arakan Under Burmese Occupation) 1752 -1824 (Alungpaya Konbaung) Dynasty

In mid-November 1784, Burmese king Boddawphaya sent Burman Army to conquer Arakan. Burman occupied Arakan and returned in February 1785 with the royal family. Moghs settled in Bandarban, and Cox's Bazar. Rohingyas settled in southern Chattogram. In 1797, both Buddhists and Muslims were

equally tortured and mass migration of Arakanese to Chattogram took place. About 100,000 Mogh and 30,000 Rohingyas entered Chattogram. During this time the term “Moghur Mulluk” to refer to Arakan as a lawless society came into use. In 1798, two-thirds of the inhabitants of Arakan fled to Chattogram.

1826-1948 AD (British Colonial Rule)

In January 1824, Burmese troops crossed into British India territory (Cachar and Jaintia) in pursuit of the rebels resulting 1st Anglo-Burmese War and annexed Arakan the British-India by 1826. In 1826, population of Arakan was 100,000 (Maghs - 60,000; Muslims - 30,000; Burmese - 10,000) i.e. Muslims at that time was 30 percent of the total population of Arakan. Arakanese Muslim who were settled in Chattogram Region during 1784-1824 AD known as Roai in Chattogram started to return to their homes in Arakan. 2nd Anglo-Burmese war in 1858 and 3rd Anglo-Burmese war in 1885 resulted in total annexation of Burma by the British. In 1906 an organization named YMBA led by students of Rangoon College started promoting Buddhism, education. In 1917, YMBA converted itself into the General Council of Burmese Association (GCBA) started fighting with the British government for their rights.

In 1938, Aung San, the leader of Thakin Party conspired with Arakanese Buddhist leaders and Maghs to set strategy of gaining independence and policy towards the Rohingyas of Arakan. During WW-II, Aung San and his thirty comrades secretly went to Japan where they formed the Burma Independence Army (BIA). The Thakin leaders of Arakan, military officers, police officers and police constables started the barbaric Muslim massacre on 28th March 1942 and killed more than 100,000 Muslims. By June 1942, the Muslims took control of North Arakan and declared North Arakan as Muslim State. In December 1942, the British Military Administration declared the former Arakan State as “Muslim National Area.”

Aung San took a stance in favour of the Allied forces during WW II. The Alee-Aung San agreement in January 1947 at London provided full independence to Burma. In December 1945, all Burmese Muslim Organizations formed into a single body called The Burma Muslim Congress (BMC) by Mr Razak and

decided to join with Aung San. The Rohingyas requested British to recognise Muslim Arakanese as a separate nationality from that of Buddhist Arakanese and asked for regional autonomy. Following 'Unity in Diversity' Aung San - bring all into a consensus except Rohingyas. Rohingyas' venture to join Pakistan goes in vain by cunning diplomacy of Aung San. The first general elections were held countrywide in April 1947 excepting north Arakan. Arakan was excluded from the drafting of the first Constitution of Burma.

Ongoing Crisis

Post-Independence Development

In 1948, Just after the formation of Pakistan. The Rohingya Community leaders demanded to M. A Jinnah that the state of Rakhain be taken over by the East Bengal administration. Jinnah refused to include the state as a part of Pakistan because doing so would engage Pakistan in conflict with yet another neighbour. This refusal initiated the Bengali Muslims in creating Guerilla outfits as Mujahedeen to separate Rakhain from Burma. The same year the Union Citizenship Act was passed, which allowed ethnic groups with citizenship. They were elected to Burma's parliament, served in the government, and were officers in the military.

After the coup in 1962, Burma's military leaders began a systematic policy of discrimination against the Rohingya and carried out military campaigns to drive the Rohingya out of Burma. Following this, in 1978 the Burmese military swept across northern Rakhine State as part of Operation Dragon King, pushing an estimated 250,000 Rohingya into Bangladesh.

Thereafter in 1982, Burma's military junta promulgated the Citizenship Law that effectively stripped the Rohingya of their citizenship. Under the law, Rohingya were again not recognized as one of the country's 135 ethnic groups. In order to obtain citizenship, proof that the person's family lived in Myanmar before 1948 was needed, as well as fluency in one of the national languages. Many Rohingya lacked such paperwork because it was either unavailable or denied to them. Then in 2016 amid continuous suppression by Myanmar military,

Rohingya militant group attacked border guard posts, killing nine soldiers. The army retaliated by killing, rape and arson. Finally, Myanmar military conducted a genocide by killing Rohingyas on 25 August 2017, burning down villages and triggering a mass exodus to Bangladesh.

Radicalization

The radicalization on Rohingyas are mostly biased by Islamophobia as the number of Rohingya population increased in the Rakhain state over the years. The phobia dates back to 1962 when the Burmese government enforced policies to control the Rohingya population, including restrictions on the freedom of movement, marriage and child birth. The Buddhists nationalist party circulated the concept of radicalization by saying that in future,

- All the land in the country shall be owned by the Muslims.
- Buddhists will be converted into Muslims using the power of money.
- Muslims are using the money to get married to Buddhist women.
- Muslims are preaching their doctrine in every place to spread Islam.
- After successfully using these methods Muslims will take state power.

The Burmese Buddhist majority believes that Buddhism will inevitably decline and disappear due to the rapid spread of Islam. A Patriotic Association of Myanmar known as Ma-Ba-Tha which works for the Protection of Buddhism in Myanmar sparked ethnic Buddhists sentiment by saying “If we are weak, our land will become Muslim”. The Buddhist hatred against Muslim was multiplied after the Saffron revolution in 2007. During this movement, pro-democracy activists, citizens and monks began protesting against the government to reestablish democracy. Myanmar military realized the power of nationalist Buddhists after this movement and has successfully shifted the focus of the monks from democracy to anti-Islam.

Again Buddhist nationalism in Myanmar was led by the “969” movement in 2011. Which was a counter-narrative to a holy number 786, used by some Muslims.

- The first ‘9’ stands for the nine special attributes of the Lord Buddha.
- ‘6’ for the six special attributes of Dhamma, or Buddhist Teachings, and
- The last ‘9’ represents the nine special attributes of Buddhist Sangha (monastic community).

Interestingly 969’s proponents described 786 as a Muslim plot to conquer Burma in the 21st century as the sum of 7, 8 and 6 equal to 21.

Deprivation on Rohingyas

The present Suu Kyi government continues to deprive the Rohingya community of their basic rights. The chaos in the Rakhain state is considered by the government as the consequence of terrorist activities by ARSA. Suu Kyi fears that the condemnation of Army’s activities would be costly for the fragile democracy. There was severe Institutional Discrimination reported towards Rohingyas. Rohingya couples in the northern towns were only allowed to have two children. Rohingyas had to seek permission to marry, which required them to bribe authorities and provide photographs of the bride without a headscarf and the groom with a clean-shaven face. To move to a new home or travel outside their townships, Rohingya had to gain government approval.

Illegal Immigration

Illegal migration only refers to such migration that may have occurred after the independence of Burma in 1948. According to colonial laws, migration from any part of India to Burma was perfectly legal. A comparison between the 1931 census conducted by the British in Burma, and the 1983 and 2014 censuses, carried out by the Burmese government reveals the fact of illegal migration. The demographic growth of the Muslim population between 1931 and 1983 in Arakan was 128 percentage. This growth was not much higher than that of the Buddhist population growth by 119 percentage. It is interesting to note that, during this period, the Christian population in Arakan grew much more than that of any other religion, which was 338 percentage.

Many surely migrated to the state in the ten years between 1931 and the beginning of World War II, when it was still legal to do so. Even, whatever migration took place till 1948, it was reduced significantly as a result of a more tight control of the border imposed from then on. Rather, the higher growth among Rohingya is not to be explained as some Islamist conspiracy or as a consequence of massive waves of “illegal immigrants” from Bangladesh. It has been seen that factors like poverty or lack of education are strongly related to high birth rates. Considering all three censuses and population growth of Rohingya, it proves that there was no significant migration from Bangladesh to Myanmar.

The UN states that the Rohingyas are one of the most persecuted groups in the world. Myanmar Military Crackdown triggered an exodus of about one million Rohingyas to Bangladesh. On the other hand, the future of returning is under serious dilemma. Because most of them do not have any proper documentation to prove their identity. As such, lack of documentation with Rohingya people meant that they wouldn't be considered as Burmese citizens in near future and thus making the realm of this crisis truly an uncertain one.

