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1970's catastrophe demonstrated how Bangabandhu became a beacon of hope for the mankind



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The Security World is being published with the primary purpose of promoting peace, security and international cooperation through analysis, policy dialogue and dissemination of information. We are also trying to focus on the contributions of our defense forces and law enforcement agencies in curbing terrorism and their role in the international arena to bring back peace and security. As there is no noteworthy publication to project these achievements, we believe the Security World will play a pivotal role in this regard.

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Transnational Threats Emanating Challenges for Border Management: Bangladesh Perspective

“To be called a sovereign nation; a nation has to be able to control its own borders. It is controlling your own destiny in a way, and we don’t control our own borders.” – Tom Tancredo

General Aziz Ahmed



and craft entering or exiting their territorial jurisdiction. Traditionally there have been various services and agencies involved in implementing border controls and management of border security” (Stefan 2009). However, recently there had been further significant developments and changes that have affected the way borders need to be managed in the 21st

century. Firstly, there is a qualitative change in the concept of state-centric security, the border had always been a central factor. “The border is the place where countries exercise their right to control the movement of goods, people,

and craft entering or exiting their territorial jurisdiction. Traditionally there have been various services and agencies involved in implementing border controls and management of border security” (Stefan 2009). However, recently there had been further significant developments and changes that have affected the way borders need to be managed in the 21st century. Firstly, there is a qualitative change in the concept of border. Secondly, as an outcome of globalization and an open market economy, the growth in travel and trade flows have demanded relative changes in the traditional border management approaches of the border management agencies. Thirdly; the present diversification and growing trends of transnational organized crimes (TOC) or threats have destabilizing effects on border management. Of these changes, the most pervasive one is the growing transnational threat and all other changes or challenges, indeed, remain hostage to this factor.

Transnational Threat is a key concern for the contemporary dynamics of security threats. “It involves the planning and execution of illegal business ventures by groups or networks of individuals working in more than one country” (Reuter 1995; Albanese 2004). “These criminal ►



People stand at the Burimari land border crossing in Lalmonirhat District, Bangladesh.

► groups use systematic violence and corruption to achieve their goals” (Finckenauer 2000). Although Transnational Threat has revived in nature and magnitude in the era of today’s globalization, yet it is not a new phenomenon. Transnational Threat prevail in the ancient history also in the form of forced slavery, piracy, or illegal trade across the border of a city-based state. However, it was not formally recognized until the first half of the 20th century when the world felt the need for organizing International Policing (Interpol) to deal with certain types of crimes that occur across the states.

Transnational Threat is not a domestic crime that remains confined within a particular local area. One of the main attributes that separate Transnational Threat from general domestic crime is its nature of trans-nationality. It is typically planned, organized, and conducted across the states or at least in more than one country. It is a non-military threat in nature whose primary objective is to earn financial benefit through illegal criminal business. It is organized or conducted

under a hierarchical organizational structure that is pervasive. Transnational Threat survives and prevails on the nexus and links developed with the corrupt segment of the government and the society. It substantially differs from terrorism. While the prime objective of transnational organized criminals is economic, the objective of terrorism is mostly political or ideological. However, both have strong nexus and maintain complementary supporting relation for pursuing their respective objectives.

Transnational Threats commonly includes smuggling, human trafficking, drug dwelling, illegal weapon trading, species trading, body parts or nuclear material trading, money laundering, cybercrime, etc. However, it can be categorized under three broad segments; crimes involving illicit goods and services such as smuggling, arms trafficking, etc. Crimes related to human and services such as human trafficking, forced sex, etc. and crimes involving penetration into the state system. Trends of transnational crimes in a particular area or region depend on several factors ►

- ▶ like geographic, demographic, political, socio-economic and cultural factors, etc. In South Asia or for that matter in Bangladesh the most common types of Transnational Threats are smuggling, drug trafficking, trafficking in person, illegal migration, money laundering, trafficking of arms and explosives, and the likes.

“Transnational security threats have raised serious concern among policymakers for several reasons. Firstly, the negative impact of such transnational issues is not confined to the territorial boundary of a state; rather, it spills over and affects other countries too. Secondly, transnational security threats have recently caused serious damage to the economic, social, and political development of a country. Thirdly, national-level legislation, and transnational collaborative mechanisms are inadequate to deal with most transnational threats decisively. Fourthly, weak and failing states are giving in to the ushering of new international criminals and terrorist networks. These criminal networks blur the territorial integrity of weakened economic and financial systems and undermine the democracy of a country” (Voronin 2000).

Many scholars opine that transnational security challenges are the unfortunate and unperceived by-products of globalization and the IT revolution. Globalization brought about a revolutionary economic, technological, and social advancement that led to an unprecedented era of beneficent international trade, migration, and communication around the world. However, such changes also proliferated the transnational threats in the form of diversified and increased international crime, terrorism, human and arms trafficking, environmental degradation and infectious diseases. Most regrettably, transitional criminal groups exploit the benefits of globalization. They take advantage of developed travel network, free trades, rapid money transfers, improved telecommunications, and computer links. Besides

globalization and unprecedented advancement in the IT sector, few other factors also contributed to the recent spread and diversification of transnational crimes. Power vacuum in Post-Cold War era and lack of previous balanced control on the international affair by rival superpowers offered leverage to Transnational Threat cartels to the harbor and spread around the conflict-prone areas and failed states. Liberalization of rules and regulations and provisioning of bulk and networked transportation to sustain the speed of globalization offered better scopes for Transnational Threat. The increased flow of migration paved the way for Transnational Organizational Crime gangs to coordinate and conduct crime around the globe. The spread of net-based financial transactions offered them the way to finance the crime without the physical transaction. All these dynamics and factors fueled the rapid growth of Transnational Threats in the Post-Cold War era.

Nations are nowadays alarmed to recognize transnational security issues as their top security challenges. Security practitioners around the world are also in the opinion that transnational threats may pose an even equal, if not more, long-term threat to state and regional security than inter-state conflict in the future era. The complexities involved in dealing with Transnational Threats derive from many factors. Being transnational, no single state law can try them alone. These crimes are conducted in many countries from outside the state boundary or being positioned into other countries. Transnational Threat cartels are also smarter in using modern technology and communication facilities in comparison to border security agencies of the least developed and developing world. They penetrate deep inside state mechanisms through corruption, damages the national economy and political institutions threatening the national security in the long run.



► The transnational threat is one of the major concerns of Bangladesh concerning its border management and overall national security. Bangladesh is facing the challenges of a host of transnational threats or crimes. Because of its geostrategic, geographic, demographic, socio-economic, cultural, and realities, trends of various transnational threats grew in and around Bangladesh. Smuggling, drug trafficking, trafficking of arms and ammunition, human trafficking, illegal migration, financial and cybercrimes are a few of the most significant trends of transnational crime prevailing in Bangladesh. These crimes pervasively threaten Bangladesh's economy and impede social and political development.

Bangladesh has a border of 4427 km almost surrounded by India except for the south and south-western part where it borders with the Bay of Bengal and Myanmar respectively. Its land border runs through plain lands, jungles, hills, and in some places along the river, which facilitate concealed routes for movement across the boundary. Its 720 km long coastline is not adequately guarded, allowing innumerable vessels to exit and enter that are easily exploited by smugglers and drug dealers either by force or money. Sea Ports are also devoid of modern technology and system. The three international airports at Dhaka, Chattogram, and Sylhet also lack modern surveillance, screening, and scanning facilities thus act as safer exit and entry points for transnational crimes in air space boundaries.

Bangladesh has stepped in the category of developing country from the least developed one. It bears enormous potentials for further economic development in the days to come in the future. As transnational threats impede the politico-socio-economic infrastructure of a nation pervasively, Bangladesh must adopt effective measures to counter the growing menace of transnational threats around its border. Bangladesh also bears

geo-strategically significance being situated in Indian Ocean Region at proximity to two contesting powers; China and India. It is the world's 8th most populous nation with 167.6 million people. It is also the fourth-largest Muslim nation in the world in terms of demographic strength. Hence, if unchecked, the long term detrimental impacts of transnational threats in Bangladesh would eventually bring severe consequences for the country and beyond.

Border management in the contemporary era has grown to be a critically challenging affair in the context of growing transnational threats. Bangladesh is also subjected to this growing threat due to its various geostrategic, regional, and domestic realities. Bangladesh mainly follows a traditional border management approach where BGB is the primary organization. Bangladesh Coast Guard, Bangladesh Customs, Department of Immigration and Passports, Department of Narcotics Control, Bangladesh Police, and other law enforcing agencies are also contributory elements of the border management system. All these agencies collectively form the border management system in Bangladesh with BGB at the center. BGB had long been securing our border in a praiseworthy manner. This organization had undergone many changes since its inception, and the current reform under BGB Act 2010 had been more significant in shaping her into an effective organization. Following the introduction of the BGB Act 2010, it's current and immediate past leadership toiled hard to transform BGB into an efficient border security force. However, BGB has its limitations in terms of organizational structure, strength, and modernization, which are further aggravated by multi-dimensional factors and dynamics. The Porous nature of the border, demographic and geographical realities, poor socio-economic condition, and weak infrastructure of the border area comes to the forefront. An ►

- effective institutional framework has not fostered strongly for coordination and cooperation with other border management agencies. Regional cooperation with neighbors and counterparts are also inadequate. All these dynamics and factors manifest critical challenges for the BGB and the border management system of Bangladesh against the dynamic and diversified transnational threats of recent times.

In the twenty-first century, globalization, the open market economy, free trade and commerce, soft border are the desired trends in the global economic domain. Today borders are more aligned with global trade flows than with national territories. This always demands quick and speedy transfer of man and material; ultimately demanding a free, open and smooth border. On the other hand, the concern for security urges to identify and control the people and activities that are allowed to cross national borders. “This emerging trend challenged the traditional border management imposed by the two-conflicting requirements of the speedy transnational flow of goods and tight national security” (Castells 1996). This has assumed further significance in the context of globalization in one hand and the proliferation of transnational threats on the other.

Thus, a continuous push and pull on border management is being emerged. Coaxed by the two-pronged need of economy and security, border management has grown to be a complex task today.

Today border management faces multiple objectives, many of which are contradictory, and each demands a unique solution based on its environment and culture. There is no universal practice. Thus, solutions must be tailored to some national circumstances. Nevertheless, many effective and efficient initiatives and practices are underway around the world. Good practices can always be analyzed to replicate their own systems.

Due to its crucial geopolitical location and rising economic potentiality, Bangladesh is disposed to a blended stature of both opportunity and transnational threats. Bangladesh needs to formulate a collective action plan in curbing transnational threats in collaboration with other regional efforts to allow the opportunities to flourish.

The challenges imposed by growing Transnational Threats get compounded by the complex characteristics of the Bangladesh border and the limitations of Border Guard Bangladesh and the existing border management system. Interaction and correlation of the challenges imposed by Transnational Threat, Bangladesh border and Border Guard Bangladesh (BGB) finally determine the nature and magnitude of the threat on the border management system of Bangladesh. To develop an efficient border management system for Bangladesh, necessary remedial measures and reforms required for Border Guard Bangladesh and the border management system for addressing the challenges posed by Transnational Threat, need to be ascertained.

Finally, according to Gerard McLinden, “the new agenda for better border management is something more than mere guarding or customs clearance. The new agenda includes seven key areas; global competition for foreign investment, awareness for outdated border formalities, processing for imports and exports, a multiplication of policy and procedural requirements, a proliferation of regional trading agreements and increased respect for the integrity and good governance, a heightened awareness of the need for customs and other border management agencies to play a more central national security role” (Gerard et al. 2010).

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Part-I

Political Economy of Reinventing Bangladesh Railway

Transition from Colonial System to the Sovereign, Economic, Technological, and Digital Solution

Dr. Jamaluddin Ahmed



Introduction: As can be seen, technology progress in the railways sector has been rather stagnant, in the last decade. The pace of growth inputs has not been able to keep up with the increase

in freight and passenger traffic. The running route km and track km, the maximum and average speeds of both passenger and freight trains, signalling and communication system, safety measures for operation, maximum axle loads, payload to tare ratio, etc. have almost remained static. In order to catch up with global standards, a leap forward is needed over the next two decades. A totally new mechanism of technology management and monitoring is required for implementing the identified technologies within the proposed time frame. Unfortunately, the structure of the Bangladesh Railways is not conducive

for fast technology development. The positive aspect, nonetheless, is the availability of all these technologies for purchase at a price. In the years to come, only an indigenous development approach is deemed sustainable. For successful development, one has to blend indigenous technology along with acquired global technology in select critical areas. This will speed up the implementation and milestones can be maintained. Key enabling technologies like high-speed passenger operation, heavy haul operation, higher axle load, lighter wagons, crashworthy coaches, communication-based train operation, and driver less operation, among others, will pave the way for developing many associated technologies. This will boost the rail industry in Bangladesh, and at some point in time, Bangladesh can reach at par with developed countries. The success of the identified technologies and development milestones will become realistic if adequate funds are made available in time and the work entrusted to appropriate agencies, both government and industry and monitored properly. Moving platforms at railway stations, wherein, there is no need to ►



Bangladesh Railway



stop the trains for getting in and getting out. This is something similar to Aerial fuelling of aircrafts or a cab getting attached to a cable car. Hotline maintenance of traction overhead equipment at 25 kV without the need for taking power block and traffic blocks. Though hotline maintenance techniques are available in normal high voltage transmission lines, this is unheard of in railways due to lower creep distances and railway track below. If hot line maintenance technique is adopted, there is no need to switch off the power.

Dave Donaldson (2010) in his paper 'Railroads of the Raj: Estimating the Impact of Transportation Infrastructure' reported his findings that railroads: (1) decreased trade costs and interregional

price gaps; (2) increased interregional and international trade; (3) eliminated the responsiveness of local prices to local productivity shocks (but increased the transmission of these shocks between regions); (4) increased the level of real income (but harmed neighboring regions without railroad access); (5) decreased the volatility of real income; and (6), a sufficient statistic for the effect of railroads on welfare in the model accounts for virtually all of the observed reduced-form impact of railroads on real income. I find similar results from an instrumental variable specification, no spurious effects from over 40,000 km of lines that were approved but never built, and tight bounds on the estimated impact of railroads. These re- ➤

► sults suggest that transportation infrastructure projects can improve welfare significantly, and do so because they allow regions to exploit gains from trade. The railroad network designed and built by the British government in India (then referred to as ‘the Raj’) brought dramatic change to the technology of trading there. Prior to the railroad age, bullocks carried most of India’s commodity trade on their backs, traveling no more than 30 km per day along India’s sparse network of dirt roads (Deloche 1994). By contrast, railroads could transport these same commodities 600 km in a day, and at much lower per unit distance freight rates. A new railroad link between two districts lowers their bilateral trade cost, allowing consumers to buy goods from the cheapest district, and producers to sell more of what they are best at producing. There are thousands of interacting product and factor markets in the model. But the analysis of this complex general equilibrium problem is tractable if production heterogeneity takes a convenient but plausible functional form, as shown by Eaton and Kortum (2002).

Dave Donaldson (2010) to guide his empirical analysis and developed a multi-region, multi-commodity, Ricardian trade model, where trade occurs at a cost. Because of geographical heterogeneity, regions have differing productivity levels across commodities, which creates incentives to trade to exploit comparative advantage. A new railroad link between two districts lowers their bilateral trade cost, allowing consumers to buy goods from the cheapest district, and producers to sell more of what they are best at producing. The model makes six predictions that drive my six-step empirical analysis (a) Inter-district price differences are equal to trade costs (in special cases): That is, if a commodity can be made in only one district (the ‘origin’) but is consumed in other districts (‘destinations’), then that commodity’s origin-destination price difference is

equal to its origin- destination trade cost. (b) Bilateral trade flows take the ‘gravity equation’ form: That is, holding constant exporter-and importer-specific effects, bilateral trade costs reduce bilateral trade flows. Dave Donaldson (2010) found out that railroad- driven reductions in trade costs increase bilateral trade flows, and show that the parameters estimated from the gravity equation identify his model. (a) Railroads reduce the responsiveness of prices to local productivity shocks: That is, a district’s prices are less responsive to its own productivity shocks when it is connected to the railroad network; however, a district’s prices are more responsive to any other district’s productivity shocks when these two districts are connected by a railroad line. (b) Railroads increase real income levels: That is, when a district is connected to the railroad network its real income rises; however, improvements in the railroad network that by-pass a district reduce the district’s real income (a negative spillover effect). (c) Railroads decrease real income volatility: When a district is connected to the railroad network, its real income is less responsive to stochastic productivity shocks in the district (which reduces volatility) and (d) There exists a sufficient statistic for the welfare gains from railroads: That is, despite the complexity of the model’s general equilibrium relationships, the impact of the railroad network on welfare in a district is captured by one variable: the share of that district’s expenditure that it sources from itself.

Objective of this article is to rewind the critical role of Railway Transportation, its economic gravity for an independent country, Bangladesh, different from the colonial era when the role Railway was to serve the purpose of colonial rulers-Political, Economic, Administration, and Military interest. In an independent country, economic development, social inclusion as facilitator for equity and justice get in the priority list. To figure out and highlight the economic pillars of ►

► Railway Transport, the technical, security, and economic performance and provision for reduced transport cost-time-congestion, and efficient running and comparative cost benefits. The comparative experiences of other countries have been produced to recast BR strategy in terms of management of technology, pricing, financing, application of ICT to make the organization as commercial entity and attract lenders and foreign and local investors and evaluate efficiency of capital. To assess the status of technology and availability of resources needed for high-speed operation. To address at the security issues how technology can be utilized to monitor terrorist threats seriously, energy, environment and power supply related issues in running for high-speed train. To sketch a roadmap of Railway Technology for Bangladesh to serve increasingly growing passengers during 2031-41 which need to be estimated for technology capacity. How BR take benefits of ongoing digitization of economic and financial system. In addition, how BR can exploit signaling and traffic management for the safe and efficient running and maintenance and communication system and control issues taking benefits through digitization of all business processes.

Section one: Transportation in Colonial India

Prior to the railroad era, goods transport within India took place on roads, rivers, and coastal shipping routes. The bulk of inland travel was carried by bullocks, along the road network. Bullocks were employed either as 'pack bullocks' (which carried goods strapped to their backs and usually traveled directly over pasture land), or 'cart bullocks' (which pulled a cart containing goods and traveled along improved roads). Camels were also used in sandy areas. Horses, ponies, donkeys, mules and elephants were less common forms of animal-powered transportation. On the best road surfaces and during optimal weather conditions, cart bullocks could cover 20-30 km per day. During the colonial period, India's economy was pre-

dominantly agricultural, with agriculture (Chandler (1977) and Attack, Haines, and Margo (2008) constituting an estimated 66 percent of GDP in 1900 (Heston 1983). However, high-quality roads were extremely sparse and the roads that did exist were virtually impassable in the monsoon season (Deloche 1994). Pack bullocks were more versatile than cart bullocks, but their freight rates were three times higher per unit distance and weight (Derbyshire 1985).

Water transport was far superior to road transport, but it was only feasible on the Brahmaputra, (Stone 1984, Whitcombe 1983) Ganges and Indus river systems. In optimal conditions, downstream river traffic (with additional oar power Steamboats had periods of success in the colonial era, but were severely limited in scope by Bangladesh's seasonal and shifting rivers (Derbyshire 1985) could cover 65 km per day; upstream traffic needed to be towed from the banks and struggled to cover 15 km per day. Extensive river travel was impossible in the rainy monsoon months, or the dry summer months, and piracy was a serious hazard (Deloche 1995). Coastal shipping, however, was perennially available along India's long coastline. This form of shipping was increasingly steam-powered post-1840. Steamships were fast, covering over 100 km per day, but they could only service major ports. The bulk of this trade, both before and after the railroads, therefore consisted of shipments between the major ports (Naidu 1936). Against this backdrop of costly and slow internal transportation, the appealing prospect of rail-road transportation in India was discussed as early as 1832 (Sanyal 1930)—though it was not until 1853 that the first track was actually laid. From the outset, railroad transport proved to be far superior to road, river or coastal transport (Banerjee 1966). Railroads were capable of traveling up to 600 km per day and they offered this superior speed on predictable timetables, throughout all months of the year, without any risk of piracy (Johnson 1963). ►

- Railroad freight rates were also considerably cheaper: 4-5, 2-4, and 1.5-3 times cheaper than road, river and coastal travel, respectively (Deloche 1994, Deloche 1995, Derbyshire 1985, Hurd 1975).

