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PROCEEDINGS
International   Conference
on

Bangladesh in International Peacebuilding: Experience from Japan

BIISS Auditorium, Dhaka
12-13 August 2018

Organized by

Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies (BIISS)

in Collaboration with

The Japan Foundation

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Introduction

Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies (BIISS), in collaboration with the Japan Foundation, organized a two-day International Conference titled "Bangladesh in International Peacebuilding: Experience from Japan", on 12-13 August 2018 at BIISS Auditorium, Dhaka. Dr Dipu Moni, MP, Honourable Chairman, Parliamentary Standing Committee on Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bangladesh Parliament inaugurated the programme as the Chief Guest. H E Mr Hiroyasu Izumi, Ambassador of Japan to Bangladesh, was the Special Guest of the Inaugural Session. The Conference was designed to discuss and exchange views on various aspects of the relatively new concept of peacebuilding vis-á-vis peacekeeping as well as what role Bangladesh can play in international peacebuilding reflecting on the experiences and learning from Japan.

The Conference was divided into six sessions including Inaugural and Concluding Sessions. Ambassador Munshi Faiz Ahmad, Chairman, Board of Governors, BIISS chaired the Inaugural Session. The First Working Session was chaired by Ms Mia Seppo, UN Resident Coordinator in Bangladesh. Mr Md Shahidul Haque, Foreign Secretary, Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh was the Chair of the Second Working Session. Mr Truls Julian Jaeger-Synnevaag, Deputy Head of Mission, Royal Norwegian Embassy in Dhaka, chaired the Third Working Session. The Fourth Working Session was chaired by Lt Gen (Retd) Md Mainul Islam, OSP, BGBM, awc, psc, Former Chief of General Staff, Bangladesh Army. Ambassador Muhammad Zamir, Commissioner, OIC Independent Permanent Human Rights Commission and Former Chief Information Commissioner of Bangladesh, chaired the Fifth Working Session and Concluding Session of the Conference. In total, ten presentations were delivered by academics, experts and high officials during the sessions of the Conference. High-level military officials, scholars, academia, officials from law enforcement agencies, policy makers, former and current government officials, members of diplomatic corps, representatives from development partner organizations and media were present and participated in the open discussion sessions. They highlighted and deliberated on various aspects of peacebuilding in general and in relation to Bangladesh in particular.

Inaugural Session

Major General A K M Abdur Rahman, ndc, psc, Director General, BIISS commenced the Inaugural Session with welcome address. Dr Dipu Moni, MP, Chairman, Parliamentary Standing Committee on Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bangladesh Parliament inaugurated the programme as the Chief Guest. H E Mr Hiroyasu Izumi, Ambassador of Japan to Bangladesh, was the Special Guest. Ambassador Munshi Faiz Ahmad, Chairman, Board of Governors, BIISS, chaired the session.

Welcome Address

Major General A K M Abdur Rahman, ndc, psc
Director General, BIISS

At the outset, **Major General A K M Abdur Rahman, ndc, psc,** Director General, BIISS, stated that since the inception of United Nations peacekeeping operations in the Middle East on 29 May 1948, the idea has gone through a massive transformation from traditional peacekeeping to a complex and multidimensional peacebuilding, encompassing a wide range of areas including socio-economic, political, legal and institutional frameworks to attain peace and stability around the globe. He added that in 1992, the former UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali introduced the concept of peacebuilding to the UN as "action to identify and support structures, which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict." However, in recent times, the idea of peacebuilding mainly includes but not limited to security sector reform, disarmament, reintegration, welfare and development, framework of justice, rule of law, etc. Five priority areas for international peacebuilding are: support to basic safety and security; political processes; provision of basic services; restoration of core government functions; and economic revitalization.

He noted that Bangladesh is one of the largest troops contributing countries to the United Nations peacekeeping missions and also a leading country working for the global peacebuilding efforts. Since its independence, the country has always been promoting the idea of global peace and stability. Bangladesh's consistent participation originates from its constitutional obligation to maintain peace, freedom and justice across the world. He informed that the country has already deployed more than 150,000 peacekeepers in 54 missions spread across 40 different countries since its participation in the first peacekeeping mission in 1988 known as United Nations Iran-Iraq Military Observer Group (UNIIMOG). He also informed that he was one of the pioneer peacekeepers of the 15 officers which composed the pioneering peacekeeping mission UNIMOG. They left Dhaka on 16 August and reached the mission on 17 August. From 20 August 1988, they started to observe the ceasefire. From his experience, General Rahman said that at the beginning, they did not know anything about the mission. Even, they did not know what to carry. They were told that they might not find enough foods and water as biological and chemical warfare were going on. With zero knowledge about the mission, they went there. But within two months' time, they understood the mechanisms and established food team in the UN. In the third month, out of eight team sites, four of the team sites' leaders were from Bangladesh.

He highlighted that in 2011, during the 66th UN General Assembly's meeting, Honourable Prime Minister of Bangladesh, Sheikh Hasina's proposal of a six-point global peace model is a sheer manifestation of Bangladesh's deep commitment towards global peace and prosperity. In keeping with Bangladesh's priority for peacebuilding, Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina decided to establish a Peacebuilding Centre in Bangladesh. During her bilateral visit to Japan in 2014, Prime Minister of Bangladesh requested the Prime Minister of Japan to extend its cooperation to establish a centre in Bangladesh. He stated that Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina has given the responsibility to BIISS and especially to him to work as an interim Director General of Peacebuilding Centre. It has already been established and waiting for inauguration by the Prime Minister. In this respect, he thanked the embassy of Japan, Foreign Ministry of Japan and Professor Dr Hideaki Shinoda, Director, Hiroshima Peacebuilders Center (HPC), Japan for extending their supports.

He said that as a peace-loving and responsible international actor, Japan has devoted considerable efforts to peacebuilding, developed its own version of peacebuilding concept and has taken a non-coercive approach to peacebuilding. Japan's peace and security is interlinked with international peace and stability. It has actively engaged in addressing various issues and challenges confronting the global community. In particular, Japan focuses on peacebuilding which is crucial to prevent the recurrence of conflicts and achieving sustainable peace. As such, Japan's policy orientations match with those of Bangladesh's peacebuilding objectives.

General Rahman stated that BIISS, in collaboration with Japan Foundation has organized this international conference with a view to exchanging ideas and sharing experiences on various issues related to international peacebuilding. He concluded with the expectation that the scholars and participants of the Conference would shed light on the challenges of 21st century peacebuilding efforts and the possible remedies; new avenues for cooperation and contribution in international peacebuilding; Bangladesh's current role in international peacebuilding and how the country can expand its civilian engagement; and most importantly, Japan's leading role in global peacebuilding effort and how countries like us can be benefited from it. He also hoped that this international conference will provide the necessary platform for sharing experiences and help Bangladesh enhance its international peacebuilding efforts.

Address by the Special Guest

H E Mr Hiroyasu Izumi
Ambassador of Japan to Bangladesh

H E Mr Hiroyasu Izumi, Ambassador of Japan to Bangladesh commenced his valuable speech by thanking BIISS to organize the Conference on international peacebuilding. He said that the first thing that came to his mind when discussing the issue of peacebuilding was Hiroshima. During the Second World War, the Japanese city of Hiroshima faced a serious hazard due to the detonation of the atom bomb. Two bombs were detonated in Hiroshima and Nagasaki and killed many people. On that day, his mother and her family went to Hiroshima. They were hit and flamed by the detonation and his uncle's family was killed due to that detonation. He recalled the pathetic moment that he heard from his mother.

Such tragedy disheartened the general people. The people who survived that tragedy have been living with a deep sorrow for the entire life. For the people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, especially the generation that experienced the atomic bomb detonation tragedy of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the generation that born after the detonation tragedy feel that peacebuilding or establishing peace in the society is a crucial thing.

After completion of the study, Ambassador Izumi said that he entered the Foreign Service. Through his service, he learned by heart that war devastates people. It is the outcome of failed diplomacy. In diplomacy, it is always said that any kind of problems or conflicts should be resolved through dialogues. He mentioned the famous British Historian E H Carr. Historian Carr once said, "Diplomacy should stand between realism and idealism". Ambassador Izumi agreed with that statement of E H Carr and said that diplomacy which was only based on realism but avoid idealism, would not bring success. Comparably, diplomacy that only based on idealism and ignore realism will also not be successful. Thus, there must be a balance between these two ideologies.

The Ambassador congratulated Bangladesh and its people to give shelter to the Rohingya people who fled to Bangladesh due to massive atrocities done by the neighbouring Myanmar government. Bangladesh embraced approximately one million people. Bangladesh together with Japan and international community has been working very hard to build humanitarian support for the Rohingyas. It is trying hard to resolve this problem. Ambassador Izumi informed that his country is witnessing Bangladesh's sincerity and devotion to handle this crisis. Bangladesh's sincerity has impressed the international community. He also informed about the Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs' statement that Japan supports Bangladesh for the safe repatriation of the Rohingyas to their home country.

While concluding his remarks, he hoped that the Rohingya problem will be resolved soon in peaceful manner. He also congratulated BIISS to arrange such timely programme. And he also hoped that the Conference will be successful in sharing knowledge for establishing new platform for peacebuilding.

Address by the Chief Guest

Dr Dipu Moni, MP

Chairman, Parliamentary Standing Committee on Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bangladesh Parliament

At the outset, **Dr Dipu Moni, MP,** Chairman, Parliamentary Standing Committee on Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bangladesh Parliament said that it was indeed a pleasure and privilege for her to be in this timely and important Conference. She thanked BIISS for organizing an event on such a relevant topic. She quoted from John F. Kennedy – "Peace is a daily, a weekly, a monthly process, gradually changing opinions, slowly eroding old barriers, quietly building new structures." She also quoted from Albert Einstein – "Peace cannot be kept by force; it can only be achieved by understanding." So, with these two days of deliberations, she hoped that the audience will be progressive in promoting a proper understanding of peace and peacebuilding.

She noted that Bangladesh was created to end persecution and discrimination and to establish a state where all people would be treated equally and can live together in peace. The preamble of the Constitution of Bangladesh asserts about the people's pledge to make "full contribution towards international peace and cooperation in keeping with the progressive aspirations of mankind". Article 25 of the Constitution declares our commitment to the promotion of international peace, security and solidarity. In his speech in the UN in September 1974, Father of the Nation Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said, "Peace is essential for the continued existence of Mankind. Peace embodies all the hopes and aspirations of all men and women of the world. To be sustainable, peace must be based on justice. … … We shall continue to support all efforts for promoting peace in the world." Bangladesh has also taken several initiatives to spread its peaceful ideals around the world. Bangladesh initiated the UN 'Culture of Peace' resolution adopted in the 52nd session of the General Assembly in 1997, which proclaimed the year 2000 as "International Year for Culture of Peace." It also pioneered the initiative to declare 2001-2010 as the "International Decade of Culture of Peace and Non-Violence for the Children of the World". Bangladesh also played significant role in the 'Dialogue among Civilizations' organized by the UN.

In the 66th U N General Assembly in 2011, Honourable Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina came up with the idea that prosperity is achievable with the removal of injustice in an environment of peace. There, she proposed a "six-point multi-dimensional peace model" which reaffirms equal treatment for all people and emphasizes the scope of human capabilities which can be realized through peace. The UN General Assembly unanimously adopted the peace-centric development model of Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina and her idea was shared by other leaders around the world. The six specific goals of her proposed model are: eradication of poverty and hunger; reduction of inequality; mitigation of deprivation; inclusion of excluded people; acceleration of human development; and elimination of terrorism. The responsibility to achieve the above mentioned goals primarily goes to the government and people of each individual country. However, some countries may not be in a position to achieve this by themselves, particularly in case of conflict situations and may need intervention, assistance and cooperation. Such intervention, assistance and cooperation would need to be either mandated by appropriate UN resolution or in response to specific request from the parties involved.

As the "six-point multi-dimensional peace model" suggests, peacebuilding is no longer conceived as merely limited to post-conflict scenario. The need for peacebuilding is also felt in countries which currently are not witnessing any conflict but have potential risk of conflict due to lack of inclusiveness and societal resilience. Given the depth and breadth of the inclusiveness issue, it has been included in the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Goal 16 of SDGs calls for promoting peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, providing access to justice for all and building effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels. Achieving this Goal demands close cooperation among nations in terms of peacebuilding. This implies that both developing and developed nations now have collective responsibilities to collaborate and combine efforts in this regard.

While talking about Bangladesh in UN peacekeeping, Dr Dipu Moni said that Bangladesh's participation in UN peacekeeping is an important manifestation of the country's commitment to peace. Bangladesh started participating in UN peacekeeping operations in 1988. Since then, men and women from Armed Forces, Police as well as civilians have served in 54 peacekeeping missions across 40 countries. For a long time, Bangladesh has been among the top three personnel contributing countries in the UN missions. Currently, about 7,105 Bangladeshis are serving in various peacekeeping missions abroad. The peacekeepers have performed commendably and earned high reputation for themselves as well as for the country. Many of them have received honours and awards and 129 of them have laid down their lives while serving in these missions.

Over time, the peacekeepers and the UN realized that peacekeeping with its narrow mandate was not adequate to sustain peace in the long run. A consensus was built among the global leaders that peacebuilding was necessary for sustaining the peace achieved through peacekeeping efforts. Interventional peacebuilding is thus a natural follow up of peacekeeping. Peacebuilding is a process that facilitates the establishment of durable peace and prevents the recurrence of violence by addressing root causes of conflict through reconciliation, institution building and political as well as economic transformation. Main components of peacebuilding include: first, reducing weapons and re-integrating former combatants into civilian society; second, restoring rule of law and public administration; third, creating legitimate (democratic, accountable) state institutions; fourth, rebuilding basic facilities, transportation and communication networks and utilities; fifth, building educational and health infrastructure; and finally, providing technical and capacity-building assistance for institutions.

Speaking about Bangladesh in peacebuilding, she noted that although, Bangladesh is one of the largest contributors of UN peacekeeping personnel, its participation in peacebuilding has been, so far, a bit limited. Bangladesh's participation in peacebuilding was first envisioned by Honourable Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina. As Japan is one of the leading countries in international peacebuilding processes, she sought cooperation from Japan in this regard during a high-level bilateral visit to Japan in May 2014. Both the leaders agreed to cooperate on this issue. Soon after, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Bangladesh, in consultation with concerned stakeholders, began the process of establishing a Peacebuilding Centre in Bangladesh.

She extended her description of the Bangladesh Peacebuilding Centre (BPC). Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies (BIISS), one of the country's leading research institutes, was entrusted with setting up and nurturing of the Bangladesh Peacebuilding Centre (BPC). Initially, the Centre was temporarily set up at the premises of BIISS and the Director General of BIISS was assigned as the interim Director General of BPC. Today, with a permanent structure at Agargaon, Sher-e-Banglanagar, Dhaka, Bangladesh Peacebuilding Centre is all set and is waiting for formal inauguration. With the aim of translating credible potential of Bangladesh to credible capacity in peacebuilding, Bangladesh Peacebuilding Centre would offer training in light of the expertise required in emerging peacebuilding situations worldwide for developing a skilled, experienced and quickly deployable reserve of personnel. She then identified other objectives of the Centre: first, conducting research on peacebuilding in order to contribute to fostering sustaining peace around the world; second, engaging national and international stakeholders in the effort of peacebuilding; and third, disseminating information about peacebuilding initiatives among prospective professionals.

She stated that Bangladesh has credible potential for engagement in peacebuilding. The country has a good number of experts experienced in restoration of law and order, election management, disaster

management, providing services like education and health as well as assisting in capacity building. Through proper training, the country can utilize this experience to further enhance its expertise in peacebuilding. Japan has been the most important partner of Bangladesh in its peacebuilding endeavours. BIISS and Japan have exchanged several visits. To enhance its capability in peacebuilding, beside Japan, Bangladesh is communicating with other countries like Sweden, Canada and Australia, who have already developed significant capacity in peacebuilding. BIISS has already entered into cooperation with some of these countries.

In this context, this Conference organized by BIISS is of great importance. It can be viewed as a part of Bangladesh's efforts aimed at enhancing its peacebuilding capacity through learning from others. As one can see from the detailed programme, quite a few experts from home and abroad will be speaking on various aspects related to peacebuilding. This will definitely help to broaden and deepen our understanding of these issues. She opined that this as a very timely and useful endeavour. She wished the Conference resounding success. She hoped that the audience will also be able to hear suggestions from the participants on the Rohingya crisis. She informed that the honourable Foreign Minister was in Myanmar with a view to discussing the repatriation process. With these words, she declared the formal commencement of the Conference.

Remarks by the Chair

Ambassador Munshi Faiz Ahmad
Chairman, Board of Governors, BIISS

     Ambassador Munshi Faiz Ahmad, Chairman, Board of Governors, BIISS, in his speech said that Bangladesh was created in order to end inequality, oppression, discrimination and building a society based on equality, justice and peace. The country's constitution also enshrines the noble goal of promoting world peace. He cited Father of the Nation, Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's address at the UN General Assembly on 25 September 1974, affirming Bangladesh's commitment to the UN Charter as- "Peace was essential for continued existence of mankind. Peace embodies all the hopes and aspirations of all men and women of the world. To be sustainable, peace must be based on justice......we shall continue to support all efforts for promoting peace in the world." Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina also resonated the same commitment, when she put forward her 6-point Peace Model at the UNGA in September 2011, which was unanimously accepted by the Assembly. Bangladesh made its mark through active participation and substantial contribution in UN peacekeeping missions with a number of Bangladeshi peacekeepers sacrificing their lives. However, the mandate and scope of peacekeeping missions were found as too narrow to ensure long-term sustainability of peace. Peacebuilding was primarily the responsibility of individual countries, their governments and people, occasionally some countries are not capable of ensuring it by themselves, particularly in post-conflict situations, where external interventions would become essential. Such intervention might be required in some pre-conflict situations as well. This could occur by two ways: mandated by appropriate UN resolutions; or on request from parties involved. Peacebuilding gained notable ground with the Brahimi Report and UN Secretary General Ban-Ki-Moon's declaration. Bangladesh and Japan both are active members of the UN Peacebuilding Commission (UNPBC).

     Ambassador Ahmad said that Bangladesh and Japan had been cooperating closely in developing skilled personnel for deployment in peacebuilding situations. During the exchange of visits between the Prime Ministers of Bangladesh and Japan, the countries agreed to institutionalize such cooperation. This led to the decision of establishing the Bangladesh Peacebuilding Centre (BPC). BIISS was entrusted with the

responsibility of setting up the centre and nurture it. The Director General of BIISS had also been designated as the Director General of BPC. He applauded the DG and faculty members' hard work for completing all the preparatory works in this regard; the centre is now ready to be formally inaugurated in a suitable separate building with appropriate faculty, equipped with approved curricula and course contents to commence training of potential peacebuilders.

Peacebuilding, like peacekeeping, would be a global effort led by the UN; thus, need for close cooperation with suitable partners would be critical. Presently, BIISS had established close contacts and cooperation with similar institutions and relevant experts in many countries including Japan, Sweden, Australia and Canada. This two-day long Conference would be another of many efforts in bringing together relevant experts to increase knowledge about peacebuilding. He concluded the speech by thanking the Chief Guest, the Special Guest and all other guests for their enthusiastic participation, the Japan Foundation and BIISS for successfully organizing the Conference.

Working Session - I

International Peacebuilding: Concepts, Methodologies and Experience of Japan

The first Working Session was entitled **"International Peacebuilding: Concepts, Methodologies and Experience of Japan".** In this session, presentations were made by **Professor Dr Hideaki Shinoda**, Director, Hiroshima Peacebuilders Center, Japan and **Professor Dr Mari Katayanagi**, Hiroshima University, Japan. The Session was chaired by **Ms Mia Seppo,** UN Resident Coordinator in Bangladesh.

Presentation - I

Professor Dr Hideaki Shinoda
Director, Hiroshima Peacebuilders Center, Japan

Professor Dr Hideaki Shinoda, Director, Hiroshima Peacebuilders Center, Japan, at the outset, stated that Bangladesh is very important for Japan. The Government of Japan has been collaborating with the Government of Bangladesh for long. Japan is very much keen to pursue and develop this kind of partnership. However, he touched upon some important points regarding the big agenda of peacebuilding by illustrating his own engagements with government activities in Japan in terms of policies of Japan in international peacebuilding and Japan's own experience in peacebuilding processes in the last 17 years or more.

He is the Director of Hiroshima Peacebuilders Center which is also known as HPC. Japan established this institutional framework 12 years ago, where the Government of Japan and Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan established the programme under the human resource development programme under the title of International Development Programme for Peacebuilding and Development. Although it is not purely a government body, it has been closely collaborating with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan as implementer of their human resource development programme.

He informed that HPC conducts several training courses as well as carrier support programme for those associated with the human resource development programme. The most indispensable part is providing training for potential peacebuilders like future officials of the international organizations like the UN as well as government officials. He discussed the issue of peacebuilding as well as the issue of capacity building in terms of Japan's interest and partnership with Bangladesh as a stakeholder and as per the establishment of a peacebuilding centre in Bangladesh. The government of Japan has been providing capacity development support for peacekeeping training institutes in some countries of Africa like Nigeria, Kenya, Egypt, Rwanda, Ghana and Mali. All of them are now key implementers. The Government of Japan has been keen to develop the agenda of capacity development for Japanese future contributors to peacebuilding as well as for foreign stakeholders.

He noted that the importance of peacebuilding is increasing. Japan is also keen to promote its contributions to international peacekeeping overcoming some of its limitations and realizing a natural desire for advancement in peacebuilding. At this moment, Japan has several limitations due to constitutional interpretations and obligations regarding Self Defence Force (SDF). In this context, Japan would like to collaborate with many stakeholders and partners through capacity development and some other channels to give importance regarding Japan's partnership with the host country like the post-conflict country and international organization like the UN. He further said that when it comes to peacebuilding, Japan's natural neighbour in Asia like Bangladesh is very important.