The exodus began with the military crackdown in response to the killing of security personnel by the ARSA on 25 August 2017. By 19 September 2017, more than 415,000 Rohingyas fled to Bangladesh. By 24 October 2017 the number exceeded 600,000. By January 2018, the number rose to 700,000 plus. As of July 2018, Ministry of Home Affairs reported more than one million Rohingyas are in Bangladesh, out of which 815,506 are new arrivals.

Current Response

Bangladesh's Action and Status Paradox for Rohingyas

What did Bangladesh do? Did Bangladesh push them back to Myanmar? Bangladesh acted humanely. Humanity survived and prevailed. It provided all the basic needs that it food, shelter, cloth and what not Efforts were

appreciated by all including Pope Francis. However, there are criticisms that Bangladesh is limiting their movement and not permitting them permanent residency. Actually, Bangladesh is balancing two conflicting situations- serving humanity as well as safeguarding the security of its people from the ARSA militants or extremist groups. Now, about the status paradox - Should we call the Rohingyas as REFUGEE? Probably the answer is No.

According to Article 1 A (2) of the 1951 Convention, Rohingyas do not fall within the category of Refugees. Refugees must go through the 'Refugee Status Determination (RSD)' process. They must have applied for asylum. They have a legal framework and they enjoy international legal protection. Rohingyas do not fulfil these criteria. So, Bangladesh terms them as 'Forcibly Displaced Myanmar Nationals (FDMN)'.

International Response

Bangladesh received good sympathy from the international community in terms of humanitarian assistance. UNHCR has been the leading org for the relief operation. Many countries condemned the military atrocity namely USA, UK, Japan, France, Turkey, Nigeria, Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan and many more. Some countries supported the Myanmar's cause namely China, Russia, India, Cambodia, Laos, The Philippines, Vietnam, Belarus etc. The international organization like UN, EU, OIC, and Commonwealth called for an investigation to the atrocities. Nobel laureates, the Pope, Dalai Lama and the World Jews Congress expressed support for the Rohingyas.

China condemned the violent attack on the military forces. Mr. Modi asked for respecting the territorial integrity of Myanmar. Mr. Putin echoed the Chinese stance. US President said that his people were shocked at the military atrocities. Renowned World leaders also condemned the atrocities. UN called it a textbook example of ethnic cleansing, EU called it an extremely serious situation, OIC expressed its deep concern. Indonesian President visited Rohingya camp. Turkey's first lady visited them as well. A total of 72 countries condemned it, 22 countries provided relief while 10 countries supported Myanmar. About financial support, initially USD 434 million was

sought. As of March 2018, USD 322 million was received by Bangladesh. Joint Response Plan (JRP) was formulated for March-December requesting USD 981 million.

Concern for Bangladesh

Rohingya issue has so many concerns for Bangladesh. Some of the concerns are listed below:

- Rohingya crisis poses a grave security challenge for Bangladesh.
- Bangladesh border is now more volatile and vulnerable. In the past, there are border incursions in the 1980s and maritime dispute in 2008. Recently, there are numerous airspace violations. Recent atrocities and the possible rebel backlash make Bangladesh border more volatile.
- International terror organization like AQIS, IS are calling for jihad. Local groups like ARSA vowed to take revenge. Local hardliners are getting fertile ground.
- Backlash by the Bangladeshi people on local Buddhist minority may jeopardize communal harmony. Rohingyas may be used as carriers for drug and small arms trafficking. Women and children may be exploited.
- Myanmar is rich in natural resources, but poor in economy. Its democracy is at its infancy. There are large rebel groups. Regional and International actors may exploit this. In Rohingya crisis, Myanmar got good support, while Bangladesh received merely tacit sympathy; no strong lobby beside Bangladesh. Who knows crisis may erupt between 'China and USA' or 'Myanmar and Bangladesh' or 'Myanmar-India vs Bangladesh'. There, Rohingya issue might be the focal point or conversely, merely an excuse. Whatever may be the case, Bangladesh has grave consequences for it.
- The influx has out numbered the population of the constituencies, offering a heavy burden on the local administration. Usage of local schools would

frustrate local people and hinder development. There are possibilities of rise in human and drug trafficking, forced prostitution etc.

- Rohingya crisis has a grave impact on the environment. These two satellite pictures indicate deforestation due exodus.
- In Cox's Bazar area, 6000 acres of forests are lost. It is causing a landslide and endangered flora and fauna.
- The non-disposable plastic container is containing food and water; shelter material of tarpaulin and aluminium is causing harm to the environment.
- Solid waste is posing a challenge to the water reservoir and human health.
- Rohingya crisis has a grave impact on the economy. 1.5 billion dollar worth of forests is lost. Tourism in Cox's Bazar and Saint Martins' is affected. Estimated expenditure on Rohingya is approximately 0.8 to 1 billion USD annually. The price hike of essential commodities will make local people sufferer. Military expenditure may rise.
- Water safety has been compromised. People have bathed, washed and practised open defecation in the drinking water source. Waterborne diseases like cholera, diarrhoea, hepatitis 'B' may outbreak.
- There are cases of chronic nutrition stress and unskilled abortion. Drugs like Yaba would pose a serious health hazard and social nuisance.

Bangladesh Government's Response

Following are the few of the responses by Bangladesh Government for resolving the crisis and to support the Rohingyas staying in Bangladesh:

- Government has responded well to meet the crisis. It has strengthened diplomatic effort. Honourable PM has visited G7 Outreach and the United Nations to meet the world leaders. 'UN Security Council' has been involved. The probe committee has been formed in the UN. Honourable ministers have visited Myanmar several times to solve the crisis. Emphasis has been given on the implementation of Kofi Annan Report.

- NGOs have been supported through immigration and customs clearance. Ministry of Home Affairs has conducted biometric registration.
- Nine kilometre electric network and various welfare post have been established.
- Bangladesh Army is playing a pivotal role in relief distribution, logistics and construction. It has completed 7.7 km of the main road. It is providing necessary medical support.
- Bangladesh Navy is constructing camps in Bhasan Char and engaged in SAR in the BOB. BAF is engaged in receiving relief goods in the airport. BGB has been instrumental in monitoring the situation in the border. More than 2,000 police force has been engaged in maintaining law and order situation.
- UNICEF has constructed 10,000 latrines and 1,114 education centre.
- More than 25,000 children and 1,700 women are given nutrition treatment. More than 760,000 children and 23,000 women are placed under supplement nutrition program. Children are provided with immunization card.
- Vaccination and awareness program has been done for different diseases.
- Orphan protection and family planning activity are ongoing.

Ways Forward

General

With the unprecedented humanitarian crisis, the horrendous violence and atrocities on Rohingya community, perpetrated by Myanmar military is qualitatively different in magnitude and has a future impact on Bangladesh. There are pragmatic reasons for which Bangladesh needs to seek a sustainable settlement of the daunting crisis. Having faced multi-pronged

risks to stability, Bangladesh needs to develop a roadmap for resolving Rohingya crisis which is to be prepared by delving deep inside the problem. This is not a bilateral issue. Rather it is a global concern and needs unified effort by all.

The crisis should be resolved as per the Bi-lateral agreement between Bangladesh and Myanmar signed on 23 November 2017 at Nay Pyi Taw, and followed by another agreement on 16 January 2018. As per these agreements, Rohingya population migrated after 09 October 2016 should be repatriated to Myanmar. We have analyzed the crisis in depth and identified the role of different actors in the three-time frame. Short-term focuses on actions to be completed by next one year, mid-term focus on three years, while long-term forecasts five-year action plan. The actors involved in this gigantic effort are;

- International Communities,
- Bangladesh Government,
- Bangladesh Armed Forces,
- Civil Society and Media, and
- International NGOs

Role of International Communities

As part of ‘International Community’ India, China, USA, UK, EU, KSA, Turkey, ASEAN, the UN and its organizations, ICC and OIC are crucial partners. The five-point proposal made by the Honourable Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina at the 72nd UNGA session on 21 September 2017 to find out solutions to the crisis has earned kudos to the international community. The points are very comprehensive. In brief, these are:

- Myanmar must stop all violence against Rohingyas.
- UN should immediately send a fact-finding mission in Myanmar.

- All citizens in Myanmar should be protected. A safe zone in Myanmar should be created under the supervision of UN.
- Ensure the sustainable return of Rohingyas from Bangladesh.
- Implement Annan Commission Report immediately.

Short Term Action: The short-term action expected from the international community are; maintaining diplomatic pressure so that Myanmar guarantees the protection of all citizens of various religion and ethnicity without discrimination. Though UK, EU and USA have put sanctions on a few individuals that remained too insignificant. UN Security Council should impose an arms embargo on Myanmar. The international community should convince Myanmar to create a “safe zone” inside for quick implementation of repatriation. In doing so, they should provide sufficient fund for rehabilitation and provide sustainable relief.