1.1 Railroad Line Placement Decisions. Throughout the history of India's railroads, all railroad line placement decisions were made by the Government of India. It is widely accepted that the Government had three motives for building railroads: military, commercial, and humanitarian—in that order of priority (Thorner 1950, Macpherson 1955, Headrick 1988). In 1853, Lord Dalhousie (head of the Government of India) wrote an internal document to the East India Company's Court of Directors that sketched rail-road policy in Bangladesh for decades to come. Military motivations for railroad-building appeared on virtually every page of this document. For example, from the introduction: "A single glance...will suffice to show how immeasurable are the political advantages to be derived from the system of internal communication, which would admit of full intelligence of every event being transmitted to the Government...and would enable the Government to bring the main bulk of its military strength to bear upon any given point in as many days as it would now require months, and to an extent which at present is physically impossible." (House of Commons Papers 1853). Moreover, these motivations gained new momentum when the 1857 'mutiny' highlighted the importance of military communications (Headrick 1988). Dalhousie's minute described five 'trunk lines' that would connect India's five major provincial capitals along direct routes and maximize the "political advantages" of a railroad network. Between 1853 and 1869, all of Dalhousie's trunk lines were built—but not without significant debate over how best to connect the provincial capitals. Dalhousie and Major Kennedy, India's Chief Engineer, spent over a decade discussing and

surveying (at great cost) their competing, but very different, proposals for a pan-Indian network (Davidson 1868, Settari 1999). This debate indicates the vicissitudes of railroad planning in India and it was repeated many times by different actors in Indian railroad history. Collecting planning documents from a number of railroad expansion proposals that, like Kennedy's proposal, were debated and surveyed at length, but were never actually built. As discussed, these plans in a placebo strategy to check that unbuilt lines display no spurious 'impact' on the district economies in which they were nearly built. By 1876, railroad expansion had slowed significantly in India. But railroads benefited from new enthusiasm in the wake of the 1880 Famine Commission, which recommended railroads as a means for future famine prevention. The Commission's recommendations for specific railroad lines formed the bedrock on which more detailed plans over the ensuing 15 years were built. A second consequence of the 1880 Famine Commission report, is that all railroad proposals from 1883 to 1904 were required to be designated according to their intended purpose of establishing Railway in Colonial interest was dedicated to exploitation of economic, Political, Administrative discrimination and based on divide and rule Indians for 190 years under British Rule. The events of 1857 'mutiny' created need for Indian Railway, facilitated for World War-I, lost interest during WWII, leaving India in 1947, created the vacuum in the Indian and Pakistani Railway. In the changing paradigm, Bangladesh being part of Pakistan was again discriminated by the rulers of Islamabad should now put serious attention on the economics of Railway network in sovereign independent Country.

1.2 Transportation and the economy: Types of transport impacts- Timing of the development varies as the impacts of transportation can precede, occur during or take place after economic development. The lag, concomitant and lead im- ►

► pacts make it difficult to separate the specific contributions of transport to development. Each case study appears to be specific to a set of timing circumstances that are difficult to replicate elsewhere. Types of impacts vary considerably. The spectrum of impacts ranges from the positive through the permissive to the negative. In some cases transportation impacts can promote, in others they may hinder economic development in a region. In many cases, few, if any, direct linkages could be clearly established.

1st wave (1785–1845). Leaned on innovations such as water power, textiles and iron. The beginning of the industrial revolution was mainly focusing on simple commodities such as clothes and tools. The conventional maritime technology relying on sail ships was perfected, supporting the creation of large colonial/trading empires, mainly by Great Britain, France, the Netherlands and Spain. Significant inland waterway systems were also constructed. The costs of production and transportation were significantly reduced. 2nd wave (1845–1900). Involved the massive application of coal as a source of energy, mainly through the steam engine. This induced the development of rail transport systems, opening new markets and giving access to a wider array of resources. The steamship had a similar impact for maritime transportation and permitted expanded commercial opportunities in global trade.

3rd wave (1900–50). Electrification was a major economic change as it permitted the usage of a variety of machines and appliances and permitted the development of urban transit systems (subways and tramways). Another significant improvement was the internal combustion engine, around which the whole automotive industry was created and expanded the mobility of passengers and freight.

4th wave (1950–90). The post-Second World War period represented significant industrial changes with new materials such as plastics (petrochemi-

cals) and new sectors such as electronics (television). The jet engine expanded the aviation industry towards the mass market and mobility could be realized nationally and globally. 5th wave (1990–2020?). The current wave mainly relies on information systems, which have tremendously modified the transactional environment with new methods of communication and more efficient forms of management of production and distribution systems (logistics). This spawned new industries related to personal computing devices, mainly computer manufacturing and software programming, and more recently e-commerce as information processing converged with telecommunications.

As time progressed, the lapse between each wave got shorter. For instance, the rest wave lasted 60 years while the fourth wave lasted 40 years. This rejects a growing potential for innovation and the capacity of economic systems to derive commercial opportunities from an innovation once it has been adopted. Innovations are no longer the result of individual efforts, but are organized and concerted actions whose results are rapidly diffused. It is thus expected that the fifth wave will last about 30 years. Transport, as a technology, typically follows a path of experimentation, introduction, adoption and diffusion and, finally, obsolescence, each of which has an impact on the rate of economic development. In this cyclic behaviour a high level of benefits and productivity is realized in the early phase while later phases face diminishing returns. Containerization is a relevant example of such a diffusion behaviour. As most innovations are eventually abandoned, many technologies go through what can be called a “hype phase” with unrealistic expectations. In addition, transport modes and infrastructures are depreciating assets that constantly require maintenance and upgrades. At some point, their useful lifespan is exceeded and the vehicle must be retired or the infrastructure rebuilt. Thus, transport investments for their amortization must consider ►

► **KEY FACTORS IN THE CREATION OF ADDED VALUE AND COMPETITIVE ADVANTAGE IN DIGITAL ECONOMY ERA**

INDUSTRIAL ERA	DIGITAL ECONOMY ERA (INDUSTRY 4.0)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Products • Value chains (linear) • Power of controlling supply chain • Supply-side economies of scale • Physical assets and capital depreciation • Diminishing returns • Market valuations driven by return on assets • Growth organic or via mergers and acquisitions • GDP as economic measurement 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Platforms • Ecosystems (non-linear) • Power of optimizing ecosystems • Demand-side economies of scale • Digital assets and innovation capital • Distribution power law and network effects • Market valuations driven by ecosystems • Growth driven by asymmetric and network effects • New measures, digital density and 'free goods'

Source: Accenture Technology Vision 2016, p. 43. <https://www.accenture.com/pl-pl/insight-technology-trends-2016> (Accessed on 10.01.2018).
 Jana Pieriegud (2018) Department of Transport SGH Warsaw School of Economics and Siemens Sp. z o.o. – Mobility Division ProKolej Foundation

THE EVOLUTION OF THE INTERNET

AT THE CONNECTIVITY AND INFRASTRUCTURE LEVEL	AT THE CONTENT AND SERVICE LEVEL
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Internet of Computers (IoC) • Internet of Devices (IoD) • Internet of Services (IoS) • Internet of Things (IoT) • Industrial Internet of Things (IIoT) • Internet of Everything (IoE) • Internet of Things, Services and People (IoTSP) • Internet of Robotic Things (IoRT) • Internet of Emotional Things (IoET) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Web 1.0: The simple web – reading only • Web 2.0: The social and co-created web – reading and writing • Web 3.0: The semantic and smart web – it combines human and increasingly available machine intelligence to make information more relevant, timely and accessible • Web 4.0: The mobile, machine and objective web – a mobile space where users and real and virtual objects are integrated together to create value • Web 5.0: The sensory-emotive web – where people are able to move the web from an emotionally flat environment to a space of rich interactions

Source: adapted from: Raj, P., Raman, A.C. (2017). The Internet of Things: Enabling Technologies, Platforms, and Use Cases, CRC Press, p. 9. Karimil, A. (2008). What is your Web 5.0 Strategy? Journal of Business Strategy, Vol. 29, Issue 6.

the lifespan of the concerned mode or infrastructure (Jean-Paul Rodrigue with Claude Comtois and Brian Slack (2013).

1.2 Social inclusion in railway transport as a facilitator for equity and economic development

1.2.1 Economic Pillars of Railway Transportation- Railway transport is not only a core means of EU passenger and freight transport, but also has extensive impacts on the EU economy. These impacts include direct, indirect, induced and wider economic effects. The EU railway sector, including both train operation and railway infrastructure management, directly employs 1.06 million

people and directly generates € 66 billion in gross value added. Its direct contribution to EU GDP is higher than that of air or water transport. Including the indirect effects generated through supplier relations and investments in rail infrastructure leads to a total of 2.3 million persons employed and to € 142 billion in gross value added. This corresponds to approximately 1.1 % of EU GDP. In addition, induced effects ("income effects"), which are based on the spending of persons directly or indirectly employed by the railway sector are estimated to contribute an additional range of 575,000–1,725,000 persons employed and an additional € 35.5 – € 106.5 billion in gross value added. The EU railway sector has ►

► Social inclusion in railway transport as a facilitator for equity and economic development

Social inclusion in railway transport as a facilitator for equity and economic development. Railway contribute to social inclusion and provide mobility for all. PROVIDING JOBS IN TIMES OF CRISIS. Positive impact on youth employment beyond the national context

Social and Employment Pillar of Railway Transport

Railway transport provides access to every European citizen and thereby aims to guarantee **mobility for all**. This includes providing an alternative to car travel together with providing high capacity solutions for congested areas. The railway sector **upholds jobs security in times of crisis**. In spite of the pressures caused by the 2008 crisis, railway companies have retained existing staff members and hired new ones. Furthermore, the demographic development within railway companies shows an upcoming need to hire young people. Especially in times of strong youth unemployment, railway operators can make a positive contribution thanks to their large vocational and educational training programmes.

Conclusion & EU Policy: Railway transport is shown to be a major pillar of the European Union economy and an important contributor to the development of a smarter, more sustainable and more competitive economy. Including both direct and indirect effects generated through supplier relations and investments in infrastructure, the basic economic footprint of the railway sector is estimated at **2.3 million persons employed and € 142 billion gross value added**. This amounts to about 1.1 % of EU GDP.

The railway transport sector directly **contributes more to EU GDP than air or water transport**. Moreover, **labour productivity growth** within the rail transport sector has **outperformed the EU economy**. The railway transport sector's function as connector of European people and businesses, as well as its innovative power and sustainable character are of priceless importance to European policy makers. Strong economic advantages that have led to more innovation, combined with being able to build on a strong local market and exploit well-known environmental benefits have brought the EU rail sector to a world leading position.

In conclusion, rail transport can...

• answer key policy objectives of Europe...

Rail transport can play an important role in the overarching Europe 2020 strategy 94: A strategy towards Smart, Sustainable and Inclusive growth. It provides answers on all three pillars: economic, environmental, social. At the same time it fulfils a crucial role in creating a sustainable transport system in Europe as described in the European Commission's 2011 Transport White Paper. 95

• foster economic growth and jobs...

In recent years there has been a revitalization of rail transport. Rail transport is not just about bringing people from A to B, it also creates employment in many other areas. Furthermore, it also supports the development of a highly competitive rail supply industry able to occupy a world leadership position. Plus creating attractive cities and places to work, live and do business.

• contribute to greening Europe's transport system, and ...

Rail transport helps to reduce congestion of cities and to develop a transport system with low CO2 emissions.

In conclusion, rail transport can...

• answer key policy objectives of Europe...

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Adopted: Aschauer, D.A. (1989) Is public expenditure productive?, Journal of Monetary Economics, 23 (2), pp. 177-200

strongly improved its performance over the last decade. Concerning labor productivity, it even outperformed the overall performance of the EU economy. Furthermore, the competitive position of railway transport has improved in terms of transport costs, productivity, and the quality of rail transport services. In addition, there are also wider economic benefits from rail infrastructure investments which are the result of reduced transport times and improved quality. Such effects help cities to grow and diversify their businesses,

create clusters, increase the value of real estate, and expand labor markets. The strength of railway transport in Europe also has a strong positive impact on the European railway supply industry which has a global leadership position.

1.2.2 Sustainable rail transportation- Transportation, as a core component supporting the interactions and the development of socioeconomic systems, has also been the object of much consideration of to what extent it is sustainable: The capacity to support the mobility needs of people,

Economic Pillars of Railway Transportation

Railway transport is not only a core means of EU passenger and freight transport, but also has extensive impacts on the EU economy. These impacts include direct, indirect, induced and wider economic effects.

The EU railway sector, so including both train operation and railway infrastructure management, directly employs 1.06 million people and directly generates € 66 billion in gross value added. Its direct contribution to EU GDP is higher than that of air or water transport.

Including the indirect effects generated through supplier relations and investments in rail infrastructure leads to a total of 2.3 million persons employed and to € 142 billion in gross value added. This corresponds to approximately 1.1 % of EU GDP.

In addition, induced effects ("economic effects"), which are based on the spending of persons directly or indirectly employed by the railway sector are estimated to contribute an additional range of 575,000 – 1,725,000 persons employed and an additional € 35.5 – € 106.5 billion in gross value added.

The EU railway sector has strongly improved its performance over the last decade. Concerning labour productivity it even outperformed the overall performance of the EU economy. Furthermore, the competitive position of railway transport has improved in terms of transport costs, productivity, and the quality of rail transport services.

In addition there are also wider economic benefits from rail infrastructure investments which are the result of reduced transport times and improved quality. Such effects help cities to grow and diversify their businesses, create clusters, increase the value of real estate, and expand labour markets.

The strength of railway transport in Europe also has a strong positive impact on the European railway supply industry which has a global leadership position.

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http://ec.europa.eu/europe2020/europe-2020-in-a-nutshell/targets/index_en.htm#95 COM(2011) 144 final White Paper, Roadmap to a Single European Transport Area – Towards a competitive and resource efficient transport system

- freight and information in a manner that is the least damaging to the environment. The concept of sustainable transportation is intricately linked with the development of sustainable transport modes, infrastructures and logistics. Three major dimensions are considered for such a purpose:

Environment. A reduction of the environmental impacts of transportation is a likely strategy for sustainability. Transportation significantly contributes to harmful emissions, noise and climate changes. Vehicles are becoming more environmentally efficient but there are more of them around. An improvement of the land use impacts of transportation, especially the impacts of infrastructure construction and maintenance, is also a strategic goal to achieve. The transportation system is also a generator of wastes (vehicles, parts, packaging, etc.) that must be reduced.

Economy. Transportation is a factor of economic growth and development. A sustainable strategy would aim to efficiently use transportation for the purpose of growth and for the creation of jobs. Transportation should also have a fair pricing strategy, meaning that users are bearing the full costs (direct and indirect) of their usage of the transport system. A transport system where competition is fair and open is likely to promote modal choice and efficiency. In a system where transport is a public or private monopoly, price distortions and misallocations of capital are created which in the long run are likely to render the system unsustainable. **Society.** Sustainable transportation should benefit society. It should be safe, should not impair human health and should minimize disturbance on communities. Access and equity are also two important principles as transportation should promote the access to goods and services for as many people as possible. Mitigation concerns the improvement of productivity and efficiency of existing modes, terminals and managerial approaches so that environmental externalities are reduced. They tend to be short to medium term strategies.

Adaptation is a change in the level of use and the market share of respective modes to better reject a long-term trend, such as higher energy prices and stricter environmental regulations. Environmental sustainability represents a growing area of responsibility for transport companies, one that is forcing them to acquire expertise in environmental management. The most important challenge for the industry is to implement environmentally sustainable transport within competitive market structures while coping with changes in transport demand and improving transport supply. The issue of sustainable transport thus remains elusive.

1.2.3 Transport technical and economic performance indicators: Performance indicators are widely used by geographers and economists to empirically assess the technical performance of differing transport modes, in other words their capacity to move goods or passengers around. They are ratios since a value such as traffic or capacity does not express a performance but the ratio of traffic over capacity is a performance indicator. Technical performance should not be confused with economic performance, which mostly relates to how much transport output (e.g. traffic) can be supported with specific inputs (e.g. capital or labour). Performance measures are relative, implying that they mean little by themselves and must be interpreted within a comparative framework, which can be across space (e.g. systems or jurisdictions) or across time (e.g. monthly variations). Basic technical performance calculations can be particularly useful for the analysis of global network performance as well as for modal comparison, analysis and evaluation by bridging both physical attributes (length, distance, configuration, etc.) and time-based attributes (punctuality, reliability, etc.) of networks. Some indicators are currently used to measure the technical performance of freight and passenger transport: Passenger or freight density; Mean distance travelled; Mean per capita ton output (freight) or mean ►

► tion cycle. Economic impact indicators help to show the relationship between transport systems and the economy as well as information on the economic weight of this type of activity. Geographers should be familiar with basic econometric impact indexes. The relationship between transport systems and their larger economic frame becomes clear when looking at the restructuring patterns that carriers and rms are currently making. Structural mutations, best illustrated by the popularity of just-in-time practices, are fuelled by two opposing yet effective forces: transporters seek to achieve economies of scale while having to conform to an increasingly “customized” demand.

Multiple Economic Benefits of Rail Line Infrastructure Projects-Infrastructure projects, related to the development of the railway transport sector, are a further source of wider economic benefits. However, despite common acknowledgement of their existence, it is much harder to quantify the effects of infrastructure projects on the economy as a whole. In particular, economic effects of infrastructure projects are often strongly dependent on the exact project and its geographical location. Accordingly, rather than offering quantitative estimates, this slide uses selected case studies to provide indications of the importance of the wider economic benefits of infrastructure projects.

1.2.3 Reduced Transport Cost-Time-Congestion: An economy has positive impact of rail infrastructure in terms of reduced transport cost-time-congestion through leisure passenger, Business passengers Fight, Commuters, Goods Carriers, Increased domestic/ international tourism, Improved Labor Markets, Effective Size Labor Relocation, Improved Competitiveness, More Efficient Markets, Agglomeration impacts, Real Estate Impacts, and Urban Development impact Station Area Development. Effects of infrastructure are highly context-specific (Aschauer, 1989); perspective of agglomeration effects (Fujita and Mori, 1997, Mori, 1997); Transport improvements help cities grow and diversify (Chapman,

DG., Noland. RB , 2011), More workers willing to commute (Venables, A.J. (2007); Murphy, L. (2001); Daniels, R., Mulley, C. (2011): scale, diversity and competition (Glaeser et al. (1992) and De Groot et al. (2008); Enhancing *effective* diversity, scale and competition: the role of transport infrastructure in urban agglomeration effects plays out through intra- and inter-region connectivity, which determines firms’ market potential, and through intra-region interaction among economic agents that impact on the spatial scale of urban areas and the realization of external economies of scales. When transport quality in terms of inter-regional connectivity is taken into account, then agglomeration effects occur not just at a localized level but may also spread across multiple regions. Small cities can ‘borrow the size’ of large cities nearby through proper infrastructure, allowing them to benefit from agglomeration effects generated by large and nearby cities (e.g., Alonso, 1973; Phelps et al., 2001; Phelps and Ozawa, 2003; Shearmur and Polese, 2005). Firm productivity resulting from increases in urbanization (Melo et al. (2009); Local benefits increase by about 20 %: (Alonso, W. (1973); Phelps, N.A. et al. (2001); Phelps, N. Ozawa, T. (2003); Shearmur, R. and M. Polese (2005). Optimal distance to a railway station of around 250 metres, at which point the negative effects of noise and congestion are balanced by the positive effects of accessibility (Koster et al. (2013) and Debrezion et al. (2006). Real estate values increased around HSR train stations (Bonnafous (1987). Importance of Railway transport: Direct effects created by operations within railway transport. Indirect effects created through upstream supplier relations. Induced effects, also often called “income effects”, reflect the jobs and value-added created as a result of spending by those workers who, directly or indirectly, earn incomes from railway transport. Wider effects cover broader economic outcomes linked to rail transport activities and infrastructure. These include labour and product ►

► market effects caused by lower transport times and/or costs, as well as agglomeration effects (spatial concentration effects) e.g. local business development, local real estates markets. Number of business travellers increased substantially after the introduction of the TGV.⁴³ This increase in traffic has been most visible on medium distances of 200-600 kilometres. There was, however, a substantial divergence between passenger growths in each direction of the line. Journeys from Lyon to Paris increased by 144 %, while the opposite direction experienced an increase of 54 % in the same timeframe [Albalade, D., Germa, B. (2012); Sands, B. D. (1993); Bonnafous, A. (1987); Marti Hennenberg, J. (2000); Mannone, V. (1995); Bazin S. et al. (2006); Vickerman, Roger (1997): Shift from air travel to rail transport: Air travel between Paris and Lyon halved between 1980 and 1984; and fell by 20 % between Paris and Geneva; Passenger volume: increased between Paris and Lyon from 12.5 million in 1980 to 22.9 million in 1992; Increased business and leisure travel: journeys from Lyon to Paris increased by 144 %, while the inverse direction experienced an increase of 54 % in the same timeframe; 14 million tourists per year use the TGV Mediterranée to travel to the South of France; Real estate prices: Increased around HSR train stations two years prior and especially two years after introduction of HSR; especially strong within a perimeter of 15 minutes walking distance; Lyon Part Dieu had the most pronounced effect on real estate prices; Overall gain for the public: after 20 years of operation for the Rhone-Alpes regions it is estimated to be € 1.02 billion (in 2003 prices) which means a social rate of return of 15.4 %; socio-economic benefit for the TGV Mediterranée is estimated to be 12.2 %. [THE ECONOMIC FOOTPRINT OF RAILWAY TRANSPORT IN EUROPE]. Final report Client: Community of European Railway and Infrastructure Companies (CER) Brussels, October 2014].