Japan understands that there are structural changes in the world. These structural changes are also affecting international peacebuilding activities. For instance, China has emerged as a super power in the 21st century. Now, it is one of the chief contributors of international peacekeeping operations and is a very big financial contributor to peace operations. And of course, the development assistance of China is outstanding although, it is not a member of OECD.

The Government of Japan has been discussing the so-called Indo-Pacific Strategy. Now, Japan continues to develop the traditional alliance system between the US and Japan. It identified Australia as a key partner in global sense and also identified India as crucial stakeholder in the world strategy. Bangladesh needs to be critically relevant to this initiative. Sometimes Japan's engagements with foreign countries and its assistances are regarded as part of such kind of initiatives. Now people are discussing about the China led Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) and US-Japan oriented Indo-Pacific strategy.

Given this worldwide structure, some other developments are also taking place in different parts of the world. According to Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP), there are three major areas of armed conflict. Middle East has emerged as the most volatile areas since the Arab Spring in 2010. In Africa, the Sahel region is another conflict zone. And finally, South Asia is also vulnerable to armed conflict, mainly Afghanistan.

He highlighted that current tendency of armed conflict matches with the trend of terrorist activities if we look at the nature of terrorist activities in the Middle East, Sahel Region and South Asia. Therefore, the relevance of armed conflict and terrorist activities are very much an important phenomenon of our age. Besides, Japan has been facing a security situation arising from North Korea. Looking at this situation, Japan tends to feel that active and intensive activities are required for Japan at this moment in terms of constitutional limitation. In this context, Japan is very much keen to be engaged through different channels and partnerships. Now the question is how we can approach in this situation towards peacebuilding activities while minimizing tension.

Regarding overall policies of peacebuilding, he talked about liberal peacebuilding tendencies. Liberal peacebuilding theories are outstanding since the end of the Cold War. Liberal peacebuilding is known as a doctrine worldwide to implement peacebuilding activities based on values and doctrines of liberal democracy. Moreover, it is consistent and systematic and is useful for rule of law aspects of society. There are also many criticisms. While introducing liberal peacebuilding, we become biased and westernized. Western countries' values have become more dominant in peacebuilding activities.

He added that Japan tends to promote the local, domestic, indigenous and culture-oriented peacebuilding activities. Japan wants to mainstream the traditional culture of a local community. According to Professor Shinoda, Japan is highly conscious of its Asian character. And it is happy with its role as an Asian country which tries to emphasize the local and national ownership without rejecting liberal peacebuilding

activities in the peacebuilding process. Japan participates in policy forums like OECD as well as Peacebuilding Commission. In every forum, Japan emphasizes the importance of local ownership. Japan has local priorities in different context, while also trying to contextualize the OECD principles.

There are many countries whose engagements in peacekeeping operations are increasing. Ethiopia is such an example. It surpassed Bangladesh in terms of supplying personnel. Presently, it has emerged as top troops providing country. All the UN peacekeeping operations established in this century have institutional purposes, whether regional or sub-regional organizations like African Union. These are very much typical phenomenon of our age. The UN never conducts peacekeeping operations alone even though it is much larger international organization. It seeks partnership with regional or sub-regional organizations. The Japanese are trying to insert their own perspective. They like to promote more local, culture-oriented values in the principle of ownership.

Finally, Professor Shinoda explained how Japan understands the concept of peacebuilding when they think of partnership. HPC conducts analysis, planning, coordination, and management. It believes that peacebuilding is a wider issue. It is a longer term operational perspective than peacekeeping operations and it requires long term strategy and long term commitment for stable, durable long term peace. In order to internalize the grand strategy, we need more systematic way of thinking like identifying main social problems together with some other problems and analyze it with critical point of view. Once we analyze it, we need plans to implement it. In the implementation process, we have to monitor and assess our achievements against the goals we set up against the strategy. He discussed the case of Japan as an example. Japan is also a country that went through the process of peacebuilding. The history of Japan can also be understood from the perspective of peacebuilding process.

Presentation - II

Professor Dr Mari Katayanagi
Hiroshima University, Japan

Professor Dr Mari Katayanagi, Hiroshima University, Japan in her presentation provided a micro view of her various peacebuilding activities. She talked about some of her research activities. At the beginning, her research has been focusing on "Human Rights Functions of United Nations Peacekeeping Operations" and "UN Peacekeeping and Human Rights". After that she worked in JICA, where she participated in research project on "Property Rights in the State-building of Bosnia and Herzegovina". She also co-authored a chapter with Frances Stewart and Thandika Mkandawire on "Findings and Implications: The Role of Development Cooperation" in Preventing Violent Conflict in Africa: Inequalities, Perceptions and Institutions. However, the focuses of her presentation include: Japanese engagement in peacebuilding through Official Development Assistance (ODA), universities as peacebuilding actor, private sector as a peacebuilding actor and wider peacebuilding.

In discussing Japanese engagement in peacebuilding through ODA, she talked about the new approaches to peacebuilding, e.g., peacebuilding through sport and peacebuilding through art. The project for 'Confidence Building through Physical Education' by JICA in Bosnia and Herzegovina is one of the examples of peacebuilding through sport. Peacebuilding through art has been practiced in many places. But these peacebuilding activities have not been conceptualizing yet. However, in 2008, Shank and Schirch tried to conceptualize theatre, music, visual arts etc., as peacebuilding through art.

She noted that Japanese peacebuilding policy goes back to the year 1999. Japan had Medium-Term Policy on Official Development Assistance in which "Conflict, Disaster and Development" is the 6th out of seven priority issues and sectors. It did not mention peacebuilding but discussed conflict prevention, assistance for refugees, post-conflict peacekeeping and reconstruction, support to establishment of equitable political and economic systems and support for landmine clearance. She inferred that these are the activities which are now seen as part of peacebuilding.

She quoted Prime Minister (PM) Koizumi's statement of 2002, that "since the end of the Cold War, regional conflicts arising from religious and ethnic causes have been rampant over the world. The

international society has been engaged in peacekeeping operations designed to consolidate peace and build basic foundations in countries suffering from such conflicts. The Government of Japan will consider how to increase its international role by providing an added pillar for the consolidation of peace and nation building." She stated that this statement reflects the high interest of Japan in engaging in peacebuilding.

She informed that in 2003, Japan's ODA Charter was issued. She noted that the objectives of Japan's ODA charter were "to contribute to the peace and development of the international community, and thereby, to help ensure Japan's own security and prosperity." Japan believes that world security and peace means Japan's security and peace as well. In Japan's ODA Charter, peacebuilding was the 4th of four priority issues.

She also informed that in 2015, Development Cooperation Charter was introduced. It was introduced in the 60th anniversary of Japan's ODA. She mentioned that the first of the basic principles set in the Charter is the contribution "to peace and prosperity through cooperation for non-military purposes." According to the Charter, development has a broad meaning so as to include "such activities as peacebuilding and governance, promotion of basic human rights and humanitarian assistance." It also addresses the needs of "humanitarian assistance for refugees and internally-displaced persons; protection and participation of women and the socially vulnerable; reconstruction of social and human capital; the restoration of governance functions based on a trusting relationship between the government and the public; the removal of landmines and unexploded ordnance and the collection of small arms; and the restoration of public order." She inferred that the development charter represents Japanese understanding of peacebuilding.

She also discussed about JICA's peacebuilding policy. JICA defines peacebuilding as "assistance with the purpose to prevent the occurrence and recurrence of conflicts, alleviate the various difficulties that people face during and immediately after conflicts, and subsequently achieve long-term stable development." The scope of peacebuilding covers prevention, humanitarian assistance and short term and long term peacebuilding. According to JICA, there are four pillars of peacebuilding assistance, e.g., reconstruction of social capital, economic recovery, rebuilding the governing functions, and security enhancement. The first two pillars are basically within the scope of traditional ODA activities. The third and fourth pillars cover the new challenges, governance and security aspects of peacebuilding.

She also mentioned about an unusual example known as 'Support Package for Peace and Stability in Mindanao'. This package was announced in 2002, seven months after PM Koizumi's statement. The unusual fact of this package was that the assistance started before the stabilization of the conflict area. Japan has been very careful about implementing ODA assistance. In this case, Japan decided to start assistance even though there was no stabilization. She informed that there was protracted conflict between Manila and Mindanao for over 40 years. On 26 July 2018, the Bangsamoro Basic Law was finally adopted. By this law the real enhanced peace is seen in Mindanao now. One of the members of JICA, Ochiai, explained this Japanese assistance by the government and JICA as a triple-approach policy combining peacekeeping, peacemaking and peacebuilding at the same time. In terms of peacekeeping, there is participation in International Monitoring Team (IMT). In IMT, there is an element of socio-economic observation. Japanese government decided to send in JICA's staff to IMT. Therefore, the Japanese persons work in IMT is coming from JICA. In terms of peacemaking, there is participation in International Contact Group (ICG). In terms of peacebuilding, there is Japan-Bangsamoro Initiative for Reconstruction and Development (J-BIRD).

She discussed further about two more aspects of JICA's assistance in Mindanao. The first aspect is the socio-economic assistance and the second is its counterpart i.e., 'Autonomous Region for Muslim Mindanao (ARMM)'. Usually, Japanese ODA is for government to government and bilateral assistance. However, in this case, the Philippines gave consent to JICA to work as a representative of Mindanao directly. The contents of the activities included: agricultural capacity building, capacity building in disaster prevention area, infrastructure development, entrepreneurship support and community building. She emphasized that these are usual in development assistance and are also conducted in peacebuilding context. The second aspect is consolidation for peace seminars. It is more close to peacemaking. The consolidation for peace seminars are co-organized by Unit of Research & Education for Peace, Universiti Sains Malaysia and JICA. Through this process JICA and Japanese stakeholders are learning the conflict itself. At the same time, it is functioning as 'Track One-and-a-Half Mediation'. Thus, it is a contribution to peacemaking in Mindanao.

In discussing new actors in peacebuilding or university as peacebuilding actor, she gave two examples of Hiroshima University's involvement. Both examples were related to human resources development. First example was about Mindanao human resource development. It is called Global Hiroshima Project to Enhance Peace-building Human Resource Development for the Bangsamoro Government, the Philippines. This project is collaborated among JICA, Hiroshima University (HU) and Hiroshima Prefecture. Therefore, local government is also involved. She informed that this project is the continuation of the previous project (2006-2011). Foreseeing the establishment of Bangsamoro autonomous government and preparing for the beginning of new autonomous government is the unique aspect of this project. She noted that before the establishment of the government, 33 youths were selected for Davao selective local seminar to go through. Then 12 best performers of this local seminar attended the essential training in Hiroshima University. The rationale of this project is: the new autonomous government needs to show the difference from the past that there was a gap or huge distance between the government and the local population. Now, the autonomous government has to show that the new government is different from the previous era. Additionally, they have to provide services to the local population as well. She mentioned that according to the leader of this project "what is good about this is Hiroshima University has been engaged in this relationship between Mindanao and Hiroshima

University from the beginning and through this process learned a lot about the conflict itself." She added that trust has been built between the Bangsamoro stakeholders and HU through years of activities. Consequently, it has become much easier for them to train the youth participants of this project.

Another example of university's engagement is Japanese Initiative for the Future of Syrian Refugees (JSIR) during 2016-2024. It was announced by the Japanese Government in May 2016. She informed that under this initiative, maximum 150 Syrian (under JSIR up to 100) youth will study at master's courses in Japanese universities. The objective of the initiative is to support Syrian refugees who have the potential to contribute to the reconstruction of Syria in future. The key fields of study offered under JSIR include Engineering, Agriculture, Information and Communication Technology (ICT), Business Administration, Social Science (Peacebuilding, Political Science, Public Administration, etc.), and Japanese Language and Culture. She inferred that this is a kind of engagement of University faculty members in peacebuilding activities. She emphasized that this is the university's social responsibility as well. She informed that Vallayes in 2013 talked about university's social responsibility. According to Vallayes, there are impacts that universities have to deliver and social responsibility has to be measured through outcome. Therefore, it is not about what we do rather what we deliver. Social impacts have to be delivered through solidarity, transference and partnership.

She noted that another new actor in peacebuilding is private sector. In discussing private sector as a peacebuilding actor, she gave example of one Japanese entrepreneur Mr Keiichi Yoshino. She informed that Mr Keiichi Yoshino's vision is changing the world through cacao. He engaged in development assistance in Indonesia where he introduced fermentation technique to Indonesian farmers. By this he has successfully improved the livelihood of the Indonesian farmers. Keiichi Yoshino called this technique as triple win. Firstly, his company which is producing high quality chocolate can get high quality cacao for production of chocolate. Secondly, for the farmers, improved technique and increased income are delivered through this project. Thirdly, for the customers high quality chocolate is delivered by this technique. He is currently trying to apply this similar method in Mindanao.

She also talked about peacebuilding through business. International Alert, a well known NGO, has said in 2006 that if you want to find a common ground then business can become an agent of change and a connector. It provides autonomy to the participants in business through collaboration and trust building. On the other hand, through these activities and by engaging in business, people are able to empower themselves. She added that these features can be visible in peacebuilding through business.

In describing wider peacebuilding, she stated that Japan has been involved in peacebuilding through ODA in a number of countries. Besides government and JICA, there are new actors such as universities, local governments and the private sector who are participating in peacebuilding at the moment. In conclusion, she said that the scope of peacebuilding is widening both in terms of actors and approaches. The same feature is visible in Japan's engagement as well.

Open Discussion

Major General (Retd) A M S A Amin, ndc, psc applauded the presenters for their very illuminating presentations. He, however, raised a question related to Mindanao and Rohingya issues. He noted that it took forty years to resolve the problem of Mindanao under the same government. But in case of Rohingya issue, both Bangladesh and Myanmar have been working at Track   level but they could not bring solution to this problem. Hence, his question was, as Japan is a major actor, and Bangladesh and Japan have very good friendly relations, can Japan help to resolve the problem at Track 1.5 and Track 2 levels?

Ambassador Md Touhid Hossain, Former Foreign Secretary of Bangladesh asked whether we consider it as a conflict zone when two groups are directly involved in armed conflict or do we also consider it as a conflict zone if only one group is committing atrocities. He mentioned that the question came to his mind as the list of conflict zones showed by Professor Shinoda did not include the Rakhine state of Myanmar.

Brigadier General (Retd) Gyasuddin A. Chowdhury, Bir Bikram, psc raised a question regarding personnel deployment for peacebuilding. There are millions of military and civilians who are working in global peacekeeping. Even Bangladesh has sent more than 100,000 soldiers but could not send even 50 soldiers for peacebuilding. He noted that in the contemporary global context peacebuilding is the most critical issue. According to him, peacekeeping is very easy as it involves a simple process: send troops and resolve the problem. Usually two types of conflicts are created in a country: one is within themselves on religious or ethnic basis and another one is between two countries. From his practical experiences of working as a peacekeeper and an ambassador, he noted that all these conflicts are created by superpowers. While working in a Scandinavian country as a diplomat, he heard that the US and its allies were going to divide Iraq into three pieces and their interest was mainly to take control of the oil resources of Iraq and dominate the area. If the interest is not genuine, then peacebuilding cannot be done. On the other hand, Japan is doing a sophisticated way of peacebuilding.

He commented that if we can build peace, then we do not need to send troops. Therefore, the future course of global peacebuilding will be determined by how well the superpowers are contained. Considering this scenario, Japan is doing an excellent job. Japan has been working in last forty years in Mindanao and has almost arranged semi-independence for the people living there. But he does not think Rohingya issue can be resolved by sending troops there. Rather, the superpowers need to be engaged there. So, in-depth study is needed to find an amicable solution of the Rohingya problem.

Sanjida Bary, Student, University of Dhaka raised a question regarding the concept of human security and peacebuilding. She mentioned that Professor Shinoda noted that traditionally Japanese activities tend to emphasize the principle of ownership, self-help and human security. She commented that the term human security has some vagueness. She asked him how one can describe the whole Japanese peacebuilding operations on the basis of human security concept which remains vague.

Lieutenant General (Retd) Harun Ar Rashid, BP, rcds, psc, Former Chief of Army Staff, from his 18 months of service experience in commanding a UN Peacekeeping mission in Georgia, noted that peacebuilding efforts should start much before outbreak of any conflict and not after the conflict, with particular focus to the potential areas where peace is likely to be endangered. The operators cannot

build up the peace unless and until the international community agrees to build up the peace. International community frames up the UN mandate for the peace operation. But that mandate itself is manipulated in such a way that it keeps the interest of the international community. He had a bitter experience of the policy of international community. In the present day context, the US policy on immigration, their trade policy, their policy on Syria, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Yemen and even Israel determine their course of international actions. The role of the powerful actor is adding to the conflict rather than resolving it. As one of the largest contributors of the peace effort of the UN, does Japan have any role to prevent the powerful players in building the conflict rather than preventing it, he asked.

Lieutenant Colonel (Retd) Md Shahadat Hossain, psc shared his own experience of working in the UN peacekeeping operations. He was part of the UN peacekeeping operation in Mozambique in 1994. Besides, he was the military observer team leader and the deputy sector commander of the UN peacekeeping mission in Liberia in 2006. He opined that the UN has helped end conflicts and foster reconciliation by conducting successful peacekeeping operations in dozens of countries. However, he emphasized on addressing the root causes of violent conflicts. He also asked whether there are any activities in Japan to make the rural people and youth conscious about the concepts of peacemaking and peacebuilding. He suggested that the concepts should be widely known to them.

Barrister M. Amir-ul Islam, Former president of Supreme Court Bar Association, congratulated the presenters for their presentations. He noted that history suggests that when Japan makes an engagement, it pursues the engagement at least for two centuries. He wanted to know whether the model that the Hiroshima University is making is of that nature. Japan kept isolated herself from the entire world in the 17th and 18th centuries. Japan came back in the 19th and 20th centuries and defeated rest of the countries in terms of development and technological

performances. Therefore, this engagement whether is of that nature because in order to change the culture of the world as a whole and in order to change the attitude and approaches of the government policies with regard to the question of rule of law and develop a compliant culture in a comprehensive method, takes a long time and persistent policy.

Mansura Emdad, Student, University of Dhaka raised a question regarding the Indo-Pacific strategy and Bangladesh. She asked Professor Shinoda in what specific way Bangladesh can be part of the Indo-Pacific strategy.

Responses by the Speakers

Professor Dr Hideaki Shinoda
Director, Hiroshima Peacebuilders Center, Japan

In response to the question of Rohingya issue, **Professor Dr Hideaki Shinoda** said that it is one of the most crucial topics in the current world in the context of peacebuilding. International community is now vocal about the Rohingya crisis. However, it has received far less media attention than other crisis, e.g. Syria. The attention of the international community is more on the Syrian crisis than other conflicts. He appreciated Dr Peter Wallensteen for the Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP) which has recorded ongoing violent conflicts since the 1970s. He commented that it is difficult to identify non-visible conflict pattern structure. UCDP faced difficulties classifying 1994 Rwanda crisis whether it was a civil war or different phenomenon. He opined that the Rohingya case is another example of such difficulty. However, it is a severe humanitarian crisis. Bangladesh has hosted Rohingya refugees for three decades. The crisis has raised various security concerns. Therefore, intervention is needed before it gets out of control. He emphasized on addressing the problem regionally and looking into other conflict resolution cases, e.g. Cambodia and Mindanao. Besides, other key stakeholders have to be visibly involved, e.g., China. Japan should be very much keen to be involved together with some other international partners. He suggested for promoting international dialogue forum with key stakeholders. In addition, it is very important to provide education to the Rohingya people. He commented that the problem is international in nature not a sole problem of Myanmar and Bangladesh.

Regarding the concept of human security, he said that it has emerged as a new paradigm for understanding global vulnerabilities. It challenges the traditional notion of national security by arguing that the proper referent for security should be the individual rather than the state. One of the most important notions of the concept is comprehensiveness. Human security by definition is more inclusive. He stated that without providing national security it is difficult to ensure human security. Japan is interested in promoting human security. However, sometimes it is regarded as the modest promoter of security agendas. Japan's understanding of human security is very modest as well as comprehensive. Japan believes that human security is not a contradiction to national security rather includes the promotion of national security. It is related to Japan's relations with big powers, i.e., the US. Japan has been maintaining an alliance system with the US for more than seven decades as a result of the Second World War. Japan opened its door in 20th century when they saw warships coming from the US. Eventually, it ended up with a war with the US and was severely defeated. So, it is very important for Japan to maintain peace with the US which is not easy as a super power it can be arrogant sometimes. Nevertheless, Japan believes that it is very crucial for the country to maintain stability with the US in terms of geopolitical calculations. On the other hand, maintaining human security for Japanese nationals is very crucial as well. He commented that it is Japanese style of human security which encompasses comprehensive understanding of security.