Mid-Term Action: In three years span, the international community should ensure maintenance of “safe zone” in Myanmar and complete repatriation of all FDMN. The international community should also ensure steadfast and unconditional implementation of Annan Commission report; especially, investigation on human rights violation including the trial of the accused.

Long-Term Action: Within next five years, the international community should concentrate for supporting both Bangladesh and Myanmar government in recovering the environmental degradation which occurred after 25 August 2017, monitor the process of establishing the right of people, initiate programs for enduring stability and continue with the humanitarian mission.

Role of Bangladesh Government

Short Term Action: Bangladesh government needs to maintain her current position on “Zero tolerance” on cross-border activities by any armed group. Bangladesh government needs to deny infiltration of any Myanmar Based Armed Organization like ARSA in own territory. The government needs to coordinate with UNICEF and process birth registration of the Rohingya child

who all were born after 25 August 2017 in Bangladesh territory. Bangladesh government may facilitate functions of various agencies by accelerating their visa and allowing them free, frank and transparent environment and thus gain the confidence of the international community. The government needs to support the displaced persons providing land temporarily for making a better living. The government may also continue the pro-active mixed strategy of combining bilateral and multilateral engagements. Bangladesh government needs to keep India, China, EU, UK, USA, KSA, Russia, Turkey and International organizations in close cooperation and partnership to maintain international pressure on Myanmar.

Mid-Term Action: Keeping the geo-strategic considerations and expectations in mind, Bangladesh government needs to formulate a pro-active foreign policy based on shared values and interest where her partners will remain in the obligation to support. Besides, the government needs to continue to play a lead role in supporting the Rohingya, improve the facilities of the temporary housing and deeply monitor the repatriation process. The government needs to have a coordinated effort to keep the topic alive in the international forum.

Long-Term Action: The Government of Bangladesh may formulate a full-fledged and pragmatic policy on similar kind of incidents of forcibly displaced foreign nations sheltered in Bangladesh so that such crisis in future can be cautiously managed. Further more, the government may make an endeavour to build a reinforced bilateral relationship with Myanmar by fostering mutual confidence and trust. Frequent visits by the head of the state, top political leadership, business delegates, and representatives from civil and military communities and exploring opportunities for trade and commerce could be few potential avenues to consider. These efforts may help to improve the bilateral relationship, therefore, curb the possibilities of such crisis in future.

Role of Bangladesh Armed Forces

Bangladesh Armed Forces besides maintaining its original task of upholding the sovereignty and territorial integrity should support government under

“In Aid to the Civil Administration”. They should also support the local administration on the management of Rohingya camps. Armed forces should assist Border Guard Bangladesh (BGB) in ensuring safe border and prevent any infiltration of Myanmar based Armed Organization. They should also support the government in preparing the border roads and fencing. Armed forces should remain vigilant against any land, maritime and airspace violation by Myanmar military and remain ready to respond when asked by the government. After repatriation of the Rohingya people, Armed Forces should support government effort in afforestation and regaining ecological balance.

Role of Civil Society and Media

Short Term Action: Bangladesh has a vibrant civil society and media who may now continue in identifying the up-rise of terrorism in the vulnerable group and raising awareness on transnational crimes and narcotics. There should be a well-concerted media campaign both at national and international forum using all kind of platforms.

Mid-Term and Long Term Action: Religious leaders and the local representative can play a very important role by promoting messages of peace and tolerance and by fostering dialogue between the Rohingya people and host communities. Civil society and the media should also work for preventing the spread of these foreign nationals in the country, prevent the illegal marriage, sex trafficking, holding constructive dialogue and create pressure through international media.

Role of International NGOs

The action taken by the international NGOs should continue till the repatriation of Rohingyas. But in long-term after completion of repatriation, supporting the Bangladesh government in afforestation re-construction of infrastructures of the host community and monitoring safety of the Rohingyas in Myanmar aiming at building inclusive society should be the focus of International NGOs.

Conclusion

Bangladesh had been applauded in the international platform for generously opening the borders in the face of humanitarian crisis. Past experiences of Rohingya exodus in Bangladesh and in other countries, as well as the ongoing political impasse at the global and regional level, indicate that this crisis is likely to be persistent. The resources for Rohingyas are scarce now. It is not possible for Bangladesh to carry such huge responsibility, in fact, it is a global obligation.

If the million Rohingya people are not settled in their own land in Myanmar soon, then they will migrate all over in the region. UN has already warned that the next wave of trafficking is just beginning. At this backdrop, the well-concerted effort by all the stakeholders should be orchestrated for the crisis resolution. Myanmar's atrocity can only be answered by ensuring the safe return of Rohingya to their homes, by holding concerned authorities accountable for such heinous crime against humanity and by bringing them to justice. No matter what darkness is there, we are hopeful that the crisis will be resolved soon Bangladesh being a country of prosperity sees the ray of light at the end of the tunnel.

Session-2

Session Chair



Brigadier General Md Rafiqul Islam,
SUP, ndc, afwc, psc
Directing Staff (Army), AFWC Wing

Keynote Speakers



Mr. Asif Munier
Migration Expert and Former Official of IOM



Professor Dr. Imtiaz Ahmed
Professor of IR, Dhaka University

SESSION-2, KEYNOTE PAPER-2

ROHINGYA: HISTORY AND GENESIS OF THE CRISIS IN RELATION TO BANGLADESH

Asif Munier

Migration Expert and Former Official of IOM

It's an honour and privileged to be here in NDC. Respected Chair and Distinguished participants, Good afternoon. I have mostly focused on the history and genesis of the crisis. I would like to highlight and focus important aspects from the history which does have relation with the challenges and way forward.

In the Rohingya Crisis, the critical part is every stake holder is looking at the crisis from own perspective. Bangladesh, Myanmar, United Nations, Rohingya, Buddhists and world leaders all have different view point. But long term and durable solutions will not be possible without viewing it from the perspective of Rohingyas (the affected group) and identifying the true challenges.

Now the question is whether Rohingyas are to be called as refugee or not? Let's not go to the definition of refugee to call who is refugee and who is not? Refuge is not always asylum but seeking refuge just to save life, when there is life and death situation, the condition is as such that people are not able to protect their lives due to conflict or any other crisis in the country. It is not for a better life or economic reasons.

As per the living condition and suffering of the Rohingya, the similar situations have seen in South Asia where people were termed as Refugee. The interesting part is none of the South Asian states/nations have signed the refugee convention but throughout the history of this region, there were several incidents of refugee and there is tradition of seeking refuge. People have seen-at least people in Rakhine have number of times in the history, in 1947 during partition of Indian sub continent people saw riots or Danga - killing people for religion. And in 1971- killing followed by refugee like life in India. Again with the Rohingya population the history is repeated.

From the historical perspective, the key moments will be touched when the Rohingya population was forced to flee their country. There is different time line in the history when these events took place. These timeline must be focused to understand the genesis of the crisis. Bangladesh faced for the first time in 1978 when the large influx took place when the Operation Dragon King was launched. But the root of the crisis goes many years before 1978.

General tendency of people who seek refuge is where they can easily or quickly move in. Because of the close proximity of the countries, it is very easy to cross the border and enter into Bangladesh. There are barbed wire fence in few places, BGB continue patrolling all along the border both land and river, yet cross border movement at night is very easy. This crossing border is not for the quest of better life or economic prosperity, but to save their lives. Probably this is the crux of the problem- who and how the lives of Rohingyas will be saved.

From own analysis, state sponsored and supported violence carried out by Myanmar military is the origin of Rohingya Crisis. Myanmar is more or less a military state though there is so called democracy. However, the military leadership holds the supreme authority. I am not here to analyze or criticize whether the military is good or bad but would like to say the military regime had not been favourable to the Rohingya population.

The next important issue is inaction by the state to build communal harmony among the population. Few photographs and videos have been projected where the violence between the communities have been identified. In Myanmar, establishing communal harmony is completely left to the people. For many years the responsibility of communal harmony has been ignored by the government and left to the population. Particularly the government had no step/process to safeguard the interest of the Rohingya population. The government has always neglected this sacred responsibility of protecting own population and must be held responsible for such inaction.