1.2.4 Social inclusion in railway transport as a facilitator for equity and economic development- Social inclusion in railway transport as a facilitator for equity and economic development; Railways contribute to social inclusion and provide mobility for all; PROVIDING JOBS IN TIMES OF CRISIS; Positive impact on youth employment beyond the national context.

Social and Employment Pillar of Railway Transport: Railway transport provides access to every European citizen and thereby aims to guarantee mobility for all. This includes providing an alternative to car travel together with providing high-capacity solutions for congested areas. The railway sector upholds jobs security in times of crisis. In spite of the pressures caused by the 2008 crisis, railway companies have retained existing staff members and hired new ones. Furthermore, the demographic development within railway companies shows an upcoming need to hire young people. Especially in times of strong youth unemployment, railway operators can make a positive contribution thanks to their large vocational and educational training programmes. Conclusion & EU Policy: Railway transport is shown to be a major pillar of the European Union economy and an important contributor to the development of a smarter, more sustainable and more competitive economy. Including both direct and indirect effects generated through supplier relations and investments in infrastructure, the basic economic footprint of the railway sector is estimated at 2.3 million persons employed and €142 billion gross value added. This amounts to about 1.1% of EU GDP. The railway transport sector directly contributes more to EU GDP than air or water transport. Moreover, labor productivity growth within the rail transport sector has outperformed the EU economy. The railway transport sector's function as connector of European people and businesses, as well as its innovative power and sustainable character are of priceless ►

► importance to European policy makers. Strong economic advantages that have led to more innovation, combined with being able to build on a strong local market and exploit well-known environmental benefits have brought the EU rail sector to a world leading position. In conclusion, rail transport can... • • answer key policy objectives of Europe...

Rail transport can play an important role in the overarching Europe 2020 strategy: A strategy towards Smart, Sustainable and Inclusive growth. It provides answers on all three pillars: economic, environmental, social.

At the same time, it fulfils a crucial role in creating a sustainable transport system in Europe as described in the European Commission's 2011 Transport White Paper. • • foster economic growth and jobs.... In recent years there has been a revitalization of rail transport. Rail transport is not just about bringing people from A to B, it also creates employment in many other areas. Furthermore, it also supports the development of a highly competitive rail supply industry able to occupy a world leadership position. Plus creating attractive cities and places to work, live and do business. • • contribute to greening Europe's transport system, and Rail transport helps to reduce congestion of cities and to develop a transport system with low CO2 emissions.

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creates employment in many other areas. Furthermore, it also supports the development of a highly competitive rail supply industry able to occupy a world leadership position. Plus creating attractive cities and places to work, live and do business. • • contribute to greening Europe's transport system, and Rail transport helps to reduce congestion of cities and to develop a transport system with low CO2 emissions (Aschaur DA 1989).

1.2.5 Economic Features of Railways.... Railway transport is a subsector of the wider transport industry so it shares many key economic features with other transport modes. This article identifies common features, and notes characteristics that are unique to railways. All modes of transport provide services using vehicles, vessels, or aircraft that rely on a substantial infrastructure network comprising routes, terminals, and controls for the movement of those vehicles. However, railways are unique in that the same entity often provides *both* railway services *and* network infrastructure. Most countries prefer this approach, while others prefer to separate service provision from network infrastructure. Reasons for these choices are explored.

For all modes of transport, neither infrastructure nor service capacity can be stored—the *unused* train path, aircraft take-off slot, or shipping berth is lost. Similarly, when trains, ships, aircraft, or trucks travel with only partial loads, the *un-used* capacity is lost. Therefore, higher vehicle productivity is crucial to better commercial performance for transport service providers, just as higher infrastructure utilization is crucial to better commercial performance for the infrastructure provider, for ocean shipping, the route 'network' is free and has vast capacity, but infrastructure utilization is still critical to performance for port providers. For vertically integrated railways, the drive for higher vehicle productivity coexists in a single entity with the drive for higher infrastructure productivity. ►

► In all modes of transport, differences arise in how much competition exists in the market for the transport infrastructure (e.g., the road) and the market for the transport service (e.g., the trucking company). Transport infrastructure investment tends to be location-specific and physically fixed or difficult to move. It is also ‘lumpy’ (provided in indivisible increments for a range of possible output) so it exhibits economies of density—declining marginal cost—as the intensity of use increases. These various characteristics endow most transport infrastructure, including rail networks, with elements of a natural monopoly. The opposite is true in transport services, where head-to-head competition is the norm within all modes of transport that compete with rail services for freight and passenger business—roads, airlines, barging, and international shipping. Historically, most countries have chosen policies that restrict competition between rail companies. Now, more countries are choosing policies that permit competition in the rail freight sector, and more rarely, in the inter-city passenger services sector. Competition, together with capacity that cannot be stored, points to the importance of service design, marketing strategies, and pricing policies to maintain and increase capacity utilization. Crucially, railway transport should be viewed as a service industry of differentiated products tailored to specific markets, rather than a ‘utility.’ Railway transport has often been considered to be a ‘utility’ like water, gas, or electricity supply, which has led to undesirable policy and management outcomes.

Finally, all modes of transport have external effects on the environment. The costs of impacts such as noise, air, land and water pollution, accidents, and greenhouse gas emissions are rarely paid by the entities creating them. These impacts differ by mode, country, and circumstances and affect overall transport systems sustainability and transport policies. Well-loaded freight trains have

proven to incur significantly lower external costs than road or air freight transport; and well-loaded passenger trains incur lower external costs than road transport (cars or buses) or airlines. Railways’ general and specific economic characteristics have many policy and management consequences that are explored in later sections of this toolkit. This section discusses how these characteristics drive the structure of railway costs and the principles of rail pricing; both are crucial to the financial sustainability of railways.

2.0 Railway Cost Structures....

Generally, costs are classified into rail network infrastructure, train operations, and corporate overheads. These infrastructure costs have a component that is essentially fixed or invariant with the level of infrastructure usage; this component can vary significantly relative to other factors such as engineering standards, terrain, age, climate, and management efficiency and a component that is variable with traffic levels over the long-term. The proportion of the ‘fixed’ cost component will differ by lines and traffic levels but rarely is estimated at less than 70 percent of total infrastructure costs, except on the busiest lines. The variable component, should vary over the long term by traffic level, but is often ‘sticky’ (at least downward) in the short and medium term, which are typically used to formulate business plans. Numerous economic studies have demonstrated that railways exhibit *economies of density*—their long-run average cost curve slopes downward. Unit costs decline as output rises on the railway line as the fixed cost of providing track is spread over more and more traffic units [Caves, Christiansen, and Tretheway, August 1980), Griliches (1972), Friedlaender and Spady (MIT Press, 1981), Harris (1977)].

These economies of density are substantial on their own. But when combined with the impossibility of storing unused train paths, they create a convincing case that railway infrastructure networks’ ►

► financial sustainability depends critically on high traffic volumes. Good railway network economics requires high infrastructure utilization—the higher the utilization, the better the infrastructure economics. Except at the point when capacity is reached and incremental traffic requires a major capacity enhancement; but once the capacity increment is made, the general rule usually again applies. This is true whether the infrastructure network is part of a vertically integrated railway, or provided by a separate rail infrastructure authority or company. Vertical separation of train operations from railway infrastructure is insufficient to improve railway financial sustainability, although it may facilitate other policies that help. However, a vertically separated track authority or company will face much higher fixed costs across its total business than a vertically integrated railway company. This has implications for track access pricing that is explored. The infrastructure cost curve is largely fixed in relation to traffic volume, but can be shifted downwards by management actions that improve efficiency in infrastructure provision and maintenance. A company exhibits *economies of scale* if its long run average cost curve slopes downwards as the size of the company increases. Economic studies suggest that economies of scale may exist when railways are very small; realizing further economies of scale is harder when the railways become larger perhaps because of greater management complexity and loss of corporate agility [Caves, Christiansen and Tretheway, (1980); Griliches, (1972), Charney, Sidhu and Due, (1977), Friedlaender and Spady, (MIT Press, 1981)].

2.1 Train operating costs....

Train operating costs include: (i) diesel fuel or electrical energy; (ii) locomotive capital depreciation or leasing cost; (iii) locomotive maintenance; (iv) driving crew; (v) on-board crew for passenger trains; (vi) rolling stock wagons or railcars depreciation or leasing cost; (vii) rolling stock maintenance; and

(viii) terminal operations; and (ix) commercial costs (passenger ticketing, freight booking, etc.). Most train operating costs vary substantially in the long run with traffic volume, although some joint costs may exist. In general, greater traffic volume requires more trains and more operational resources. In the shorter term, this relationship is not proportional, except perhaps for fuel/electrical energy. In the medium term, say 6-12 months in a well-run railway, managers can adjust operating resources such as crew costs, locomotive and rolling stock requirements, or maintenance to match demand volumes. Train operating costs are variable with traffic levels, but the overall operating cost/output curve can be shifted downward by management action. In particular, three variables affect how train operating strategy translates into train operating economies: higher net-to-tare ratio for freight services or higher passengers-per-car; more time in commercial service per unit of equipment; and larger passenger and freight train sizes—providing the market's required minimum service frequency is met.

2.1.1 Corporate overhead costs....

These include most railway headquarters functions such as Board and executive management, finance, legal, security, and personnel functions. More complex and bureaucratic railway structures that are less commercially streamlined require higher levels of costly 'corporate glue' to remain cohesive. Over the long-term, with good management, corporate overheads can vary with the broad scale of the railway. In public sector railways, adjustments to overhead costs tend to occur in sporadic upheavals caused by organizational restructuring, rather than through gradual changes that adapt to the traffic task. However, management action can reduce corporate overheads dramatically by de-centralizing decision making to business units, controlling finances and budgets, seeking opportunities for competitive outsourcing ►

- ▶ of corporate services, and generally running a leaner corporate entity.

2.1.2 Costs and comparative advantage.... Railways cost structures are at their most highly competitive when railways can operate large trains, well-loaded with traffic, over a heavily used network, by organizations with a lean and market-oriented corporate management. Train size and payload provide train operating economies; train density plus heavy network use provide infrastructure economies; and corporate structure yields administrative overhead economies. Although this seems obvious, many countries maintain railway policies and business models that openly defy this reality.

2.1.3 Costing Railway Services and Traffics....

A railway service is most competitive when it delivers a better price and service mix to its customers than its competitors. Costs incurred in producing these services will dictate the lowest possible prices that will sustain the overall financial sustainability of the railway entity. Therefore, cost levels are critical, and a well-run railway will devote considerable attention to measuring and controlling costs. Railway financial accounts will reveal total costs, which are essential to analyze overall financial viability. Benchmarking total costs against other similar railways will highlight areas for seeking cost efficiencies. However, most national railways provide a range of freight and passenger services. For freight customers, services might be tailored, for example, to bulk freight customers, container forwarders, and general freight. Passenger services might include inter-city, regional and sub-urban services. Each broad freight or passenger group will contain multiple market segments. In a well-run railway, commercial managers need to know costs and financial performance for each market segment, disaggregated by route and other factors, sometimes even a specific train or freight customer. In a multi-product railway, these costs cannot be derived directly from

general corporate accounts. They require application of costing techniques. But understanding rail business management and pricing requires a general understanding of the main costing concepts. Two of the concepts are *common costs* and *joint costs*, which can be either fixed or variable with regard to traffic levels.

2.1.4 Common costs....

In the railway industry, most common costs are associated with infrastructure and corporate overhead functions that support all users and services. Lines for mixed-use railways are usually built, maintained, and controlled to standards that can serve all types of passenger and freight trains. Most new high-speed passenger lines and some heavy-haul freight lines are for dedicated use. . Some design elements and some management characteristics are more specific to either passenger services or freight services, but most infrastructure network costs are common among all users on a mixed-use, multi-product railway. If costs were variable with usage, they could be attributed to specific services that are provided with facility capacity, or to specific traffic. However, most rail infrastructure network costs are common and fixed, so a 'relative usage' formulation is technically arbitrary, not based on cost causality. Also, many operations costs are 'technically common' such as train crews or locomotives, but over the medium term, these costs vary—more traffic equals more trains, more locomotives, more crews. Therefore, these costs can be attributed to specific services and traffic segments.

To be continued.....

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Potentials of cooperation in “Hydropower Power” from Nepal to Bangladesh

Dr. Banshidhar Mishra



Bangladesh-Nepal bilateral relationship found new pace in August 2018 with the signing of an energy cooperation agreement to oversee investment, development and trade in hydroelec-

tricity between the two countries. Under this arrangement, Bangladesh will import up to 9,000 Mega Watt (MW) of hydropower from Nepal by 2040.

Bangladesh and Nepal being close and cordial friendly neighboring countries are engaged in talks on ‘Cooperation in the Field of Power Sector since pretty long time. On the basis of repeatedly expressed interest in developing hydropower projects in Nepal by mutual collaboration the two countries formally signed an agreement in October 2016 for the first time to develop several hydropower plants capable of generating more than 9000 Mega Watt (MW). The then commerce minister Romi Gauchan Thakali and his Bangladeshi counterpart Minister Hon. Tofail Ahmed signed the pact on the sidelines of the ninth South Asian Economic Summit. But the plan failed to move forward due to lack of coordination between the Commerce and Energy ministries.

Again on August 10, 2018 Nepal’s Energy Minister Barsha Man Pun and Bangladesh’s State Minister for Power, Energy and Mineral Resources, Nasrul Hamid, signed an agreement to jointly develop hydropower plants, transmission lines and build capacity for the two countries’ energy sector after a two-day meeting in Kathmandu. They discussed investments from both governments as well as the private sector in the area of hydropower in Nepal. The agreement also set up a Joint Working Group (JWG) to facilitate cooperation and a Joint Steering Committee (JSC) to review the progress of the JWG. The two committees are tasked to meet regularly and expedite the implementation of the agreement. The JSC has met twice, and the JWG has conducted several rounds of deliberations. On June 21, 2019 Nepal and Bangladesh agreed to make joint investments in hydropower projects signing again an agreement by Nepal’s Energy Secretary Dinesh Ghimire and his Bangladeshi counterpart Ahmad Kaikaus during the Joint Steering Committee meeting at Cox Bazaar Bangladesh. The Second meeting of the Joint Technical Team (JTT) was held from 9 to 10 December 2019 in Kathmandu.

In a latest development before covid 19 pandemic State Minister for Power, Energy and Mineral Resources of Peoples Republic of Bangladesh, Hon. Nasrul Hamid participated as a key note speaker in the two-day ‘Power Summit-2019’ held in Kat- ➤

- ▶ mandu on November 21-22, 2019 with an aim to serve as a platform for regional cooperation on hydropower generation and electricity trade organized by IPPAN (Independent Power Producers' Association of Nepal) in collaboration of Government of Nepal, Ministry of Energy and Water Resources.

There are several reasons for Bangladesh's interest in importing power from Nepal. The first is obviously to meet the ever-increasing demand to support its industrial growth. The second is to diversify the power-mix so that over-reliance on natural gas is minimised. Studies have shown that Bangladesh has ample reserves of high-quality coal. However, Bangladesh's recent inclination to massively expand its coal-based power plants is not equally welcomed by environmentalists and concerned citizens groups. Moreover, environmental and resettlement issues have surfaced, prompting the government to shift its focus on renewable energies.

While the eroding stock of natural gas, which is mostly used for electricity generation in Bangladesh, puts pressure on the price of electricity due to the variable input cost, economists see a reliable supply of hydropower from Nepal. Moreover, being a strategic product, electricity import from multifarious sources would strengthen Bangladesh's regional outlook by minimising its over-dependence on a specific entity. In this way, power purchase from Nepal would offer some additional economic and strategic incentives to Bangladesh, on top of providing a cushion for energy reliability.

Bangladesh willingness to invest in 20 hydropower projects in Nepal and Nepalese government's response.

Nepal Government is committed to implement all agreements and understandings done in past to hydropower projects and export the electricity produced by these schemes to Bangladesh. The two countries have formed a joint technical team



Middle Marsyangdi Hydroelectric Power Plant, Udipur, Nepal.

to identify potential hydropower projects for development. The joint team will pick out bankable projects and recommend them to the respective governments. The two governments will then construct the projects with bilateral investment. The Energy Ministry of Nepal had included the projects ensuring at least one in each Province (Federal Democratic Republic of Nepal is having Seven Provinces, 77 Districts and 753 Local Governments). The whitepaper issued by Nepal's Finance Ministry had included 962 MW capacity holding Tamor reservoir, 800 MW Dudhkoshi project which has a reservoir, 725 MW Upper Arun, 450 MW Kimathanka Arun, 679 MW Lower Arun. Likewise, Sunkoshi-II 1,110 MW, Sunkoshi-III 536 MW, Tamakoshi-V 101 MW, Khimti Shivalaya 500 MW and Kokhajor Reservoir 111 MW also are included in the then issued whitepaper. The whitepaper had enlisted a total of 20 Hydropower projects.

Bangladesh proposal for importing about 500 MW electricity from GMR

In an important development GMR Energy and the concerned authority of the Government of Bangladesh have signed a Power Purchase Agreement (PPA) to purchase 500 megawatts Hydro Electricity from the Upper Karnali Hydro Electric Project in Nepal. Thus GMR Energy, an Indian company developing the 900 MW export-oriented hydropower project, is the first company to export Nepal's hydropower energy to Bangladesh. The import will be coursed through ▶

- dedicated transmission lines connected with the Indian grid. Nepal has facilitated the deal and is committed to ensure all legal procedure for the export as Nepal is set to receive 27% free equity and 12% free energy from the project. In a recent development the Government of Nepal has given the Nepal Electricity Authority (NEA) approval to sell electricity to Bangladesh and India.

Nepal urges Bangladesh to Invest in its Hydropower

Minister of Energy, Water Resources and Irrigation urged Bangladesh for the Investment in Nepal's Hydropower sector to Bangladesh and its private sector at the farewell meeting of Ms. Mashfee Binte Shams, then Bangladesh Ambassador to Nepal on July 22, 2020. He underscored the investment friendly environment of Nepal's energy sector .

Talks between Nepal, India and Bangladesh on using the Indian grid to transfer electricity from Nepal to Bangladesh

Nepal's energy export to Bangladesh has become possible after India amended its cross-border power trading regulation in December last year as per the continued request by Nepal in the Indo- Nepal Secretary level meetings since long time, paving the way for power producers in Nepal to sell energy not only to India but to other countries as well.

India's Cross-Border Trade of Electricity Regulations, 2019 has a provision that 'the Transmission Planning Agency of India in consultation with the transmission planning agency of the neighboring country shall grant access to the participating entities to use cross-border transmission link for cross-border trade of electricity.

Seeing this development it has already been agreed that Nepal and Bangladesh will use Indian infrastructures for the immediate purpose. Both the nations have come over the idea of building a transmission line via India as India released a new transnational electricity supply master plan which further facilitates the aim set by the two nations.

Conclusion

The 21st century is the age of shared prosperity. The fragrance of prosperity spreads through co-operation and connectivity. Shying away from this reality benefits none. The people in this region are eagerly waiting for collaborative concrete actions.

Regional organisations like SAARC, BBIN and BIMSTEC can play a vital role in creating a common energy corridor that results in huge economic benefits for all the neighbouring countries. Although SAARC has not delivered as envisioned by the founders up until now,

Their idea of cooperation has become more relevant in recent years. Bangladesh, India and Nepal are not only member states in all of the three forums but they also openly embrace the policy of liberalisation. Given their common participation in multilateral fora like the WTO, there should be no reasons to block the common interest of these three historically, culturally and politically friendly neighbours.

Further step towards energy cooperation should be the immediate signing of a tripartite agreement among Bangladesh, India and Nepal. A broader framework should be designed that encompasses private investment, public sector participation, cross-border transmission line construction, R & D and technology transfer, especially in the renewables, and sector-specific training and development programmes.

Since Nepal is observing Political Stability after the promulgation of the Constitution on September 20 in 2015 we can be optimistic about the collaboration in developing hydropower projects in Nepal being implemented soon.

Dr. Banshidhar Mishra, *Ambassador of Nepal to the People's Republic of Bangladesh.*

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China: A Top Performer In Tackling Climate Change

Li Jiming



Five years ago, world leaders showed utmost political resolve and wisdom to adopt the Paris Agreement on climate change. Since then, the implementation of the agreement has re-

ceived extensive international support and participation. However, we have also seen some people inexorably renouncing climate change as a “hoax” and refusing to take their share of responsibility, in spite of repeated warnings from scientists around the world. As a result, the global climate agenda has also suffered some major setbacks and there was, at one time, a pessimistic view that the world had passed the point of no return.