Professor Dr Mari Katayanagi
Hiroshima University, Japan

Professor Dr Mari Katayanagi agreed with Professor Shinoda about his perspective on Rohingya issue that it requires intensive and wide engagement. She noted that she discussed the issue with her students and some of them are upset because international community is silent on the issue. There had been media reports but actions of the international community are missing on the Rohingya issue. One question regarding the issue is about political decision and whether the UN Security Council should engage in the issue and deploy international peacekeeping mission which requires consent of the countries. But it is not the case that the international community hasn't done anything. For example, human rights experts of the UN in some occasions wanted to investigate the case of human rights violations there but the government of Myanmar refused their visits. Usually, governments allow the human rights experts and if any government does not allow then there are issues we need to be careful about. And if expert comes and make reports in any case then the international community should follow that. She thinks that we have to think about the ways of putting pressure on the country by the powerful states. Sometimes we are astonished that different standards are used in different cases. For example, if a country is vocal about human rights violations of a particular country, it might not bother about human rights violations of another country. So, we need to have constant consciousness of more people becoming victims of human rights violations and we have to raise the voice that there are double standards or triple standards that are applied in the international community. She thinks that it might take long time, so, we need to have different strategies. If the direct action is missing, then we need to engage in long time actions or efforts to raise the human rights standards. If it is done, then mass people will pressurize the powerful countries in taking actions. So, she advised to make long time efforts to adjust this injustice. For example, if we take the case of Rohingya, we can see that a portion of them have become stateless because of their government's decision. Hence, the intellectuals and researchers should find out the potential causes of conflict prior to losing more lives. Besides, she expressed deep respect for the people who have sacrificed their lives in the UN peace missions. She informed the audience that she is currently doing one research related to the UN missions in Somalia. She has interviewed number of participants of the Somalian operation from Australian force. It was a touching experience for her because many of her interviewees cried although, they are strong men participating in the tough operation. But remembering what they have witnessed and then thinking about present scenario of Somalia they showed tears. This shows their commitment to peace and she thinks everyone else has the similar feelings.

Regarding peace culture, she noted that it goes with the wider peacebuilding. Wider peacebuilding sometimes is overlapping with conflict prevention because we do not want to see the recurrence of war. It even expands to our peacetime education, activities to nurture the peace culture in our society so that there will be no involvement in future conflict. This also goes with the Rohingya issue as well. If we do not want to think about their condition now, in future they may take weapons because they do not have any other ways to express their anger and to realize their wish. So, peace culture is basically the development of our understanding about the importance of human rights and how we can be respectful to the rights of others. After the Second World War, Hiroshima city decided to become a peace memorial city and there was a new law declaring that the Hiroshima will become a peace memorial city not only for Hiroshima but also for the world. So, this is one way the local government set up the vision to enhance the peace culture. She was not sure about the level of rural participation in peacebuilding but expressed that Hiroshima University is conducting a lot of open lectures targeting to reach as many citizens as possible in influencing them to think about peace. She also added that Japanese NGOs are trying to link the countries which are interested in peacebuilding to visit the rural areas of Hiroshima prefecture, so that they could learn the common problem, common challenges and think about the peace together. This is one of the ways, the Hiroshima University is engaging the local community in creating the peace culture.

Remarks by the Chair

Ms Mia Seppo
United Nations Resident Coordinator, Bangladesh

Ms Mia Seppo, UN Resident Coordinator, Bangladesh stated that Bangladesh was the second largest contributor to UN peacekeeping missions in terms of police and military personnels with some seven thousand men and women serving in uniform in the field. So, she took the opportunity to thank the government of Bangladesh on behalf of the United Nations for its commitment to UN peacekeeping. She also thanked Bangladesh's commitment to UN Secretary General's agenda for peacekeeping and for zero tolerance for sexual exploitation and abuse.

She also recognized that while Bangladesh is the second largest contributor in terms of personnel, Japan on the other hand is the second largest contributor in terms of funding UN operations globally, which is a commendable commitment. She said that much of these funding have been focused on peacebuilding operations and programmes. Japan has become a global leader in peacebuilding and has played a key role in UN peacebuilding efforts in post conflict, fragile and conflict affected countries around the world. Cambodia and Afghanistan stand as examples. Given the rise of violent extremism in the modern context and its impact on the conflicts, Japan has become one of the leading advocates for the Secretary General's plan of action to prevent violent extremism. She mentioned that this plan is actually heavily dedicated to peacebuilding approaches which will be discussed in the Conference.

She also noted that the world has recently commemorated the Hiroshima day on 6th of August. The UN Secretary General marked this occasion with an official visit to Japan and he joined the 73rd Nagasaki peace ceremony on the 8th of August. In April of this year, the UN hosted the High-Level Meeting on Peacebuilding and Sustaining Peace in New York. The event talked about reframing the peacebuilding agenda with the view of positioning peacebuilding as a key element to preventing conflict and sustaining existing peaceful societies and, in this way stranding the governments from post-conflict societies to also include the pre-conflict societies. One of the main outcomes of the High-Level Meeting on Peacebuilding and Sustaining Peace was to affirm the three pillars of UN work: peace and security, development and

human rights are interlinked and play mutually reinforcing role in peacebuilding programmes designed to sustain peace.

She also highlighted that the High-Level panel also confirmed that women and youths are the key elements of peace and need to be included in any peacebuilding programme. She said that the importance of youth in the discussion should really be emphasized since 12 August was the international day of youth and the Secretary General's youth envoy had just concluded her visit to Bangladesh the day before. The theme of the international youth day this year was "safe spaces for youth" that is a very important concept in peacebuilding. She said that it is important to know that peace is not the absence of war and when it comes to peaceful societies for youth it means societies that give young people chance to have a sense of purpose and belonging, have the space to speak, have the space to choose their partners and have space to choose their jobs and their futures. When looking at youth engagement, it is also important to keep in mind the notion of "Positive Disruption", something that Bangladesh had experienced in recent times.

She continued by saying that the 2018 report of the Secretary General on peacebuilding and sustaining peace urges all actors to extend their efforts across the peace continuum; from prevention to conflict resolution, and from peacekeeping to peacebuilding and sustaining long term development. She emphasized that the report asks not to look at conflict from the point of view of crisis, but to recognize the need to invest far more in prevention. She said that the Secretary General's report further notices that more focus on preventive action will save the world between US$ 5 to US$ 70 billion a year for the affected countries and the international community together. Lastly, she provided the UN definition of peacebuilding where it is defined as a range of measures targeted to reduce the risk of lapsing or relapsing into conflict, to strengthen national capacities at all levels for conflict management and to lay the foundation for sustainable peace and development. She noted that the core ideas of this definition are reflected in the presentations. She concluded by saying that the peacebuilding strategies must be coherent and tailored to the country's particular concerns based on national ownership.

Working Session – II

Peacebuilding and the Targets of SDGs Goal 16: The Imperative for Democratic Societies

The Second Working Session was the third session of the first day of Conference. The session focused on **"Peacebuilding and the Targets of SDGs Goal 16: The Imperative for Democratic Societies"**. In this session, presentations were made by **Mr Shahab Enam Khan**, Associate Professor, Department of International Relations, Jahangirnagar University and **Dr Zahid ul Arefin Choudhury**, Associate Professor, Department of Peace and Conflict Studies, University of Dhaka. **Mr Md Shahidul Haque**, Foreign Secretary, Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, chaired the session.

Presentation - I

Mr Shahab Enam Khan
Associate Professor
Department of International Relations, Jahangirnagar University

Mr Shahab Enam Khan, Associate Professor, Department of International Relations, Jahangirnagar University, mentioned that Goal 16 of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) essentially creates a synergy between the issues of justice and the issues of law enforcement encompassing overall paradigm of security. He added that this agenda is rightfully chosen to really depict how the institutions should evolve, should not only deliver the security, perhaps this is one of the agenda that should deliver the public aspiration in the decision making procedure. When people talk about the SDGs, they look back to the history of the United Nations.

He mentioned that Millenium Development Goals (MDGs) was an extraordinary process as the public institutions as well as the civil society was incorporated in making this agenda also similar process is followed in the case of SDGs. He added that what happened in 2015 when this particular agenda came up within the United Nations framework, the member countries agreed on 16 principles with 169 targets to achieve which is quiet ambitious in terms of implementation and coordination.

He indicated that one of the major problems with the SDGs that has come up with the credibility of data and implementation of this particular agenda in this stated framework. If one look into the SDGs, he or she may see that it covers wide range of issues not only in terms of human security but also in terms of national security as well.

He mentioned that often people try to ignore the importance of national security that really touched upon in the case of SDGs, which now has become a predominant feature of this particular agenda. He told that when we talk about the 169 targets ranging from climate to food, to health, justice, to the role of the humanitarian agencies where not only the civil organizations are part but law enforcement and military agencies are also part. Now, a platform can be seen which cannot be seen in isolation of these stated agenda or institutions that are used to have been isolated back in time.

He also said that if one looks into recent OECD report which says that government should be commended for sustaining investment in development during these difficult times, now it has been

incorporated at a time when people have seen the rise of development activities as well as the rise of military expenditures too.

Indicating the SIPRI reports, he said that the expenditure on military has gone up. On the other hand UN reports are indicating that the aid and expenditure on the development priorities what they call overseas development assistance has relatively gone down. The most important reason is the rise of migration that has become unprecedented in the post-World War-II history. He added that OECD also says that recent development signals declining levels of aid from some donor countries engendering further causes of concern. Major donor nations have committed to refocus their efforts on the LDCs.

He emphasized that it is time to turn this commitment into action. OECD is also sceptical about the whole idea that how much development has actually trickled down when the military expenditures are increasing. He further added that Goal 16 has two major concerns - one is peace. He mentioned that peace varies from state to state. The concept of peace could be positive or negative peace but the peace that we see in Bangladesh is essentially different if it is contextualized in terms of Middle East and Africa. He added that in SDG 16, one of the major problems is how do the idea of peace is contextualized in context of each of the countries. The harmonization of these conditionalities essentially remains missing. He also added that the security dilemma is another concern.

Referring to the proceedings of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) as well as General Assembly, and the resolution that has been passed in the OIC as well as other institutions, he said that the sense of security dilemma within this framework is essentially visible. He mentioned that it means the conceptualization of peace varies in terms of state, therefore, the level of intervention or level of functionality of institutions will also vary. Therefore, the institutions that Bangladesh would conceptualize are essentially different than the institutions of European states. Now when states are technology oriented, which means essentially the power of the state that we used to conceive is different.

He added that SDGs have set a number of targets. Indicating the targets, he said that one is reduction of all forms of violence and related deaths that take place everywhere. He mentioned that state's delivery of security has to be made within certain conditionality. In fact, SDG 16 has identified what would be the conditionality. Intentional homicide should go down, conflict related death should go down, also proportion of the population subjected to psychological, sexual violence in 12 months' time period has to be measured every other year. In the case of human rights in this particular apparatus, it is seen that the end of abuse, exploitation, trafficking and all forms of violence against the children have been incorporated.

He added that these have always been the concern and this time they put one important factor as the indicator of development that is whether the state has been able to reduce human trafficking as well as sexual exploitation of certain groups of people. He mentioned that the idea of international law gives a clear understanding that the state's responsibility in terms of development should not only be seen in terms of financial development but also is about its increasing relationship with the public in terms of delivery of law, justice and equity of resources. He said that by 2030, if we take the cases of Africa, South Asia, Latin America and even Bangladesh, commitments have been made for reduction of illicit financial and armed groups. But now, the idea of terrorist financing and money laundering also coming under single framework.

He expressed that this is one of the areas where Bangladesh has done phenomenal work which can be replicated in other countries but the problem remains that the idea of illicit arms trafficking varies from region to region because, the natures of conflict and violence are different. He mentioned that SDG 16 has

emphatically stressed upon the reduction of corruption and bribery and this has become a development indicator which essentially says that every institution is liable to become accountable and transparent. He added that Bangladesh has done a commendable work in terms of establishing Information Commission, Anti-corruption Commission, and Human Rights Commission. He suggested for bolstering all these integrity institutions further and, then the development will reach to the poorest through the process of integrity and accountability.

He indicated another political dimension of this particular agenda which is the inclusivity that extensively stresses on the responsive, inclusive, participatory and representative decision-making at all levels. He added that this is one of the formulas which creates public participation within the decision-making process and it has always been a part of universal human rights declaration.

He mentioned about promoting and enforcing non-discriminatory laws and policies for sustainable development which means the ethnic minorities as well as the local minorities and the religious minorities have to be protected by any means. It also means that the idea of peace should not be seen as an absence of conflict rather, it should be seen as a process that facilitates decision-making coming from the bottom to top level rather than top to bottom.

He summarized that the major tasks remaining for states are: one, ensuring low level of corruption which will be essential for development to continue and then the flow of information must be ensured. These are part of one of the resolutions that came up within United Nations and this particular document is also stressing that states should have friendly relationship with the neighbouring countries. He added that this is the major challenge for different states particularly Bangladesh that which is hosting huge number of Rohingya refugees coming from the neighbouring state.

He also added that now if we look into the environment for the economy, it stresses on the private sector which is largely missing within the intergovernmental panels as well as within the multilateral institutions. He also said that SDG 16 essentially, stresses that the private sector need to be taken into consideration within the framework of sustainable development.

He noted that there exist good words and good intentions of the state but there are four fundamental challenges. One of the challenges remains that whether this particular agenda of security will be over securitized and hence, becomes heavily militarized. As a result, there is a sense of security and vulnerability comes from the state apparatuses. He further added that this has extensively been used to ensure development which has resulted in negative peace in Africa. Second issue is expanding the definition of peace and security. When development assistance comes, whether the definition is coming from the indigenous, local or domestic front or coming as a prescription, it remains within the purview of the state as well as the civil society to decide what kind of definition we are going to endorse and incorporate. The third one is paradoxically the recent report that was published by UNDP, a very important report titled "Journey to Extremism in Africa", which shows that the development actually occurred. But when they surveyed the population prone to extremism, one person said that they have not been able to reap the benefits of the development that has come into their society. He mentioned that this gives an idea that perhaps this security dimension may not always be soothing for the state and people.

CVE becomes the fourth challenge. Prevention and countering violent extremism is a need of the day and essentially, the structure of the state depends on that. He highlighted that in the case of implementing the PVE and CVE framework that has been endorsed by the UN Secretary General's Office, perhaps this is one of the framework which should be integrated or should be seen in isolation remains a very important challenge for implementing state's security implementation apparatus and the SDGs.

The final one is targeted intervention and funding. This is again related to accountability of funding and what kind of funding these states receive. He mentioned that this particular discussion is not focusing on one state rather what is seen in general terms is essentially whether this will be diverted for training and equipping the security forces that we have seen in cases of Rwanda and Ethiopia.

He remarked that the problem with SDG 16 persists not only because it involves technical issues but also because they are intensely political. Political agenda prioritization and monitoring of the implementation remains a concern, which requires constant improvement. Besides, reforms and changes within the institutions that offer services, and delivers justice and security to the public, are needed. Finally, the stability depends on stability syndrome, which depends on the state's structure that has the empowerment capacity for the public or perhaps whether the state's agenda remain intact therefore, isolation and alienation of a part of the population will be a major challenge.

He referred to Amartya Sen who, in one of the meetings in September 2016 before the heads of the states, said that reducing Goal 16 to anaemic indicators like trying to consult French revolution because liberty, fraternity could not be precisely measured. Mr Khan also said that the way of measuring the indicators and data and the facts available in place over the period of time will determine Bangladesh's success as well as the global success and global peace and stability in implementing SDG Goal 16.

Presentation - II

Dr Zahid ul Arefin Choudhury
Associate Professor
Department of Peace and Conflict Studies, University of Dhaka

Dr Zahid ul Arefin Choudhury, Associate Professor, Department of Peace and Conflict Studies, University of Dhaka, in his presentation, linked three different issues-democracy, terrorism from the perspective of counter terrorism and Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) through a rational choice framework known as game theory. He came up with implications for the analysis of the SDGs.

He mentioned that the global trend of terrorism has a curved linear tendency which means that the very authoritarian regimes and very democratic regimes are not observing as many incidents of terrorism as the military ruled or non-democratic countries. He added that the non-democratic countries are kind of transition democracies and they are open, have democratic institutions, but they are not as good as the consolidated democracies are. For countering terrorism, this extraordinary tendency or terrorist events in these countries are not clear from the literature or previous analysis, or from the kind of actions that are seen from the government across these countries.

Dr Choudhury said that for the democratic society, when it comes to responding to terrorism, it means at first people need to know the strategies of terrorism, in other words about what kind of terrorism people are observing. Sometimes, people do not know that and there is no clue from the empirical literature showing that these are some of the indicators, that these given events are from very strong groups or from lone-wolf kind or from local groups.

He added that he is trying to, from the theoretical perspective, come up with ways to clarify that the terrorist organizations may have their own distinctive characteristics. In terms of hierarchy, there are organizations which try to do their work from the central command; then, there is hierarchy or network organization that means they are loosely connected separate organizations but they are working together toward achieving single goal. And then there is anarchy or a kind of lone-wolf type terrorism. In case of anarchy, terrorists attack and then they try to subscribe certain organization or mention name of certain organization.

He said that it is unknown whether these categorizations are robust or not but he tried to test that for two major terrorist organizations- Al-Qaeda (AQ) and Islamic State (IS). He also mentioned that from the

inception of these organizations, for example the Al-Qaeda, during 1985-86, he has been trying to track their development according to three dimensions or organizational styles. Analysing the strategy and development of these organizations, he expressed that they are moving from one kind of organizational style to another and it is argued that these movements are strategic. He argued that this movement is a part of their strategic organizational style and they follow this style as they are pressurised by international authority, domestic counter terrorism efforts, their recruitment procedure and resource strength etc.

He mentioned that Al-Qaeda was started by Azam and Laden in 1985-86 in Pakistan and then moved to a strong leadership style of organization under Bin Laden. He added that Bin Laden was trying to control everything about Al-Qaeda's future development in terms of collection of resources, in terms of recruitment, in terms of why to attack and why not to attack and in terms of how to come up with a response to the international community. As a result, he added that, they are moving from one type of organization to another in a very dynamic fashion and effectively.

He also mentioned that, in the case of IS, the pattern is not as complex as the other one. Al-Qaeda was one of the major contemporary big terrorist organizations but then they set examples for the others. He added that Al-Qaeda and Islamic States are fundamentally different in terms of main principles of organization. Al-Qaeda says that it has to be for Islamic community for everywhere in the world (Pan Islamism) and therefore, they want to work everywhere in the world. Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, a disciple of Bin Laden, came up with different perspective. He said that they must have a certain geographic area to control first and then from there they would like to expand over the other places. This controversy led to a division between Laden and al-Zarqawi, although they were together at the beginning within the network, and then the Islamic State became an organization by itself. He added that IS also show the similar kind of pattern that it is moving from one type of organizational style to another depending on the kind of response they receive from international communities and local resources and their recruitment strengths etc.

He mentioned that, from these theoretical analyses, empiricism is very constraint in the area of terrorism because collecting empirical data and validating them with scientific methodology is really difficult as interviewing someone who is going to make a suicide bomb and attack somewhere is very difficult.

From the perspective of theoretical arguments, he mentioned that these organizations follow three major strategies. Firstly, centrally dictate some events. Secondly, the events can be seen as part of the local networks command and local network's incidents but then strongly subscribed by the big organizations outside of that local area. Thirdly, it is something really done by someone, an individual extremist.

He added that the first question is what these strategies mean for the counter terrorism initiatives for any government particularly, in a democratic government because when an incident is observed, it cannot be known what kind of organization it is and what kind of terrorism it is. Therefore, governments, with very limited information, are countering that with whatever resources and strategy they had. He described that, according to the reaction of the governments for these strategies, there are three different situations. The first one is the centralised organization of state; second scenario is the network state and the third situation is leaderless or lone wolf attack.

He also mentioned that the government usually follows three major strategies during the terrorist activity. These are: (a) capture the terrorists and kill him on the spot; (b) capture, kill later; or (c) capture and keep in jail. These are broad kind of goals and actions available for the government. And the decision rule, that rational choice framework allows, says that three different states and three different strategies

mean three different outcomes. He added that the outcomes are sometimes good for the government and sometimes are not. For example, he said that, in the case of centralized command, if the incidents are coming from a centralized organization and if the government finds the terrorist and kills him on spot, as a major strategy, then the government loses. If he is jailed and is kept for interrogation to find out more information about the organization, then the government actually gains from the action. Similarly, if the terrorism is coming from the network organization, then the best strategy for the government is to jail the miscreant and find more information about the network. But on the other hand, if the miscreant is from individual kind of initiative, that is lone-wolf, then it is always good to kill him, otherwise it will cost resources and legitimacy of the government at the end.

He added that, although he had derived it from the stylistic rational choice framework, there has been common sense in function and it is very straight forward. He further added that it is important how the governments use them because, democracy means state has multiple agencies and multiple agencies are given duties to respond to single events. He mentioned that there are multiple intelligence agencies, multiple police departments and army departments and examples from South Asian countries attested to this fact. For example, he added that India uses RAW and CBI for its counter terrorism initiatives and Indian example shows that the Mumbai bombing in 2006 was actually a coordination failure. In Pakistan, they have the National Counter Terrorism Authority (NACTA) established in 2008; military intelligence and Pakistan Army directly work for counter terrorism. Sri Lanka is probably having the oldest counter terrorism institution established in 1947. They had the Ordinance passed and then modified it in 1979. Nepal seems to have no such organizational strategy but they are fighting against the Maoist terrorism and they are mobilizing the resources to formulate a strategy.

He argued that when multiple agencies exist, the major problem becomes coordination between and among the agencies. He expressed that if the coordination fails, the government will not only lose the terrorists but also sacrifice the integrity of the people and sovereignty of the country. In the case of conceptualizing this coordination problem, he mentioned that Rousseau had the similar issue in his second discourse where he described that there are two societies in the state of nature. One type of people is very self-interested; they always look for their own benefit for the short term gain. The other one look for coordinated effort but the larger and long term gains for the society in general.