Now the aspect of social, political and economical exclusion. This might include citizenship right, right to move from one place to other, right to work, education and health care. The major portion of the population have not been immunized or under vaccination programme from generation after

generation. These people were denied from education for decades. For each and every action, there is identity card, restriction and separate rules for the Rohingya population. These are perfect example of social, political and economic discrimination, deprivation and exclusion of a group of people to isolate them from the society. At some point of time some Rohingyas had their own land, they were able to lead a modest life. But systematically the state has taken away all property, leaving nothing to survive. The Rohingya community has been deprived from very basic human rights by the state. So with political, social and economical exclusion Rohingyas are left with very little to do. Their social structure has been broken down. They even cannot speak for themselves having no leadership or spokesmen. They have not allowed to express themselves for generations. The suppression/social deprivation has destroyed their self confidence to develop the leadership structure within the community.

The keynote speakers have covered the discrimination of national rights and state enforced restrictions and bindings of the people. Their ethnic identity is one of the key factors for Rohingya population. They themselves think that they are distinct group of people who has mix of different kind of people, culture and history. Some part belongs to south eastern part of Bangladesh (Chattogram and Cox's Bazar area), some from Arab world and also Portuguese. Combination of all these culture and history make Rohingya a distinct identity from other communities of the country.

The Rohingya who lives in Bangladesh speak very strong Chattogram dialect but use words those are not used in Chattogram and Cox's Bazar language. Where do these come from? These come from their historical perspective from the generations that they have lived in this region (Rakhine). Again the people moved to Rakhine when it was undivided Indian sub continent for trade, family relation etc. From this historical perspective the identity of Rohingya has evolved. If this identity is not established then the key issue will not be addressed. If the world continues to call them displaced Myanmar people then the stand of Myanmar government of denying Rohingya as a distinct communal identity will be supported.

There are definite timeline which affected them in terms of denial of rights and identity. Which are the moments when certain things/rights have been taken away from them or there were conflict with the Buddhist community/ or other ethnic groups. Few key moments in the historical journey may be termed as WW II and post WW II period when they supported British. In that period taking side of British or Japan divided the nation in two distinct segments. Rohingya as a community is hated and treated as Rajakars and Al Badars are in our country. Rohingya has become a derivative word of traitor in Myanmar society.

Timeline is important to know what and when happened for comprehensive understanding of genesis of the problem. In 2012 a major influx took place of course not in the large scale like 2017. In 2016, 75000 people came to Bangladesh. We know what happened in 2012-2016. Finally in 2017 it happened in a scale which crossed all records of the history. Bangladesh is holding highest number of Rohingyas but there are global figures also. Interestingly the number is not much in South East Asia except in Malaysia which is 1, 50,000.

This time (2017) due to the large scale influx, world had greater focus on the issue. The state adopted a systematic process of denying their rights and forcing Rohingyas to flee their own country. There was systematic oppression and denial of basic human rights by the state and local Buddhist in Myanmar. So much of atrocities and sufferings are heard but there is no leadership or spokes man from the affected community. However, there are some advocates and representatives outside the region who speak for the cause of the Rohingyas. But for uncertainty of life in Myanmar they are in exile. Some of them are persona non grata in Myanmar. Now about representing Rohingya population in the world forum. Bangladesh cannot represent and Myanmar will never do. Here comes the role of human rights organizations and aid agencies, which create the leadership and spokesman within the community. Best option is to find the leader from the deprived and suffering groups. There are outspoken persons in the Rohingya camps. These people could be picked and developed to represent them in the world forum.

The Rohingya who came to Bangladesh before 1970 they have already been integrated in the society. (In the recent census Rohingyas settled in 1960's have been included) And the country has already accepted them as citizens. Then

why Myanmar will not accept the Rohingyas who are living in Myanmar for hundreds of years. We have to popularize the political solution which is in the recognition of their ethnicity and granting citizenship rights and basic human rights by the government of Myanmar. However for a political solution much of the efforts have not been seen by the international forums and world leaders. Even BIMSTEC, ASEAN etc have not taken any strong stand to resolve the issue. Only some discussions in UNSC, which has not been effective to stop the ethnic cleansing. A strong voice from international platform or a global stand on ethnic rights and violence conducted has to be promulgated.

Rohingya people in Bangladesh do not want to be Bangladeshi; they want to be Rohingyas in their own country Myanmar. They even do not want separate land. They just want recognition, citizenship and basic human rights in Myanmar. This point must be clarified and explained in the academic and diplomatic level first. And implemented either by Anan Commission report or human right system or UN System. There are proved historical facts that why they are Rohingya and not Bangladeshi. They only want citizenship right and social/basic human rights. Repatriation is one part of the crisis and it is not the solution. The identity of Rohingya must have to be established

Many countries and multinational companies have economic ties with Myanmar. This cannot be separated from political solution since it is inter linked. Looking at the crisis I find it is related to civil rights, liberty and identity. These issues have to be resolved first. Anan commission gives some guideline but yet it is too soft approach, amending the citizenship law, review civil rights law to ensure equal right for the people etc.

We are recently hearing about the topic of 3rd country resettlement of Rohingyas particularly in South East Asian region. Last one year this point has been exhaustively discussed. Why this proposal of 3rd country settlement? Because largest number of Rohingya are residing in Bangladesh and the issue of bilateral solution would take much longer time. This might be temporary kind of settlement but would offer some time for a better solution. Bangladesh is housing maximum number of Rohingya. Next destination might be Saudi Arab which is difficult in terms of logistics and culture. Now if we see very few Rohingyas are residing in Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand and India. These

people are Muslims and belong to this part of the region. One point to be remembered that the countries which have Rohingya population need to be taken on board for the durable solution. Not only China or India, obviously other countries should also be integrated with the process. Only bilateral talk would not be enough to establish Rohingya identity. Remember it cannot be bilateral issue between Bangladesh -Myanmar and cannot be isolated effort by Bangladesh. It must have to be integrated approach by all regional and international partners.

SESSION-2, KEYNOTE PAPER-3

THE PRESENT ROHINGYA CRISIS AND WAYS FORWARD

Dr. Imtiaz Ahmed

Professor of IR, Dhaka University

Bangladesh is facing one of the worst refugee crisis in contemporary times, having to shelter a population larger than Bhutan with bulk of them crossing over to Bangladesh in less than three months! However, one does not require too much intelligence to understand the following sequence of events and the reasons behind the unfolding of the current Rohingya crisis. Four dates are critical. On 23 August 2017, the Advisory Commission on the Rakhine State (also known as the Kofi Annan Commission) submitted its final report to the Myanmar national authorities. On 24 August 2017, the media, at home and abroad, published the report in detail. On 25 August 2017, the so-called Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army (ARSA) attacked the Myanmar military forces. The very next day, on 26 August 2017, the Myanmar military resorted to what came to be referred to as “a textbook case of ethnic cleansing,” which in next three months saw more than 750,000 Rohingya people, mostly women and children, flee Myanmar to take refuge in Bangladesh. The unfolding of the crisis otherwise makes it clear that the issue is no longer limited to Myanmar and Bangladesh. Rather, it is an issue that is simultaneously national, regional, and international. This makes the crisis equally problematic but not something that is totally out of the norm and difficult to resolve.

But the question that merits attention, how was Bangladesh able to handle the flow of nearly 700,000 refugees in just three-month time, and now sheltering 1.07 millions of them?¹ The answer probably lies in Bangladesh having nearly 7% growth, indeed, with a unique government – non-government (GO-NGO) partnership. No doubt, Government of Bangladesh (GOB) deserves credit for this, but so does the humanitarian workers now toiling restlessly

1. The Department of Immigration and Passports has already completed the biometric registration of 1,074,498 while RRRC-UNHCR listed 825,265 Rohingyas of 191,189 families under Family Counting Exercise program. Cited in Dhaka Tribune, 25 February 2018. See, <https://www.dhakatribune.com/bangladesh/nation/2018/02/25/rohingya-crisis-isgc-upcoming-joint-response-plan-need-funding/>. Accessed on 17 May 2018.

in the Rohingya camps. In disaster management Bangladesh has attained an expertise that can easily be exported and made useful in foreign policy. But the challenge of feeding and housing the refugees is formidable. The support from the international community has been relatively modest, although not fully adequate. The Joint Response Plan for the Rohingya Humanitarian Crisis, launched by UNHCR and IOM in March 2018, made an appeal for USD 951 million to support the humanitarian operation for Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh for the period March-December 2018.² This target is likely to be achieved but the problem will be in raising and sustaining the flow of international funds if the crisis becomes a protracted one. In the meantime, GOB has made it clear that there would be no repatriation without UNHCR's support. Put differently, Bangladesh would abide by the principle of non-refoulement, that is, no forcible repatriation.