But recent months have seen a turn of direction in that pessimism, right after a series of announcements made by Chinese President Xi Jin-

ping in the past few months. A new analysis by the Climate Action Tracker suggests the goals of the UN Paris climate agreement are getting “within reach” after it looked at new climate promises from China, along with other nations.

China has always been a top performer in tackling climate change. Back in 2018, the country successfully reduced its carbon-emissions-per-GDP-unit by nearly 46 percent from levels in 2005, surpassing the 40 to 45 percent goal it previously set for 2020. So what have it come up with this time?

The Latest Commitments of China

In this September, President Xi announced that China would scale up its nationally determined contributions and adopt more vigorous policies and measures to peak carbon dioxide emissions before 2030 and achieve carbon neutrality before 2060. The announcement, made at a critical moment in the implementation of the Paris Agreement by a major economy such as China, had ►

► sent ripples throughout the international community.

Soon afterwards, when attending the Climate Ambition Summit on 12 December 2020, President Xi further specified some of China's climate targets for 2030: China will lower its carbon dioxide emissions per unit of GDP by over 65 percent from the 2005 level, increase the share of non-fossil fuels in primary energy consumption to around 25 percent, increase the forest stock volume by 6 billion cubic meters from the 2005 level, and bring its total installed capacity of wind and solar power to over 1.2 billion kilowatts.

Also in the December summit, President Xi disclosed more details about China's commitment to countering climate change, mainly in 3 proposals:

First, he drew attention to the need to close ranks and make new advances in climate governance that features cooperation and win-win, for no one can be aloof in meeting the climate challenge and that unilateralism will get us nowhere. Only by upholding multilateralism, unity and cooperation can we deliver shared benefits and win-win for all nations. China welcomes all countries' support for the Paris Agreement and their greater contribution to tackling climate change.

Second, he called for all to raise ambition and foster a new architecture of climate governance where every party does its part. Following the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities, all countries need to maximize actions in light of their respective national circumstances and capabilities. At the same time, developed countries need to scale up support for developing countries in financing, technology and capacity building.

Third, he pointed out we need to boost confi-



dence and pursue a new approach to climate governance that highlights green recovery. “Mountains and rivers green are mountains of silver and gold.” It is important to encourage green, low-carbon ways of life and production, and seek development opportunities and impetus from green development.

The recent announcements marked an important new milestone, which implied that the fight against climate change has become a central priority for China irrespective of the steps taken by other countries, including the United States. In other words, China is setting out to shake up its climate governance not as a move to seek credits from the international community or to build up global leadership, but as a self-motivated expedition in pursuit of what it terms as an “ecological civilization”.

Ecological Civilization and New Development Philosophy

While it has been made part of the lexicon of the ruling Communist Party of China, and a key pillar for the country's development philosophy, the phrase “ecological civilization” has been widely labeled by western media as China's own brand of environmentalism. I'd say it is close enough yet still not accurate. ►►

- It is true that China has deliberately sought to differentiate its approach from traditional Western notions of liberal environmentalism. By underscoring the economic importance of environmental action, the phrase “ecological civilization” implies a coordination between environmental protection and economic development, as evidenced by president Xi’s regular pronouncement that “clear waters and green mountains are as valuable as mountains of gold and silver”, a phrase he first used in 2005 when he was the Party Secretary in Zhejiang province.

As I mentioned in one of my previous articles in this series, “The Philosophy of Ecological Civilization”, the concept of ecological civilization was written into the Chinese Constitution in 2018 and in the master blueprint of its national development philosophy, making China probably the only country in the world to do so.

Some of the Actions Taken

Even before making such explicit announcements, China’s determination in climate governance had been visible through its concrete actions and substantial progress. We don’t need to start by looking further away than Yunnan, my hometown province whose economy is almost as large as Malaysia, where the energy composition has undergone major shifts in recent years, leaning heavily towards renewable energy. As present, the province gets 85% of its power from renewable sources, dominantly from hydropower with over 70 million kilowatts of installed capacity, and also in other forms such as wind power and biomass. Worldwide, it is already one of the leading players in green energy development.

Other examples include lithium battery, the rechargeable batteries that used to power everything from mobile phones to new energy vehicles. With its rapid rise in popularity due to the battery’s growing importance in sustainable and

more environmentally-friendly technologies, China is now leading the way in both market supply chains and technological innovations. For example, in 2019, China manufactured 73% of the world’s lithium-ion battery cells.

In another closed related field, the electronic vehicles (EV), China built the industry domestically from scratch, only to become the world’s largest market and manufacturer of EV in a little over a decade. In 2019, more than 1.2 million passenger EVs were sold in the Chinese market alone, accounting for nearly half of the world’s annual total. In the same year, the Chinese Ministry of Industry and Information Technology announced that new energy vehicles would represent 25% of overall vehicle sales by 2025.

From natural based solutions to carbon sinks, from policy making to technology innovations, examples for China’s actions in improving the climate governance are too many to be included all in this one article. But I wish to share one more case here on the development of China’s solar industry. China has been investing heavily in solar power generation and photovoltaic (PV) manufacturing over the past decade, and is now supplying over 80% of global PV products. Its massive production scale and new technologies have also driven the PV costs to go down remarkably, making solar in fact the cheapest source of energy over fossil fuels. Though solar power still makes up only 3% in the country’s overall energy structure, the percentage is expected to rise rapidly in the following years thanks to ever-falling solar price.

Bangladesh and Global Climate Change

As Hon’ble Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina acutely pointed out in her September article published on The Financial Times, “we face a planetary emergency, a triple crisis of climate, health ►

► and nature” and that no one is immune to the consequence of climate change. And the Prime Minister was certainly right when she wrote “only together can we tackle global crises”, as is shown in the case of COVID-19. She stressed that Bangladesh plans to prioritize a green recovery from the pandemic, for jobs of the future are as important, and called for world leaders to build up global consensus and take decisive actions.



Though being one of the most climate vulnerable countries, Bangladesh is also one of the best prepared by “building sea walls, planting mangrove forests, embedding resilience in all governmental work”. As China is increasingly committed to climate governance and green development, there is much our two countries could collaborate on in the relevant areas, like in solar and wind energy, as we work towards a common solution for a cleaner, greener and safer world.

Tough Goals, Strong Commitment

China’s pledge to realize carbon neutrality by 2060 would go a long way in helping keep global temperatures from rising more than 1.5°C by the end of the century, but this undertaking does not come easy. Quite the opposite, the ambitious climate goal will require a massive overhaul of China’s energy mix. It could potentially mean that the 1.4 billion people in China will need to completely rearrange the way they consume energy and the way they live.

But as President Xi made it clear, “addressing climate change and implementation of sustainable development is not what we are asked to do, but what we really want to do and we will do well”. Out of a sense of responsibility for the humanity and our only home planet, China is determined to do what needs to be done. Guided by the new development philosophy, China will promote greener economic and social development in all respects while pursuing high-quality development. We will take solid steps to implement the targets just announced, and contribute even more to tackling the global climate challenge.

There is a Chinese poem that reads, “Heaven does not speak and it alternates the four seasons; Earth does not speak and it nurtures all things.” Nature may not speak directly in words, but it constantly communicates to us in its own sophisticated way, if only we are careful enough to notice. Climate change is nature’s own way to tell us the gravity of the situation our planet is now facing. So let us take the message, act fast, and work together towards the goals outlined in the Paris Agreement before it is too late.

Li Jiming is the Chinese Ambassador to Bangladesh.

New Legal Pathway to Bangladeshi Migrants to Italy

Rabb Majumder

Italian Ambassador to Bangladesh Enrico Nunziata in an exclusive interview with The Security World informed that Italy has enlisted Bangladesh, among 30 other non EU-Countries, as eligible to send workers for seasonal and non-seasonal work. A decree of the Presidency of the Council of Ministers of Italian Republic has been published on 12 October in the Official Journal (G.U. no.252, 12.10.2020).

According to Ambassador, this is an important new legal pathway open to Bangladeshi migrants, after almost eight years of its suspension, in addition to family reunion or study visas.

He stated that, it is a deliverable of last February meeting held in Rome between the Honorable President of the Council of Ministers of the Italian Republic, Giuseppe Conte, and the Honorable Prime Minister of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, Sheikh Hasina.

The Ambassador added that, such an achievement has been possible also because of the implementation of the Standard Operating Procedures between EU and Bangladesh on return and reintegration of irregular migrants.

Thanks to such a decree around 30,850 non-EU workers seasonal and non-seasonal and self-em-

ployed can potentially enter into Italy. How many Bangladeshis can be recruited through this system cannot be predicted since quotas are open also to other nationalities, he continued.

The Ambassador disclosed that, Italy hosts some 148,000 registered Bangladeshis. Under an amnesty program, Italy has regularized this year at least 12,746 undocumented Bangladeshis showing to have a contract in the agricultural sector or domestic work one.

The Ambassador said, family reunification moreover is a way through which Bangladeshi community in Italy is increasing every year. In 2013, there were 111,223 Bangladeshis that increased to 147,872 in 2019. He stated that, after 10 years of ►



Ambassador Enrico Nunziata



Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina speaks with Italian Ambassador to Bangladesh Enrico Nunziata at her office.

► regular work and income, they can become eventually Italian citizens. Up to the Brexit many of them used to move to UK after having got the Italian citizenship. The Italian community in UK has indeed a large and very well organized diaspora of Bangladeshi origin nationals. At the Italian Embassy in Dhaka more than 500 registered Italian nationals are double citizens.

The Ambassador further mentioned that, many of the Bangladeshi in Italy work in touristic, agricultural or domestic work sectors but many others run their own business and all are increasingly integrated into the Italian market economy and society. It is also interesting noting that more than 5000 Bangladeshi in Italy are employed in the ship building sector, a valuable resource in possible cooperation between Italy and Bangladesh in the shipbuilding industry and infrastructure.

Bangladesh first started immigrating to Italy in

the 1980's. Between late 1989 and mid 1990 number of Bangladeshis living in Rome increased from 200-300 by a estimated twenty fold to become the largest Bangladeshis community in continental Europe.

Ambassador Enrico Nunziata, a career diplomat and an awardee of the tittle of knight of the Italian Republic in 2006 has been serving Bangladesh since 2019 as Italian Ambassador to Bangladesh. Born in San Born in San Gennaro Vesuviano (Napoli) on the 6th of December, 1970 was graduated from the Eastern University in Political Science in 1993. Before coming to Dhaka as Italian Ambassador, Enrico had served many countries as a diplomat. He was Director General for Italians abroad and Migration Policies, Charge d'affairs and Ambassador to Chisinau and Consul General in Moscow. ■

Dr. Kamal Talks on Bangabandhu's Home Coming, Constitution and Commonwealth



Biography: Hossain, Dr. Kamal. 1937. Educated at the University of Notre Dame (AB, 1955) and the University of Oxford (BA, 1957; BCL, 1958; DPhil, International Law, 1964). Member of Parliament, Bangladesh, 1972-75. Chairman of the Constitution-Drafting Committee, Bangladesh, 1972. Minister of Law, 1972-73. Minister of Petroleum and Minerals, 1974. Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1973-75. International Consultant at Clifford Chance, 1977-2001. President of the Supreme Court Bar Association, Bangladesh, 1990-91. UN Special Rapporteur on Afghanistan, 1998-2003. Founder of the Law Firm Dr Kamal Hossain and Associates, Dhaka.

Dr. Sue Onslow

SO: This is Sue Onslow talking to Dr Kamal Hossain at the Oxford and Cambridge Club in London. Sir, thank you very much indeed for agreeing to take part in the Commonwealth Oral Histories project. I wonder if you could please begin by reflecting on your view of the Commonwealth and the Commonwealth Secretary General's particular assistance at the time

of international crisis, leading up to the independence of Bangladesh in 1971.

KH: Now, it was a very high profile role that the Commonwealth played. It was after the nine month military operations were over and the task of building the new state started. Recognition started to come in in early December. The military chapters were from 26 March to 16 Decem- ➤

► ber. On 16 December, the Pakistan forces surrendered and the process of recognition – which had already started in early December – accelerated. Sheikh Mujib, our first and founding President was in prison at the time in Pakistan, as was I. We both flew out together to London. We arrived here on, I think, 7 January 1972. That was our initial formal contact with the British government. We met Mr Edward Heath on that day. I think it was the 7th or 8th of January. Mr Harold Wilson was the Leader of the Opposition and he expressed solidarity. I don't think we met anyone from the Commonwealth in the course of that transit through London, but it was interesting that the very strong support we had received from Britain was expressed by the fact that Mr Wilson was possibly our first visitor, and Mr Heath, who was away in Chequers, came back the same evening. He received us at 10 Downing Street and was very warm. It was quite melodramatic, the way we came, because Pakistan said they would fly us out. We said we wanted a destination which was acceptable to us. The moment the possibility of London appeared, we jumped at it.

SO: Why not Delhi?

KH: Oh, yes, that's a relevant point. We wanted to go to Dhaka by the shortest possible route, but because of the hostilities that had gone on until December, Indian air space was closed for Pakistani aircraft. Now, I had said, "Alright, why don't we take a UN plane or a Red Cross plane?" And they said, "No, we want to take you on one of our planes" – Pakistan International Airlines – "and we can't fly over India, so choose some destination which would be acceptable." We said, "Any neutral country will be fine." The moment the possibility of London was presented, we just seized it and said that would be best, because many people who come out of exile to participate in the diplomatic efforts in support of



Bangladesh were resident there, including the person who became our President.

SO: In deciding to come to London, had you made prior contacts with the British government?

KH: The melodramatic part comes in there if you are to consider how we came out of prison, and when Mr [Zulfikar Ali] Bhutto came to see Sheikh Mujib. That is the humorous part of it. When he came to this place where Sheikh Mujib was in detention, Sheikh Mujib said, "Have you been brought here in detention as well?" He said, "No, I'm the President." He said, "But how could you be? I got twice the number of seats in the central Parliament. How could you...?" He said, "Oh, right, you please take over the presidency." He said, "No, jokes apart, I want to get back to Bangladesh as quickly as possible." That's when this negotiation started. Oh, then he said, "I believe Kamal Hossain is also in prison somewhere, so would you arrange for him to be brought here." That's how on the 28th of December I came out of jail. I had been in for about nine months and was brought to where Sheikh Mujib was – which was a sort of guest house in the police academy, fifty miles out of Islamabad. That's where he said, "Now look, I've arranged for us to get to Bangladesh by the quickest means possible." I was engaging with the person who was effectively the Foreign Minister, saying, "Look, we need to get to Bangladesh as quickly as possible." Then this whole issue came about we can't fly over India and so on. To cut it short, when the London possibility was presented, we ►

► immediately accepted that. Now, this was all done with very little disclosure. I think on 5 January, Mr Bhutto addressed a public meeting where he said, “Yes, it has been decided in principle that Sheikh Mujib will now return to Bangladesh,” not mentioning at all the route or the means. There was a lot of suspense everywhere as to when he was coming, where he was coming from. We were then briefed that the plane from Pakistan would take off and only when it was approaching London – say, one or two hours before actually landing – a message would be given from the air to the British authorities, the British government.

SO: Ah, so they had very short notice; very little warning.

KH: That’s right. That’s why I was said it was quite dramatic. When we landed, it was quite moving, because we were then being directed to the VIP area and the British bobby on duty – all of 6ft tall – took a step forward and told Sheikh Mujib, “Sir, we are very happy to see you. We have been praying for you.” It was so moving.

SO: That just took my words away, listening to you saying that.

KH: It was so moving to have someone who is normally otherwise statuesque expressing that kind of emotion. Then, when we stepped in, there was an announcement: “Is Sheikh Mujib here? Sheikh Mujibur Rahman? Would someone see if he is there? There’s a phone call for him.” So, I was asked to take the phone call. The voice at the other end said, “I’m Iain Sutherland from the Foreign Office.” Now, he’s someone I had met in Dhaka. He subsequently became Sir Iain Sutherland, Ambassador to the Soviet Union. I think he became a very senior person in the Foreign Office in due course. At that stage, I had known him because he had come to Dhaka early in 1971. When I said, “I’m Kamal

Hossain,” he said, “Do you remember me? I had come to Dhaka in February.” I said, “Yes, I remember. I don’t know if you remember me?” He said, “Yes, I do remember you. Is Sheikh Mujib really here?” I said, “Yes, we are. This was the arrangement – this announcement that you would be informed a couple of hours before the plane,” and I said, “That’s exactly what happened.” Then he said, “We weren’t sure whether it was a practical joke or not. I mean, he is really here?” I said, “Yes, he’s really here.” He said, “Well, that’s a relief to hear that. I had made contingency arrangements. I have asked for a car to come which would enable me to reach the airport in about 40 minutes or so. I’m to inform you that the British government will be receiving Sheikh Mujib as the head of government and as head of state, and all protocol will be observed. I’m coming out personally to convey this to him and we’ll take it from there.” I immediately mentioned it to Sheikh Mujib and he said, “Tell them we want to contact our people here.”

The person who was effectively heading our whole diplomatic campaign was Justice Abu Sayeed Chowdhury, who was a judge of the High Court of the then-East Pakistan and also Vice Chancellor of the University of Dhaka. Interestingly, he had come for a Commonwealth conference. Before he left for the conference – it must have been a Vice Chancellor’s conference, it was an education-related conference – I had been asked to give him a file of papers of what had gone on, the negotiations before the military operations started. The idea was for some kind of negotiated transfer of power within a constitutional arrangement which was acceptable to us.

This possibility was kept dangling, but we began to realise towards the end they were just taking time, because I think the idea was to impose a military solution. The last week I remember coming back and saying, “I think they’re killing time be- ►

► cause there has been much talking, just to prolong the discussion.” I had said on the last day that the former Chief Justice was negotiating on the other side, on the legal issues. I said, “Why are we losing so much time? The situation is getting more and more tense. Violent eruptions could begin.” The former Chief Justice said, “Well, when do you think we should do it?” I said, “We should have done it the day before yesterday, and completed the process.” This was 24 March, and we said, “Let’s meet tomorrow, on the 25th.” I said, “Let’s meet over breakfast and finalise the text and place it before the President and Sheikh Mujib.” He showed an indication to agree, but the general who was participating was the President’s military secretary and said, “No, we’ll inform Kamal Hosain on the telephone if we can sit tomorrow.” That telephone call never came, and then I left home and Sheikh Mujib was arrested on the night of 25 March. I was arrested four days later and both of us were flown to different prisons in Pakistan. That was a bit of a flashback.

Then, coming forward, I said to the Foreign Office official, Iain Sutherland, [that] we want to contact Justice Chowdhury, who was heading our mission. Sutherland said, “Well, you see, he’s already left for Dhaka.” They said, “Who’s the next person?” He suggested the person who was the Deputy High Commissioner: “He’s here.” I said, “Can we get him on the phone?” He passed on the phone number, which I called and got him. He said, “I’m also coming immediately,” and I informed him that the British Foreign Office official was already here and making arrangements. Then he also arrived. The Pakistan High Commissioner came and said, “Is there anything we can do for you?” I remember Sheikh Mujib’s response was, “Thank you very much; you’ve done enough. I’m very grateful for what you’ve done.” “Can we do anything more?” I said, “No, you can’t. There’s nothing more that you can do. I mean, I’m grate-

ful that you’ve brought us as far as you have.”

SO: Indeed. They had just committed to fly you to London? They weren’t flying you from London down to Dhaka?

KH: No, I didn’t expect that. We appreciated the way the British government was receiving us, saying that Sheikh Mujib was being accorded head of state protocol [and that] the Prime Minister, Mr Heath, would be receiving him. He was making arrangements at Claridge’s, which is where heads of state stay. Sheikh Mujib said, “Look, on previous visits I’ve always stayed in Russell Square, because it’s much easier for our Bengali people to come and I’m familiar with Russell Square.” The reply was, “That’s the one request we cannot accommodate, because our own security for heads of state can only be provided at Claridge’s.” We went straight from prison to Claridge’s! Of course, thousands of people started turning up. Again, Sheikh Mujib had anticipated this, and I don’t think that Sir Iain had understood the Bengali urge for this kind of response that was there. The whole area in front of Claridge’s was packed with people.

I was given the task of clearing the visitors. That was our first day here: I think it was 8 January 1972. Then, when we met Prime Minister Heath, that’s when the British involvement became very close, because apart from the fact that it was very cordial and we knew that London was being used as a place for diplomatic mobilisation, Mr Heath said very clearly that, “Yes, we are very sympathetic to your cause. Pakistan is also a Commonwealth member and we have relations, but as far as this business of the military response to your demands [is concerned], it’s something that we have not supported. We have always wanted a politically negotiated settlement. Now, at least that military part is over and we have to look ahead.” We said, “Of course, we would expect recognition.” He said, “Yes, in principle, you can take it that that is done. ►

- We are receiving you as a head of state. Just give us a couple of weeks because we want to coordinate with the European Union so that we can all formally do it together.” Then he said, “Is there anything else I can do? Of course, we’ll help with reconstruction and rebuilding and so on.”