He has designed the game from the Rousseau's perspective when there are two different agencies and two different strategies. One is either to capture the chief of the terrorist and therefore, try to get to the very core of the organisation or capture the operatives who actually executing the operation in reality. So, the two agencies are having the same strategic choices and these strategic choices can be understood in terms of the equilibrium outcome and the equilibrium outcome is either both agencies coordinate to have chief as their target or they have coordinated to get the operatives. He explained that if agency 1 chooses to capture the chief and agency 2 chooses to capture the operative, then there will be a lack of coordination and that lack of coordination basically fails the project. He mentioned that there are two equilibriums- either the *chief-chief* which is *alpha* here or then the *operative-operative* which is *beta.* According to Pareto optimality, he added that the outcome that is more beneficial for the society is the *chief-chief* because that is when agencies get not only the terrorist who is making the events happened but also the information about the central organization. But the other equilibrium here is the *operative-operative*. This equilibrium is lower in value. He

added that two things are important here: one is the dilemma whether to go with the equilibrium with the highest pay-off because that is Pareto optimal, or for the strategic uncertainty play for the lower equilibrium *beta* here. He also added that if the governments try to solve this dilemma by coercive authoritarian means, then the game is Stag Hunt. It becomes a prisoner's dilemma and the prisoner's dilemma would give even lower social optimality. As a consequence, he mentioned that punishment doesn't work as a solution.

From this analysis, he suggested that the coordination is the best solution for this kind of strategic dilemma. He added that the major question is what does coordination means for counter terrorism initiatives and what kind of coordination is sustainable.

Drawing from David Lewis, a philosopher, who was trying to understand the ranking of coordination, has divided coordination into the six different types of contracts. The first one is the basic agreement because governments need to have two organizations agreeing together whether they put their joint efforts to get the chiefs or the operatives and then move from there but the agreement may not work in the long run. Therefore, social contract is needed that is democratic kind of subscription to the entire process of coordination and then development of norms. He added that, then, the government comes up with the institutional framework and rules - either formal or informal. He mentioned that these actions available for the counter terrorism initiatives particularly in those countries where the coordination has been a problem. Especially, in the South Asian countries, they have been suffering from the lack of coordination particularly from the government perspective and the multiple agency issues. He drew four different conclusions from this analysis. He said that variations in organizational strategies of terrorist groups determine the scope for the governments' domestic counterterrorism initiatives. Governments face difficult choices when the emergent nature of terrorism is uncertain.

He added that, given an incident, it is not exactly known where the incident is coming from - whether it is coming from centralised group or a local group or a lone-wolf kind of initiator. So, it is necessary to know what kind of group it is and therefore, it is needed to be prepared for the counter terrorism initiative. But then counter terrorism initiative by itself suffers from democratic burden because in democratic countries, there have been multiple agencies with multiple accountabilities, responsibilities and therefore, they have different principles. He further added that solutions to inter-agency coordination problems are key to the success of such initiatives. He mentioned that when facing centralised or network-based terrorist outfit, coordination pays-off higher than non-coordinated efforts. He also added that sustainable solutions are institutional in nature and the previous ladder of rationality told that it starts from agreement but agreement needs to be sustainable by making more robust and stricter norms and rules for the society.

In conclusion, he said that the forefront of the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), governments, especially in South Asian countries including Bangladesh and other countries of the region, must come up with a coordination device to make counterterrorism initiatives reliable, efficient and legitimate. Because, whenever counterterrorism initiative fails either because of intelligence or lack of resources or any other reasons, it is ultimately translated into a question towards the government that basically challenges the government's legitimacy. He also suggested that the problem needs to be sorted through the coordination of the agencies, not in the way they are responding to the terrorism in general.

Open Discussion

Ms Nahida Rahman Shumona, Director General, Consular and Welfare Wing, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bangladesh, agreed with Mr Shahab Enam Khan that there is a gap in clear contextualization of peace in terms of SDG Goal 16. She opined that while talking about peace and peacebuilding, the contextualized area would be conflict. There has to be a conflict which will require peacekeeping and as a follow up, peacebuilding. She observed that not all targets of Goal 16 reflect or can be dovetailed with peacebuilding issue. Most relevant targets are: institution building, creating inclusive society and ensuring access to justice. She referred to Chittagong Hill Tracts Accord of Bangladesh as a good example of dovetailing these areas. She remarked that creating inclusive society requires equal opportunity. She also expressed her interest to hear more about dovetailing Goals 10, 16 and 17.

S R Khan Orthy, Student, University of Dhaka raised questions regarding the presentation of Mr Shahab Enam Khan that turning SDGs into reality would be challenging by 2030. She also added that the definition of peace should be harmonized. She further asked, considering the recent phenomenon like refugee crisis and protests that are turning into movements in no time, can Bangladesh be called a peaceful state? If not, she added, does Bangladesh need more time than 2030 to turn SDGs into reality?

Ambassador Munshi Faiz Ahmad, Chairman, Board of Governors, BIISS, inquired whether it was essential to harmonize the concept of peace, as is mentioned by Mr Shahab Enam Khan. He observed that the concept of peace, in different places and in different situations will always remain different.

Labiba Faiaz Bari, Student, University of Dhaka commented that Mr Shahab Enam Khan has said that peace does not necessarily mean the absence of conflict. Rather the basic idea should stem from the bottom to top. She asked, in such countries where social security and freedom of expression are limited in scope, how it can be possible to generate ideas for peace from bottom to top?

A K M Tousif Tanzim Ahmed, Student, University of Dhaka, observed that the teachers and students of universities cannot get involved in peacebuilding and anti-extremism campaigns due to lack of fund. He asked why the government is not allotting fund to those students who want to be engaged in such campaigns.

Md Nazrul Islam, Director General, East Europe and CIS Wing, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bangladesh, commented that he was intrigued by the presentation of Mr Shahab Enam Khan. For him, Mr. Khan rightly pointed out the four challenges. He observed that there are some new developments regarding Bangladesh's RMG sector. The development partners of Bangladesh are forcing Bangladesh to adapt and reform the existing policies and to open up more in the name of sustainable development, security and safety. He further asked whether with SDG 16, we are opening another window to impose their definition on Bangladesh by the development partners. It is because target 16.6 asks for accountable and transparent institution in all levels. So, he posed a question how to ensure that Bangladesh will develop such kind of institutions. Target 15.10 actually says that we have to protect the fundamental freedom in accordance with national legislations and international agreements. Bangladesh also wants accountability, transparency but not at the cost of total system. Finally, he noted that implementation of SDG 15 may open a window for our development partner to impose their definition of development onto us.

Mr Salahud Din Ahmed, Former Member, Bangladesh Energy Regulatory Commission, referred to Information Commission, Human Rights Commission and Anti-Corruption Commission and asked whether only formation of commissions is enough for peacebuilding or we need to ensure their operationalisation. Moreover, other aspects should also be stressed.

Sousan Suha, Student, University of Dhaka commented that the discussion may have been deliberately focused on state/government level aspects of security, carefully avoiding the dimensions of intra-state level security. She asked the chair of the session, how we define the role of lack of accountability in creating obstacles in the process of peacebuilding. Concerning the turbulence in the country at this moment, there seems to be an enormous gap between the government and the people in terms of interaction and understanding. How to continue peacebuilding without sufficiently addressing this issue?

Responses by the Speaker

Mr Shahab Enam Khan
Associate Professor
Department of International Relations, Jahangirnagar University

In response to the query of S R Khan Orthy, **Mr Shahab Enam Khan** said that whether we would be self-sufficient by 2030 depends on the priority; what kind of modalities, what kind of instruments, and what kind of goals we want to prioritize at this moment. We have to remember that the state has its own limitations so has the international community. Therefore, the bargaining is essentially here that how the international community practices the norms and how do we respond to that. It will depend on how the economy will shape. It is not internal manufacturing or production; we have to depend on the global architecture. We will have to observe how the global economic architecture evolves. It is not only conditionalities applying on Bangladesh's economic capacity and social development; it is linked with the global system as well.

In response to the questions of Md Nazrul Islam, Mr Khan said that in the case of RMG, it has been a critical factor in Bangladesh. One argument is of course we have to diversify our export destinations as well as export portfolio. On the other hand, RMG is increasingly becoming socially compliant capital that is being led by international market. Our ambassadors can help in this respect. Moreover, regarding how to develop inter-agency coordination and accountability, if we go back to the targets of SDG, it tells about capacity. The buzzword here is capacity and it depends on how much we invest in the capacities of our human resources and institution.

In response to Ms Nahida Rahman Shumona's observations, Mr Khan said that there is no need to contextualize peace in terms of other countries. He said that Bangladesh has social capital and social fabric. These are the two critical components which were usually ignored. He clarified that in 1980s and 1990s, the discourses were donor driven; donors came and prescribed countries like Bangladesh what

to do. But the situation has changed. At present the whole idea of peace that would be designed by Bangladesh have to take into consideration the constitution and the penal code of the country. Moreover, the state has the responsibility to uphold the aspirations which come from the grassroots that is called social capital.

In response to the query of Ambassador Munshi Faiz Ahmad, Mr Khan said that if the concept of peace is not harmonized, it would be difficult to quantify and compare the performance of individual countries like Bangladesh with international standards.

About the involvement of students, Mr Khan said that such involvement is already taking place vividly. Lots of projects are being taken by government, universities, media, NGOs and other civil society organisations which are involving the youth in such activities.

In response to Mr Salahud Din Ahmed's question, he said that obviously formation of commissions is not enough; their delivery must also be ensured.

Remarks by the Chair

Mr Md Shahidul Haque
Foreign Secretary (Senior Secretary)
Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh

Mr Md Shahidul Haque, Foreign Secretary, Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh at the outset responded to the question of accountability. He said that there is accountability within the government and that is why there is a parliament and a constitution. He suggested the student who asked the question that as a student she should not be biased towards any generalized perspective. As a student of the young generation, she should know what is in the wrong track and what the right practice is; and also acknowledge that the work that is ongoing may not be in a best way but the process is going on.

Foreign Secretary also congratulated BIISS since, that it has for the first time brought together the issue of peacebuilding with the sustainable development goals (SDGs), which he believed that no other institution did before. He also suggested clarifying the concept of why Bangladesh needs a peacebuilding centre since it already has a peacekeeping centre.

The idea of peace has importance from peacekeeping to peacebuilding and there the participation of people is important. The moment one talks about peacekeeping it seems that it is a military affair. But it is not only a military affair. It is the issue for all of us. After Cold War, it is the people who have become the part and parcel of the peace process. That is the reason that Bangladesh needs a peacebuilding centre. Peacebuilding is necessary even though, we have peacekeeping centre. These two issues are complementary, not substituting each other. From this perspective, the foreign office initiated the proposal which was eventually approved by the Prime Minister and now Bangladesh has a Peacebuilding Centre.

Foreign Secretary then explained why he congratulated BIISS for bringing SDGs into peacebuilding issue. SDG debate was two years long negotiation. No other issue needed that long time except the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). Since the SDGs is a product of long discussions and negotiations, everyone accepted it and nobody challenges it. In the preamble of the SDGs, the issue of peace has been included clearly. The agenda of SDGs is a plan of action for the people of the world and

for prosperity. It also strengthens universal peace for larger freedom. And secondly, he said that when people talk about SDGs they do not talk about peace but the issue of peace is always there in the back of their minds. When people separately want to discuss about peace then some of the developed countries started saying that this issue would be dealt by the UN Security Council. There are also some reports where peacekeeping, peacebuilding and sustaining peace has been redefined. These works are useful. But those who drafted those reports had conceived an inherent link within SDG processes.

Foreign Secretary also said that 'peace and security issue' is important when it comes to deal with SDGs. For example, Yemen, Libya and Syria has no peace right now. No one can talk about SDGs there. These countries are in turmoil situation. To implement SDGs they need to ensure human rights first. Sustainable development will not happen unless there are peace, security and human rights. Therefore, the foreign office thought that peacebuilding should be an added platform in Bangladesh.

He argued that SDGs are critical and fundamental for peace, security and stability. SDGs are trying to create a resilient society – a resilient society in every sense. It is not to fight a war but to resolve conflict and bring in prosperity. And then SDGs try to look at vulnerabilities so that no one is left behind. Those who are very vulnerable have to be taken care of.

He also brought the issue of inequality. There is a new addition to the issues of SDGs which is the question of inequality. People talk about hunger. In the first draft of SDGs, the issue of inequality was there. But in the second draft, it was dropped. For many countries like Bangladesh, the issue of inequality is a huge issue. If the question of inequality cannot be resolved then the situation will not be in favour of SDGs. Most of the conflicts arise from inequality including northern Rakhine. In the northern Rakhine, the Rohingyas owned the lands and the businesses. They had fishing business and had market. They were actually running the economy of northern Rakhine and the greater Rakhine state. But these things disrupted when Myanmar government used certain instrument to promote hate. This hatred situation separated the two communities – the Rohingyas and the non-Rohingyas. Inequality, here, brings the conflict.

Therefore, within the society there is a need to have a mechanism to resolve conflict by eradicating inequality. For that reason, it was proposed to the European Union to discuss about Goal 10 which is about inequality, Goal 16 which is about governance and Goal 17 which is the partnership goal. These three goals should be considered seriously and practiced. When these three issues will be addressed properly, a whole new development will emerge. European Union showed their interest to discuss these issue, he informed.

While concluding, he remarked that the concept of peace has been evolving very dramatically for the last 3 to 4 years. In this context, he shared the UN Secretary General's statement that, it is not the peacekeeping, not the peacebuilding, it is the issue of sustaining peace. There is a resolution adopted based on what is sustaining peace. Therefore, he said that the idea of peace has moved in terms of sustaining peace. He hoped that once Bangladesh Peacebuilding Centre gets operationalised, it will try to focus on sustaining peace. By this initiative, government wants to give the opportunity to students, civil servants, doctors, lawyers to practice peacebuilding. There is a huge opportunity in the UN system where you can work as gender specialist, as lawyer and so on.

Working Session – III

Theories and Practices of International Peacebuilding

The Third Working Session that concluded the first day of the Conference was entitled as **"Theories and Practices of International Peacebuilding"**. **Mr Truls Julian Jaeger-Synnevaag**, Deputy Head of Mission, Royal Norwegian Embassy, chaired the session. In this session, presentations were made by **Professor Dr Imtiaz Ahmed,** Department of International Relations, University of Dhaka and **Dr Peter Wallensteen**, Senior Professor, Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University.

Presentation - I

Professor Dr Imtiaz Ahmed
Department of International Relations, University of Dhaka

Professor Dr Imtiaz Ahmed, Department of International Relations, University of Dhaka, in his presentation titled, "Peacebuilding in South Asia: Beyond Good Theory and Bad Practices" stated that there is a need for deeper thinking on peacebuilding. He limited his discussion on peacebuilding in South Asia. He noted that in South Asia, there is abundance of good theories but in practice there are serious deficiencies. Therefore, he proposed transformation from abundance of theories to theory of abundance.

In discussing abundance of theories, he reflected on three big theories which have impacted upon peacebuilding. He added that peace is a very old issue and is a part and parcel of South Asian civilization. Three big theories regarding peacebuilding in South Asia include: The Asokan Theory of Peacebuilding, Hyper-tolerance of the Heterodox *Bauls* and the Gandhian Theory of Peacebuilding. *Bauls* came from outside Bangladesh and they established a community. They have created lots of music and fascinating lyrics. *Bauls* are very much important for Bangladesh, particularly because the tune of national anthem of Bangladesh is *Baulian* and not originally from Tagore. He informed that Tagore wrote the lyrics but not the tune. He added that these three big theories have gone beyond South Asia in many ways, still people have lived with these theories, none of these theories have withered away and they are still practiced by millions of people. One of the critical things about these theories is that they basically emphasize on human, hence, attracted millions of people.

Regarding Asokan Theory of Peacebuilding, he noted that Asoka got transformed because of the Kalinga war. Kalinga war had transformed him from Conquest by War (*Digvijaya*) to Conquest by the Law of Piety or 'conquest' through tolerance and goodness meaning essentially, the Advocacy of the Middle Path (*Dhammavijaya*). He added that when Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe also talked about Middle path, he basically referred to the Asokan tradition. He said that Asoka came after Chandragupta Maurya and Bindusara but no one knows what had happened after Asoka. The record keepers (Brahmins or *Purans*) were not happy with Asoka, because he opted for Buddhism and replaced Hinduism. Consequently, the record keepers (*Purans*) have not said what had happened to Asoka. He stated that Chanakya Kautilya also came from Mauryan dynasty. Chandragupta Maurya, Bindusara and Asoka ruled over 136 years. They are the indigenous rulers. After that South Asia has been ruled by outsiders for nearly one thousand years, 200 years

by the British, 330 years by Mughal, and another 300 years by Sultan dynasty. After that Nehru and Jinnah ruled the South Asia, who are indigenous rulers. In terms of practice, the Asokan theory has not done well. It failed to attract the rest of South Asia save Sri Lanka. In Sri Lanka, it gave birth to Theravada Buddhism or 'Buddhism of the Elders'. Monks took Theravada Buddhism to Myanmar and Southeast Asia also. Theravada

Buddhism has created serious problem in Sri Lanka e.g., thirty years war between Sinhalese and Tamils. It also is creating problem in Myanmar now, where the marginalization of non-Buddhist minorities is visible.
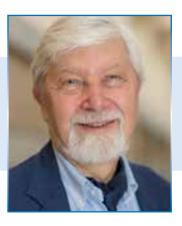
Reflecting on Hyper-tolerance of the heterodox *Bauls*, he mentioned that the *Bauls* are immensely hyper tolerant. The origin of this theory is unknown. Probably it dated back during 15th-17th centuries or earlier. They have taken the tolerance and peace of three big religions e.g., Hinduism, Islam and Buddhism and blended them into a fascinating structure e.g., Hindu Vaishnavism, Sufi Islam and Tantric Buddhism. He informed that the birthplace of Tantric Buddhism is in Bengal. Professor Imtiaz Ahmed quoted the five lines of a song of Lalon translated by Samir Dasgupta - O how long are we to wait for the birth of a society where castes and clans and labels like Hindu, Muslim, Buddhist, Christian will be forgotten? And none will be there to swindle the innocent, pretending to be their savior, nor will there be bigots - and stated that it is a fascinating peacebuilding charter one can have. He added that not only this particular song, there are x-number of songs of *Bauls* which became important in some part of Bengal and the *Baulian* architecture remains within the Bengal mind in many ways. But the problem is that the whole *Baul* communities literally lived in exile because they refused to be part of the state. For them state has become irrelevant in peacebuilding. Thus, the whole *Baulian* tradition which is a leading tradition did not form any schools and institutions. In practice, it did not work the way it should.

Describing the Gandhian theory of peacebuilding, Professor Ahmed pointed out that unlike Machiavellian theory where end justifies means; Gandhi tried to consider both means (*upaya*) and end (*upeya*) as identical. Gandhi emphasised that if the end is non-violence and peace then the means must also be non-violent and peaceful. He stated that Mahatma Gandhi practiced accommodation of contradictory

forces by keeping both means (*upaya*) and end (*upeya*) identical. This theory made a great impact as the British had no idea about how to contain this whole idea of nonviolence. But, he added that when people try to reproduce non-violence it becomes a problem. From Gandhi's point of view, it still has a space for a post-modern South Asia. In practice, though this theory had great impact, it had two limits. Firstly, the Gandhian theory of accommodation of contradictory forces could not stop the partition of British India and the subsequent violence. Consequently, 10 million people from Indian side went to Pakistan and 10 million from Pakistan side to India. Secondly, it could not stop the rise of fundamentalist forces like Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) and Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) in post-colonial India.

In this context, he inferred that South Asia has good theory but bad practice. He also raised a question that if the Asokan, *Baulian*, and the Gandhian theories of peacebuilding have floundered in practice over the centuries, what prospect does the highly-populated South Asia have in building peace in the future? He stated that the answer probably lies in locating the common elements in the abundance of three 'indigenous' theories. He identified that there are two common elements of these three theories in building peace. First one is theory of abundance in highly-populated societies. South Asia has 1.5 billion people of diverse nature. And all types of religions exist in South Asia. Additionally there are more than fifty hundred languages. In fact, South Asia is demographically rich, diverse and highly populated. Second one is the role of the person. In this respect, he mentioned about the debate between two Nobel laureates Tagore and Einstein in 1930s. The debate and question was very simple- Can 'beauty', 'truth', or 'table' exists without human beings? Tagore answered that without human beings there is no beauty, no truth, and no table by implication not even the moon. Einstein understood beauty very quickly but paused on the question of truth. Then Tagore said that only human beings can realise truth. The debates continued. At the very end, Einstein simply resigned and said, "Tagore, I am more religious than you are." Professor Imtiaz Ahmed stated that this was the only way that he could get out of the debate. Tagore got this human-centric understanding from the *Bauls* not from the quantum mechanics theory of human intervention. *Bauls* are the ones who said "divine stays not outside, the divine is within."

He proposed "a multi-layer, multi-verse intervention" focusing on abundance and on the person which is required for peacebuilding. He recommended that there is a need to go back to what is referred to as South Asian dialectics or Indian dialectics. It is called *Prasangika* (theory of contemporariness). In the Hegelian dialectics, there are thesis, anti-thesis and synthesis. He informed that Hegel never mentioned and wrote thesis, anti-thesis and synthesis but that is how western and Marxian dialectics are understood. In contrary, he noted that Chinese dialectics is totally different from Hegelian dialectics. Chinese dialectics tradition is about balancing the contradiction. Same thing is visible in Japanese dialectics. Contradiction cannot be thrown away, there is a need to make a harmony out of it. He added, that is why the middle path came. The middle path has actually come from the dialectics. *Prasangika* has also Buddhist tradition. This Prasangika needs to have a system of *mandala.* That means, layers after layers have to be created. These layers have to be focused on persons. For this reason, persons need to be empowered politically, economically, socially, technologically and psychologically. By this, circle of spaces *mandala* is created. He emphasised that *mandala* should never have been understood as circle of states as it is a wrong way of understanding Kautilya. He informed that Kautilya mentioned circle of spaces as there were no Westphalian states at that time. Kautilya is also part of Indian dialectics of *Prasangika.* Therefore, there is a need to take the person as the lead and create a series of circles so the person does not feel humiliated and disempowering. He recommended that by only doing this peacebuilding is possible and there is no shortcut to it.