The exodus of the Rohingyas this time, however, is different from the mid-1970s and 1990s. The international community has already taken cognizance of the military-sponsored violence that took place in the Arakan, and the Report of the Independent International Fact-Finding Mission of the Human Rights Council on 24 August 2018 categorically stated:

The international community, through the United Nations, should use all diplomatic, humanitarian and other peaceful means to assist Myanmar in meeting its responsibility to protect its people from genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes. It should take collective action in accordance with the United Nations Charter, as necessary.³

Earlier also, reference has been made to the Myanmar government failing in R2P (Responsibility to Protect). In fact, Yanghee Lee, the UN Special Rapporteur on Myanmar, has already come up with the following recommendation in her report of 9 March 2018.

With regard to Rakhine State, establish under the auspices of the United Nations, a structure based in Cox's Bazar, Bangladesh supported by various

2. International Crisis Group, The Long Haul Ahead for Myanmar's Rohingya Refugee Crisis, Asia Report No. 296, 16 May 2018, p. 15, fn. 52.

3. Human Rights Council, Report of the Independent International Fact-Finding Mission on Myanmar, Thirty-ninth session, 24 August 2018, p. 19.

necessary expertise for a duration of three years to investigate, document, collect, consolidate, map, and analyze evidence of human rights violations and abuses; and to maintain and prepare evidence in a master database to support and facilitate impartial, fair and independent international criminal proceedings in national or international courts or tribunals in accordance with international criminal law standards.⁴

If agreed by the United Nations General Assembly this could be used to prepare prosecutorial files. It may be mentioned that the International Criminal Court has already invited the ‘competent authorities’ of Bangladesh to submit ‘observations’ on the question “whether the Court may exercise jurisdiction over the alleged deportation of more 670,000 members of the Rohingya people from Myanmar into Bangladesh,”⁵ to which the GOB has already responded positively.

Yanghee Lee, however, goes further and calls upon the Myanmar government to “Revise the 1982 Citizenship law to bring it into line with international standards and best practices including through the abolition of distinctions between different types of citizens;” and also to, “Amend the four race and religion protection laws of 2015 including the removal of provisions undermining the rights of women, children and religious minorities.”⁶ This only shows that the current Rohingya crisis is qualitatively different from the exoduses of mid 1970s and 1990s.

Moreover, targeted sanctions on the Myanmar military, including those responsible for committing ‘crimes against humanity,’ has already been enforced by Britain, US, and several other Western countries. The latter is destined to play a positive role with so many international legal instruments against mass atrocities now in place. Shying away will only create space for irresponsibility, not only in this region but also around the world! The pace no doubt is slow but is gaining momentum with pressure from members of international civil society, including Nobel laureates, artists, media personalities, human rights organizations, including social media providers like the Facebook, which removed pages of Myanmar’s army chief and other high-ranking military officials. Moreover, several

4. Report of the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in Myanmar, 9 March 2018, p.20. See, <http://www.burmalibrary.org/docs24/A-HRC-37-70.pdf>. Accessed on 16 May 2018.

5. International Criminal Court, “Request under Regulation 46 (3) of the Regulations of the Court,” 7 May 2018, p. 3.

6. Report of the Special Rapporteur..., op.cit., p. 16.

international conferences at the non-governmental level were held in different parts of the world – Kuala Lumpur, Putrajaya, Berlin, Dhaka, Cologne – and all, more or else, ended with a call “to impose comprehensive sanction on Myanmar until it ends genocide, restores citizenship to the Rohingya population, rescinds apartheid type laws and returns properties and land to the displaced Rohingya population.”⁷ Commendable though such initiatives, Bangladesh should not shy away from taking leadership of the Rohingya crisis. This is because Bangladesh has not only placed itself on high moral ground by letting the Rohingyas in but also has the support, albeit with few exceptions, of people, communities, and states around the world. It is worth pointing out here that charges of ‘genocide’ or ‘crimes against humanity’ against the Myanmar military will not go away even with a successful bilateralism between Bangladesh and Myanmar.

What about the seemingly negative regional response, particularly that of China and India? It is not surprising that China would continue to cultivate its age-old yin-yang or dialectical approach to diplomacy, with the objective of having a positive outcome for all if not for China alone! This is best reflected in China’s opposition to any resolution at the Security Council which calls for penalizing Myanmar, but at the same time when the Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi visited Bangladesh in November 2017 he readily floated, indeed, to the surprise of many, a three-point plan, which is, cease-fire; repatriation; and tackling the root causes of the conflict, albeit through development of the Arakan region. This is not difficult to understand, particularly in the backdrop of China’s OBOR Initiative, and, indeed, with both Bangladesh and Myanmar being party to the Initiative. China too must be concerned, if not embarrassed, with the Myanmar military as it plans to invest billions of dollars in Myanmar under the OBOR Initiative but the country is now a focus of international attention for committing genocide, war crime, and crimes against humanity. No one prefers to invest in the place with instability and a future marked by uncertainty. An earlier disposal of the crisis is something that the Chinese would also want desperately.

In some quarters in China there has been a suggestion of establishing ‘a non-attributed refugee zone at the border of China, Myanmar and Bangladesh,’⁸ but this could be a short-term solution, not a long-term one. Since the Rohingyas have

7 Article 10 of the “Cologne Declaration,” Cologne, Germany, 2 May 2018.

8. Author’s discussion with some Chinese scholars in Guangzhou in March 2018.

no territorial claims, what is required is Myanmar providing them equal rights and citizenship. To begin this process, as it has been identified and recommended by Yanghee Lee, as noted above, Myanmar first needs to enact fresh laws or bills, either in the parliament or through presidential proclamation, which will create confidence amongst the Rohingyas to return and settle in Myanmar. Moreover, China's three point-point plan, as mentioned above, is not so different from the recommendation found in the Kofi Annan Commission report of 23 August 2017 and Prime Minister Hasina's five-point plan outlined at the UN General Assembly in New York in September 2017. There is, therefore, a growing consensus as to how the crisis ought to be resolved.

What about India? I am afraid the policymakers advising Narendra Modi failed him this time. In fact, Modi missed a golden opportunity to emerge as a world leader, given the fact that India's relationship with both Bangladesh and Myanmar being equally good, Modi was best placed in inviting both Sheikh Hasina and Aung San Suu Kyi to Delhi to resolve the crisis. India's 'tilt' towards Myanmar during Modi's visit to Naypyidaw in September 2017 not only made Bangladesh 'angry' but also alerted China, indeed, to a point of making Myanmar more 'dependent' on China. But this should not be the reason for Bangladesh not to seek support from India or China or any other country even if they have a positive relationship with Myanmar. The success of diplomacy, in fact, lies in dealing with contradictions and turning deficit into surplus. It is time that our Prime Minister makes a trip to Beijing and Delhi, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs makes an effort to materialise Vladimir Putin's visit to Dhaka! Perception matters in diplomacy, more so in getting constant attention of the international media. We are, after all, in the era of iWar or virtual war, where getting ignored virtually is as bad as giving free space to the adversary.

As indicated earlier, this is not simply a Bangladesh-Myanmar issue. Rather, it is an international issue, an issue of norms and values, rules and regulations, decency and civility, an issue of being civilized. Indeed, an issue of being human, how to ensure justice to a population in a dire situation, a population who have lost everything, even to dream and live a life with dignity!

Rapporteurs



**Lieutenant Colonel
Mahmud Hasan, BSP, psc, Arty**



**Lieutenant Colonel
Abul Hasnat Mohammad Mahmud
Azam, psc, Arty**



**Lieutenant Colonel
Ariful Islam Khan, psc, Engrs**



**Commander
Al Faroque Mahmud Hossain
(N), psc, BN**



**Group Captain
Md Asif Iqbal, psc, GD(P)**

Summary of Interactive Session

Concerns of Former Foreign Secretary Mr. Touhid Hossain

There are reasons to be apprehensive about the whole Rohingya issue. At least for now there is no hope to see light at the end of the tunnel. Myanmar leaders' intension was to completely get rid of Rohingya forever and they could do it successfully. China's standing on this issue should be a wakeup call for us. Time has come to examine if we should realign our friendship with China. All the agreements so far signed between Myanmar and Bangladesh are not going to bring any fruits. However, we must not sit tight with only one option in hand. There must have plan B and plan C. We should try all these to solve the problem. Last one year progress on repatriation was very slow and bilateral solution is a kind of illusion. If this is the preview of what is to come, there is little to feel optimistic about.