That’s where we said that, “Another thing you can do to help is to help us to fly to Bangladesh by the quickest means possible.” Mr Heath said, “Yes, I think I have a couple of planes at my disposal.” He turned to his secretary and said, “See what can be done.” And, of course, Sheikh Mujib shared with them his eagerness to get back as quickly as possible. He said, “We’re very keen to get back as quickly as possible.” The Secretary came back and said, “Yes, a plane could be ready by 7:00 in the morning tomorrow.” It was already 5pm in the evening. Things thus got accelerated, and the news got around. We then got requests about stopping over in Delhi on the way, and stopping over in Calcutta on the way. From Dhaka, we were being told, “You must arrive here while there’s still light, because people are waiting to receive Sheikh Mujib and hear him.” We worked out the timing and it was decided that we could only stop in Delhi because if we stopped in both places, we couldn’t get to Dhaka before dark. It was the month of January so the days were short.

That’s how we stopped in Delhi and arrived in Dhaka on 10 January. There was a huge turnout, as was expected. It was very emotional on both sides, for us arriving in what was now a completely independent Bangladesh. I remember when we left home on 25 March, 1971, we didn’t expect to come back alive. It was a tremendous day: a moving experience.

As I said, the Commonwealth relationship in a way started off with this very, very strong support that was expressed by the British government. It was not only expressed on that day. We had re-

ceived support and help and every possible political and diplomatic support. Indeed, allowing people to stay – receiving hundreds and thousands of people here who came and got permission to stay. Certainly, at the elite level, there were a very large number of people – professionals, business people and others – who came to London. They started coming to see us. We could see how people who could afford it made it to London and were given the facilities to stay here for that period, and to function from here. Those who had a diplomatic background, they were able to operate from here, go to New York, and to go to other capitals. That was positive support.

Then the question arose about Commonwealth membership and, of course, we said, “Yes, of course we want to be in the Commonwealth.” The majority of the population of Pakistan consisted of people from Bangladesh, so that Commonwealth membership is something that we certainly assumed we would succeed to. There were questions [as to whether] we needed fresh membership, and on whether the central government would continue as members. In this case, the central government of Pakistan made it easier for the Commonwealth, and that’s where the personal role of Arnold Smith, the Secretary General of the Commonwealth, is a very important footnote in our history. [Smith] went to Islamabad and tried to say, as he himself claimed, he said that, “The Commonwealth was not happy about the fact that within the Commonwealth this kind of military operation had been launched and resulted in a million casualties” – it was now recognised that war crimes had been committed. “But, let’s look forward. Instead of looking backward, why don’t you accept Bangladesh as a reality, and both of you can be independent members of the Commonwealth?”

That’s when Mr Bhutto resorted to what I call ‘the poor man’s Hallstein Doctrine’. [He said] that Pakistan would sever relations with anyone ►

► who has anything to do with Bangladesh. He took a very obdurate stance, as was his wont. He told Arnold Smith, “Well, if you have anything to do with Bangladesh, we will come out of the Commonwealth.” Arnold Smith, sitting in Islamabad, went to see him with a Bangladesh tie on and said, “We are going to admit Bangladesh as a member.” He said, “In that case, you realise that we will leave the Commonwealth.” He said, “That’s your decision.” Sitting in Islamabad, to have done that showed the intensity of his support for Bangladesh. He didn’t prevaricate. He didn’t say, “Yes, we’ll think about it.” He said, “Alright, it’s your decision to come out, but then we have to do which is the right thing for us.”

SO: Had there been any contact between Sheikh Mujib, yourselves, and Arnold Smith about this?

KH: I have a feeling his contact would have been with Justice Chowdhury and our diplomatic people who were there. I’m sure there had been an active contact, because the fact that Arnold Smith was such an early visitor to Islamabad and took such a strong position could only have happened because he had been kept informed and his support had been sought and extended. Then, as will be evident from what I’m going to say, we began to get positive support. It was very major political support: that act of political support when, in response to Pakistan’s position, “We will walk out,” he said, “You may do so”... This had enormous significance for us, because the whole Pakistan approach was, as I said, this Hallstein Doctrine: “If you have anything to do with Bangladesh, we will not have relations with you.” He broke relations with a number of European states on that basis and came out of the Commonwealth on that basis.

SO: Well, it was contentious for the Commonwealth, particularly in Africa, because it came relatively soon after the Biafra war.

KH: That’s right. Yes, of course. Yahya

Khan played that card and so on, you see. That’s when I say that we really have very strong feelings about Arnold Smith. He was a real friend of Bangladesh. He was a person who made a significant contribution in the consolidation of our independence. When you emerge as a state through the process that we did, getting recognition in the international community is a challenge. Your predecessor state, their whole diplomacy, all their efforts and resources were deployed for the next year or two in going around the world saying, “Bangladesh is not entitled to recognition. Bangladesh is a creature of Indian intervention.” Our diplomacy had to really take this on – both for membership of international organisations and for recognition by states. Wherever Pakistan had any influence or ability to influence decisions, we found they were very aggressively taking the position that we should not be recognised.

SO: It was not simply, then, the active advocacy of the Secretary General? It was the fact that Bangladesh was in the Commonwealth and Pakistan was outside the association?

KH: This was what I think became very important for us, because, in a way, it recognised our legitimacy. I mean, this was the whole issue, because the Pakistan effort was to argue that we were born out of a process which was illegitimate. We asserted our right of self-determination; we asserted the fact that we had come through an election. The majority of people who were elected had the right to make a constitution. They had been prevented from doing so, and therefore the only course was to, a) defend themselves against military operations, and b) to assert our right to be independent and exercise our right of self-determination. The Commonwealth’s action was the most positive message, I would say, to the international community. There were twenty-two members who were accepting Bangladesh, and that included Britain, Australia, [and] Canada, ►

► which were important countries. For us, it had very great significance, getting it at that moment. We certainly responded strongly to the support that we got by saying, “We would like to reach out to the Commonwealth and seek not only material support but we want support in state building” – that is, the making of our constitution and the building of other institutions in which we could receive expert help from the Commonwealth.

SO: Sir, you did indeed need help across the board, as you say, for administration, for your civil service, for reconstruction, infrastructure, agricultural development, and health support.

KH: Oh, absolutely. For state building and the rebuilding of the devastated economy. The Commonwealth became the first international body through which we wanted to further project our needs and mobilise support. The response was very positive, particularly, as I say, in this area of constitution-making, institution-building and, as you say, administration. We faced the challenge of providing an independent state with all the institutions that it needed. We had to draw upon the experience of other states. Since we had severed relations with the central government of Pakistan, we had to reach out to others. The Commonwealth became the means through which we could reach out. For constitution-making, the support was very, very concrete. They said, “Yes, we will be happy to make advisers available.” Sir Kenneth Roberts-Wray, who has been important in giving advice to many former colonial states in Africa and elsewhere, was designated as a principal adviser and a parliamentary draftsman. Mr Richard Guthrie was made available to us. On 10 April, our Constitutional Drafting Committee was established.

SO: Were you chair of the Constitutional Drafting Committee?

KH: Yes, I was the law minister in the cabinet and was entrusted with chairmanship of that committee. It was quite a challenge. First, we had to get

all the members together. Fortunately for us, most of the members who had been elected to the National Assembly and the Provincial Assembly had survived. I think more than twenty or so had been killed, but out of, say, 450, I think nearly 400 or so were there. We had to draft an instrument which would provide that the members who had been elected from the eastern wing to the central legislature in Pakistan and the provincial legislature in East Pakistan would together be the elected representatives of the people of Bangladesh, and would then start functioning as members of the constitution-making body: the Constituent Assembly of Bangladesh. That was the law for that. We were making laws by proclamation. So, the Constituent Assembly Order was promulgated. I think it must have been 10 April or shortly before that. It was on 10 April we had the basic objectives resolution saying that there were four basic principles: nationalism, democracy, socialism, and secularism. [These] would be the fundamental principles of the constitution. The Committee embarked on its work with thirty-six members.

SO: In your designation of those criteria, were you drawing directly upon a Westminster model?

KH: Well, it's very interesting, because we had been working on a new constitution of Pakistan which was to have brought about significant changes in the relation between our state government and the central government. In order to do that, of course, we were drafting a new constitution because the constitution which then existed had been promulgated under martial law. We said that this was unconstitutional. Martial law had been proclaimed, so that in 1971 there was no constitution. We had, therefore, to form a Constituent Assembly in exercise of the sovereign power of the people. A democracy, based on universal adult franchise, had become an aspiration even in early 1970, when we wanted to move away from martial law. There should be an elected body which would ►

- be elected on the basis of one person one vote – men and women. That body would then adopt a constitution. Of course, following the election in 1970, on the basis of one person, one vote we justly claimed recognition: recognition in accordance with the wishes of the people.

We had prepared a draft which was to have been presented to the National Assembly which had been elected for Pakistan. Of course, there was a full-fledged draft which we were going to place on 3 March, but on 1 March abruptly this was postponed for an indefinite period. That's what precipitated the non-violent, non-cooperation movement. Everyone said, "We will not cooperate with the central government, because they are not allowing us to participate in the Constituent Assembly and exercise our democratic rights." That constitutional draft that we had prepared had addressed all of the basic issues: democratically-elected parliament, recognition of adult franchise, regular periodic elections and the parliamentary form, a multiparty system in which the majority party would be the government with an opposition formed by those who are not part of the governing party.

SO: This was to be a unicameral democracy?

KH: Yes, it was unicameral; that's right. That's interesting, we described it as being a federal state. You might have thought at that level there might have been consideration of a bicameral arrangement, but because the issues in relation to West Pakistan were so complicated, we did not want to get tied up with them.

SO: A bicameral arrangement was potentially even more divisive?

KH: Divisive and they had no agreements. We said, "Look, what about West Pakistan? You do an exercise of your own." This was before the whole thing blew up. We said, "You work out what you want, but we don't want to get involved." [We didn't want to] hold up our constitutional work on the basis of what would be the relations between

the various components of what was then West Pakistan, which is now Pakistan. These issues have not yet been resolved. That apprehension was a very genuine one – that they would not be able to work it out easily – but we would therefore not allow ourselves to get stuck in that. Therefore, we didn't go for a bicameral legislature, although that would have been quite natural in a federal system. The draft we had done was unicameral. Then we basically were able to use as a working draft what we had done, with some more improvements. We provided for a very strong local government because our whole reaction to over-centralisation had been that we had suffered and directly experienced the ill effects of centralised exercise of power. We were saying that if a working democracy meant that people are to be empowered, they must be able to exercise power and participate in exercising powers of governance through strong local institutions, which should be based on adult franchise and which should also have powers of taxation and would even have powers over the police and so on.

SO: I was going to ask, which institutions would have had responsibility for security?

KH: That was certainly what we had in mind for internal security because, in our constitution, we put in a special article, Article 59, which talked about how local government, through elected representatives, would be ensured the provisions, resources and responsibility for maintaining law and order. These are still things which remain to be achieved, but the aspiration was very clearly reflected in the constitution.

SO: What about the question of secularism?

KH: Now, that's very important. Very important. I'll send you the book I have done in which these aspects have been very carefully traced. The issue of secularism goes back to the whole political development from the 1950s. In 1947, we had Indian independence and in Pakistan there was a Constituent Assembly for Pakistan. The state really took over from the Government of India Act, ►

► so there was the eastern province of what was called East Bengal, and then for the province on the western side, Punjab, North-West Frontier, Sindh and Baluchistan. Something that needs to be understood is the whole demographic challenge: 56% of the people were from the eastern wing – Bengal. The other four provinces together comprised 44%. Punjab was the largest among them, which had more than 50% of West Pakistan's part and then Sindh, Balochistan and the North-West Frontier province.

Now, the central government of course had the army and the civil bureaucracy for exercising control over the central state. Their means of, as it were, ensuring control by a minority of the population, was to emphasise this was a state based on religion. That's also how, of course, the demand for partition was advocated: on the basis of areas where Muslims were in the majority, that they would want to separate out and not be in a state where they would not be in the majority. That's where the partition of Bengal and the partition of Punjab arose. The majority parts were saying, "We will not be part of India. We will be part of Pakistan." You're aware of that whole history, of how religion in the lead-up to independence in 1947 was a major issue, particularly in the National Congress, while Mahatma Gandhi was saying, "We don't want to see India divided."

I don't want to get into the whole history. Let me [tell] you in a very – what shall I say – oversimplified form that the central government's whole effort to use religion as a basis for state began to be challenged very early in what was then East Bengal/East Pakistan, around the issue of state language. 56% of the people were Bengali-speaking. Mr Jinnah clearly did not appreciate how intense the people's attachment to language and culture was.

SO: You are speaking of the central government's particular emphasis on Urdu, rather than Bengali?

KH: Yes, exactly. Urdu was no one's language, ac-

tually. Urdu was the language of people in the United Provinces in India. Of course, there was a large number of migrants over from the United Provinces who became an influential section of Pakistan, but large numbers had migrated to Pakistan. They were always flying the flag of religion. "We are a state: the Islamic Republic of Pakistan." The instrumental use of religion was really unfortunate. I mean, in denying Bangla's use as the state language, they were arguing that it was not the language of Muslims. They didn't realise how this, in a way, created a deep sense of injustice – that they're denying our language, its rightful status, [and] invoking religion in a completely unacceptable way.

SO: What about the question of the new Bangladesh being a republic? Was that at all contentious? Was there any thought to other constitutional arrangements?

KH: No, it wasn't contentious. If religion was to play a role in politics, then voting was also to be on the basis of lists based on religion: separate electorates for Hindus voting for Hindus and Muslims voting for Muslims. That's the position in Pakistan even today. Now, because of this language movement, a very strong movement which grew up in 1952... A very seminal event in the history of our state building, in the emergence of our nationalism, was the 21 February 1952 firing upon of students demonstrating in support of adopting Bangla as the state language. [This is where] the movement got its first martyrs.

In 1952, the language movement started and in 1954 there was an election for the provincial legislature. There, the United Front was formed, [with] all parties opposed to the Muslim League. The Muslim League was the party which led Pakistan. This United Front put up very young candidates where, for example, a 25-year-old student challenged the chief minister. Sheikh Mujib was only in his early 30s. Young United Front candidates challenged all senior leaders of the Muslim League. Not only that, the Muslim League was ►

- the party which led the Pakistan nationalist movement. The United Front was formed by people who were formerly students wing of the Muslim League. They came out and said, "We are forming the Awami Muslim League." *Awami* means 'people's'. "We represent ordinary people. We are Awami Muslim League, the People's Muslim League." In 1954, there was a very significant change of name to the Awami League: it is People's League, nothing to do with religion. Hindus and Muslims will all be on the same electoral list.

That was the issue: to have a joint electorate or a separate electorate. There was a decision that the election will be under a joint electorate, [with] Muslims [and] Hindus voting on the same list and the result was dramatic. The Muslim League was wiped out completely. On the number of seats, they had maybe less than 10-15% and the rest were all won by the United Front, the young people defeating all the Muslim League stalwarts. The Chief Minister's house – they said we'll take it over and we'll dedicate it to be an institution to promote the Bengali language. That is what was done. The house was named Bangla Academy and so it remains today as a major institution. The role of language in generating secular nationalism was indeed seminal. It's not against religion, but it's the assertion of your identity based on language and culture.

SO: Another of the core principles embedded in your constitution was, as you said, socialism.

KH: Yes. Now, this is interesting, because in the 1960s socialism was of course what was current. In India and other countries, when they talked of socialism, it was essentially as a means of providing equal opportunity and ensuring social and economic equality, because the colonial legacy that all colonial societies emerged into was one of great inequalities. There was mass poverty, while resources were concentrated in the hands of a small ruling elite. Some of them had been protégés of the colonial power, having enjoyed privileges and also having had access to education and resources which were denied to the majority

of the people. That inequality was a reality which is still continuing in some former colonial states the world over, in Africa and Asia. In our case, it had this additional dimension. The central government, again, which was seen as having exploited religion, had also used or abused power to create a ruling elite where twenty-two families controlled 80% of the economic resources, including banks and industries. That's where the urge for equality against discrimination, a growing discrimination, [and] demand for equal access to education, health and resources [became] a very powerful component of the movement, first for autonomy and then for independence.

That is where socialism was seen as something that promised social justice and equal opportunities, and an end to discrimination and inequality. The constitution speaks of developing a socialist society through the democratic process. In other words, social democracy. When we had meetings with people in Europe and so on, we were always identifying with social democracy. I think we had a special relationship with the Labour party. What we see in Sweden and in England, we felt a kind of affinity with social democracy. Socialism was very much within the democratic framework and not socialism in the sense of communism. That, again, I think, is something that in the context of our historical experience from the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s was the big issue in those days.

The issue of disparity was a very key issue in generating this sense of injustice and creating a broad-based unity which served as a goal – social and economic justice – through the democratic purpose. That's why democracy is the political framework. Social and economic justice through socialism, negating the use of religion to divide and discriminate: that is secularism. Nationalism, of course – the language-based identity, cultural identity – was another of the four basic principles.

SO: Dr Hossain, did the Secretariat provide any legal assistance in the form of advice or drafting?

KH: Yes, very much so. I said Sir Kenneth ►

► Roberts-Wray was giving us background advice. Of course, our committee was meeting and doing its drafting, with Mr Guthrie helping as a technical draftsman. We had a 36-member committee and most of us were lawyers, so we were generating successive drafts. Commonwealth constitutions were a principle source: Australian, Canadian and Indian. Whatever Commonwealth sources were available were certainly the primary sources that we looked at. The British helped through the Commonwealth, and this is again very critical because all of this was channelled through the Commonwealth. In fact, I'm trying to go into the archives here tomorrow. I'll be speaking to someone to see if we can recover some of these from the archives because someone is trying to write this up. I've given him whatever papers I had. He said, "Surely the Commonwealth archives should have it," because we had Sir Kenneth Roberts-Wray and Guthrie and so on and people who are giving support from here. I'm told the Commonwealth archives are very good.

SO: Yes, the Secretariat archives over in Marlborough House or stored off-site are, I think, an extraordinary untapped resource.

KH: Excellent. Where we got help also was with regards to drafting our maritime jurisdiction, which has only now finally got resolved. The maritime boundaries have just been settled this year. We had Professor Daniel Patrick O'Connell, who was then in Australia. He was on his way to take over the Chair of International Law at Oxford. It's very interesting. One of the issues post-independence, because we were part of a larger state, was that of state succession: how you would succeed to the rights and liabilities. So, Professor O'Connell was the world's leading expert on state succession: the standard international book on state succession was his. I immediately sent a request to the Commonwealth and to him directly in Australia. He told us later that our High Commissioner came to him just one day before the

Pakistan diplomatic representative approached him, so we secured his assistance. He said, "Well, now I'm advising Bangladesh." That was very, very important help that we [received]. Of course, then the Commonwealth said, "Yes, we'll make him available." He was informed that the resources that would be needed to support his work would be provided as part of Commonwealth technical assistance, under the Commonwealth Technical Assistance programme.

SO: Yes, TAG, the Technical Assistance Group, as well as the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Cooperation.

KH: That's right. We certainly reached out and got a very positive response and help. It was the quality of people, as I say, and that's what I've written about elsewhere. The great advantage of the Commonwealth as a source of technical cooperation was how non-bureaucratic it is. I identified Professor O'Connell – it's not that you're going through and people had written long notes and sent it up to the Secretary-General. We just made a request. "Look, we want O'Connell," and they said, "Fine." They got on the phone, O'Connell agreed and within a week he was in Bangladesh on his way to Oxford. He started advising us on state succession and on maritime issues because these issues were about to come up: the whole United Nations Law of the Sea Conference, the preparatory work had started on how you define territorial sea, maritime zones and the continental shelf. It's curious that we were very avant-garde in terms of maritime law. We announced these things before the UN conference formally adopted them. We announced contiguous and extensive economics zones, continental shelf and all of the components which emerged in the preparatory documents for the UN conference. Bangladesh in 1973 or 1974 did something before the UN convention, and that's thanks to the Commonwealth.



► **SO: I'm coming across this again and again: the Commonwealth acting as a pilot fish for other larger, international organisations.**

KH: Very much so. The emergence of Bangladesh and its eagerness to draw upon this help also allowed the Commonwealth the opportunity to play that role. It was very mutually advantageous. The Commonwealth could play a very constructive and useful role, and Bangladesh enabled that to happen as a major state which asked for that.

SO: Was Bangladesh's relationship with India seen through the lens of the Commonwealth, or was that much more of a bilateral relationship?

KH: Well, clearly, [it was] the bilateral relationship, because of the proximity and [fact of] being a historical part of the greater British India. Bengal was a province of British India, and then it was split into West Bengal and East Bengal. East Bengal is what is Bangladesh. There are very special historical, geographical, and political associations with India. Happily for us, this Commonwealth framework made it easy for us to deal in these technical areas without India getting any impression that there was extraneous involvement in India's matters. If you are doing maritime boundaries and getting Commonwealth support, India could not perceive this as something opposed to it because they are also members of the Commonwealth. Therefore it was not a question that the Commonwealth would not be doing something that would be basically prejudicial against the interests of another Commonwealth country. The concept of a cooperative endeavour in these matters helped.