Presentation - II

Dr Peter Wallensteen
Senior Professor,
Department of Peace and Conflict Research
Uppsala University

Dr Peter Wallensteen, Senior Professor, Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University started his presentation on "Quality Peace: The Next Challenge of Peacebuilding" with a brief description of the evolution of the concept of peacebuilding. He noted that the term "peacebuildling" was first coined by Johan Galtung as a post-conflict peacebuilding process. He added that the original meaning of peacebuilding (as is used by the UN), first appeared in a report prepared by the UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali in 1992, where he used the term "post-conflict peacebuilding". According to Doyle and Sambanis, peacebuilding addresses "the sources of current hostility and build local capacities for conflict resolution" after a negotiated peace. Wallensteen himself defined 'quality peace' as "to provide the post-conflict conditions that make the inhabitants of a society secure in life and dignity now and for the foreseeable future".

He cited the sustainable development goals (SDGs), the International Panel on Social Progress (IPSP), Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP) and analysis of the Peace Accords Matrix (PAM) by Kroc Institute as the source of inspiration for the talk. Presenting data on armed conflict for the period 1946-2016, he showed that number of armed conflict was at its peak around 1992 (following the end of the Cold War) and then it declined rather rapidly. He pointed out that in the last few years, a new spike can be observed in the number of armed conflict. He went on saying that although the courses are same, number of wars is less than that of armed conflict; very few armed conflict escalate to war.

Professor Wallensteen defined armed conflict as a contested incompatibility concerning government and/or territory, where armed forces is used between two parties of which one is the government of a state and which results in at least 25 battle related deaths in one calendar year. He added that when there is more than 1,000 battle-related deaths in one calendar year, the armed conflict is defined as a war.

After defining conflict, he talked about typology of conflict. There is state vs. state as well as state vs. non-state actor conflict. The issue of conflict can be about governance or about territory. Generally, government related conflicts give rise to inter-state intervention or civil war while territory related conflicts emphasize on inter-state border and may conclude in state formation.

He presented a graph on battle related deaths by regions for the period of 1989-2016, which showed that in the late 80s and late 90s, battle related death rose sharply in Africa due to Eritrea- Ethiopia war. But, in the last decade, Middle East has topped the chart in battle related deaths due to war and conflict situation in Syria, Libya and Yemen.

Professor Wallensteen then presented data on the UN Security Council (UNSC) interventions during the period 1946-2016. He noted that over the period 1960s to 1980s, there were only a few UN interventions. After 1990s, the UNSC started to react and a number of resolutions were passed. However, he remarked that in present days, number of vetoes is much fewer than the Cold War period. He mentioned that in 1950s, numbers of vetoes were higher than that of resolution passed. He also observed that the number of conflicts has increased sharply in the last few years but there is no strong correspondence in the UN resolution statistics which manifests the inability of the UN or the international community to respond to such situations.

He then talked about peace agreements. He highlighted some criteria for peace agreements such as: agreement should be concluded between the fighting parties, should deal with basic disagreements as well as with insecurity, should end violence and most importantly, should be implemented. According to him, these criteria should be fulfilled to create the conditions suitable for starting the process of peacebuilding.

As examples, Professor Wallensteen mentioned about three peace agreements. First one was the peace agreement between the Colombian government of President Juan Manuel Santos and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) signed in 2016. Saying that FARC leader Timochenko, who previously had been sceptical to the whole peace agreement, and still now disagrees with some parts of the agreement, Professor Wallensteen recommended the audience to wait and see the progress of the process.

Second example that he mentioned was the peace agreement between the Government of the Philippines and the Bangsamoro people in Mindanao known as the Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro (CAB), signed in 2014. Referring to the fact that now the agreement is pushed by the entire congress of Philippines, he expressed his optimism about solving the problem of the Moro people. The Ethiopia-Eritrea peace agreement was the third example. A peace process between these two countries had been going on since 2000, which came with a conclusion on the border issue in 2002. Ethiopia previously refused to accept the outcome of the 2002 UN-backed Eritrea-Ethiopia Boundary Commission (EEBC) ruling but very recently, its new government announced that it fully accepts the terms of the 2000 peace agreement. This, the Professor underscored, has created new hope in this area of Africa.

He then gave some examples from existing peace agreements to show what kind of settlements are included with these agreements. When the issue of contention is about government, peace agreements include elements like democracy, power sharing and elections. When the conflict is about territory, peace agreements consider issues like autonomy, federalism and even independence. Professor Wallensteen highlighted that more agreements have been stricken regarding governance issue compared to territory issue because the latter is much more difficult to agree on.

Professor Wallensteen then mentioned about two personnel involved in peace process. One is Miriam Coronel-Ferrer, Philippine's chief negotiator with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF). She is the first woman to sign a peace agreement as the chief negotiator. He noted that although number of peace negotiations has increased in last 15 years, women participation in negotiation has not reached a satisfactory level. He emphasized that women participation will help to include new ideas in peace process. He also mentioned another negotiator, President Juan Manuel Santos of Colombia who won the 2016 Nobel Peace Prize. The example of the Colombian President, Professor Wallensteen hoped, will encourage governments to take initiatives for peace process.

He informed the audience about the work of Peace Accord Matrix (PAM) of Kroc Institute which follows peace agreements – whether they are implemented or not. He emphasized that this kind of research has direct impact on negotiation. The Peace Accord Matrix found that only half of the agreements have been fully implemented after ten years. This finding is not encouraging because so much effort had been spent to make these agreements comprehensive.

Professor Wallensteen then presented a graph on implementation of peace agreements which showed that peace agreements regarding peace keeping has been implemented more than those regarding human rights. This fact leads to the issue of 'quality of peace'. He said that peace agreements should meet some criteria to ensure the quality of peace.

He commented that 'earned peace' should be lasting peace because lasting peace needs to respect human rights as well as minority rights. He stressed that security should be ensured for all, not for a particular group like the guerillas. It should provide certain level of predictability. He emphasized on "predictability", as a self-fulfilling criterion of peace agreement. If fighting parties believe that peace will last, they behave in such a way that peace actually lasts. On the other hand, if they apprehend that peace would not last, they will undermine it quickly and as a result, peace does not work.

Open Discussion

Rashna Mahzabin, Student, University of Dhaka, raised the issue of explaining the meaning of peace. She said that peacebuilding is an exponential process, which is a post-conflict phenomenon. However, in South Asia, peacebuilding is mostly used as an instrument by the NGOs and civil society in infrastructural peace building through community mobilization so on and so forth. In this scenario, she raised the question that how people would understand the progression of peace building, where does the accountability lie and what is the definition of quality of peace here?

A K M Tousif Tanzim Ahmed, Student, University of Dhaka, asked the presenters, if they really believed that initiating more independent institutions on peacebuilding like Asokan theory, Heterodox *Baulian* and the Gandhian theory which are all indigenous theories will be much more effective in South Asia to make the region tolerant and peaceful rather than the Western Peacebuilding ideas of good infrastructure and good governance or should the solution be a mixture of both?

Ambassador Munshi Faiz Ahmad, Chairman, Board of Governors, BIISS, commented that Professor Wallensteen's presentation was mostly on peacemaking rather than broader peacebuilding. But throughout his presentation, the Professor had talked on dignity which Ambassador Ahmad thought that the Professor could focus more. In this context, he said that he would like to hear more from him on that particular issue.
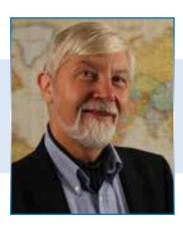
Sanjida Bary, Student, University of Dhaka said that she was enlightened by the presentation of Professor Peter Wallensteen and appreciated his argument on the issues of new challenges such as climate change related problems in establishing peacebuilding. In this context, she wanted to know that since President Donald Trump took major step of withdrawing the United States from the Paris Climate Agreement, is there any plan or any theory or any project regarding environment in the peacekeeping missions. She also asked how environment can be safe in the peace building process?

Dr Zahid ul Arefin Choudhury, Associate Professor, Peace and Conflict Studies, University of Dhaka commented on the issue of indigeneity of the individual. He said that when more than one individual live together they agree on certain things and when an agreement sustains a little long then it becomes norms. Then that norm becomes institutionalized and turns into law. So, when people talk about institution, this institution makes human interaction more predictable. Professor Wallensteen talked about predictability. Regarding this, Dr Choudhury argued that institution ensures predictability. And predictability is the foundation of peacebuilding. He acknowledged that institutions also have lacking but still they have the capability of ensuring the rights of indigenous people, rights of individuals and ensuring individuals' participation in obeying law which ultimately ensures predictability.

Responses by the Speakers

Dr Peter Wallensteen

Senior Professor, Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University

Dr Peter Wallensteen thanked the audience for their questions and he thanked Professor Dr Imtiaz Ahmed for his presentation and said that he quite enjoyed the theories that he had talked about. On the question about civil society and its role, he said that there are very good studies showing the disagreements about whether the large involvement of the civil society is better in terms of quality and is more lasting. He thinks that civil society is very important. And that means a bit of a break from the disagreements that has been done by diplomats and negotiators in closed rooms, where what goes on is not known to the public and is not compatible with the idea of peace that is going to be implemented in the society. But there is a need for the people to know what is going on in the closed rooms and to have an impact on it. So, he thinks that civil society aspect is very important. However, he said that civil society can be in different forms, and not all civil society is necessarily useful for peace. In Europe, there have been a lot of civil society groups that have been rising who can be called xenophobic and racist. So, one has to think about what kind of organizations and non-governmental bodies are useful here. Besides one has to think about how to analyze what kind of civil society is good for lasting peace and what is not. On the fact that he had talked more about peacemaking rather than peacebuilding, he said that it was true in a sense. But peacebuilding becomes the focus after there has been an agreement, so the process to get that agreement becomes important. In terms of peacebuilding, he said that it includes basically three elements, one is the dignity aspects that is the respect for law and human dignity. And in his opinion, it is similar to what Professor Ahmed said about the people and importance of persons. He said that statistically speaking, the societies that provide human rights, provide minority rights and are good on gender equality are normally more peaceful society. In case of wars or civil wars,

there are more human rights violations. That is a very important aspect of peacebuilding operations. The implementation of human rights is often lacking in agreements; parties have agreed on it but they are not being implemented. The second point that is important about peacebuilding is safety, that people are safe in a society. He said that this was basically an argument for diversity and statistically speaking societies that do have diversity cannot live together, there is always discrimination coming in. Some groups getting more resources than other inevitably leads to conflict. And the security that he is talking about is where everybody has access to economic resources, educational process, etc. The third element is the predictability that it is going to be a lasting condition. So, if someone has a lot of experience of agreements being overturned, it is very hard to do peacebuilding, because then people are also expecting new agreements to be overturned.

On climate change and peace, he said that climate change is very important, but very little research has been done regarding the connection between climate change and peace. He said that there are two types of peace: one kind of peace is that people and environment thrive together and have a good relationship, which can be termed as peace with nature. But one can also think about it in terms of conflict. For instance, conditions for flood and conditions for drought can create conflicts around the world. There is statistical evidence from Africa, where the nomads have moved into areas where there are other populations. Moreover, with the increasing temperature, there will be a lot of dislocations and people will move away. They will move into areas where other people are already residing and resulting into conflicts. The third aspect of this concept is that wars can themselves create climate change and have bad impact on environment. There are some scenarios projections about South Asia, where it suggests that in a limited nuclear war between India and Pakistan, it will not only affect the India and Pakistan in self destruction but also have an impact on climate. It is likely to reduce temperature globally within a year which is termed as a 'nuclear winter scenario', and this is also statistically speaking. It means that the capacities that humans have for destruction has a global impact. He said that construction of cordial relations in South Asia is not only the concern for the South Asia alone, but a concern for the 7 billion people of the planet.

Regarding the western ideas of peacebuilding, he said that many of the concepts, if looked philosophically, are not western rather are enshrined globally. For instance, 'human rights' is seen as western concept, but if one goes deeper they can see that there is respect for human dignity in all major states. He said that people should be little bit more careful in labeling things western because many of those things are humane rather than western. In political situations, it might look like that the western countries are pushing for them more than the other countries, but these are global human rights, not the western rights.

Professor Wallensteen agreed that institutions do provide some predictability, however, he said that institutions also need to meet the criterion, such as if they are really respecting human rights and if they are really providing the safety that is needed. He said that the SDG 16, which talks about institutions as an important aspect, esserntially requires more transparency, rule of law and less corruption. So, he said that if one can develop those kinds of institutions, it will be good for peace,. He stressed on the need to separate those institutions that are useful from those that are not. He asked to make the conditions conducive not only for civil society, political leaders and ideas but also for institutions that

are useful for building peace moreover, there is a need to evaluate everything very carefully. He then made one comment on the idea of indigeneity, because all peacebuilding has to be indigenous and local in order to work. But ideas, according to his opinion are not necessarily indigenous, ideas, in fact, are spread around the world. He said that the Gandhian ideas have had tremendous impact on civil rights in Europe, in different forms and in different ways. Maybe they are re-interpreted, depending on the local indigenous vision. So, ideas, in his mind, free for all to use, but in the context that they are used is indigenous and it is the indigenous actors who have to use a peace that is lasting and that is why peacebuilding has to be very local. Therefore, he applauded the idea of creating a centre for peacebuilding in Bangladesh and he wished best of luck for Bangladesh .

Professor Dr Imtiaz Ahmed
Department of International Relations, University of Dhaka

On the issue of western theories, **Professor Dr Imtiaz Ahmed** told the audience a story of Gandhi. When Gandhi visited London, he was asked by an English journalist that what he thought about the English civilization, he answered that he thought it was a good idea. His opinion is that when it comes to peacebuilding one cannot expect a global theory that will work in Africa, in Asia or everywhere. That, in his opinion, is not possible because there are a number of things involved, including the culture and other factors. These are issues that concern living human beings, Bangladesh is for example, is a water country while in the Arab world there are other conditions in terms of topography. So, people need to think about the indigenous theories, but unfortunately due to the colonial legacy, the minds are still colonized and people do not think about their own theories. Most people do not know what Akbar and Shahjahan has said and only think about Mamataz and Taj mahal as if he had no other contributions. However, he was a great Emperor and ruled over a lot of people. So, peacebuilding ought to be indigenous. Professor Ahmed said that a good example is Japan, which have done it in an interesting way. On the other hand, China has gone back to the Confucian ideas and Taoism and blended them, which they could do because of the fascinating concept of Yin and Yan. It is another example where indigenous theories have worked. These are all living theories, even though they might look like they are from far away. Asoka's theory is still in practice in Sri Lanka. Every month they have an extra holiday because of the Thera bhava Buddhism. Professor Ahmed mentioned that science and spirituality are important for different reasons. He said that on peacebuilding there is no shortcut. The reason that he was emphasizing on 'person' is that the 'person' has become really very powerful in current world. It is no longer the states that are being looked into. So, a time has come when investment in 'person' is necessary. Each and every 'person' matters. He argued that it is not realistic to make institutions and hope that people will follow them. Indigenous theories mattered and all people are influenced by indigenous theories, knowingly or unknowingly. He gave the example of Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe who had been emphasizing on middle path. He said that since people are infected by indigenous theories, there is a need to get back to them, study them and start from those sources.

Professor Ahmed quoted ancient Chinese philosopher Lao tzu: "humans create the waves, the waves do not create humans"; similarly, he said that the humans make the institutions, the institutions do not make humans. South Asians do not have history of institutions building, the oldest institutions that it has are the sweet shops. In South Asia, the people are not very good in institution making, because South Asian people are oral people rather than textual people. Chinese on the other hand are textual civilization and they can talk about longer than two thousand years of texts, which South Asia

does not have. What this means is that one cannot have a universal understanding of institutions and expect them to work. There have been oral traditions, one can go back to *Mahabharat* and look at the fascinating stories that are present there. So, he asked that why people are thinking about institutions that are binding type and does not work. He was not talking about getting rid of the institutions entirely. But his point was that when talking about institutions, the person should be put in the centre and a *mandala* should be created. The person should be able to be part of the institution that is political, economic, cultural, sociological and psychological, etc. That is his definition of an institution; not the one that is being used which refers to a structure. He said that the Gandhian tradition had envisioned for a post-modern South Asia and so had Tagore. He had put it in his book on nationality and it was long before the idea of postmodernism came into being. In the US, they have institutions like Harvard, Princeton and then there is also Donald Trump. Not only Donald Trump, the case of separating children from parents, which, even in Bangladesh people will say it is not acceptable.

Remarks by the Chair

Mr Truls Julian Jaeger-Synnevaag,
Deputy Head of Mission
Royal Norwegian Embassy

Mr Truls Julian Jaeger-Synnevaag, Deputy Head of Mission, Royal Norwegian Embassy thanked BIISS for inviting him to chair the particular session. Reminding everyone of the shared experience for both Norway and Bangladesh in peacebuilding, he informed the audience that both countries have been working closely regarding the newly established Bangladesh Peacebuilding Centre (BPC) in Dhaka.

Commenting on the presentations and referring to their decline of democracy worldwide, Mr Julian talked about Norwegian perspectives on the end of bipolar world order and resurgence of competing value systems which brought about the tragedy of great power politics. He opined that future conflicts might become more frequent and consequential. He thanked the presenters for their valuable thoughts, analyzes and remarks.

Working Session – IV

Preventing Violent Extremism: A Peacebuilding Perspective

The second day of the Conference commenced with the Fourth Working Session. The session was entitled as **"Preventing Violent Extremism: A Peacebuilding Perspective"**. **Lt Gen (Retd) Md Mainul Islam, OSP, BGBM, awc, psc,** Former Chief of General Staff, Bangladesh Army, chaired the session. **Mr Nazmul Arifeen**, Research Fellow and **Mr A S M Tarek Hassan Semul,** Research Officer, BIISS, **Professor Dr Rashed Uz Zaman**, Department of International Relations, University of Dhaka and **Mr Monirul Islam, BPM, PPM,** Additional Commissioner, Counterterrorism and Transnational Crime, Dhaka Metropolitan Police made their presentations in this session.

Presentation – I

Mr ASM Tarek Hassan Semul
Research Officer, BIISS

Mr ASM Tarek Hassan Semul, Research Officer, BIISS, started the presentation by summarizing some of the issues discussed in the earlier sessions of the two-day conference. He first mentioned Johan Galtung's idea of peace and more specifically his idea of 'positive' and 'negative' peace. He noted that according to Galtung, positive peace means that the society would work together and there will be integration within the human society. And the negative peace is actually the absence of war or conflict and more specifically negative peace refers to the quality of peace that existed in the society.

In 2015, there were two important UN reports that outlined the foundation of sustainable peace or how to make peace sustainable for the global community. The notion of sustainable peace was incorporated in the overarching conceptual framework for building peace. Such peace was the coordination of three pillars that UN worked with: peace and security; development and human rights; and humanitarian actions.

Mr Semul then shed lights on the rationale of bringing preventing violent extremism or PVE within the realm of peace and noted how it is related to global peace. In this regard, he mentioned that in the Westphalian world system, the idea of state was imported in the East by colonialism and then the idea of state spread around the world. Now the state is the unit of analysis in international relations. But during the periods of two world wars, main threat for the peace was the state itself. As states fought each other, the inter-state war or conflict was the main source of threat to global peace. And that started to change in the post-Cold War period. During the Cold War period, there was a bipolar system and two superpowers were engaged in proxy wars against each other. During the two world wars, there was first League of Nations and later the United Nations to bring peace in the global order. In the post-Cold War period, a different type of trend is visible. The trend of inter-state conflict shifted to the intra-state conflicts. In the Cold War period, conflict occurred between the states. In the post-Cold War period and in the post 9/11 era, the non-state actors got the attention. Consequently, the attention shifted from inter-state wars to non-state actors. Thus, after the 9/11 incident, non-state actors like Al-Qaeda received global attention as it was

capable to challenge the state actors and pose a threat to the global peace and security. After Al Qaeda, in recent years, the rise of the terrorist group Islamic State (IS) in Syria and Iraq has also become visible. Its emergence demonstrated how a non-state actor could gain territory and try to undermine the state sovereignty and global peace. And with the 9/11 and the rise of the non-state violent extremist groups, it must be understood that, there appeared the war on terror, the US waging war against non-state groups and that is another shift indicating how to deter or counter these types of violent extremism.

He mentioned that there were some significant loopholes in the 'War on Terror'. It failed in Afghanistan and Iraq to deter violent extremist groups that were on the rise during that period. To make up for that, another approach became predominant during the 2004-05 periods. After the London and Madrid bombings, the world once again witnessed the atrocities of violent extremist groups. In Europe, the UK first attempted to incorporate Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) strategy. By doing that, it actually tried to tackle the loopholes of the counter-terrorism strategy. Counterterrorism strategy is primarily aimed to counter the terrorism rather than preventing it and it did not try to address the structural reasons or root causes of violent extremism. CVE actually came as a solution that counterterrorism strategy failed to provide. But CVE itself is not free of criticism. It was not devoid of loopholes or the weaknesses that counterterrorism strategy had. It was also a stigmatized word and highly politicized one. Moreover, it failed to address the root causes of terrorism or extremist violence. Consequently, CVE remains a problematic terminology. To overcome that, the UN had a meeting in 2015 and there was a report where the UN emphasized on Preventing Violent Extremism (PVE) rather than CVE on preventing violence. The objective of the UN was to address the root causes rather than countering the violence. It was, therefore, a universally accepted document which tried to address the violent path of terrorism.