Concerns of Lieutenant General ATM Zahirul Alam (retd)

The panel of Armed Forces War Course did not look for the hard options to resolve the issue. Though in a forum like this it is difficult to propose hard option very openly, yet some sort of indirect perspective about this option could be highlighted. Options of hard power can be applied both nationally and internationally. If needed, a peace enforcing force might be required to solve this problem. Bangladesh might involve ICC to project this issue in the international forum. In this regard, Professor Imtiaz Ahmed brought the importance of China factor in Bangladesh-Myanmar relations. He emphasized the old diplomatic adage that it is always important to win the enemies not the friends. He recommended stronger bonding with China by cementing government to government and people to people relations. He also suggested that Bangladesh should regularly arrange security summits like Shangri-La Dialogue. According to him, Bangladesh can very well arrange security summit as it does not have any territorial ambition. Professor Imtiaz Ahmed also reminded the audience about the Kofi Annan Commission report where change in Myanmar constitution had been discussed. Bangladesh should bring these points in the negotiating table. He also gave an idea to give pressure on

the economy of Myanmar by propagating the state sponsored human rights abuse of Myanmar government to the international companies. Bangladesh might tell them that, look, if you are engaging with Myanmar, then you are engaging yourself with a country who has carried out genocide.

Mr Asif Munier gave his reply on the second question of Lt Gen Zahir about the nationality issue. He opined that there is an issue whether it can be taken to international rights or legal actions but also there is a need to see the historical perspective. It is a question of Rohingya identity. At UN level Rohingya is identified as an ethnic identity irrespective of what Myanmar thinks or not. So there can be some international conference to recognize them as an identity. Few years back somebody from Rohingya Diaspora took an initiative to register Rohingyalish as a language with UNESCO. Rohingyas have own cultural identity but something have been destroyed over many years. This cultural identity has to be recognized somewhere, whether UN level or by themselves.

Lt Gen Zahir (Retd) also asked the panel about the political solution of Rohingya crisis. The panel answered that Bangladesh has already put due emphasis politically to settle the issues. It is in the credit of the political parties that all could come under a same platform to voice against this issue. However, few steps can be taken to accelerate the repatriation process by giving political pressure on the Myanmar government. The issues are as following:

- A political declaration is needed to force Myanmar to declare them as part of the Burmese union.
- As a democratic government, it is the obligation of Myanmar to declare them their citizen.
- All rights of citizen should be provided to Rohingya.
- Massive development program need to be taken in Rakhaine state to rehabilitate the repatriated Rohngya.
- Reconciliation should be the foremost approach by Myanmar government.

Concerns of Brig Gen Abdullah Al Yusuf

Myanmar military was deliberately trying to provoke us to engage in a military situation. This would allow the Tadmadao to call for an emergency situation. Any kind of emergency means the senior general of Myanmar would consolidate more power. In case of any emergency situation the constitution would automatically get frozen. Myanmar exactly wanted Bangladesh Armed Forces to react. Timeline shows that whenever there was any Rohingya exodus, it had been associated with election outcome. Retaliation by Bangladesh Armed Forces would assist Myanmar Army to come back again. Bringing Rohingya back to Myanmar would benefit NLD party of Myanmar to win few seats in the Arakan assembly. Hard power display and defence purchase might not solve the problem. This problem has to be solved through political means. However, leaving out hard power as an option entirely again would bring this into a stalemate situation. To bring Myanmar into table needs application of smart power.

Concerns of Mr Mizanur Rahman

Every black cloud has a silver lining and Bangladesh should be able to reap benefit of that cloud by finding the lining. He thinks there is a lack of concerted effort right from the beginning and it started late with misguiding suggestions. There are a lot of players here like UN, EU, ICC, OIC, BIMSTEC but OIC and especially ASEAN countries did not play a greater role here. So diplomatically Bangladesh should go for integrated and concerted way of handling these things. Bangladesh can go to solve the issue in a pragmatic way with a concerted effort through cultural, social and humanitarian dimension.

Concerns of Ms. Ferdousi, BISS

She asked the panel about the national policy for Rohingya issue. The panel said that there is no declared national policy about Rohingya. However, some of the issues can be addressed nationally:

- The border needs to be protected. The push back of Rohingya can be started in a friendly manner if situation is favorable. As this is an international issue, there is no scope of any bi-lateral solution.
- Foreign ministry should formulate a strategy to deal the issue at present. There should also be some policy direction for future. Other ministries must come in the same platform of assisting the Rohingya.
- Humanitarian assistance will be continued. Efforts need to be taken to grant more aid for the Rohingya.
- 100,000 Rohingya will be shifted to Bhasan Char within very short time. These Rohingya are those who came to Bangladesh before 2016. Start a dialogue with Malaysia and Indonesia about the Bhasan Char model. As these two countries have a number of islands, efforts can be taken to take few Rohingya in these two countries.

Concerns of Brigadier General Omar Sadi

Honourable Prime Minister of Bangladesh has done excellent job by handling the whole issue from a humanitarian point of view. However, execution of Bhashan Char project where 1,03,200 Rohingyas will be rehabilitated in 120 cluster villages might send a wrong message to Myanmar government and international communities that Bangladesh is accepting the Rohingyas. It might so happen that with a better livelihood at Bhashan Char they will never be interested to leave Bangladesh for Myanmar. In this connection, Mr Asif Munier stated that, though there was no official version of Bhashan Char issue, yet from media we had learnt that it is a sort of pilot initiative and only for those who have come before 2016. So this relocation is for only 100,000 people who have been living here for quite a long time. Malaysia and Indonesia have much more Islands than Bhashan Char. A question may be asked, why does it only to be Bangladesh to take this burden? Why Bangladesh alone has to solve it? It is an international issue, it is not that only Bangladesh looking at it. Bangladesh may arrange dialogue with Malaysia, Indonesia and ASEAN members to take some Rohingys by setting temporary camps similar to Bhashan Char in their islands.

Concerns of Mr Touhidul Islam

All the ministries of Bangladesh do not have a coordinated roadmap to solve the Rohingya issue. There is lack of guidelines from national strategic level and thus, a concerted way of dealings is not present in the ministries. Even the five points that Honorable Prime Minister has made in the General Assembly have never been reflected properly by the actions of different ministries. Therefore, there is a need for ministerial level coordination with regards to Rohingya issues.

NDC Participants (Faculty and Staff)

Ser	Rank and Name	Appointment
1	Lieutenant General Sheikh Mamun Khaled, SUP, rcds, psc, PhD	Commandant
2	Rear Admiral Muhammad Anwarul Islam, NGP, ndc, afwc, psc, BN	Senior Directing Staff (Navy)
3	Major General S M Shafuiddin Ahmed, ndu, psc	Senior Directing Staff (Army)
4	Major General Rashed Amin, ndc, psc	Senior Directing Staff (Army)
5	Brigadier General Md Amin Akbar, SPP, awc, psc	Senior Directing Staff (Army)
6	Air Cdre M Mortuza Kamal, GUP, ndc, psc, GD(P)	Senior Directing Staff (Air)
7	Joint Secretary Md Mofazzal Hossain, ndc	Senior Directing Staff (Civil)
8	Brigadier General Mohammad Mahbubul Haq, PBGM, ndc, afwc, psc	Chief Instructor
9	Brigadier General Ashfaque Iqbal, ndc, afwc, psc	Directing Staff (Army)
10	Brigadier General Md Rafiqul Islam, SUP, ndc, afwc, psc	Directing Staff (Army)
11	Brigadier General Monirul Islam Akhand, ndc, psc	College Secretary
12	Brigadier General Abu Sayeed Mohammad Ali, ndu, afwc, psc	Directing Staff (Army)
13	Brigadier General Md Naheed Asgar, afwc, psc	Directing Staff (Army)
14	Colonel Md Nishatul Islam Khan, afwc, psc	Directing Staff (Army)
15	Colonel Muhammad Ali Talukder, afwc, psc	Directing Staff (Army)
16	Commodore Khondkar Misbah-Ul-Azim, (TAS), afwc, psc, BN	Directing Staff (Navy)