Of course, the whole maritime boundaries issue, that's another chapter I was very much involved with. Happily, it's now resolved this year. The Commonwealth assistance was important. O'Connell was involved in drafting the laws of 1974. The Maritime Jurisdiction Act was done with Commonwealth help, as was our strategy on state succession. That is again very, very important and

critically important because it was in 1973, I think, that the World Bank sent its mission. The first opening position was, "You've split and you have to take over a substantial part of the international liabilities of Pakistan, otherwise you will not be eligible to receive any assistance." Now, thanks to our initial advice from Professor O'Connell, we had done preparations on state succession saying, "Yes, of course we take liabilities, but then we also have to have our share of the assets. You can't require a successor state to accept liabilities and not talk about assets." We said, "Let's sit down and talk about the whole issue of assets and liabilities. If we get our shares of the assets, we'll then see how liabilities can be shared."

That became very contentious. To date, we don't have the assets of Pakistan. A tremendous crisis arose because Pakistan's strategy was [that] they would use this leverage because they knew that Bangladesh was desperately short of resources for exchange, and these external resources needed were essential not only for rebuilding the state but for developing the empowerment institutions of a modern state. There were ten million refugees who came back: [there was] need to rehabilitate them, to provide means of getting their livelihood, sources of livelihood and provide food and shelter. There was a tremendous pressure on Bangladesh, which Pakistan thought they could use to get the liabilities issue resolved in their favour. Thanks to the Commonwealth giving us their technical support in a very timely fashion, we were able to negotiate efficiently on this issue. When we took up this position with the World Bank, they were rather surprised. They first said, "Well, you see, there's this whole matter of international law." I said, "Look, I'm a lawyer myself, but please don't think that it is my legal knowledge that I am invoking to support what I am saying. We have consulted some of the best people in this field." I think I mentioned O'Connell. I said, "He's the world's leading person on the law of state succession. This is his written opinion." There was a lot of tension in that meeting. The ►

- ▶ first approach was, “No, but these are technical international law matters.” They were looking at me – and I was only thirty-six years old – saying that we were exuberant and overenthusiastic.

I told Sheikh Mujib this. We had briefed Sheikh Mujib and said, “Look, this is the line they’ll take.” But again, I said, “It’s not my view.” I said, “These are the opinions we’ve got. These are the best people in the world who we have consulted and they’re very clear that we have an unassailable position on this. Yes, liabilities – of course, we have to take over, but the exercise of sharing must involve assets and liabilities.” That was totally vindicated, subsequently, and in a way dramatically. There was a standoff. The mission was led by a vice president, Mr Cargill, [and] he said, “Well, I’m very sorry. We want to help, but there’s a legal impediment now. Unless we can overcome [it], we are unable, even though we wish to help you.” Sheikh Mujib, because we had also prepared ourselves, was also prepared. They thought that they might go and speak to him and that he would use his superior power and say, “Alright, forget about what these people are saying,” – [i.e.] the Finance Minister and myself. Sheikh Mujib said, “No, Mr Cargill, do you realise that we’ve lost so many thousands – tens of thousands – of people’s lives because we could not submit to injustice. What is now being proposed is unjust. We are 56% of the state, and you will say we will have no access to the assets – the gold reserves, the foreign exchange reserves, all the embassy buildings, of which, of course, Pakistan still enjoys? The ships, the planes of PIA, all of these have been completely appropriated by the central government, and we are being asked to take over the liabilities? I can tell you that this is not just a matter of technical international law. I am told that we have had this matter examined by international lawyers. Will you please, when you go back to Washington, have your lawyers look at it, because we have with a sense of responsibility consulted experts who have given us advice in this matter.” I tell you, it was one of Sheikh Mujib’s finest performances. He said, “Look, apart from whatever tech-

nical positions lawyers may take, this is a question of basic justice. The whole existence of our state has been based on fighting injustice. We cannot be asked to submit to injustice.” They couldn’t get us to accept liabilities.

Ultimately, we achieved success. Two or three months later, we got a letter from the World Bank saying, “We have examined the legal position and we accept the position that you have taken.” Many years later, about five years ago, the South African who was deputy legal adviser in Washington retired. I’m forgetting his name. I met him socially. He said, “It’s good we are meeting. I remember way back in 1972 and 1973, I remember this note came saying that Bangladesh can’t accept liabilities without assets. I had been asked to write the note and I had supported you.” I said, “Yes, of course, all that is history.” That, again, was a critically important contribution of the Commonwealth: support enabling us to take a principled position, successfully maintain it and then normalise our relation with the World Bank, open up foreign external resources, [and] have access to external resources.

To go back to the constitution again... In the meantime, Sonny Ramphal got elected. We had the benefit of two extraordinary friends. One was Arnold Smith. Whenever I used to see him, he had his Bangladesh tie on, because he said, you know, “This is what I faced Bhutto with in 1972!” [Laughter] I have a feeling that may have even prejudiced his re-election. The position Arnold Smith took in support of Bangladesh may well have alienated some of the people whom Pakistan may have mobilised against him, I’m not sure. Then Ramphal came in and he became a very strong friend of Bangladesh, because he continued the support that Smith had started and expanded that.

To be continued.....

Dr Sue Onslow, Reader; Deputy Institute Director, Institute of Commonwealth Studies.



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Prospect of Medical Devices in Bangladesh

Md. Abdur Razzaq



As a developing country, there was no medical device manufacturer in Bangladesh before 1992. The country was entirely dependent on import till then. In 1992, Opso Saline Ltd. initiated manufacture of disposable syringe in Bangladesh while a wide range of medical devices requirement still remained import dependent.

In the year 1999, JMI emerged as a joint venture enterprise with South Korea for production of versatile forms of global standard medical devices. Beside fulfilling the national requirement of disposable syringe by this time, JMI ventured for pioneering Auto Disable (AD) Syringe manufacture under technical collaboration with Star Syringe Ltd. UK, the discoverer WHO recommended

brand, 'KI Auto Disable syringe'. This venture has successfully fulfilled the national AD Syringe requirement of EPI for vaccination program and that of DGFP for the purpose of administering Injectable Contraceptives since 2007.

The taste of success with AD syringe introduction inspired JMI to advance further for introduction of newer medical devices like, Surgical Suture, IV Cannula, Latex free Infusion Set, Blood Transfusion Set, Scalp vein set, First Aid Bandage, Urine Drainage Bag and so on for the first time in the country. JMI is now capable enough to meet the national requirements of above mentioned products. JMI has also prompted its footprint in the arena of heavy equipment by introducing Autoclave Sterilizer for the first time in Bangladesh, which is very much essential in all hospital to sterilize critical care medical equipment.

A revolutionary venture of JMI is, launching of Blood Tubing Set, an important device for dialysis, through local production by its sister concern, ►

- “NIPRO JMI Company Ltd.”, a joint venture project with “NIPRO Corporation” of Japan, one of the leading medical devices manufacturers of global reputation. This product is now exported to 14 countries of Asia, Africa, Europe and Latin America. Registration process is in progress for export of the product to 18 more countries of the world.

JMI is striving to develop entrepreneurship for local production of many more essential medical devices. But prevalence of following impediments/constraints are the discouraging factors behind stake holding in this sector:

- Lack of adequate data bank regarding medical devices
- Unauthorized in ow of medical devices
- Mis-declaration of HS code for tax evading
- Inadequate regulatory guidelines and control
- Availability of devices at questionable price and qualities
- Lack of overall awareness regarding quality requirement of medical devices
- Availability of products from unauthentic sources
- Absence of cash incentive for export as availed by exporters of our competitive countries.

Beside JMI and Opso, nine other companies are given registration by DGDA till 2015, out of which four companies have already discontinued operation. Although existence of above mentioned impediments are discouraging for local entrepreneurs, but in recent past, DGDA has taken a highly appreciable and revolutionary step through presenting the nation “Registration Guidelines for Medical Devices Bangladesh-2015”. The Guideline is expected to play the key



role as an eye-opener of concerned all to ensure safe health of our people. This is also encouraging for entrepreneurs to develop local manufacturing facilities to serve greater interest of the country.

Since we are totally dependent on import to meet 90% requirement of medical devices, huge market remains vacant to be explored by local entrepreneurs. But to utilize this opportunity, the impediments/constraints discussed above, have to be resolved. Moreover, stake holders need to avail legitimate supports and favors from relevant authorities of the Government.

Development of local entrepreneurship will derive following benefits for the country:

1. Save hard-earned foreign currency
2. Create employment opportunity
3. Develop manufacturing know-how and skills of local people
4. Earn self-reliance and get rid of foreign dependence



Projected Medical Device Market, 2016-2019

Year	Total (USD mn)	USD/Year/ Person	Total (BDT mn)	BDT/Year/ Person	USD/BDT Conversion rate
2016	255.6	1.6	20,359.1	125.5	79.7
2017	292.4	1.8	23,640.7	144.0	80.8
2018	335.3	2.0	27,516.0	165.8	82.1
2019	385.4	2.3	32,100.9	191.3	83.3



with whole-hearted supports and cooperation to materialize the greater need of becoming self-reliant in the medical devices field of our national health care sector.

Visiongain, a UK based business information provider, predicts a tremendous growth in the global medical devices industry during the coming decade. They predict an increase of USD 77 bn during the period of 2012 and 2017. They also forecast a significant growth trend to be persisted up to 2.023. According to them, market expansion will be driven by the introduction of innovative devices and also by the demand generated by the illness associated with the aging global population. Devices used in treatment of age related illness will see significant growth in their revenues.

According to BMI Research, a Fitch Group Company (a UK and USA based market research company) projected medical devices market-for Bangladesh as follows:

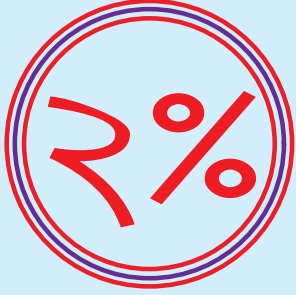
Bangladesh is yet to go far to meet the national requirement of medical devices from its own manufacturing facilities. We are not in a position to meet even 10% of our total requirement from local source. So, enormous opportunity exists for local entrepreneurs to avail this huge unexplored market.

5. Create opportunity to explore global markets and earn foreign currency
6. Ensure our national health safety

We are hopeful, concerned all will come forward

Md. Abdur Razzaq one of the noted business personalities and the Managing Director of JMI GROUP.

যতবেশি রেমিট্যান্স, ততবেশি ক্যাশ!!



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Within 10 years, the United States is very likely to collapse like the former Soviet Union!

Kobayashi Koichi

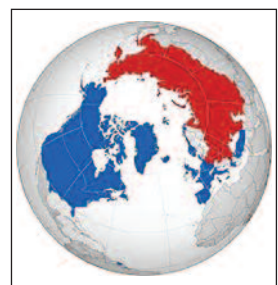


On September 5, in Nagoya, Japan, an academic journal called "Izu View the World" published an article by Kobayashi Koichi, professor of international politics at Nagoya University. The article

believes that within the next 10 years, the United States is very likely to suddenly split and collapse! Once the article was published, it immediately caused an uproar all over the world.

This signed article "A Split United States and the Split of the United States" believes that there are three contradictions in the United States that can never be overcome. It is these three insurmountable and deep-rooted contradictions that will promote the powerful United States of America, like an invincible one. Like the former Soviet Union, it will eventually lead to an irreversible disintegration. It's just that the trajectory of their extinction happened in the opposite direction.

1. These three contradictions are:
2. 1) deep-rooted racial discrimination, racial contradictions caused by
3. 2) ;the vitality of the internal mechanism of the American democratic system is becoming increasingly exhausted;
4. 3) people's excessive claims for freedom and the contradiction between reality and capacity. These three contradictions have become chronic diseases that the American society cannot cure. In particular, racial contradictions and racial divides are the deadlock of American ? °



A few days ago, in Kenosha, Wisconsin, a white police officer fired seven shots in the back of a black man who refused to interrogate, causing a riot in the city. Later, another white teenager shot at the demonstrators on the grounds of the "Protection Office", causing 2 deaths and 1 serious injury. The series of incidents will surely set off a ►►

► wave of national protests again. It is only three months away from the "Floyd" riot police case in Minnesota. What happened to the United States?

Racial riots have occurred many times in the history of the United States, but the difference is that in the past, they were mostly concentrated in black settlements. Now, through the spread of new media mobile phones, the emotional appeal of the masses and the ability of rapid social mobilization, a little spark instantly burned across the United States.

On the other hand, radical white groups have also increased their cohesion and expansion. Armed militias have swaggered across the streets with automatic rifles, and they are sometimes seen by the police as an aid to maintaining social order. As a result, intensified ethnic riots, radical white armed militias became more arrogant, and President Trump fanned the fire all day, creating internal and external divisions. These phenomena are concurrent, is it just accidental? Or is it a symptom of America's structural decline?

In 2019, a survey of the Brookings Institution in the United States released a report on the changes in the ethnic proportions of the U.S. population. Obviously, many questions were answered. In 1980, white Americans accounted for 79.6% of the population, and the rest were mainly blacks, including Latinos, Asians and other non-whites. In 2018, whites accounted for 60.4%, and non-whites accounted for nearly 40%. In about 40 years, whites dropped 20%. As for the population under 15 years of age, in 1980, whites accounted for 73%, but in 2018, whites accounted for only 49.9%, falling to less than half. According to this trend, in about the next 20 years, the white population will be less than half of the national population, and whites under 30 will become a clear minority. This quantitative change in demographic structure will fundamentally change American politics.

There are two important points: one is that from the federal to the local level, more non-whites will control power; the second is that non-whites will redistribute economic and social resources through legislation. This fundamental change in political power and social and economic resources will exacerbate social divisions and bring suffering.

The current rapid growth of white fierce groups, including the rise of Trump, is the product of intense white fear. In the current presidential election, no matter who wins, the other side will fall into hysterical despair and anger. The solution that the United States can provide is the American representative politics produced by the combination of liberalism, individualism, and capitalism, and it firmly believes that this is the highest moral and most effective way of governance for mankind to date.

However the new crown pneumonia that has swept the world has broken this illusion. The United States is the worst-performing country in the world. American governance not only does not help, but further worsens the situation. It also allows the original racial, economic and cultural ills to be concurrent and out of control. .

Even from the perspective of simple demographic politics, which country in the world can maintain the unity of politics and land for a long time without a stable majority of races? No, none of them.

With the historical shadow of black American history being trafficked, enslaved, and discriminated against by whites, the future great schism in the United States will be full of hatred and blood, and it is very likely that it will be on the verge of a civil war in an instant. The United States is the country with the most nuclear weapons in the world. The disintegration of the United States is far more serious than the former Soviet Union. It will be a disaster for mankind, which is unimaginable. ►►



► Thirty years ago, between us and this generation, it seemed that immigrating to the United States was the inevitable end of our road map to success in life. Judging from the current situation, in the next 20 years, the immigration route will be reversed, and many Americans will want to move to other countries.

Within 10 years, will the United States go to collapse? This sounds like the conclusion of the Arabian Nights, which makes people feel incredible. Just like the disintegration of the Soviet Union back then, it was far beyond people's expectations. However, history is like this, always full of uncertainty! You never know what will happen tomorrow. Therefore, the collapse and disintegration of the United States are inherently within the realm of heaven. What is heaven? The film "Loying Gorge" shot in 1971 had a wonderful analysis of heaven and humanity. "Good and evil will be rewarded, and the way of heaven is reincarnation. If you don't believe me, look up, who

is forgiven by the sky." A nation, a country, and a political entity are just like a person. If bad things are done absolutely, it will also suffer revenge from God.

The United States is such a special existence. According to ordinary people, it has not done good things for a few days in the 200 years since its founding.

A nation that likes to impose its own will on other nations; a nation that likes it at every turn to destroy other nations; a political entity that expands everywhere, dominates people everywhere, and flaunts its strength everywhere, there will eventually be a day of exhaustion.

Perhaps this is more the law of history!

In this way, whether it is history, reality, or logic, the United States seems to be "advancing bravely" toward the goal of doomsday.

Kobayashi Koichi, *Professor of International Politics at Nagoya University, Japan.*

পপুলার লাইফের বীমা দাবীর ৩,২৯৫ টি চেকে ৬,৬৯,৭৩,৭৬৯ (ছয় কোটি-
উনসত্তর লক্ষ ত্রিাত্তর হাজার সাতশত উনসত্তর) টাকা পরিশোধ



পপুলার লাইফ ইনস্যুরেন্স কোম্পানী লিমিটেড এর ৩,২৯৫ জন বীমা গ্রাহকের বীমা দাবীর মোট ৬,৬৯,৭৩,৭৬৯/- টাকার চেক হস্তান্তর উপলক্ষে ইনস্টিটিউশন অব ডিপ্লোমা ইঞ্জিনিয়ার্স বাংলাদেশ (আইডিইবি) মিলনায়তনে আলোচনা সভা অনুষ্ঠিত হয়। অনুষ্ঠানে প্রধান অতিথি ছিলেন বীমা উন্নয়ন ও নিয়ন্ত্রণ কর্তৃপক্ষ এর চেয়ারম্যান মোঃ শফিকুর রহমান পাটোয়ারী। কোম্পানীর ব্যবস্থাপনা পরিচালক ও সিইও এবং বাংলাদেশ ইনস্যুরেন্স ফোরামের প্রেসিডেন্ট বি এম ইউসুফ আলীর সভাপতিত্বে উক্ত অনুষ্ঠানে বিশেষ অতিথি ছিলেন বীমা উন্নয়ন ও নিয়ন্ত্রণ কর্তৃপক্ষের সম্মানিত সদস্য গকুল চাঁদ দাস ও নির্বাহী পরিচালক (যুগ্ম সচিব) খলিল আহমদ। অনুষ্ঠানে ধন্যবাদ জ্ঞাপন করেন কোম্পানীর অতিরিক্ত ব্যবস্থাপনা পরিচালক বি এম শওকত আলী। উক্ত অনুষ্ঠানে আরও উপস্থিত ছিলেন সাবেক অতিরিক্ত সচিব ও কোম্পানীর সিনিয়র কনসালট্যান্ট আবদুল আউয়াল হাওলাদার, সিনিয়র ডিএমডি নন্দন ভট্টাচার্য, ডিএমডি সৈয়দ মোতাহার হোসেন, মোঃ নওশের আলী নাদিম, মোঃ আবু তাহের ও মোঃ হাবিবুর রহমান প্রমুখ। ছবিতে অতিথিবৃন্দকে বীমা দাবীর চেক হস্তান্তর করতে দেখা যাচ্ছে।

জীবন বীমায় বিশ্বস্ত নাম



পপুলার লাইফ ইনস্যুরেন্স কোম্পানী লিমিটেড

Bangladesh after 50 year moving forward

Akku Chowdhury



1971 has always been stuck in my head it feels. I never could brush it off, wash it out or shrug it away. Those days seemed to be etched, and I have carried it, not as a burden but a badge of honor

and courage. The sleepless nights and nightmares have become part of my incredible and fulfilling life for the past 50 years and I could manage to turn the PTSD to PTSG, the pain into strength thanks to the learning from those dark but glorious nine months. This is 2021 and we are going to be soon observing 50 years of our liberation war, which seems to me, like just yesterday. We passed a grueling last year globally that gave me time to reminisce those days of 71 as a refugee, vagabond and then also a freedom fighter as a combatant during the last phase of the war. I have been living with those days fearlessly and overcoming the ghosts that haunts many of us. It seems like 1971 made me become not just stronger but fearless as I came eye to eye with death, more than once, in those times of uncertainty. It amazes me, when I look back and to try to understand the fact that even after the pain, destruction and misery the innocent people of

Bangladesh suffered in the hands of Pakistanis, all the Pakistani POWs could leave our land without a scratch. It was no small feat for the Indians who took charge of them after the Pakistanis surrendered to the Joint Forces of Bangladesh Mukti Bhaini and Indian Forces. The Bangalee forces wanted peace and surely all the soldiers were not perpetrators. Most were following orders but the 195 principal perpetrators were to be tried along with the local collaborators were my understanding at that time by our government once the dust settled. There were disappointments especially when the trial of Pakistani principal perpetrators of the war crimes and other crimes against humanity, genocide, rape, loot, arson etcetera kept on dragging.

The Pakistani Forces before surrendering not only destroyed our economic infrastructures by destroying Bridges, Telecommunication, roads but also calculatedly murdered the academicians, intellectuals, journalist, educationists, teachers, writers and even business leaders. It was mind boggling at their evil and conniving planning to destroy the new nation of Bangalees. Their going away gift was a final straw that proved their hatred and dislike for us. Bangabandhu and his people of Bangladesh were handed a country that the then USA Secretary of State Kissinger called 'bottomless basket case'. Incidentally USA sided with Pakistan in 1971 with not just moral support but also weapons which were used on innocent Ban- ➤

► gallees committing a genocide second to Holocaust by NAZIs. Richard Nixon was the President and as tyrant one can't expect much from him but what came as a surprise that Henry Kissinger, a Jewish immigrant and victim of the Holocaust by the NAZI Germany could deny what the Pakistanis were doing in Bangladesh.



Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina is inaugurating member campaign programme of Liberation War Museum where Akku Chowdhury is seen as trustee and Director of LWM.

In 1975 Bangabandhu along with his family and the political leadership of 1971 were murdered cold bloodedly, which many also feels had the knowledge of the USA administration. This was probably the vengeance by the defeated forces of 1971 liberation war by the Pakistanis, their local collaborators and probably foreign abiders. That pushed the country backward and the spirit of liberation war along that united the country as one nation. The massacre and coup was orchestrated to erase the ideology of Bangabandhu and his dream to build a Shonar Bangla with the spirit of liberation war which was for freedom and emancipation for all. It was a dooms day and those defeated forces could have been successful if the two daughters of Bangabandhu didn't survive. The older daughter Sheikh Hasina was allowed to return home after many years and become politically active. The power that was reigning over Bangladesh at those times may have felt Hasina was a woman, weak, politically naïve and the trauma of losing the family in such gruesome inhumane way would keep incapable of thinking rationally. Luckily for Bangladesh Hasina proved them wrong and turned out to become one of the most visionary and politically matured leader in this millennium.

As we prepare to observe and celebrate the moments of that time we dared to fight I want to shed on the facts that how my country raised itself like a Phoenix after 1971 to become a shining star amongst the galaxy of nation world over. We have had our ups and down but today as we see how the Bangladeshis world over have established themselves I am convinced that it was worth fighting for.

I would rather talk about the last 50 years after we became an Independent nation after defeating the Pakistani Forces with the help of our ally the Indian Forces. As I am thinking of my next lines I found the following writing in my hard disk that I jotted probably 20 years or more ago!

Why I am Proud of My Country

The list is endless why I am proud of Bangladesh. The rich history, culture and heritage is just to begin with. Then add the Great War of Liberation with her gore of the Pakistani atrocities and the pride and glory of the nation the valiant freedom fighter who fought to liberate the country from the clutches of Pakistani occupation. The resilient people who continue to survive the natural and manmade disasters that they encounter ►

► on a regular basis, the natural beauty with the Rivers and lush greenery that abounds us, the hard working farmers who with their toil and innovation keeps our dinner plates full at all time. The list can go on and on and will any day outweigh the negative side the pessimists always put forward about Bangladesh.

I am not a politician nor am I blind not to see the endless problems that confront us every day and makes one so frustrated that one wishes he or she could take the first flight out of here. But if we take some time and a deep breath to really look at the root of all the problems we might end up finding the lion share of the problem is us- the individual.

As we look at our past and dissect our history and heritage we shall find our roots and see where we have come to and from where. For many of us it may not be pleasant but it is worth to do some soul searching before we dump all the blame on the wretched motherland.

The history is rich and dates back to thousands of years and that of a rich civilization, which can be an envy of many nations of the world. Many Kings and conquerors that came but was intoxicated by the nature and surrendered to the humility of the people inhabiting the delta. Many Philosophers, poets, writers and artist were born and traveled far and wide with their wisdom and earned laurels. Trade and commerce flourished.

The freedom loving people of this region rebelled against all form of tyranny and were amongst the first to take up arms against the British Empire. The Andaman Island stands witness to the largest numbers of Bangalees who were put to life imprisonment in the God forsaken island by the British rulers for taking up arms against them. The 1952 language movement is an icon for all the free people the world over to learn what a nation can do to safeguard their mother tongue. Then again in 1971 the Bangalees showed their bravery in the face of a well-equipped and modern Pakistan Army who unleashed a reign of terror on innocent people.

In thirty since our Independence when the surrendering Pakistani Army crippled the country intellectually, economically and politically the country has come a long way. At the time the country became independent millions of dollars' worth of infrastructure were destroyed. Most of the highly qualified doctors, educationist, bureaucrats, technocrats and businessmen who could have been valuable asset to the newly formed country were brutally murdered by the Pakistani Army before their defeat to the Bangalee Freedom Fighters. The vacuum thus created has taken many years to be filled.

In 1971 when the country faced near famine the farmers of this country has made it possible to make our country self-sufficient in food production this being the fact that the population has doubled since 1971 (in 1971 it was only 70 million). This has been only possible because of the farmers who with their back breaking hard work accepted new methods and adopted new technology while adjusting it to their environment. They brought a revolution in our agriculture sector, which has given us an economic backbone.

After experimentation with one-party governance, military dictatorship and what not the people demanded Democratic form of Government, which they achieved in 1990. Ever since we have had three very successful elections and the parliament is working although we have some hiccups and teething problems. These problems are caused by the immaturity of our politicians not that of the citizens. The elections are held smoothly and the voters try to make the right choice but the lists of candidates they are given by the political parties don't have much to choose from.

The bureaucrats are expected to be the servant of the people but the kind of salary and other benefits they are provided is laughable. With the qualification and pressure of work what they are expected to give us in return of their remunerations is simply unjustifiable. Even under those circumstances they are giving us a working administration, which has carried on the system of Governance for over 3 ►

► decades quite respectively.

Our Education system has collapsed many would claim but from that we are producing many bright students who are shining stars even when they are competing in the world arena. The non-formal educations practiced by the NGO's have increased the literacy rates amongst the non-privileged. The education has become available to the masses and one can find University graduates from a larger cross section of the society. The success of the NGO's is very well known to all of us. The success of BRAC, Ganashatho, Proshika etc. is pride to us all. Similarly the other NGO have also shown great capability in their efforts of poverty elevation, population control, health, and sanitation etcetera.

The micro-credit concept perceived by our own homegrown economist Professor Yunus and practiced by his Grameen Bank needs no introduction or acknowledgement. He is a familiar face and well respected in all corners and corridors of not only World power but in the slums of the poorest country. He has empowered the powerless by giving them respect of being trusted with credit, which the conventional financial institute could never dream about.

The business community has not lagged behind in my list of pride. The Garment industry has set a new opportunity for not only of female members of the society but also to many small entrepreneurs to expand into the linkage industry that supports the garments factory. The Textile industry has expanded manifold giving employment to thousands. The computer and cyber boom has given a silent growth to another sector, which had been untapped previously. The globalization has opened a new window of employment for our youth in this new sector. The service industry is growing and has tremendous potential for employment. The overseas job market has given the country to earn much needed foreign currency.

As I re read the above write up of years ago I don't have to change much but add on to it the facts



Retired Indian Army Lieutenant General JFR Jacob, Liberation War Commander with valiant freedom fighter Akku Chowdhury.

that in 2021 after the Pandemic left the world in economic and social disarray Bangladesh under the leadership of Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina has calmly handled it without causing much misery to the ordinary people. The Government of Hasina has moved forward with their development projects, giving assistance to business and poorer segments of the population. Her prevision vision of digital Bangladesh (which was criticized before by many) gave the nation a premium during the Pandemic.

Today as I look at the political and leadership crisis globally I feel vindicated because I have always argued that there is no great system of governance. Our failures as nation to become responsible citizens falls on all of us. The NGOs Business, Institutions, Politicians, Intellectuals, Academia's and free spirits have all failed. We all have compromised for our own interest and kept finding blames on others. It's time to ask ourselves what is our achievement to save the nation not to ourselves. As a freedom fighter I saw in the eyes of our PM Hasina the twinkle of desire to serve the nation and her people. There is no iota of fakeness in her commitment. On the eve of our 50th. Anniversary I salute the great lady and wish her God Speed to lead us o.

#JoiManuah #JoiHasina.

Akku Chowdhury a veteran freedom fighter, Director of Liberation War Meuseum and former CEO of Transcom Foods Ltd.

1970's catastrophe demonstrated how Bangabandhu became a beacon of hope for the mankind

Dr Atiur Rahman



Once open politics was resumed from 1 January 1970, the political scenario in East Pakistan changed drastically. During the months of 1970, Bangabandhu was elevated to an iconic

status thanks to the overwhelming spontaneous participation of the people from all classes in AL's election campaign. It became apparent that the Awami League would win the election by a landslide. However, President Yahya Khan was not so sure. The intensive election campaign provided Bangabandhu and his party an ideal opportunity to share their message, as encapsulated in the Six Points Program, with the struggling millions.

During the election campaign, Bangabandhu quickly transformed from a mere political leader into the last beacon of hope for the ordinary people. We have already seen in this column that 'People first' was always at the core of Bangabandhu's political ideology. The catastrophic cyclone of 1970 once again demonstrated how compassionate a leader he could be. Of course, he proved this humanitarian mettle earlier as well, particularly during 1943 Bengal famine and communal riots in 1947 and 1964.

In 1970, Bangabandhu left the election campaign to rush to the affected area to help vulnerable people immediately after the deadliest cyclone that hit southern parts of East Pakistan on November 12, 1970. The devastating cyclone damaged the offshore islands and coastal areas reaching its peak with winds of 185 km/h (115 mph). This cyclone was the sixth in the 1970 North Indian Ocean cyclone season and turned into a Category 3 hurricane. The storm surge wiped out thousands of villages killing nearly a million people. Tamizuddin (Bhola) was the most severely affected area losing over 45% of its population (167,000 people).

Nearly half of the estimated fishermen of the region perished in the cyclone and a million acres of the crop were destroyed and a further million were damaged. Some other nearby coastal chars were also equally devastated. The World Bank came up with a rehabilitation plan of 185 million USD as reported by The Times on December 2, 1970.

Thanks to the presence of Bangabandhu in the cyclone-affected areas, the news of the tragedy attracted world attention and relief goods from different countries started pouring in for helping the affected people. However, there was a complete lack of empathy for the disaster victims and coordination of relief activities by the Yahya Government. That the state failed to rise to the occasion ►

► was demonstrated by the stockpiling of the relief goods in Dhaka waiting for transport planes or helicopters to take them to the affected areas at least during the first ten days. The Pakistan Army and Navy were busy with their routine exercises in Dhaka and Chittagong while the British, American and Soviet helicopters were hovering over the cyclone-hit areas to supply daily necessities and for burying the dead (Muhith, A.M.A, Bangladesh, Emergence of a Nation, University Press Limited, Second Edition, 1992, p-189). Even twelve days after the cyclone, newspapers were found to publish photographs and reports showing relief goods including 129 bales of blankets and clothes piled up at the Lahore Airport waiting to be distributed (Staff Correspondent, 'Relief Goods Pile Up in Lahore', The Pakistan Observer, 25 November 1970).

Consequently, the cyclone disaster drew the attention of the Bengalis who had been campaigning against the uneven infrastructural development and systematic exploitation of East Pakistan. A study mentioned that "In a relatively less destructive cyclone in 1960 in East Pakistan, the military regime's active intervention led to the formulation of the Emergency Standing Orders in 1961 and 1962, respectively. Issued by the Relief and Rehabilitation Department, these orders gave detailed directives to officers in charge at every level for relief distribution to minimise delay at such times of exigency. After the 1960 cyclone, Gordon Dunn, a specialist from the National Hurricane Center in Miami, was brought in to advise the government on cyclone-mitigation efforts and he identified a warning service in isolated areas as a difficult problem. Construction of embankments and cyclone shelters were recommended as protective measures in rural areas where evacuation would be challenging to mitigate damage and loss of life in future storms. However, eye-witness accounts after the Bhola Cyclone reported the absence of cyclone shelters and in some cases pucca (concrete) houses of affluent villagers acted as impromptu shelters for



Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman

the survivors" (Biswas, S., Daly, P. 'Cyclone Not Above Politics': East Pakistan disaster politics, and the 1970 Bhola Cyclone, Cambridge University Press, 2020 online version, p-15).

On the other hand, Bangabandhu toured the affected areas and sent Awami League volunteers to collect and distribute relief goods among the needy people. After the tour, Sheikh Mujib held a press conference where he stated – "Whilst individual and charitable organisations the world over are raising funds for relief, the '22 families' who have prospered on the blood of our people have yet to make any significant contribution to relief distribution. Indeed, the textile mills of West Pakistan, which have exploited Bangladesh as their principal market, have not donated even a yard of cloth for the shrouds of the dead. Is this why we have spent 72% of our common resources in West Pakistan over the last two decades? Is this why we have channeled 60% of our budget to the Defense Services? Is this why the jute growers of Bangladesh have starved so that the capitalists in Karachi and Lahore can prosper? And where are the pillars of national integration, those self-appointed apostles of Islam, Maulana Maududi, Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan, Mian Mumtaz Daultana, Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan, and other West Pakistani leaders today? They have not found time to come even for a day to Bangladesh to extend sympathy and succor to the survivors." (Karim, S.A., 'Sheikh Mujib: Triumph and Tragedy', UPL, revised edition, 2009, p. 169). Every symbolic word from this speech mattered ►

- to the long-deprived people of East Pakistan who were campaigning against growing disparity between the two regions. They were certainly moved by this humane touch of leadership and this was reflected in the voting pattern in the December and January elections that followed.

Observing the indifference of the Yahya Khan government even in the face of a disaster of that magnitude, Sheikh Mujib said – “Power must be won by the people, whether it be through elections, or if elections are aborted, through the strength of an awakened people. The people have already voted in their hearts and their minds. They have had enough of ‘strong centers.’ They have had enough of the crimes committed in the name of ‘national integration’. The urge of the people of Bangladesh for autonomy cannot be denied. For those of the rulers who think that the people’s will can be ignored, let them be warned. Bangladesh is now awake. It will give its verdict in the polls if the polls are not frustrated. If the polls are frustrated, the people of Bangladesh will owe it to the millions who have died, to make the supreme sacrifice of another million lives, if need be. So that we can live as a free people and so that Bangladesh can be master of her own destiny.” (Muhith, A.M.A, Bangladesh, Emergence of a Nation, University Press Limited, Second Edition, 1992, Page No-191)

Although the brunt of the 1970 cyclonic disaster was faced by southern districts and the offshore islands of East Pakistan, its socio-psychological and economic impact fell on the entire incipient Bengali nationalism. “The Bhola Cyclone re-framed long-standing grievances and injected new layers of immediacy and urgency to in-process political movements in Pakistan” (Biswas, S., Daly, P. ‘Cyclone Not Above Politics’: East Pakistan disaster politics, and the 1970 Bhola Cyclone, Cambridge University Press, p-28). While President Yahya repeatedly gave assurances of effective post-disaster interventions, Bhola remained without food. A cholera epidemic was imminent there due to water contamination. In response to a journalist on whether timely deployment of the

Pakistani navy would have saved lives, Yahya Khan denied the allegations and stated: ‘I hope they [Awami League] come to power and do better. I have tried to do my maximum (ibid, p-24)’. These words of Yahya also indicated which way the political air was blowing then.

Finally, the 1970’s general elections reflected adequately the pent-up dissatisfaction against the government led by Pakistani elites represented by Yahya Khan at that moment. It was supposed to be held in October 1970 but was rescheduled to December 1970 and January 1971. In total, twenty-four political parties took part in the elections. Against the 300 National Assembly seats, 1957 candidates filled up the nomination papers and finally, 1579 candidates could contest the election. The result of the election was the explosive outcome of the Bengalis’ long-awaited quest for autonomy. The country voted for the Six-Point Program of Awami League and wholeheartedly demonstrated their reliance on Sheikh Mujib. Out of 169 National Assembly seats, the Awami League finally gained 167 seats and 288 out of 300 Provincial Assembly seats. Also, the two non-Awami League members who won National Assembly seats were Nurul Amin, a leader of the Pakistan Democratic Party who was committed to provincial autonomy of a modified scale, and Raja Tridiv Roy, an independent ethnic minority leader of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, who was committed to the Six-Point Programme and initially sought for Awami League’s nomination before contesting the elections as a non-party independent candidate. However, these two members could not finally stick to their promises and went against the war of liberation, parking themselves in the cabinet of the Pakistani government. Despite these exceptions, it can safely be said that the 1970 election showed what the Bengalis inspired by Bangabandhu truly wanted at heart (ibid, page no- 194).

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BRIEF NEWS

Pentagon moves Israel under Central Command



In a rare example of training with CENTCOM forces, Israeli F-35s alongside F-35As from the US Air Force's Abu Dhabi-based 421st Expeditionary Fighter Squadron during Exercise 'Enduring Lightning' on 22 October 2020. (US Air Force)

The US Department of Defense (DoD) has transferred responsibility for military-to-military engagement and defence planning with Israel from US European Command (EUCOM) to US Central Command (CENTCOM).

The move announced by the Pentagon on 15 January follows recent diplomatic moves by outgoing US President Donald Trump to end the political and military isolation of the Jewish state with several Arab countries.

Before the realignment, EUCOM was responsible for co-ordinating military-to-military links with the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) from its headquarters in Stuttgart, Germany. Now CENTCOM will fulfil these functions from its main headquarters in Tampa, Florida, and deployed headquarters in the Middle East.

"The move is part of unified command plan changes," the DoD said. "When the Reagan administration set up CENTCOM in 1983, officials left Israel as part of EUCOM. Arab nations, except Egypt, did not recognise the Jewish state. US military co-ordination in the region – including multilateral exercises and operations – would have been complicated."

"The easing of tensions between Israel and its Arab neighbours subsequent to the Abraham Accords [in 2020] has provided a strategic opportunity for the United States to align key partners against shared threats in the Middle East," it added. "Israel is a leading strategic partner for the United States, and this will

open up additional opportunities for co-operation with our US Central Command partners while maintaining strong co-operation between Israel and our European allies."

Russia announces intention to withdraw from Open Skies Treaty

The Russian Foreign Ministry announced in a statement on its website on 15 January that Russia would begin the process of withdrawing from the Open Skies Treaty. The announcement followed the formal withdrawal of the United States from the treaty on 22 November 2020 on what the Russian Foreign Ministry described as a far-fetched pretext that caused serious damage to the treaty, the role as an instrument for strengthening confidence and security [of which] was undermined.

After the US declared its intention in May 2020 to withdraw from the treaty, 11 European countries – Belgium, the Czech Republic, Finland, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, and Sweden – published a joint statement announcing that they would continue to implement the Open Skies Treaty, while calling on Russia to lift its restrictions on flights under the treaty. The Russian Foreign Ministry said in its 15 January statement that Moscow's proposals for maintaining the viability of the treaty did not receive support from US allies.

When it announced last May that it would withdraw from the treaty, the US cited repeated Russian violations, like the refusal to allow access to observation flights within a 10 km corridor along the country's border with the Russian-occupied Georgian regions of



Computer-generated image of the Tu-214ON, configured for Open Skies flights that Russia no longer needs for that purpose now that it is withdrawing from the treaty. (Tupolev)

- ▶ Abkhazia and South Ossetia, as well as restrictions placed on using an Open Skies refuelling airfield in the Russian-occupied region of Crimea.

Slovenia to procure Spartan airlifter



Slovenia is set to become the latest operator of the Italian-built C-27J Spartan airlifter, the government has announced. (Janes/Patrick Allen)

Slovenia is to acquire the Leonardo C-27J Spartan transport aircraft, with the country's government announcing on 15 January that the Covid-19 pandemic had exposed a lack of national airlift capacity and capability.

Having evaluated a number of options, the Slovenian 15th Aviation Wing (15th Polk Vojaskega Letalstva: 15th PVL) component of the joint Slovenian Armed Forces (SAF) is to receive one or two of the Italian-built airlifters by 2025.

"A market study was conducted involving manufacturers and users of potential types of aircraft belonging to the category of light (CASA C295 manufactured by Airbus, and C-27J Spartan manufactured by Leonardo), and medium (C-130J-30 Hercules manufactured by Lockheed Martin, C-390 Millennium by Embraer, A400M by Airbus) transport aircraft and used aircraft providers," the government said.

As the government noted, with Slovenia's medium and heavy-lift requirements already adequately catered for under both the NATO-supported Strategic Airlift Capability (SAC) and NATO-supported Strategic Airlift International Solution (SALIS) programmes, the decision was taken to acquire a light transport aircraft, which in turn led to the decision to go with the C-27J. "Two types of tactical transport aircraft were included in the final assessment, but after examining the minimum military technical requirements, the C-27J Spar-

tan proved to be the best," the government said. "The purchase of one C-27J Spartan aircraft will also partially meet the [NATO] alliance's performance targets. Two such aircraft would be needed to fully meet the performance targets."

Globemaster III marks four million hours

The Boeing C-17 Globemaster III strategic transport aircraft has surpassed the four million flight hours milestone.

The milestone was announced on 15 January by the UK Royal Air Force's (RAF's) 99 Squadron that operates the type. Having entered service with the US Air Force (USAF) in 1993, it took 13 years for the type to reach one million hours in March 2006, with the two million hours coming only five years later in December 2010. This was followed five years later by three million hours in May 2015, and now the four millionth hour mark. All of these figures amount to the many hours flown by all C-17s built since the type entered service.