Mr Nazmul Arifeen
Research Fellow, BIISS

Mr Nazmul Arifeen, Research Fellow, BIISS, noted that in their paper, they mainly tried to show how CVE and PVE came to evolve. Approximately 30 to 40 years ago, the focus of international politics and war and conflict was used to be inter-state conflicts as states used to fight each other. But that time has long gone and it has been replaced by intra-state war or war within state between different religious and ethnic communities. And that is why when there is no major war between states, the focus of international peacebuilding has been increasingly being implemented within states. Now, there is the new problem of violent extremism. People, because of various reasons starting from their identity, religion, ethnicity and other differences, were resorting to different kinds of violent acts. In this regard, if someone wants to focus on global peace, this is what the focus should be: violent extremism, be it religious, ethnic, national and some other kinds. And because of this, the idea of terrorism was securitized. The US and its allies went to war in Afghanistan, Libya and Iraq and that was outside of their home. However, at their home, the US and Europe had to fight another war with their own citizen, who were extremists. It was manifested by the rise of violent extremism in Europe. This is how the states in Europe and the US took a softer approach in War on Terror which was CVE. The UN had problem with this idea because when someone is countering violent extremism, then someone is assuming that it is already there. That the community has already resorted to violence and they are no longer innocent. So, both CVE and PVE have problems and they cannot be universally implemented unless someone infuses the idea of peacebuilding with these two concepts.

He then explained the problems of PVE and how the ideas and principles of peacebuilding can help to overcome the shortcomings. He tried to demonstrate how the principles of peacebuilding can be implemented. When someone focuses on a particular community and start talking about either CVE or PVE, then someone is recognizing that the community is at risk and they need to counter that risk, then someone is stigmatising the whole community in spite of the fact that there are many innocent people who live in the community. So, from the peacebuilding perspective, this is not a very effective idea or programme that can produce a very good result. He also mentioned some of the negative impacts of the PVE idea. If someone has certain complexion, or religious symbols like '*tupi*' or '*burkha*' then it is more likely that he/she will be screened at the airport. Only because of a particular religious or ethnic identity, someone is separated from rest of the passengers and he/she is being treated differently. So, this type of practice is very much unhelpful and can be counterproductive. And the solution to this should be looking at the structural causes which Johan Galtung had mentioned in 1969. So, there are two kinds of factors that can lead to terrorism or violent extremism: one is the direct cause, e.g., rape, war or physical violence. Another kind of violence which cannot be seen very easily is the structural violence, certain structural factors might lead to terrorism or extremism. For example, there are Muslims all over the world, in Afghanistan, Pakistan or in Rakhine state of Myanmar and many of these communities might resort to violence or become terrorist. Islam can be denominator in

all these cases and people need to be aware that Islam is not causing people resort to violence, rather it can have correlation. The people happened to be Muslims but they might face some structural factors that have affected those people which led them to violence. So, there is need to move the focus from the direct causes to the structural causes. It can be injustice or exploitation which is present in the society which needs to be addressed. Another problem of CVE and PVE that he identified is that both are very much state-centric. To illustrate the problem of state-centrism, he gave example of Sri Lanka where there is problem between the Tamil population and the Sinhalese population who are in power. So, if the UN or any other European power go there and start talking about PVE, then the Tamil population, who has been marginalized, will start thinking that the project is sponsored by the Sri Lankan government and they will not have any sort of ownership in that. So, there is a need to separate the state from the whole spectrum because if someone brings in state, then he or she is sidelining with the dominant powers. So, sustainable peace cannot be achieved through this mechanism. And this same example can be applied to Palestinian territory. For example, Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) is in power but in Gaza strip Hamas might be politically more powerful. In that case, if someone takes one side then he/she will risk marginalizing the other. Therefore, there is a need to come up with solutions and programmes that can bypass the weaknesses within the PVE. Another problem he mentioned is securitization. Terrorism in recent days has become a securitized idea which is 10-15 years old. Before that terrorism was there, it is a century old idea but it was not securitized. When an idea is securitized through speech act or through policymakers' repeatedly saying or talking about the idea then a lot of focus is given to a particular idea or problem then it becomes securitized. When the idea is securitized then someone's goal is achieved but the problem still exists. So, if someone does not address the root causes then the problem will recur and it will not be permanently resolved. This is another problem which needs to be kept in mind. Then there is the question of conflict sensitivity. So, when other countries get involved in the local conflict, for example if the UN is involved in a country's conflict then it needs to be impartial. If it takes any side, then it cannot bring peace. This is what PVE is doing because someone is bringing the idea developed in the west and trying to resolve the problem of a particular community. He gave an example that one of the principles of peacebuilding is not to harm any local community. But in Nepal when the Maoist came to power, the US was in trouble because earlier the US designated those groups of people as terrorists. So, if one fails to be impartial, then he/she cannot bring peace. This is one of the problems of PVE as well.

He opined that indigenous values and local ownership should be preserved. In the east, the people have different ways of resolving their conflicts. They will not reject the Western ideas because these ideas can be universal. Rather there is a need to infuse them with the local solutions as well. The whole idea of PVE and CVE is getting very much attention in these days, because Western funding is being channeled to the idea of PVE and CVE. If the western funding is not there, these programmes will die out and the problems will not be resolved permanently. So, there is a need to have local ownership and that can only be achieved through incorporating indigenous views and ideas.

He finally quoted the UN Secretary General's comment on peacebuilding, "peacebuilding involves a range of measures targeted to reduce the risk of lapsing and relapsing into conflict by strengthening national capacities at all levels for conflict management, and to lay the foundations for sustainable peace and development." Thus, if someone wanted PVE and CVE to be successful, he/she needs to stop them from relapsing into conflict.

Presentation – II

Professor Dr Rashed Uz Zaman
Department of International Relations,
University of Dhaka

At the outset, **Dr Rashed Uz Zaman**, Professor, Department of International Relations, University of Dhaka thanked BIISS for accommodating him and inviting him to speak on this issue. He started off his speech with the case of Vera Zasulich who was a Russian terrorist in the 1870s. She was caught and convicted for attacking the governor of Saint Petersburg. But Russia at that time had a jury system. And she went to the court and gave a passionate speech. Professor Zaman referred to Kazi Nazrul Islam's "Rajbandir Jabanbandi" to show how powerful a speech can be. So, after the speech Zasulich ultimately became a sort of a romantic figure and Ivan Turgenev wrote a very famous poem in the threshold centering on Zasulich. At the end of the day, Zasulich was acquitted by the jury. And according to Richard Pipes, this grave miscarriage of justice had profound implications because it gave the Russian authorities an understanding that the courts would not work. So they decided to follow other means of dealing with the extremism which was affecting Russia. But the situation continued to worsen. It led to the assassination of Tsar Alexander II in 1881 and only highlighted the worsening of terrorist violence in Russia. Deteriorating terrorist violence set the stage for the emergence of the Russian police state. Professor Zaman said that what is being seen in Russia - secret police, trials which are not taking place at all, incarceration without any access to *habeas corpus*, constant surveillance, all these became the norm, as far as Russia is concerned. This continued under Romanovs and this continued also under the Bolsheviks and the residue of all those are still remaining in present-day Russia which can be seen coming out often in different forms.

He said that the reason why he starts with this example is to make all of the audience understand that while one is staring at the abyss, the problem is, at one point of time the abyss starts looking at one. So, one tends to cross lines, and this is something which everyone needs to remember whenever people are talking about this whole issue of preventing violent extremism (PVE). He argued that responses to terrorism vary and it usually takes three paths. It can be seen as a war, it can be seen as a crime or it can be seen as a disease. But if terrorism is a war, then the military is the best for dealing with it. That is what exactly George Bush did when he declared global war on terror. He sent troops everywhere in different parts of the world and the military does what it does best, that it goes in, it fights and, in the process, it cripples societies as can be seen in Afghanistan, Iraq and in different parts of the world. But if terrorism is seen as a crime then it immediately becomes a police issue. This requires intelligence, particularly human intelligence and surveillance. But the use of violence is different, it is not war. It is a law and order

issue, so it takes many issues under consideration, it deals with incarceration and it deals with jury and tries to keep the situation under control. But if terrorism is viewed as a disease the game totally changes because as a disease the underlying causes need attention. As disease has both causes and syndromes; so, the whole thing of violent extremism, needs to be viewd under this perspective.

He continued that all these started after the 9/11, when the US started a total dependence on war as a means to preventing violent extremism and that led to a spill over effect. Now there are decentralized actors, small groups and even lone wolf terrorism which has become a big problem as far as terrorism is concerned. Then people started asking whether the 'war' was the way of dealing with the problem. But this is not something new. The idea that dealing with violent extremism leads to the violation of human right and leave a dissatisfied society which has been seen in many parts of the world.

He highlighted two incidents of injustice that had been carried out in the heart of the Western civilization. The 'Maguire Seven' and the 'Birmingham Six' had raised questions in the past about the effectiveness of counterterrorism. Apprehensions were expressed that some post 9/11 CT approaches exacerbated the threats and added new foot soldiers to the movements. One example is Kenya's overzealous security crackdown on Somalis. Kenyan decision to come down with fire on Somali population living within it to fight the Somali extremism has led to many Somalis who previously had no intention of joining violent movement being interested in them. This is something that needs to be taken into consideration.

Next, Professor Zaman focused on peacebuilding. The whole issue of peacebuilding and sustaining peace is the result of the General Assembly resolution. "Sustaining Peace", United Nations Security Council and General Assembly's April 2016 resolution recognized peace as "both a goal and a process to build a common vision of a society, ensuring the needs of all segments of the population are taken into account". Basically, it says that world needs to move away from the war approach and needs to look at the disease approach and try to deal with the whole issue. So, the sustainable development needs to be taken into consideration, the human rights issues need to be taken into consideration, all the gamut of facts that is ultimately causing these people to resort to violent extremism need to be taken into consideration. This approach also helps to address the wider panoply of factors that contribute to general instability and conflict across the globe which in turn contribute indirectly to violent extremism.

He then gave the example of the peacekeeping mission in Mali, which in his opinion is one of the most difficult missions (also one where Bangladesh is participating in right now). The thought was that the problem could be solved by sending in peacekeepers but it was not considered that whether the peacekeepers are really suitable for the job or not. Mali at one point of time was seen as one of the classic examples of democracy in Africa. But it all came crumbling down in 2012 when the country fell into the military coup. At the same time, a 4-decade-old rebellion among Tuaregs, seeking autonomy reached new heights, fuelled by weapons from Muammar Gadaffi's fallen government and perhaps also by the belief that the Arab Spring could extend to northern Mali. So here was a coming together of not only weapons but also ideas, ideas that the Arab Spring will be beneficial for many people. Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) and their allies were quick to capitalize on the increasing chaos in a territory characterized by lack of state control and poverty and seized the major cities in the north.

Mali was a case where the government had simply disappeared. This led to the imposition of a severe form of religious law and a growing food crisis sent the population fleeing south across Mali's international borders, which is another problem in the series of problems. The French-led military intervention, Operation SERVAL, ousted the militants from the main cities in the north but did not address the crisis' underlying issues including grievances that feed the Tuareg nationalist movement, the establishment of a civilian-led government in Mali, and the near and

long-term threats to food security. On top of all this, if one wants to deal with the situation in Mali, the PVE needs to take into consideration the fact that Mali must also deal with the effects of climate change which will result in

less rainfall and increase in temperature. Mali's average annual rainfall has decreased 30 per cent since 1998. Desertification is also a problem in Mali and as a result of the Sahara's southern movement, Mali is experiencing a climate zone shift. All these may result in a US$ 300 million agricultural loss according to some forecasts, but even under the most optimistic climate models, annual losses of US$ 120 million have been forecasted. But whatever the forecast is, the issue is that Mali is already a country with food shortage, so even with a shortage of US$ 120 million a large number of Malians are going to be affected. So, this leads to a situation where the population and society are going to be affected and it increases the potential for instability that can be exploited by criminals and terrorists.

Professor Zaman said that he is citing these examples because the 'war' and the 'law and order' approach is not enough and people need to look at the disease approach to understand how to address the issue. He then talked about the current situation of Mali. Insecurity in Mali worsened as extremists allied to Al-Qaeda dramatically increased their attacks on Malian and UN forces and unfortunately Bangladesh has been affected as a result of it. Peace process that was envisioned to end in 2012-2013 was stalled by political-military crisis in 2017. In the northern Mali, armed groups made scant progress on disarmament and the government made inadequate progress on the restoration of state authority. The resulting law and security vacuum have led to rampant banditry and displacement all over Mali. Inter-communal violence in central and northern Mali has left scores dead and displaced thousands which was exploited by ethnically aligned and abusive vigilante groups to garner recruits, prevented delivery of basic healthcare, education and humanitarian assistance. Mali is a place where people of the lighter skin do not take the path because there is a fear that they may be attacked. The country of Mali has become divided.

He then talked about what the international community can do about this. The international community needs to look at it from the preventing violent extremism perspective and the international community is doing this

in many parts of the world. But somehow, it is still not providing the proper results. There are a lot of theories as to why there are problems in Congo but the fact is that the problems still exists. He then gave example of South Sudan, which started as newest independent country in Africa but right now is facing many of the problems and a lot of the picture that has been painted for Mali, are similar to South Sudan. He said that the peacebuilding missions often tend to aggravate the issues. The whole idea is based on liberal democratic polity and a market-oriented economy, in other words if a country can have an election that is the end result. While election is good, there is also a need to go beyond that.

Professor Zaman argued that peacebuilding in parts of Africa and even in Europe has become, in effect, an enormous experiment in social engineering – an experiment that involves transplanting Western models of social, political and economic organization in conflict-affected countries in order to control conflict and extremism. He then talked about a theory by Roland Paris which suggests that institutionalization is needed before liberalization and institutions are important. He said that peacebuilders should delay liberalization and limit political and economic freedoms in the short run, in order to create conditions for a smoother and less hazardous transition to market democracy – and durable peace – in the long run. Elections should be put on delay because they are not necessary in the short period and most countries are not ready for election on that particular point of time. He suggested postponing elections until moderate political parties have been created and mechanisms to ensure compliance with the results of the election have been established. Peacebuilders should focus on designing electoral rules that reward moderation instead of extremism. He admitted that this is a very difficult part to implement, sometimes one has to work with extremists, but taking time can help to calm down some of the extremist political influences. Encouraging the development of civil-society organizations that cut across lines of societal conflict, and proscribing those that advocate violence is important. Peacebuilders should also try to reduce and regulate incendiary "hate speech". He said that a classic example of this is Rwanda, where the UN, time and again pointed out that the radio needs to be brought under control because they were spreading out hatred. Ultimately that was not done and that led to the genocide. His next recommendation for peacekeepers was promoting economic reforms that moderate rather than exacerbate societal tensions and most importantly develop effective security institutions and a professional, neutral bureaucracy. He then talked about the problems of the approach. For one, whichever administration that goes down in conflict situation will be bogged down. Again, the direct international administration of conflict-affected societies will create a "culture of dependency" among local people who might come to rely on international officials and lost interest in governing themselves.

Lastly, he said that in spite of the BIISS Conference, the fact remains, preference for traditional forms of counterterrorism involving the war and crime approaches continues to far outweigh that devoted to preventive measures and tackling root causes. As an example, he shared a data that showed that US is estimated to have spent US$ 6.4 billion on military operations to defeat ISIS between August 2014 and August 2016 alone. This compares with approximately US$ 15 million for the entirety of its PVE activities at home and abroad in 2016. So, challenge remains not only in individual states, but also within the broader multilateral system, including the UN, many of whose instruments and decision-making process remain tied to a reactive security-focused approach.

He ended in a pessimistic note saying the Afghan proverb, "The war is over. Now the real fighting begins!". He said that the war is fighting between the soldiers and the marching against each other, but the marching that goes on inside one's head also needs to be dealt with and only then one can say that peacebuilding has been successful.

Presentation – III

Mr Monirul Islam, BPM, PPM

Additional Commissioner, Counterterrorism and Transnational Crime Unit, Dhaka Metropolitan Police

Mr Monirul Islam, BPM, PPM, Additional Commissioner, Counterterrorism and Transnational Crime Unit, Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) said that his presentation on peacebuilding would be based on his professional experience as a law enforcement practitioner rather than as an academic. PVE referred to an approach that aimed to address the root causes of violent extremism through non-coercive means. Referring to earlier speakers, he mentioned that the counterterrorism or CT approach had not been appreciated in any country and could not bring totally desirable results. From law enforcement perspective, violent extremism was understood as the use of violence in line with an ideological commitment to achieve political, religious or social goals. In Bangladesh, extremists were waging their violent acts in the name of their so-called ideological commitment. These acts could be carried out by any individual or group having a range of belief or ideology. Thus, PVE had become a complex and long-term approach which should involve various actors and stakeholders from society. Law enforcement agencies in Bangladesh are trying to involve actors and stakeholders in this regard. This would require creation of soft power to prevent the threat driven by hatred, unawareness and misleading interpretations of culture. Taking pragmatic measures in collaboration with all stakeholders could help disable the conducive environment leading to violent extremism. By contrast, peacebuilding was an intervention, technique or method designed to prevent the start or resumption of violent conflict by creating a sustainable peace. Peacebuilding activities addressed root or potential causes of violence, create a societal expectation of peaceful resolution of conflicts and stabilize the society politically and socioeconomically.

Successful peacebuilding activities would create an environment supportive of self-sustaining durable process, reconcile opponents, prevent conflicts from restarting, integrate civil society, create rule of law and address underlying structural and societal issues. He rhetorically asked if these two would be opportunities or threats towards each other. Efforts of peacebuilding and preventing violent extremism were wide-ranging, both approach includes diverse actors and sectors in society. For example,

women, youth, community and religious leaders, government and security personnel, educators, local businesspeople, understanding localized gender and social dynamics including different priorities and perspectives of women and men, youth and elders from different socioeconomic classes, ethnic or linguistic backgrounds would be critical to design, implementation and impact of PVE intervention as well as peacebuilding. Therefore, there remains much potential overlaps between these two fields. This overlap also included both the goals they promote and in their methods of working. In some opportunities the agenda of these two fields overlaps, but there are disagreements also, believing it to be an agenda that distracted from the real root causes of conflict and could actually undermine peacebuilding efforts. He hoped that researchers in future would help settle the issue. He then explained if the perspectives of peacebuilding could assist PVE. In this regard, there have been two opposing views. It is believed peacebuilding, as a field, emerged from idealist approach rather than the realist power politics paradigm that dominated international diplomacy and international relations. Its values and methodology for responding to conflicts were thus based on human relationships, justice, compassion, collaboration and cooperation, mutual recognition, nonviolence and emphasis on role of non-state actors. Realist approach, by contrast, is based on the assumption that the world is anarchic and only a power balance could establish order and stability; primary objectives of states and individuals are to pursue and preserve self-interest, state sovereignty, competition and force. States are the only legitimate entity for representation.

PVE was based on the realist paradigm. It viewed security and order as the ultimate outcome. It was developed by states to serve their individual interests but would pay little attention to justice, cooperation and nonviolence. Nevertheless, some peacebuilders argued it would be possible to engage with peacebuilding programmes and maintain the idealist discourse of interreligious peacebuilding, to some extent. Many policymakers involved in PVE programmes indicated that in general, majority continued to do the same work and use same framing. However, for purposes of funding and security approval, they began to label their works as PVE. Regardless of the fact, some supporters considered following scopes to be important: there were many ways in which some peacebuilders believed they could engage with PVE agenda such as learning from approaches of those working on relevant programmes, for examples, there were researchers on narratives and how individuals were attracted to join violent extremist groups; understanding about this research and related programmes could assist peacebuilders to improve their own work. By engaging with policy debates and programmes related to violent extremism, peacebuilders might find opportunities to shift the debate towards a broader and more preventive peacebuilding approach to address the drivers of conflict. Here, Mr Islam cited a successful instance of peacebuilding approach for PVE. This was in Borno State of north-eastern Nigeria. Hamsatu Allamin led an initiative bringing together women's associations, civil society organizations, local government, religious scholars and schools of transformation, who believed the incompatibility of Western education and Islam underlined the extremist narrative advocated by Boko Haram. They initiated community dialogues by inviting Islamic scholars to a radio programme where they challenged the notorious extremist group's anti-education rhetoric in local languages. A 40 per cent increase in school enrolment was documented in the area. Building on this, peace classes were established in the Islamiyya School to sustain and deepen the understanding of the compatibility between peacebuilding and Islam. A manual had been developed that would now be institutionalized

as part of the curricula in Islamiyya School throughout Nigeria. From his own experience as a law enforcement and counterterrorism official for last few years, Mr Islam puts forth some recommendations: policymakers, practitioners, researchers, civil society groups and other stakeholders should continue to share knowledge, practice and lessons learnt to better understand the meaning, drivers and impacts of violent extremism. PVE or counterterrorism was not only a law enforcement issue, but more than that. The peacebuilding community should continue its emphasis on addressing the root causes of various forms of violence including violent extremism and in the long-term work on transforming the relationships and social dynamics causing violence, into constructive cooperation. They could help PVE programmes to shape strategies. Practitioners in both peacebuilding and PVE should help each other to understand the specific local context of any conflict and the drivers of violence.