17	Air Commodore Muied Hossain, afwc, psc, GD(P)	Directing Staff (Air)
18	Colonel Salahuddin Khaled	Colonel Administration
19	Colonel A K M Fazlur Rahman, afwc, psc	Director (Research & Academic)
20	Lieutenant Colonel S M Merazul Islam, afwc, psc, Engr	Senior Research Fellow
21	Lieutenant Colonel Syed Jamil Ahsan, afwc, psc, AC	General Staff Officer-1 (Training)
22	Lieutenant Colonel Md Kamrul Islam, BGBM, psc, Arty	General Staff Officer-1 (Administration)
23	Lieutenant Colonel A S M Badiul Alam, afwc, psc, G+, Arty	Senior Research Fellow
24	Major Md Akhlaque-Uz-Zaman, EB	General Staff Officer -2 (Coordination)
25	Major Md Masud Amin, Inf	General Staff Officer-2 (Administration)
26	Major Mohammad Tanvir Hasan Chowdhury, AEC	General Staff Officer -2 (Staff Duty)
27	Major Md Asrafuddowla, psc, ASC	Mechanical Transport Officer
28	Major Md Monowarul Karim, BIR	General Staff Officer -2 (Accounts)
29	Major A S M Khairul Hasan, psc, Arty	General Staff Officer-2 (Planning & Coordination)
30	Major Tahmina Haque Munia, Sigs	General Staff Officer -2 (Network Administration)
31	Major Lasker Jewel Rana, psc, Inf	General Staff Officer -2 (Coordination), AFWC Wing
32	Major Saquib Ibne Rashid, AC	Quarter Master

33	Lieutenant Commander Israth Zahan, (ND), BN	General Staff Officer -2 (Training Support)
34	Squadron Leader Mohammed Iqram Hossain, Edn, BAF	General Staff Officer -2 (Protocol)
35	Sr Asst Secy Syeda Nurmahal Ashrafi	Research Coordinator
36	Flg Offr Rafat Zahin Ahmed, Admin, BAF	General Staff Officer -3 (AFWC Wing)
37	Lecturer Farhana Binte Aziz	Research Fellow (BCS Education)
38	Assistant Director Md Nazrul Islam	Assistant Director (Library)

NDC Participants (Course Members of National Defence Course-2018)

Ser	Rank	Name	Country
Allied Course Members			
1	Brigadier	Bassem Mohamed Fattallah	Egypt
2	Brigadier	Sanjiv Singh Slaria	India
3	Air Commodore	IS Walia, F (P)	India
4	Commodore	Rituraj Sahu	India
5	Colonel	Marine Jasiman Purba, NRP	Indonesia
6	Staff Colonel	Sattam Bin Abdulaziz Ghaeb bin Ghaeb	KSA
7	Staff Colonel	Sultan Bin Hamad Al-Mohaimeed	KSA
8	Brigadier General	Noor Mohamad Akmar bin Mohd Dom	Malaysia
9	Colonel	Homnath Dawadi	Nepal
10	Colonel	Boubacar Bako	Niger
11	Colonel	EC Obi-Osang	Nigeria
12	Colonel	UM Aliyu	Nigeria

13	Colonel	ASM Wase	Nigeria
14	Colonel	MD Danja	Nigeria
15	Group Captain	M Abdulraheem	Nigeria
16	Colonel	Saud Sulaiman Abdullah Al-Riyami	Oman
17	Colonel	Khalfan Al Rawahi	Oman
18	Colonel	Saif Al Rahbi	Oman
19	Brigadier	Syed Imran Raza Naqvi	Pakistan
20	Brigadier	P J P Gamage, RWP, RSP	Sri Lanka
21	Commodore	N P W Amaradasa, RSP, psc	Sri Lanka
22	Air Vice Marshal	WLRP Rodrigo	Sri Lanka
23	Colonel	HH Makanza, psc, hcds	Tanzania

Ser	Rank	Name
Bangladesh Army		
24	Brigadier General	Muhammad Ehteshamul Haque, afwc, psc
25	Brigadier General	Mohammad Omar Zahid, psc
26	Brigadier General	Hasan Md Shamsuddin, afwc, psc
27	Brigadier General	Mirza Md Enamul Haque
28	Brigadier General	Md Wahid-Uz-Zaman, psc, te
29	Brigadier General	Abul Fazal Md Sanaullah, SUP, hdmc, psc
30	Brigadier General	Kazi Taufiqul Islam, psc
31	Brigadier General	Sharif Ahsan, afwc, psc
32	Brigadier General	Abu Nur Md Shariful Alam, SUP, psc, lsc
33	Brigadier General	Abdullah Al Yusuf, BSP, psc, G
34	Brigadier General	A K M Saiful Islam, psc
35	Brigadier General	Md Wahidul Islam, psc
36	Brigadier General	A K M Iqbal Azim, psc, G+, PhD
37	Brigadier General	S. M. Kamrul Hassan, hdmc, psc
38	Brigadier General	Sajjad Hossain, psc
39	Brigadier General	Md Zamal Mahmood Siddiq, psc

40	Brigadier General	Md Habibur Rahman
41	Brigadier General	Mashiur Rahman, psc
42	Brigadier General	Omar Sadi, psc
43	Brigadier General	Abul Kashem Md Fazlul Kader, psc
44	Brigadier General	Md Muniruzzaman, psc
45	Brigadier General	A B M Shefaul Kabir, afwc, psc
46	Brigadier General	Md Abul Kalam Azad, afwc, psc, G+
47	Brigadier General	Md Main Uddin, psc, G
48	Brigadier General	Kazi Shameem Farhad, psc
49	Brigadier General	Md Mostagousur Rahman Khan, SGP, afwc, psc
50	Brigadier General	Md Rashed Iqbal, psc, G
51	Brigadier General	Khaled Shams, psc
52	Brigadier General	Md Mizanur Rahman
Bangladesh Navy		
53	Commodore	Mahmud Hossain, (ND), NPP, BCGMS, psc, BN
54	Commodore	M Zakirul Islam, (E), psc, BN
55	Captain	M Sharif Uddin Bhuiyan, (S), NGP, afwc, psc, BN
56	Captain	M Nayeem Golam Muktadir, (H), psc, BN
57	Captain	M Ali Chowdhury, (C), afwc, psc, BN
Bangladesh Air Force		
58	Air Commodore	M A Awal Hossain, GUP, awc, psc, GD (P)
59	Air Commodore	Md Shaharul Huda, psc, GD (P)
60	Group Captain	Md Zahidul Sayeed, psc, Engg
61	Group Captain	Mirza Sarwar Jahan, Engg
62	Group Captain	Md Towhidul Islam, BPP, psc, Engg
Bangladesh Civil Service		
63	Joint Secretary	Dr. Shahnaz Arefin
64	Joint Secretary	Rukhsana Hasin
65	Joint Secretary	Kazi Enamul Hassan

66	Additional Secretary	Md. Shahidul Hoque Bhuia
67	Joint Secretary	Maqsura Noor
68	Joint Secretary	Md Shahidul Alam
69	Joint Secretary	Munira Sultana
70	Joint Secretary	Md Rejaul Karim
71	Joint Secretary	Biswajit Bhattacharya Khokon
72	Joint Secretary	Md. Ismiel Hossain
73	Joint Secretary	Md Abdul Majid
74	Joint Secretary	Rashida Ferdouse
75	Director General	Masudur Rahman
76	Deputy Inspector General	Mohammad Abdullahel Baki, PPM

NDC Participants (Course Members of Armed Forces War Course-2018)

Ser	Rank	Name
Bangladesh Army		
1	Lieutenant Colonel	Kazi Anisuzzaman, psc, Inf
2	Lieutenant Colonel	Mohammad Ali Reza, SGP, psc, Inf
3	Lieutenant Colonel	Azaher Uddin Ahmmed, psc, Inf
4	Lieutenant Colonel	Ahmed Sharrif Manee, BSP, psc, Engrs
5	Lieutenant Colonel	Mohammad Humayun Kabir, psc, G, Arty
6	Lieutenant Colonel	Md Sufi Mohammad Moinuddin, SUP, psc, Sigs
7	Lieutenant Colonel	Md Rashidul Islam, psc, Inf
8	Lieutenant Colonel	Muhammad Azharul Islam, psc , Ord

9	Lieutenant Colonel	Shahzad Pervez Mohiuddin, psc, Sigs
10	Lieutenant Colonel	Md Anwarul Kabir, psc, Arty
11	Lieutenant Colonel	Kazi Shazzad Hossain, psc , ASC
12	Lieutenant Colonel	Mostofa Zaman Khan, psc, Inf
13	Lieutenant Colonel	Mahmud Hasan, BSP, psc, Arty
14	Lieutenant Colonel	Malique Shams Uddin Muhammed Moin, SGP, psc, Inf
15	Lieutenant Colonel	Mohammad Asaduzzaman, psc, AC
16	Lieutenant Colonel	Abul Hasnat Mohammad Mahmud Azam, psc, Arty
17	Lieutenant Colonel	Mohammad Sultan Mahmud Shamol, psc, Engrs
18	Lieutenant Colonel	Mohammad Abdul Aziz, SUP, psc, AC
19	Lieutenant Colonel	Ariful Islam Khan, psc, Engrs
20	Lieutenant Colonel	Mohammad Kamrul Hassan, psc, Inf
21	Lieutenant Colonel	Mohammad Arman Mallick, psc, G+, Arty
22	Lieutenant Colonel	Nizam Uddin Ahmed, psc, Engrs
23	Lieutenant Colonel	Mohammad Mahmudul Hasan, psc, Inf
24	Lieutenant Colonel	Mohammad Harun-Ur-Rashid, psc, Inf
25	Lieutenant Colonel	Mohammad Tariq Hossain, psc, Inf
Bangladesh Navy		
26	Captain	Arif Ahmed Mustafa, (G), psc, BN
27	Commander	Faisal Muzaffer Mahmud, (S), psc, BN