As a member of the global C-17 userbase, the United Kingdom has contributed 140,000 of the four million hours so far flown. (Crown Copyright)

Ukraine to field An-178 airlifter

Ukraine is to field the Antonov An-178, with the announcement in early January that the manufacturer has received USD105 million for three of the airlifters for the country's armed forces.

The order, which represents the first domestic contract for Antonov to supply aircraft to the military since Ukraine gained its independence in 1991, will see the twin jet engine transport aircraft delivered in 2023.

News of the order came some 19 months after the Ukrainian government announced its intent in June



- 2019 to buy 13 An-178s, with entry into service slated for 2022.



The An-178 is set to join the Ukrainian armed forces, with the government awarding Antonov its first domestic military contract since independence in 1991. (Janes/Gareth Jennings)

Having been announced in 2010 and making its maiden flight in May 2015, the An-178 is essentially an An-158 regional jet with a rear-loading ramp, while specifications listed in *Janes All The World's Aircraft: Development & Production* give the An-178 a cargo hold measuring 16.65 m including ramp (12.85 m excluding ramp); a 2.745 m width at the floor and a height of 2.75 m; and a floor area of 40 m² and a hold volume of 125 m³ (both including the ramp). Its wingspan is 28.84 m and it is 32.95 m long and 10.14 m tall. The aircraft has a maximum payload of 18 tonnes and a range of 1,000 km fully loaded. Its cruise speed is 445 kt and requires a 2,500 m runway from which to operate.

US Army gains approval to move IBCS into production

Pentagon acquisition chief Ellen Lord has green-lit production of the US Army's new battle command system, Department of Defense (DoD) and service officials told *Janes* on 13 January.

Lord formally approved Milestone C for the service's Integrated Battle Command System (IBCS) just days before she is set to step down on 20 January. The decision enables the army to award a production contract for the Northrop Grumman-developed system. If all goes as planned, the system could be ready for initial operational test and evaluation around mid-2021.

IBCS uses multiple sensors and effectors to extend the 'battlespace', provide soldiers with 360° protection, increase survivability by enabling early detection and continuous tracking, and defeat a complex threat set.

More specifically, the network connects army radars, combines their targeting data, and passes on that data to whichever launcher is best suited to take a shot against a target.

Army leaders have spent more than USD2.5 billion on the effort since 2009. In 2016, though, the programme suffered a major setback when it failed a limited user test (LUT), and the army revamped the effort.

Four years later, the army conducted another LUT at White Sands Missile Range, New Mexico where two Patriot radars, two Sentinel radars, Patriot launchers, two battery engagement operations centres, and two battalion engagement operations centres communicated over seven different Integrated Fire Control Network (IFCN) relays within a 70 km area to down targets.



Back-up Patriot radars are shown here at White Sands Missile Range for the 2020 IBCS limited user test. DoD has given its blessing for the army to move its IBCS into production. (Janes/Ashley Roque)

US Air Force downselects Northrop Grumman for F-16 electronic warfare suite

The US Air Force (USAF) has downselected Northrop Grumman as the sole contractor to complete final project efforts to provide the electronic warfare (EW) suite for the service's Lockheed Martin F-16 Fighting Falcon fleet.

Northrop Grumman spokesman Stephen Lamb said on 11 January that the company was selected in 2019 to develop a prototype internally mounted EW suite and digital radar warning receiver for F-16s. Northrop Grumman, he said, is performing on this contract. L3Harris was also competing under this contract. However, L3Harris spokesperson Kristin Jones said on





The US Air Force has downselected Northrop Grumman as the sole contractor to complete final project efforts to provide the electronic warfare (EW) suite for the service's Lockheed Martin F-16 Fighting Falcon fleet. (Northrop Grumman)

- ▶ 12 January that the company was not selected to move forward.

This EW suite will protect pilots from radio frequency (RF)-guided weapons by detecting, identifying, and defeating advanced threat systems, according to a company statement. Northrop Grumman's solution uses common building blocks and architecture. Lamb said the company has combined its ultra wideband radar warning receiver technology with a lightweight processor and digital transmitter modules to provide effective protection.

Northrop Grumman will deliver and demonstrate a safety of flight-qualified prototype to meet customer requirements under this other transaction agreement (OTA) contract, and is working toward its fielding. Lamb said the OTA period of performance ends in mid-2021.

North Korea unveils Pukguksong-5 SLBM at military parade

Less than a week after announcing plans to modernise its military and bolster its nuclear arsenal, North Korea unveiled new missile systems, including the latest version of its Pukguksong (also spelled Pukkuksong) series of submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs), at a military parade held in the evening on 14 January.

The parade, which was held at Pyongyang's Kim Il-sung Square to mark the end of the Eighth Congress

of the ruling Workers' Party of Korea (WPK), took place only a day after media reports emerged about South Korea's plans to begin conducting underwater test launches of its own SLBM later this year.

North Korea paraded at least four mock-ups of the new Pukguksong-5 SLBM on the flatbed of trucks, according to images provided by the state-run Korean Central News Agency (KCNA), which did not provide any details about the weapon's dimensions or performance.

Based on the images, the Pukguksong-5's ogival nose cone is more elongated than that of the Pukguksong-4, making it look 'pointier', but, other than that, the two missiles appear to be very similar in design, including in terms of length and diameter.



North Korea displayed at least four mock-ups of the new Pukguksong-5 SLBM at a military parade held in the evening on 14 January to mark the end of the Eighth Congress of the ruling WPK. (KCNA)

RAN's first Supply-class AOR vessel arrives at homeport in Sydney

The first of two Supply-class auxiliary oiler replenishment (AOR) ships for the Royal Australian Navy (RAN) has arrived at its homeport in Sydney Harbour.

The 19,500-tonne vessel, which will be known as HMAS *Supply* (II) (with pennant number A195) once it is commissioned in April, arrived for the first time at Fleet Base East in Sydney, New South Wales, on 15 January, according to a statement issued that same day by the Department of Defence (DoD) in Canberra.

"The arrival of *Supply* into Sydney Harbour today marks the beginning of a new capability for the Royal





The RAN's future AOR vessel, Supply, arrived for the first time at Fleet Base East in Sydney, New South Wales, on 15 January. (Commonwealth of Australia/Department of Defence)

- ▶ Australian Navy, one that will extend the endurance and operational range of Australia's entire naval fleet," said Defence Minister Linda Reynolds.

The move comes after the DoD formally accepted the 173.9 m-long ship from Spanish shipbuilder Navantia on 8 January.

PLAGF operating new tracked ATV for high-altitude logistics support

State-owned broadcaster China Central Television (CCTV) revealed in mid-January that the People's Liberation Army Ground Force (PLAGF) is operating a new tracked all-terrain vehicle (ATV) to provide logistics support to troops deployed in hard-to-reach high-altitude areas.

In a news report published on its js7tv.cn website, CCTV said that the four-door vehicle, the designation of which was not disclosed, can be used to supply troops stationed in plateau regions at altitudes of more than 5,000 m above sea level.

The ATV, which was shown towing an open-top tracked rear module, is equipped with caterpillar tracks made of metalloid, can climb slopes with an inclination of more than 35°, has an average speed of 40 km/h, and can deliver up to 1.5 tons of supplies, according to CCTV. Both modules have evenly spaced road wheels on both sides.

The state-owned Global Times newspaper reported

that the recently delivered vehicle, which appears to be armoured and was shown painted in PLAGF camouflage, has entered service with the PLAGF's "plateau transportation troops": a euphemism used by state media that often refers to some of the troops operating in either the Tibet or Xinjiang military commands.

CCTV provided no further details about the vehicle but it appears to be based on the JM8 ATV from Chinese company Guizhou Zhanyang Power Heavy Industry that was first identified by Janes in 2015.

Norway scraps frigate Helge Ingstad

The Forsvarsmateriell (FMA), the Norwegian Defence Materiel Agency, signed a contract with Norscrap West on 11 January to scrap the Fridtjof Nansen-class frigate KNM Helge Ingstad. The company will scrap the frigate at its facility at Hanøytangen by the end of the year, according to the FMA website. The agency valued the contract at approximately NOK60 million (nearly USD7 million), with sales of the metal recovered expected to reduce the cost by several million kroner.

The FMA said the vessel will be scrapped in Norway by a domestic company to protect the ship's secrets, with agency technical experts overseeing the work in accordance with Norway's Security Act.

Helge Ingstad was seriously damaged on 8 November 2018 after colliding with the tanker Sola TS in waters just outside Ågåtnes oil terminal in Hjeltefjorden, running aground and later sinking in shallow water, after which the frigate's missiles and torpedoes were recovered.

The Norwegian Ministry of Defence told Janes on 15 January that sailing activity by the navy's remaining frigates has been reduced this month as a follow-up to the findings of a draft report by the Accident Investigation Board Norway (AIBN) submitted on 14 December 2020. The ministry said the three frigates will not sail in January but did not expect this to have an immediate effect on operational capabilities. Two of the frigates, KNM Roald Amundsen and KNM Thor Heyerdahl, are undergoing planned scheduled maintenance this month and temporary measures have been implemented so the third, KNM Otto Sverdrup, can conduct a planned exercise with the UK Royal Navy.



► Australia selects AH-64E Apache Guardian to replace Tiger Armed Reconnaissance Helicopters



Canberra announced on 15 January that it selected the Boeing AH-64E Apache Guardian (seen here in Taiwanese service) attack helicopter to replace the Australian Army's fleet of 22 Airbus Tiger ARHs. (Republic of China Army)

Canberra has selected the Boeing AH-64E Apache Guardian attack helicopter to replace the Australian Army's fleet of 22 Airbus Tiger Armed Reconnaissance Helicopters (ARHs), Australian Defence Minister Linda Reynolds said on 15 January.

The first of 29 Apaches equipped with improved sensors, communications suites, attack capabilities, and improved survivability is expected to be delivered in 2025, said the minister.

While formal approval by the US State Department for the acquisition has yet to be announced by the US Defense Security Cooperation Agency, the cost of the 29 Apaches together with spares, sensors, communications, training, and facilities is expected to be around AUD4 billion (USD3.1 billion), sources said.

The Australian Department of Defence (DoD) had considered a number of helicopters against key criteria of proven ability, maturity, and an off-the-shelf operating system, Reynolds said.

Lessons learnt from issues with the Tiger ARH and other rotary-wing projects had informed the strategy to seek a proven, mature replacement capability. "The Apache Guardian is the most lethal, most survivable, and lowest risk option meeting all of Defence's capability, through-life support, security, and certification requirements," said Reynolds.

"By pursuing a proven and low-risk system offered by

the Apache, Defence will avoid the ongoing cost and schedule risk typically associated with developmental platforms," she added.

The Tiger ARH first entered Australian service in December 2004. It has suffered performance and availability issues but is now delivering on its promised capabilities, which includes operating from the Royal Australian Navy's (RAN's) two Canberra-class landing helicopter dock (LHD) vessels.

Russian MiG-31BM deploy to new Arctic base

Russian Naval Aviation MiG-31BM combat aircraft have stood up a quick-reaction alert (QRA) detachment in the Novaya Zemlya archipelago in Russia's Arctic north.

The deployment of the aircraft was announced on the Russian Ministry of Defence website on 16 January by the Northern Fleet press service, which said the interceptors would perform "combat duty" – the Russian military term for QRA – from Rogachevo airfield in Novaya Zemlya.

"MiG-31BM fighter-interceptors of the Northern Fleet's separate mixed aviation regiment took up combat duty to protect the Russian Federation's state border in the airspace of the Novaya Zemlya archipelago," the announcement said. "The ceremony taking up combat duty was held at Rogachevo airfield. Carrying out combat duty on the archipelago will significantly increase the reach of Northern Fleet fighter aircraft in the Arctic and significantly expand control of airspace over the waters of the Northern Sea Route."

The deployment of the aircraft followed a series of training deployments to Rogachevo airfield by MiG-31BM in 2020, according to the Northern Fleet.



MiG-31BM arriving in Novaya Zemlya to take up QRA. (Northern Fleet press service)

▶ Insitu to pay USD25m to settle UAV overcharge case



Boeing's Insitu company has agreed to pay USD25 million to settle allegations it overcharged the US military to supply and operate ScanEagle unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs) for intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance (ISR) missions, the US Justice Department announced on 12 January.

According to the department, Insitu "knowingly induced" the US Navy Department and US Special Operations Command (SOCOM) to award seven no-bid contracts at "inflated prices" from 2009 to 2017. While Insitu told the two agencies it was going to use new parts to conduct its work, it actually used less expensive "recycled, refurbished, reconditioned, and/or reconfigured parts" instead, violating the federal False Claims Act, the department alleged.

"Taxpayers deserve to get what they paid for – especially in significant no-bid military contracts," said Brian Moran, US attorney for the Western District of Washington state. "Cases such as this one should be seen as a warning to defence contractors that false claims have no place in military purchasing."

Insitu denied the allegations but said the settlement "resolves a complex case". The company insisted that the information it disclosed to the US Navy and SOCOM "satisfied all requirements". It also said it provided "superior ISR services" to both entities "at all times".

The allegations surfaced in a lawsuit that former Insitu executive D R O'Hara filed in federal court in Seattle, Washington, in 2015, the department said. While the federal government ultimately took over the case, whistleblower law entitles O'Hara to receive USD4.6 million of the recovered funds.

Leonardo delivers Miysis DIRCMs for UK Shadow fleet

Leonardo has delivered to the UK Ministry of Defence (MoD) Miysis Directed Infrared Countermeasure (DIRCM) suites for integration aboard the Royal Air Force's (RAF's) Raytheon Shadow special mission aircraft fleet.

Leonardo staff at the company's Edinburgh facility in Scotland marked delivery of the final Miysis DIRCM system for the UK's Shadow fleet in late 2020. (Leonardo)

Speaking to *Janes* on 11 January, Head of DIRCM Campaigns at Leonardo Edinburgh, Dave Gourlay, said that despite restrictions placed on the workforce due to Covid-19, the company had completed its September 2019 defensive aids suite (DAS) contract with the MoD ahead of schedule.

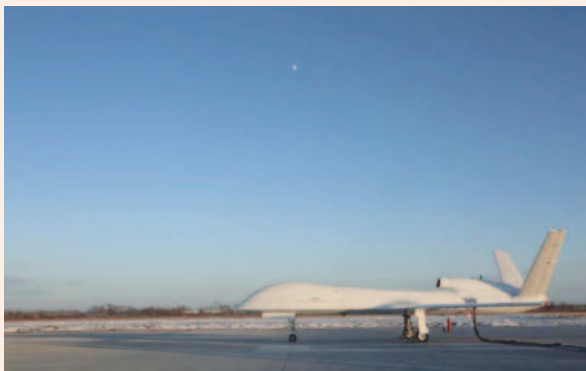
"We are now allowed by the MoD to reveal that the delivery of all Miysis systems for the Shadow were handed over ahead of schedule. The numbers are not releasable, but the first was delivered in Q4 of 2019, and the last in Q4 of 2020," Gourlay said.

As noted at the time of the award at the DSEI 2019 defence exhibition in London, Leonardo was prime on the effort to protect the Shadow electronic intelligence (ELINT) aircraft from the latest-generation infrared (IR)-seeking missiles.

With Leonardo having now delivered all of its Miysis systems and DAS controllers, Thales is providing its Elix-IR threat warner and Vicon countermeasures dispensing system for the full defensive package that will be integrated aboard the Shadow fleet by Raytheon. Gourlay declined to say when all of these elements might be integrated and in use, although the MoD had previously noted an initial operating capability date of "early 2021".



► **China's WJ-700 Falcon armed reconnaissance UAV makes maiden flight**



Beijing-based Haiying General Aviation Equipment (Hiwing), a subsidiary of state-owned defence prime China Aerospace Science and Industry Corporation (CASIC), has formally unveiled its indigenously developed WJ-700 medium/high-altitude long endurance (MALE/HALE) unmanned aerial vehicle (UAV) at an undisclosed location on 11 January.

The company also announced that the turbojet-powered WJ-700 – now officially known as the Lieying (Falcon) “high-altitude, high-speed integrated surveillance and strike”, or armed reconnaissance UAV – had performed its maiden flight on the same day.

CASIC Hiwing's WJ-700 Falcon UAV prototype seen at an undisclosed location during its maiden flight. (Hiwing General Aviation Equipment)

Janes earlier reported that the Falcon is being developed and marketed by Hiwing, although the company's present air vehicle product portfolio can be traced to the UAV Technology Institute attached to CASIC's Third Academy. The institute originally specialised in the research and development (R&D) and production of cruise missiles but has since expanded its portfolio to include UAVs.

Specifications released by Hiwing at the public unveiling of the Falcon at Airshow China 2018 – then a large-scale concept model – stated that the air vehicle has a maximum take-off weight (MTOW) of 3,500 kg and a stated endurance of up to 20 hours. Unlike the vehicle-launched, cruise missile-like form factor of the company's earlier WJ-500, WJ-600, and WJ-600A/D armed reconnaissance UAVs, the WJ-700 adopts a

more conventional monoplane design with an aerodynamically streamlined fuselage measuring about 9–10 m long that supports a retractable tricycle undercarriage (with the main landing gear retracting inward and the nosewheel rearward).

Turkey leads NATO VJTF in 2021

The Turkish Army is leading the NATO Response Force (NRF) Very High Readiness Joint Task Force (VJTF) in 2021, NATO announced on its website on 30 December. The VJTF core is provided by Turkey's 66th Mechanised Infantry Brigade with 4,200 troops, taking over from Poland.

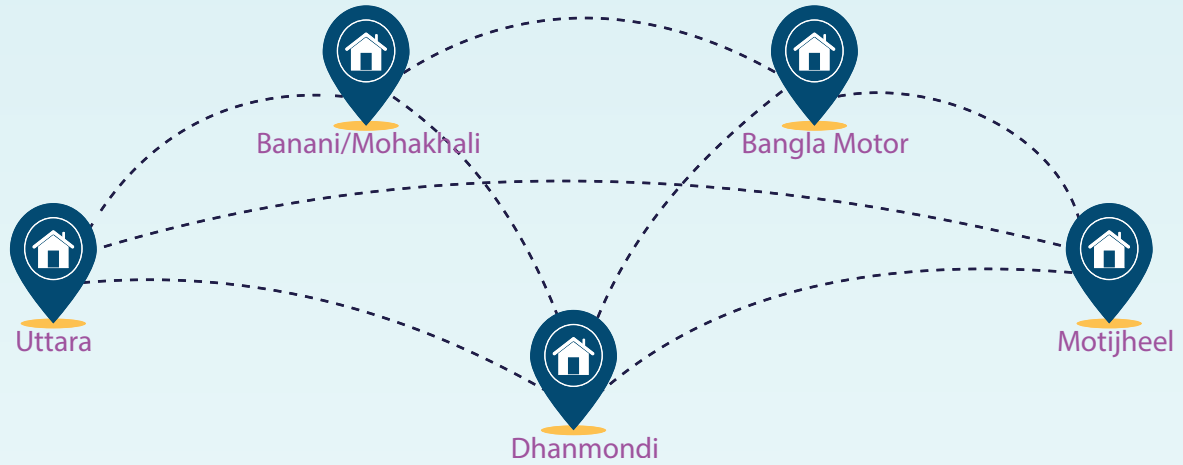
Turkey's 66th Mechanised Infantry Brigade was certified to lead the NRF VJTF in 2021 during exercise 'Anatolian Caracal 2020' in October (photo of Vuran armoured vehicle leaving pontoon bridge). (NATO's Allied Land Command)

NATO said the brigade is one of the most mobile units in the alliance and that Turkey had made “substantial” investments in it, particularly in logistics. The brigade operates the latest models of Turkish armoured fighting vehicles, anti-tank missiles, and artillery according to NATO. These include Vuran and Kirpi 4×4 armoured vehicles, Firtina 155 mm self-propelled howitzers, and HY1-12 120 mm mortars. It also has TOW anti-tank guided missiles.

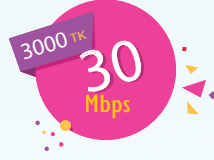
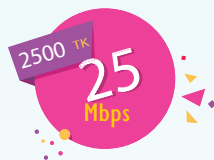
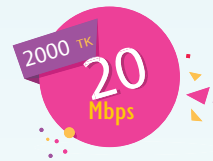
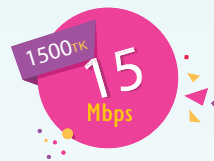
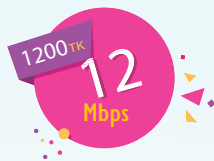
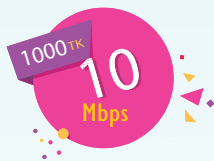
The brigade was certified to lead the VJTF during exercise 'Anatolian Caracal 2020' in October.



Another 2,200 troops are provided to the VJTF by Albania, Hungary, Italy, Latvia, Montenegro, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Spain, the United Kingdom, and the United States. ■



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