In Bangladesh, if details of such drivers were explored, i.e., causes of violent extremism, why people especially, the youth were engaging with violent extremist groups, different situations could be found. Some causes were quite common but there were also localized causes—area/region specific/ based on some sects of Islam. For example, northern part of Bangladesh witnessed substantial rise and spread of violent extremist groups in recent times like Jama'atul Mujahedeen Bangladesh (JMB), Harkat-ul-Jihad (HuJI), Ansarullah Bangla Team (ABT), etc. Most of these, notably members of JMB and ABT were born Ahl-e-Haadis or converted to that ideology before joining these groups. Thus, it could be seen that most extremists in Bangladesh were coming from the northern part as most Ahl-e-Haadis people could be found there. They came of very poor families as the region would often face Monga (yearly cycle of poverty and hunger). But the situation had improved now. Hence, there were some local factors as well behind the rise and spread of violent extremism in northern part of the country, calling for area-specific work plans when dealing with violent extremist groups. This would not be hard for law enforcement officials to comprehend but should be theorized. Researchers and academicians should come forward to conduct more research. This would enable law enforcement agencies to make policies on prevention of violent extremism. Since violent extremism in Bangladesh was based on ideology, with misinterpretations of the Holy Quran and Haadis, engaging Muslim clerics would be crucial as they could provide correct narratives. Besides, the Ministry of Youth and Sports, Ministry of Culture, Ministry of ICT should be engaged because they could create alternative outlet of energy and enthusiasm for the youth. Engagement in sports or cultural activities could save vulnerable people or young people from becoming violent extremists. Very few women joined extremist groups independently. They were female relatives (daughters/wives/sisters) of members from such groups and were forced to join. Thus, women must be included into PVE initiatives. Promoting their socioeconomic status would make them less vulnerable to joining these groups.

Young people, radicalized already, should be counter-radicalized. For saving the vulnerable, their parents, family members, neighbours, civil society should be engaged. These should be included into PVE programmes that would aid peacebuilding programmes. The youth would be nation builders and peacebuilders in future. Therefore, a conducive environment for development of children, youth and education would produce successful peacebuilding and PVE programmes. The radicalized should be disengaged and reintegrated into the society. From his own experience, Mr Islam said many youth who were arrested for involvement in violent activity, after their release, rejoined violent extremist groups as they were not properly de-radicalized. He gave an example: a violent extremist who was son of an

infamous terrorist, a so-called emir of a terrorist group, was arrested. In the custody, police officials convinced him and he promised of not returning to his old accomplices after release. When he was released on bail, the police had to re-arrest him. The man said he was committed about not re-joining any violent extremist groups but after his release, no friend, relative or anyone else gave him any job. Only due to hunger and continue with his life, he had no option but joining violent extremists again. This was the harsh reality. Therefore, de-radicalization programmes should include both disengagement and reintegration.

He concluded by saying that violent extremism is a global challenge which also possessed risk for Bangladesh; for the time being, the country has been able to contain it but the threat is still present and might continue in days ahead. The reasons or drivers exist not only in Bangladesh but globally and other factors could incite violent extremists to regroup, rejoin and restart their activities. People in Bangladesh have been peace-loving and hate all sorts of extremism. He expressed his firm belief that most of them would not become violent extremists and thus not push the country into existential crisis.

Open Discussion

Sousan Suha, Student, University of Dhaka mentioned that Bengalis tend to be very straight forward people with a very strict sense of morality. She added that sometimes criminals are captured and their location is identified, in some cases the crossfire takes place and they tend to be killed immediately. She wanted to know whether there is any existing plan to rehabilitate and reintegrate the criminals and radicals back into the society.

Md Touhidul Islam, Chairman and Associate Professor, Department of Peace and Conflict Studies, University of Dhaka, pointed out the ineffectiveness of Islamic Foundation and emphasized that capacity should be built in that institution regarding the issues. He also mentioned that the role of education should be highly promoted. He cited John Burton's terminology called "Pro-vention" and added that Burton tried to utter the language that the society is so early initiative; it does not create any situation to prevent. Therefore, he added that education is one of the best means that could be promoted throughout the country. He suggested that the multiple streams of education should be guided by national authorities.

Ambassador Mahmuda Haque Choudhury said that terrorism is not a job of a single person or organization. She talked about the children who were involved with the Holy Artisan Attack and expressed his deep concern about the involvement of children having English Medium education background. She added that blame cannot be put on Islamic School that they are creating terrorism. She mentioned that not putting on hat does not indicate that someone is not Muslim. She suggested to be careful about the behaviour of the children as controlling the mind of the children is a tough job.

A K M Tousif Tanzim Ahmed, Student, University of Dhaka, wanted to know about plan of Counter-Terrorism and Transnational Crime (CTTC) Unit of the government for next two or three years. He was also interested to know about the government's plan about engaging the youth in Countering Violent Extremism (CVE). He emphasised on the necessity of a long term plan of the government in engaging the youth in CVE activities.

Professor Dr Hideaki Shinoda, Director, Hiroshima Peacebuilders Center, Japan expressed his interest to hear the speakers explaining the Rohingya issue in the context of Preventing Violent Extremism (PVE).

S R Khan Orthy, Student, University of Dhaka wanted to know whether any peacebuilding approach was taken after the Holy Artisan attack in 2016. Mentioning that the government had approved a "Zero Tolerance" approach to terrorism after the Holy Artisan incident, she asked whether this "Zero Tolerance" approach matches with the peacebuilding approach.

Responses by the Speaker

Mr Monirul Islam, BPM, PPM
Additional Commissioner, Counterterrorism   and Transnational Crime
Dhaka Metropolitan Police

Mr Monirul Islam, BPM, PPM said that Bangladesh does not have long experience of counterterrorism (CT). The country has been experiencing sporadic rise of violence particularly since the 1990s. The country is still in the stage of formulating its policy in this regard. He also recognized that CT is not very effective approach in combating ideology based violent extremism. But immediately after the Holy Artisan attack, the government had no option but to fight the terrorists. He, therefore, believes that CT was the right approach to employ at that time.

Mr Islam informed the audience that the government has now started CVE and PVE programmes but still there is debate on whether to follow CVE or PVE.

He said that Bangladesh Police has started formulating a CVE programme in which they themselves will be a part. Mr Islam explained that they cannot directly initiate CVE because in that case participation of targeted people will be hampered. Therefore, they are trying to engage more stakeholders like the youth, Islamic clerics and NGOs. Mr Islam agreed that suppression of critical thinking contributes to youth participation in extremism. He added that Bangladesh Police is ready to welcome the youths in CVE programmes.

He emphasized that education is one of the most important things which encourage students to think critically. But it is very difficult to comment on the education system. He also expressed that education can prevent youths from engaging extremist activities. Proper education is of utmost importance for preventing violent extremism.

Remarks by the Chair

Lt Gen (Retd) Md Mainul Islam, OSP, BGBM, qwc, psc
Former Chief of General Staff, Bangladesh Army

Lt Gen (Retd) Md Mainul Islam, OSP, BGBM, qwc, psc, Former Chief of General Staff, Bangladesh Army, in his concluding remarks as a session Chair, mentioned that an organizational approach is necessary. He observed that the rehabilitation of the terrorists is not being planned. It was seen in few days back, the police vehicles and drivers of the high officials were not carrying the license. So, even though there are all rules and regulations, nothing is practiced. He emphasized on coming back at the zero again and start practicing these things. He also said that society can accept somebody who was once upon a time in a different path. However, there remains a fear among former extremists of being arrested again. To get out of the fear, he expressed that education and the transparency of the law enforcing agencies are very important.

While talking about the case of Rohingyas, he mentioned that all the responsibilities of them have been given to Bangladesh. He emphasized that the Rohingyas should focus on organizing themselves for their own return as Bangladesh and international community can do a little in this regard. There is hardly any dialogue or statement coming out from leaders on the Rohingya issue. He opined that Rohingyas need to raise voice for their own rights even though there are threats. He later said that 'zero tolerance' is a buzzword. There is a need to listen to the extremists first, and not to kill, because they could provide a lot of information. If a drug addicted man can be treated in the hospital and can be rehabilitated through some systems, same can be done for the radicals and terrorists. Therefore, the disease called terrorism should be well identified. He suggested to adopt an organizational approach and to make the country's education religion friendly which will help to remove hatred. He emphasized on having an organizational body which will have a sense of responsibility. He added that prevention does not exclude the law enforcement agency, it includes everybody. Terrorism is a disease and organizational approach should be there to treat this.

Working Session – V and Concluding Session

From Peacekeeping to Peacebuilding: Increasing Civilian Role in UN Peace Operations

The last Session of the Conference was the Fifth Working Session and it was also the Concluding Session of the conference. It was titled as **"From Peacekeeping to Peacebuilding: Increasing Civilian Role in UN Peace Operations"**. **Ambassador Muhammad Zamir**, Commissioner, OIC Independent Permanent Human Rights Commission and Former Chief Information Commissioner of Bangladesh, chaired the session. In this session presentations were made by **Major General A K M Abdur Rahman, ndc, psc,** Director General, BIISS and **Lt Gen (Retd) Sabbir Ahmed, OSP, SGP, ndc, psc,** Former Chief of General Staff, Bangladesh Army. At the end, **Ambassador Muhammad Zamir**, Commissioner, OIC Independent Permanent Human Rights Commission and Former Chief Information Commissioner of Bangladesh summed up the discussions of the Conference. **Major General A K M Abdur Rahman, ndc, psc,** Director General, BIISS concluded the conference with vote of thanks.

Presentation – I

Major General A K M Abdur Rahman, ndc, psc
Director General, BIISS

At the outset, Major General A K M Abdur Rahman, ndc, psc, Director General, BIISS stated that the idea of peace has always been at the center of international relations. The formation of the UN after the Second World War and the formation of peacekeeping operations by the UN promulgated a new understanding about peace. Beyond monitoring cease-fires, today's multinational peace operations are engaged in facilitating dialogue, reconciling and protecting civilians, promoting human rights and restoring rule of law. From 1991 onwards, UN multifunctional missions have increased in numbers that are known as peacebuilding operations.

He stated that the idea of peacebuilding was first developed by Norwegian sociologist Johan Galtung in the 1970s, who advocated the promotion of the systems that would create sustainable peace. The concept of peacebuilding, however, only entered into the mainstream in 1992, when it appeared in the UN document titled '*An Agenda for Peace'*. The development of peacekeeping operations and the evolution of the concept of peacebuilding can be divided into four major periods. Before 1990s, it was the period of traditional peacekeeping conducted in decolonized Asia, Middle East and Africa especially after the 1956 Suez Crisis. Peacebuilding was considered as a part of multidimensional peacekeeping in the 1990s conducted in countries including Mozambique, Somalia, Angola, El Salvador, Cambodia, Namibia, etc. Then, peacebuilding is regarded as statebuilding since 2000 conducted in Kosovo and East Timor. Finally, period of nationally-owned peacebuilding started since 2009 and can be seen in the peace operations such as in Somalia, Cote d'Ivoire and Liberia.

In the academic world, the scholars tried to define peacebuilding in different manner which is also reflected in the evolution of the concept throughout the years. Johan Galtung (1975), the pioneer of peacebuilding concept, focused on support structures to remove the causes of war and creating conditions to tackle the causes of dispute. Former UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali (1992) in his report entitled *'An Agenda for Peace'* focused on post-conflict peacebuilding to identify and build support structures to strengthen peace. In recent time, many scholars have focused on various aspects

related to peacebuilding which include but is not limited to governance, rule of law, transitional justice, constitution building, security sector reforms, welfare and development, etc.

Contemporary peacebuilding activities can be divided into four pillars - security, development, democratization and human rights. Peacebuilding process is also beset with multi-layer challenges. There are political, institutional and implementation challenges.

He observed that currently Bangladesh is one of the leading contributors (2nd) with 5,502 peacekeepers around the world. Bangladesh's first deployment in UN peacekeeping operations came in 1988 by participating in the United Nations Iran-Iraq Military Observer Group (UNIIMOG) during Iraq-Iran War. Since then it has been involved in up to 30 different UN peacekeeping operations covering as many as 25 countries. But participation of Bangladeshi civilians in UN is very limited in number. As of 31 August 2015, there are only 48 Bangladeshi citizens working as international civilian staffs in the UN, where as the number of uniformed personnel from Bangladesh in UN peacekeeping operations was 9,432 in the same year. Among the 48 Bangladeshis serving as the international civilian staffs in the UN, only 1 Bangladeshi civilian is working at D-2 level while most are working at P-1 to P-5 levels. The number of Bangladeshi civilians in Peace Support Operations (PSOs), Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) and Department of Field Support (DFS) are also very low in numbers. Though Bangladeshi civilian participation in UN peacebuilding is very small currently, it has huge potential to contribute to the UN peacebuilding efforts.

General Rahman suggested that Bangladesh could contribute to the peacebuilding efforts of UN in three ways: firstly, by participating in the occupational groups as substantive and supportive component; secondly, by contributing to the four components of peacebuilding e.g., security, development, human rights and democratization; and finally, by contributing to the areas of norms setting and institution building.

In total of 28 occupational groups of UN, Bangladeshi civilians are currently participating in 16 occupational groups. Among these, majority of Bangladeshi civilians are participating in security sectors. Rests of the civilians are participating in 15 occupational groups. However, in 12 occupational groups, there is no Bangladeshi civilian. Therefore, Bangladeshi civilians can contribute in the rest 12 occupational groups, e.g., audit, economic affairs, electoral affairs, environmental affairs, humanitarian affairs, legal affairs, management and program analysts, medical services, procurement, safety, social affairs and social science.

Bangladeshi civilians can also contribute to different occupational groups in UN as a substantive component and supportive component. Civilians are divided into two categories in PSOs, e.g., substantive component and supportive component. As a substantive component, civilians can contribute to the following areas: political affairs, human rights, legal advice, humanitarian liaison, public information, planning and coordination, child protection, gender, conduct and discipline, rule of law, electoral affairs, civil affairs, security sector reform, and disarmament demobilization and reintegration. As a supportive component, civilians can contribute in the following areas: human resources, procurement, financial, logistics, geographical information services, information, technology and communications, transport, contingent-owned equipment, security, and engineering and integrated training services. As a substantive and supportive component, Bangladeshi civilians can participate in 26 occupation groups. Bangladeshi civilians as a supportive component can contribute in 12 job categories that provide logistics and

administrative services in the PSO. At each of the job categories of supportive component, they can design, install, operate and maintain mission-wide communications including telephone, radio and data systems, proprietary information management systems, internet, intra-mission mail and diplomatic pouch service, etc. As substantive component, Bangladeshi civilians can contribute in 14 job categories that give services to the local recipients as defined in the mandates of respective PSO. At each of these job categories of substantive component, Bangladeshi civilians can provide policy and technical advice to the senior mission leadership; help the host government and partners on strategies for advancing gender equality and women's rights; provide expert technical advice to inform policy and operational activities of mission components and ensure the delivery of appropriate training for all levels of personnel on gender issues; strengthening partnerships with the national machinery for the advancement of women's rights and gender equality.

He added that Bangladesh can also contribute to the four components of peacebuilding, e.g., security, development, human rights and democratization. The tasks of the security component include mine action, protection of civilians, DDR, strengthening the rule of law and initiation of security sector reform. At the time of transition from short term peacekeeping efforts to longer term peace building process, Bangladesh Police and military personnel have huge opportunity to work at the security component of peacebuilding. The uniformed peacekeepers from Bangladesh have directly contributed to protecting vulnerable communities, clearing some of the most dangerous lands of mines and unexploded ordnance and also played important role in Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) process in Sierra Leone, Liberia, Kosovo, Timor-Leste, etc. By these experiences, they can certainly contribute to the security component of peacebuilding. Besides, as Bangladesh Police and Armed Forces have expertise in the field of responsive policing, accountable policing, community policing, electoral assistance, so they

can play potential role in basic safety security and the rule of law, enforcement of law and order, capacity building of local police, reform of the security and training of local police forces.

Component of democratization requires supporting public administration and public finance, electoral processes, promoting inclusive dialogue and reconciliation, and developing conflict-management capacity at the national and sub-national levels. In this respect, Bangladeshi civil servants of the Ministry of Finance, in order to support public finance in the respective country, can serve the functions of policy assistance guidance and coordination support to the commissioner and deputy commissioner on the following issues: development of revenue service; improving the efficiency of revenue service and increasing the collection of revenue; providing expert advice on implementation of taxation policy; interpretation of laws and administration of taxation; providing training to the staff of revenue service on basic accounting, general administration and leadership code of conduct as well as public service law. To support the public administration and electoral processes, civilian staffs of Bangladesh Election Commission secretariat can serve the job of electoral affairs, e.g., electoral support officer, district electoral supervisor, case officer, registration officer, electoral observer, field supervisor, etc. They can provide technical and logistical advice and support to the electoral commission of the respective countries like election monitoring; civic education; voter registration; maintenance of voter identification card; voter education; motivating local citizens for votes; setting up polling station; ensuring security arrangement of polling station; training to the local polling officers and voter registration officers, etc. They can also coordinate with international, regional and local agencies associated with electoral affairs and provide logistical support like distribution of ballot paper, ballot box, etc.

The goal of the development component of peacebuilding includes providing water and sanitation, health and primary education; to support the safe and sustainable return and reintegration of internally displaced persons and refugees; to provide employment and livelihoods. In this respect, some of the well recognized NGOs, e.g., BRAC, Wateraid Bangladesh, Bangladesh Wash Alliance and their skilled and trained staff working on water, sanitation and hygiene (WASH) programme in different parts of the country and globe can certainly contribute to the development component in future peacebuilding efforts in any country.

Human rights component's activities are: to ensure women's participation in politics and elected office; to increase the level of post-conflict financing devoted to promote women's empowerment. According to UN statistics, almost 80 per cent of the civilian staffs are male and only 20 per cent are female. There is a huge gap between male and female participation. Recently, the UN has decided to bring gender parity on the issue which creates better opportunities for female candidates to apply for those posts. But only three Bangladeshi female are working as international civilian staff. It means that only 6 per cent of Bangladeshi civilian staff in the UN is female and subsequently 94 per cent is male. In contrast, as of March 2017, Bangladesh contributed 201 female police officers and was considered to be the top performer in this regard. Till date, total 1,111 female officers from the Police participated in various UN peacekeeping missions. Thus, Bangladeshi female police officers with its name and fame have established themselves as the role model. On the other hand, female military officers from Bangladesh started to work as peacekeepers in 2005. Prior to that, they started working on ad hoc basis in 1995. Till date, 282 female officers from the army participated in the UN peacekeeping missions. Besides, 12 female officers from the Navy and 65 female officers from the Air Force also participated in the UN missions. Moreover, Colonel Nazma has been presently serving as the Commanding Officer of the contingent "BANMED-5"

in Central African Republic deployed in November 2017. In addition, a female engagement Platoon from Bangladesh would be deployed in 2019 in PKOs. By using the reputation of Bangladesh female police officers and Bangladesh military officers, female civilian staffs can grab this opportunity. By doing so, they can place themselves as key driving force to reduce gender-based violence, conflict and confrontation, providing sense of security especially for women and children, mentoring female police officer in the local area, thereby, empowering women in the host country and promoting social cohesion.

Bangladesh can also contribute to the areas of norms setting. Bangladeshi troops under the UN peacekeeping mission arrived in Ivory Coast in 2004. They carried out their peacekeeping activities as well as humanitarian and social works beyond the UN mandate. In doing humanitarian services, the Bangladeshi troops provided free medical treatment daily or weekly or on additional basis to the local people. They also brought in Bangladeshi drugs and distribute them for free among the locals. They used to distribute food among the local people. Besides, the Bangladeshi battalions supplied pure drinking water to locals. They also extended their support to local orphanages and get children resettled whenever required. They gave free treatment to 58,646 Ivorians between July 1, 2006 and May 31, 2007. In recognition of the contributions made by Bangladeshi peacekeeping forces, the people of Ivory Coast have named a particular street in Danane town as "Bangladesh Road". Similar thing happened in the case of Sierra Leone and Liberia. In recognition and appreciation to the contribution made by the Bangladeshi peacemakers, Sierra Leone has declared Bangla as their 2nd language and Liberia has named their capital's major street after Bangladesh. These are examples of Bangladesh's role in setting norms of the UNPKOs. Thus, Bangladesh peacebuilders can contribute in the areas of norms setting by participating in the peacebuilding efforts of UN. Additionally, Bangladesh can contribute in the areas of institution building. It has established Bangladesh Institute of Peace Support Operation Training (BIPSOT) in order to provide training to military, navy and air force. Bangladesh is the first country in South Asia which established "Bangladesh Peacebuilding Centre" (BPC) at Dhaka in November 2016 by recognizing the importance of training of the civilians. Additionally, Bangladeshi peacebuilders can also help the host country to build up different types of institutions like electoral office, health institute, disaster emergency centre, disaster relief shelter, maternal and child health centre, voter registration centre and immunisation clinic, etc., locally and nationally.

In conclusion, General Rahman said that Bangladesh needs to take three kinds of initiatives. Firstly, Bangladesh should adopt a national strategy to contextualize its understanding of international peacebuilding. Secondly, Bangladesh needs to train its civilians. Bangladeshi citizens who have experience of serving in the UN as civilian staff in different capacities can serve voluntarily or can be assigned in the centre as a mentor. Finally, it is also necessary to take strong diplomatic initiatives to make sure that the trained and qualified civilians are deployed in the UN in different capacities. To grab the job opportunity in civilian vacancies, Bangladesh should undertake certain initiatives e.g., disseminate information regarding the civilian job vacancies and encourage Bangladeshi female civilian candidates to apply for the civilian vacancies.