28	Commander	Al Faroque Mahmud Hossain, (N), psc, BN
29	Commander	M Jamal Uddin Chowdhury, (ND), psc, BN
30	Commander	Khan Mohammad Emon Rashid, (ND), psc, BN
Bangladesh Air Force		
31	Group Captain	Md Mostafa Mahmood Siddiq, psc, GD (P)
32	Group Captain	Md Mahfuzur Rahman, GUP, psc
33	Group Captain	Md Asif Iqbal, psc, GD(P)
34	Wing Commander	Md Aminur Reza Ibne Abedin, psc, ADWC
35	Wing Commander	Md Abdul Hafiz Sarker, psc, Log

Outside Participants

Ser	Rank and Name	Appointment	Organization
1.	Mr. Abul Hassan Mahmood Ali, MP	Hon'ble Minister for Foreign Affairs	Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA)
2.	Dr. Imtiaz Ahmed	Professor	Dhaka University
3.	Mr. Asif Munier	Rohingya and Refugee Specialist	
4.	Mr. Hayat-Ud-Dawlah Khan	PS to Foreign Minister	MOFA
5.	Mr. M Nore-Alam	Director	MOFA
6.	Joint Secretary Kabirul Ekdani Khan		Ministry of Finance
7.	Brigadier General Azazul Bar Chowdhury	DG, Ops & Plan Dte	Armed Forces Division
8.	Colonel Md Shariful Islam		Armed Forces Division

9.	Colonel Md Ashraful Alam	WE&S Dte	Army Headquarters
10.	Captain M Fazlur Rahman		Naval Headquarters
11.	Captain Mahbubur Rashid		Naval Headquarters
12.	Colonel Hasan Shahriar, psc		HQ DGFI
13.	Captain M Mosayed, (TAS), BCGM, afwc, psc, BN		Bangladesh Coast Guard
14.	Brigadier General Md Mefta Ul Karim, ndc, psc	Commander	6 Indep ADA Bde
15.	Lieutenant Colonel Mohammad Sheraf Uddin Khan , afwc, psc	Directing Staff	DSCSC
16.	Wing Commander Mohammad Arifur Rahman		DSCSC
17.	Wing Commander Muhammed Kamrul Islam		DSCSC
18.	Squadron Leader Md Abdullah Al Mamun		DSCSC
19.	Mr. Mahbubur Rashid Bhuiyan	Research Fellow	BIISS
20.	Benuka Ferdousi	Research Fellow	BIISS
21.	Additional Secretary Syed Mizanur Rahman, ndc	MDS	BPATC
22.	Md Tauhidul Islam	Chairman, Peace & Conflict Studies	University of Dhaka
23.	Khandokar Jannat Fatima Priya	Student	Dhaka University
24.	Sultana Afrin Nipa	Student	Dhaka University
25.	Khandokar Jannatul Fatima	Student	University of Dhaka
26.	FahimMorshedTanvir	Student	University of Dhaka
27.	Sultana Afrin Nipa	Student	University of Dhaka

28.	Md Shahadat Hossain	Student	University of Dhaka
29.	S.R. Khan Orthey	Student	University of Dhaka
30.	Mirza Rahman Khan	Lecturer, Dept of IR	Jahangir Nagar University
31.	Md. Omar Faruque	Student	Jahangir Nagar University
32.	Subiggo Chakma	Student	Jahangir Nagar University
33.	Md Tajul Islam Munshi	Student, Dept of IR	Jahangir Nagar University
34.	Md Samiul Alam Joy	Student, Dept of IR	Jahangir Nagar University
35.	Jebonnesa Pathan Kallani	Student, Dept of IR	Jahangir Nagar University
36.	Tawfique Ahmed	Student, Dept of IR	Jahangir Nagar University
37.	Omme Habiba	Student, Dept of IR	Jahangir Nagar University
38.	Md Towfiq Al Imran	Student	Jahangir Nagar University
39.	Dipty Debnath	Student	Jahangir Nagar University
40.	Md Sulaiman	Student	Jahangir Nagar University
41.	Commodore Bashir Uddin Ahmed, (G), ndc, psc, BN		BSMR Maritime University
42.	Lieutenant Commander M Ataus Samad	Assistant Professor	BSMR Maritime University
43.	Ayesha Siddiqua	Lecturer	BSMR Maritime University
44.	Masrur Mahmud Khan	Student	BSMR Maritime University

45.	Brigadier General (Retd) Syed Mofazzel Mawla	Dean, Centre for Higher Studies & Research	Bangladesh University of Professionals (BUP)
46.	Brigadier General A S M Ridwanur Rahman, afwc, psc	Dean	BUP
47.	Colonel Md Abdul Hamid		BUP
48.	Shaila Solaiman	Assistant Professor Dept of IR	BUP
49.	Afsana Akter	Student, Dept of IR	BUP
50.	Jannatul Ferdous	Student, Dept of IR	BUP
51.	Md Sajib Chowdhury	Student, Dept of IR	BUP
52.	Fatema Tuj Juhra	Lecturer	BUP
53.	Sultana Afrin Nipa	Student	BUP
54.	Lieutenant General (Retd) Abu Tayeb Muhammad Zahirul Alam, rcds, psc	Former Comdt	NDC
55.	Brigadier General (Retd) Mahbubul Haque, ndc, afwc, psc	Former Faculty	NDC
56.	Air Commodore Ishfaq Ilahi Chowdhury, ndc, psc (Retd)	Former Faculty	NDC
57.	Additional Secretary AFM Nurus Safa Chowdhury, ndc	Former Faculty	NDC
57.	Professor Dr. N A Kalimullah, BTFO	Vice Chancellor	Begum Rokeya University
59.	Ambassador Muhammad Zamir		Resource Person
60.	Ambassador Md Touhid Hossain		Resource Person
61.	Ambassador Nasim Ferdous		Resource Person

62.	Mr Shahadat Hossain	Research Officer	ISPR
63.	Roksana Amin		Chanel i
64.	Md Nasir Uddin		Mohona TV
65.	Jewel Theo		BDC News
66.	Shafiqul Bari		Daily Bangladesh
67.	Ashiqul Alam		RTV
68.	Golam Masud		Bangla News 24.com
69.	Shakil Ahmed		Bangla News 24.com
70.	Mahfuzur Rahman		BTV
71.	A S M Atiq		NTV
72.	Shimul Mahmud		Bangladesh Protidin
73.	Nazmul Sayed		Jamuna TV
74.	Nafiza Dawla		Independent TV
75.	Lakmina Jesmin Soma		News 24 TV
76.	Mashreq Rahat		Maasranga TV
77.	Meher Moni		Boishakhi TV
78.	Panna Das		ATN Bangla
79.	Rajib Das		Nagorik TV
80.	Wahid Hossain		Channel 24
81.	Nazia Afrin		ATN News
82.	Azam Jyoti		Channel 9
83.	Ahsan Jewel		Somoy TV
84.	Ruman Alim		GTV

Moderator/Coordinators

1.	Brigadier General Md Rafiqul Islam, SUP, ndc, afwc, psc	Directing Staff (Army)	Moderator
2.	Commodore Khondkar Misbah-Ul- Azim, (TAS), afwc, psc, BN	Directing Staff (Navy)	Moderator
3.	Colonel (Now Brigadier General) A K M Fazlur Rahman, afwc, psc	Director, Research and Academic	Coordinator
4.	Lieutenant Colonel A S M Badiul Alam, afwc, psc, G+, Arty	Senior Research Fellow	Associate Coordinator
5.	Lecturer Farhana Binte Aziz	Research Fellow	Assistant Coordinator
6.	Md Nazrul Islam	Assistant Director (Library)	Assistant Coordinator



National Defence College
Mirpur Cantonment, Dhaka, Bangladesh
www.ndc.gov.bd