Presentation – II

Lt Gen (Retd) Sabbir Ahmed, OSP, SGP, ndc, psc
Former Chief of General Staff, Bangladesh Army

Lt Gen (Retd) Sabbir Ahmed, OSP, SGP, ndc, psc, Former Chief of General Staff, Bangladesh Army, made a presetation titled "Peacekeeping to Peacebuilding: Increasing Role of Civilians". He began with the emergence of UN peacekeeping operations. These operations were first undertaken in 1948 when the UN Security Council deployed unarmed military observers in the Middle East to monitor the armistice agreement signed between Israel and Arab states in the wake of the Arab-Israel War of 1948. Since then, UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations and Political Affairs (UNDPKO) had been engaged in 114 peacekeeping operations. As an institution, to establish peace and security in troubled areas, UN peacekeeping forces were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1988. General Sabbir himself was a participant in UN peacekeeping operations in two missions—one was in Croatia, the other in Ethiopia and Eritrea. He was part of a successful mission i.e., UN Transitional Administration for Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Sirmium (UNTAES). He also had the opportunity to take part in UN Preventive Deployment in the (former) Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, international forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina, witnessing the demilitarization process of the Prevlaka peninsula in Montenegro. Within his official scope, he visited Mali; and being CGS of the Bangladesh Army, he planned, organized and deployed all Bangladeshi contingents in UN missions during his tour of duty. Therefore, his presentation was based more on a practitioner's experience.

General Sabbir said that the word "peace" is hard to define. It projected harmony and bliss in social, political and psychological sense but these images seemed to be contradictory to the anarchic real world. To make the definition of peace versatile and acceptable, Professor Johan Galtung proposed important distinction between positive and negative peace. Positive peace is true, lasting and sustainable peace while negative peace is peace without justice. General Sabbir quoted from Prime Minister of Bangladesh Sheikh Hasina's speech (inspired by her own life experience), at the 66th UN General Assembly that, "Throughout my half century in politics, I have always been a crusader of peace. I believe that peace is achievable with the removal of injustice, repression and absence of rule of law, inequality and economic disparity, deprivation and poverty, suppression of self-determination, denial of secularism and multi-ethnicity, negligence of equal rights for women and marginalized, as well as the lack of transparency and accountability of governments." General

Sabbir said that his presentation would enumerate the phenomena of changing nature of peace operations, i.e., from peacekeeping to peacebuilding due to change in global environments, how peacekeepers were performing different roles in both traditional and multidimensional peacekeeping, increased roles being played by civilian peacekeepers and peacebuilders, and measures to increase civilian participation in peacekeeping operations.

He defined peacekeeping as a technique designed to preserve peace after fighting between belligerents ceased and to implement agreement reached by peacemakers. Over the years, peacekeeping evolved from primary observation of ceasefires and separation of forces to a complex model of many elements-military, police and civilians, all of whom were working together to help lay the foundation of sustainable peace. Peace enforcement involved application of a large range of coercive measures including use of force. Such actions were authorized by the Security Council when there would be a breach of peace, or threat to peace, or act of aggression. Peacebuilding involves a range of activities to reduce the risk of lapsing or relapsing into conflict. It was a complex and long-term process to create necessary conditions for sustainable peace. It worked by addressing deep-rooted causes of

conflict, focused on core issues that affected the functions of society and the state. It involves different dimensions such as DDR, rebuilding government, economic and civil society institutions. In present day context, distinction or boundaries among conflict prevention, peacemaking, peacekeeping and peace enforcement have blurred. They do not happen sequentially, rather are mutually reinforcing. If used in piecemeal manner or isolation, they would fail to provide comprehensive approach to address the root causes as the nature of peace operations are changing day by day, e.g., the missions in Mali, Congo,

and Central African Republic. Along with that, the UN has been ordering robust peacebuilding efforts to be successful in these countries.

On the changing nature of peacekeeping operations, General Sabbir said that, with the end of Cold War, the strategic context of UN peacekeeping operations drastically changed. Now, internal armed conflict constituted major strives. The world is now experiencing a new type of conflict, and conflicting parties are also waging war in different forms. Nation-states has become exposed to diverse security challenges: transnational and non-state sponsored terrorism, transnational crimes, conflicts arising out of social-political-economic alienation, unemployment, drug trade, gunrunning, human trafficking, illegal immigration, challenges of information explosion and media, etc. Swift and radical changes are taking place in every dimension of societies. Societies now have become susceptible to social media that are changing their mood drastically. With changes in global environment, nature of conflicts and wars have also changed. Alvin and Heidi Toffler said this in their book *The Third Wave,* Martin van Creveld called this 'non-Trinitarian theory of warfare' and Colonel Thomas Hammes (of US Marines) termed this as fourth-generation warfare, so on and so forth. In a similar tone, transformation of the global environment gave rise to a new generation of multidimensional UN peacekeeping operations. These operations could be divided based on following factors: the level of force, type and diversity of task, and sharing with regional organizations.

Discussing various forms of peacekeeping operations, he said that these arose from the conflict resolution mechanism left by the erstwhile League of Nations. During the Cold War, UN missions were typically under the chapter six of the UN Charter and occurred only when there was peace to keep following an end to armed conflicts. Examples of this included the United Nations Iran–Iraq Military Observer Group (UNIIMOG), United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP), United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO), etc. The goal was to create an environment conducive to efforts of peaceful resolution of conflicts by belligerents. In the post-Cold War era, changes in international politics brought profound changes in the nature and extent of peacekeeping operations. Situations like famine, hunger, human rights violation, poor economic conditions, bad governance, etc. added an increasing consciousness of international community to participate in UN missions with a wider approach. The results were more ambitious mandate and active involvement not only in ceasing conflicts, but also assisting in the transition to peace. The phenomenon was called wider, multidimensional or second-generation peacekeeping operations, still working under chapter six and in such UN missions tasks included civilian tasks along with a military mandate, for example, organization of elections, DDR, humanitarian aid delivery, promotion of human rights, assisting refugees, government capacity building, etc. One of the best examples in this regard was the UNTAES mission. It was in Croatia where General Sabbir had the opportunity for one and a half years to observe the whole process from beginning till end. He was also the last man out of the mission area to witness how the reintegration and reconstruction took place, and how the UN withdrew from a country.

Then he discussed about robust peacekeeping. The UN had largely been successful to bring many conflicts and wars to end but it also had weaknesses and failures. Existing literatures pointed out three notable failures—in Somalia, Rwanda, and Bosnia. In robust peacekeeping operations, peacekeepers might arm themselves, separate two parties or defend themselves. They might also defend the operation by disarming or inflicting a military blow to violators. Example of this kind of mission was the UN intervention brigade from France in the mission in Congo. Around the same time, the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), European Union (EU), and African Union (AU) became prominent as UN began providing development aid and assistance to the country on condition of maintaining peace.

Peacebuilding consisted of robust peacekeeping operations that combined elevated use of force with enhanced civilian tanks. Peacebuilding missions in several ways, constituted an important departure from previous peace operations. An extreme form of peacebuilding was the transitional administration wherein exercise of sovereignty over a given territory would be effectively transferred to UN peacekeeping operations, where all executive, legislative and judicial authority would temporarily rest with the head of UN mission. The missions in Kosovo, East Timor and Croatia were good examples. As UN peacebuilding came into prominence, a number of organizations and actors became involved in this process on full-scale. After that, came hybrid peace operations. In present day peace operations, there was a growing shift in division of labour. The three aforesaid failures led to greater participation of Blue Helmets. As an example, the UN had authorized the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan, when the US along with European allies participated in the Global War on Terror. In Kosovo, the NATO force was working as a Kosovo protection force while civilian personnel from the OSCE, EU and other organizations carried out governance, administrative and institutional tasks. Several western powers had singly intervened in many other countries like Britain in Sierra Leone, France in Cote d'Ivoire and in Mali. Nowadays, the AU had taken an increased military role to conduct conflict resolution. One example was AU-UN hybrid operation in Darfur, known as UNAMID. Traditional peacekeeping involved observation, monitoring and reporting, using static patrol, over flights or other technical means with agreement of the parties. There were also supervision of ceasefire, support of verification mechanism, interposition as a buffer and act as tool of confidence building. The acts were like market supervision, family visits, house assessment, protection of humanitarian aid, etc.

In multidimensional peacekeeping of the new generation, peace operations would be deployed in the dangerous aftermath of violent internal conflicts. As for example, General Sabbir mentioned about Mali, where he himself visited and witnessed the disastrous situations prevailing there. Missions in such places would employ a wide mix of military, police and civilians for supporting implementation of comprehensive peace agreement. Multidimensional UN peacekeeping operations were deployed as part of a much broader international effort to help countries emerging from conflict and attain sustainable peace. The core functions were—create a stable and secure environment while strengthening the state's ability to provide security with full respect to the law and human rights; facilitate the political process by promoting dialogues, reconciliation; supporting the establishment of legitimate and effective institution of governance; provide framework for ensuring that all UN and other international actors would work at country level in a coherent and coordinated manner. Core businesses in a multidimensional peacekeeping operation would include: Development of infrastructure, provision of employment, economic governance, civil administration, conduct of election, political process, security operations, DDR, rule of law, human rights, capacity building and humanitarian assistance. There would also be many more, like, security sector reform.

On civilian participation in UN peacekeeping missions, he said that no one size would fit all and no one actor could bring success in these missions. There should be wider partnership within the UN system. Over time, there had been a shift towards civilian-led missions from military-led ones. The change came as the mandate shifted from military ceasefire to implementing peaceful and comprehensive peace agreement. Since missions became more peacebuilding oriented, role of civilians became more central. Their role also shifted from peripheral supportive roles to the core of contemporary peacekeeping and peacebuilding missions. Consequently, the number of civilians increased over the years. They now constitute 20 per cent of UN peacekeepers. These participants were international civilian staff, local staff and UN volunteers. They would perform many mandated tasks in peacekeeping operations, serve in support capacity, like in areas of finance, logistics, communication, technology and general administration to help the missions promote peace. The role of civilian affairs would be to engage and assist local civilian authorities and communities in an effort

to consolidate peace by restoring political, legal, economic and social infrastructures that would support democratic governance and economic development. The civil affairs component, when deployed, fulfilled this role successfully. Here he cited two examples: missions as diverse as those in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and also in Sierra Leone. Throughout the 1990s, growing complexity of peacekeeping mandate required specialization in the mission structure. Regarding transitional administration in mid-1990s, e.g., the UNTAES, the civil affairs component was in fact, responsible for everything, from reintegration to reconstruction. The same could be said of the mission in Kosovo and also in East Timor. The UN performed ever more specialized governmental functions at all administrative levels. In all spheres of civilian tasks, be it civil affairs or political affairs all positions were held by civilians and worked intensely alongside the military. With complexity of UN missions, role of civilians grew significantly.

While talking about the ways to increase the role of civilians in UN missions, General Sabbir said that Bangladesh is one of the largest troop contributing countries in UN missions. Capacities of Bangladesh Military since first participation in 1988 have grown manifold. Nowadays, it was one of the most sought after outfits to be deployed for the cause of peace in any part of the world. The military attained sufficient capacity to respond to call of peacekeeping. Bangladeshi civilian members are also participating in UN missions more than before. He opined that in comparison to the growing demand and due to undergoing of substantial changes in peace operations over the years, capacities of Bangladeshi civilian staffs require to increase. However, peacebuilding had become more important calling for more critical role of civilians. There were myriads of activities in present-day peace operations involving civilian experts. Demand for civilian recruitment and deployment would grow in mission areas in future. In UN operations, only the security part would be performed by the military while rest of the peacebuilding activities would be done by civilians, NGOs, lawyers, etc. The demand was growing and would continue to grow. A report suggested civilian participation could be increased by stronger national ownership with enhanced global partnership, greater efficiency for deploying expertise, also delivering with greater agility and capability, attaining higher. In this regard, national institutions or training centres could play vital role to qualify them. Of late, the Bangladesh Peacebuilding Centre had been established. When it becomes fully functional, it will also help prepare civilians who would be eager to work in UN missions. The host country could also develop capacity of civilians. Programmes in training centres should look into contemporary issues. With all these, institutions like universities, colleges can provide proper education for employment at the UN which could increase participation of civilians. Civilians could put them at UN roster and other organizations, so that in time of need, they could be taken into the UN fold.

He concluded by saying that UN peacekeeping began in 1948 but the UN had transformed and developed into various new forms. For adapting to the transformation, the military should not be exclusively depended upon; Bangladeshi civilians had a greater role to play in UN missions as for their multidimensional nature and characteristics, they were the softer outfit. Universities, training centres at home and abroad, International Association of Peace Training Centres (IAPTC), etc. can help build and develop capacity of civilians.

Open Discussion

Sanjida Bary, Student, University of Dhaka noted that war heroes are always men. As history is written by men, history itself is a biased word because it is called 'his'-'story' or history of men and it is never called 'her' story or history of women. She recited a poem of Bengali Poet Nirmalendu Gun and noted that women are tools of war and women and children are mostly affected and are victims of war. In this context, she raised a question that how one can be optimistic about women's role in the peacekeeping. She gave an example that in the human history Napoleon is always treated as a hero but nobody speaks about the heroism of Joan of Arch. She then asked as military has always been a domain of men, in this regard, how a woman can play vital role in military domain or peacebuilding.

Mr Salahud Din Ahmed, Former Member, Bangladesh Energy Regulatory Commission (BERC) asked a question to Lt Gen (Retd) Sabbir Ahmed regarding his contribution in promoting human rights while working with UN. He requested him to elaborate how he worked for human rights promotion.

S R Khan Orthy, Student, University of Dhaka, wanted to know about the strategic changes and the changing nature of the UN peacekeeping operations.

Responses by the Speakers

Major General A K M Abdur Rahman, ndc, psc
Director General, BIISS

In response to the question, **Major General A K M Abdur Rahman, ndc, psc** said that he did not agree with some of the statements although, all the examples given by the questioner are right. However, God has created men and women differently. Their capacity and strength are different. The nature of job that military basically does warrant dominance of men. He opined strength is not needed with regards to peacebuilding. It requires knowledge and participation rather than muscle. Nevertheless, there is a question of vulnerability. He said that he did not disagree that women and children are the victims of war. But war casualty mainly consists of men. However, the side effects of the war are felt by all. He opined that if women do not participate, this problem of suffering will remain more. He shared his own experience of when he was the Provost Marshal of the largest peacekeeping mission in the world. He has witnessed the challenges faced by the victims of sexual assault. He used to investigate all the criminal and sexual cases. It was very difficult for him to investigate the cases as they had only one African lady officer. Whenever he came across a victim, he could not ask her something which was not descent. If the number of women participations was high, things could have been much easier for him. He opined that increasing the number of participations will automatically decrease the number of incidents.

Lt Gen (Retd) Sabbir Ahmed, OSP, SGP, ndc, psc
Former Chief of General Staff, Bangladesh Army

In response to the question of strategic changes or changing nature of the UN peacekeeping operations, Lt Gen (Retd) Sabbir Ahmed, OSP, SGP, ndc, psc, noted that the UN Troops Supervision Organization of 1948 was merely replacement of the United Nations Observer for reporting and observing about what has been done. There were no further activities being done on the ground by any of the countries or the countries who agreed for peacekeeping operations. The UN headquarters and UNSC had to take decision in which way they would engage themselves to solve the crisis so that the Arab-Israel war does not take place. But as the time passed by, the notions of the countries or the big powers have also changed. In this regard, he gave an example of Mali. Strategic context of Mali is totally different. He referred to the natural resources of Mali and how it impacted its security and stability and, how the big powers target energy resources and want to keep the country under control. Due to strategic context and the colonial attitude of big powers, countries like Congo, Mali, Central African Republic, Niger and Algeria come to the focus of the big powers.

On human rights promotion, he noted that while serving as a peacekeeper he witnessed that the Croatian Army and the Serbian Army were in a conflict and there were two adjacent towns in Serbia and Croatia where the soldiers of respective countries took position. When the UN deployed troops, they made a buffer zone between these two forces. When the integration process started, the peacekeepers were in a fix about integration of mass people because people demanded to integrate with their relatives and wanted to go back to their broken houses. So, the peacekeepers took 'relative assessment scheme' and 'house assessment scheme'. In the process, peacekeepers gave detail reports on the condition of people's properties and also organized reunion of the relatives living in two parts which ultimately worked in human rights promotion of mass people. Nowadays, everyone including an individual peacekeeper is strategic, because a small mistake of a soldier can spoil the whole mission.

Remarks by the Chair

Ambassador Muhammad Zamir
*Commissioner, OIC Independent
Permanent Human Rights Commission and
Former Chief Information Commissioner of Bangladesh*

Ambassador Muhammad Zamir, Commissioner, OIC Independent Permanent Human Rights Commission and Former Chief Information Commissioner of Bangladesh started his speech by mentioning a story. The French Embassy was celebrating their national day and at the event the French Ambassador brought up the topic of migration and human rights. So, he told her that thank god France had allowed migration, otherwise they would not have reached the finals of the Football World Cup. If Europe had more migration than more European countries will be going to the top.

He then made some notations that he hoped all of the audience would agree on. He said that he was having a discussion with the Assistant Secretary of State of the United State on drone attacks. He had mentioned to her that when someone is thought to be a terrorist and a drone goes and attacks, the idea is to kill that alleged terrorist without giving him the chance of judicial defense at the court. In Afghanistan, over four thousand people who have been killed by drone attacks most of them are women and children. In Iraq, at the same period, the number of people killed was close to nine thousand. So, he had questioned the Assistant Secretary of State that when an US drone attacks a wedding ceremony and the family of the person targeted is killed, how can that action be defined under human right.

The second point that he brought up was that in Iraq a war has been carried out for a long time based on the claim that the Iraq had Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD). Subsequently, it was found that the claim was all false. He asked rhetorically if there was any judicial inquiry or any measures to bring those who had made the false acquisition to trial.

The third point that he made was about the fact that people always hear about justice being meted out to those who are suffering from conflict or ethnic cleansing or genocide. He said that he was involved personally in the drafting of the International Criminal Court Statute along with Kofi Annan. And when he was the ambassador in Rome in 1998 and the statute was signed Mr Annan had asked him to be the first person to sign the statute which he did. He then talked about what had happened in Bosnia. He said that looking back one can see that there was something called the Dayton Peace Agreement, in

which he was personally involved. Because he was also involved in the drafting of criminal court statute and was later going to be the Bangladeshi Ambassador to Bosnia, he was made to be involved in that. He then said a story about what had happened in there: there were a lot of policemen who had gone from Bangladesh to maintain the security who were supposed to be helped by Netherlands. And the Netherlands UN peacekeepers, who were in charge of guns and ammunitions, left during conflict and the poor Bangladeshi policemen were all killed. He again asked rhetorically if there was anything done to bring justice to them. He then said that somewhat justice was done because a case was brought to the court in Hague.

He then said that the reason he had brought out all those points is because currently Bangladesh is facing a situation where more than one million people of the Rohingya origin are staying inside its border. Technically the Rohingyas have been given some sort of status, they are not being treated as the refugees because they have not signed the refugee convention. So, Bangladesh is looking upon them as migrants who have been given safety, healthcare and are also being looked after. But he said that when he hears the NGOs talking about how the Rohingyas are not being looked after adequately or that they should be allowed to stay till they agree to go back voluntarily, he always asks them if they are so keen on them being looked after why the other states do not take them and look after themselves. He said that the Rohingya crisis is a problem that affects the whole world. One million more people will not have any significant impact on the large area of Canada, Australia and United States. He asked why Bangladesh is being asked to follow the rules of international migration when the other states are sending people back and not even allowing them to enter. He mentioned that the EU had to put some funds to Bosnia, a poor European country, because some of the refugees have managed to enter Bosnia. The refugees have nowhere to go in Europe because of the populist extreme right rising, which

has taken place in France, Austria, Hungary, Netherlands and Sweden. He opined that when the other countries ask Bangladesh to follow human rights, they should all follow themselves.

He said that what has been discussed on the Conference pertains to United Nations, human rights and freedom of expression. But at the same time there are some ethical aspects of exercising those freedoms. He opined that it is the duty of the parents to talk to their children about these issues. He mentioned about the reducing space of discussion in families which was very important particularly among states especially in terms of inter-faith dialogue. He gave the example of a human hand. All fingers of the hand are not created equally, but without any one of them, the palm cannot function to its optimum. So inter-faith dialogue is important for all and it must be done in a manner where there is space for inter-communal harmony and intra-cultural discussion. He then recited one of the poems he had written on God's creation:

"স্রষ্টা করে সৃষ্টি
কিন্তু তাতেও আছে কৃষ্টি
এটা আনে বৃষ্টি, আমাদের জীবনে"

(There is Beauty and Learning in the Creator's Creative Process,
Which Brings Meaning to our lives)

He then urged all of the audience to think about what has been discussed here and to observe and write, not only in Facebook, but in a journal one page a day. He said that if one can write a page a day, not more, not less; then by the end of the year there will be 365 pages of observation and that person will have sufficient materials for a book. He said that from his experience he knows that it can be done and if he can do it then anyone else can also do it.

Vote of Thanks

Major General A K M Abdur Rahman, ndc, psc
Director General, BIISS

In his vote of thanks, **Major General A K M Abdur Rahman, ndc, psc**, Director General, BIISS, stated that the vibrant discussion throughout the Conference will help in formulating a document. A book is intended to publish but they are in dilemma now regarding the questions and answers given by chairs and presenters during the open discussion. He ensured that some alternatives will be found. On behalf of BIISS, he extended his heartfelt gratitude to Dr Dipu Moni, MP, Chairman, Parliamentary Standing Committee on Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bangladesh Parliament for gracing the occasion as the Chief Guest and H E Mr Hiroyasu Izumi, Ambassador of Japan to Bangladesh for attending the Conference as the Special Guest. He extended special thanks to Japan Foundation for co-hosting the conference. He also extended sincere thanks and gratitude to the session chairs and paper presenters for their ensuing contribution to the conference. He expressed his heartiest gratitude to the learned audience for their presence despite other commitments

Edited by

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