

Geopolitics and Humanities: Reaching the General Public and Its Possible Impacts



Syeda Fayyada Mohsin Zora

141013006

Department of English and Humanities

Fall 2021

Geopolitics and Humanities: Reaching the General Public and Its Possible Impacts

A Thesis Submitted to
The Department of English and Humanities
University of Liberal Arts, Bangladesh

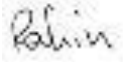
In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
BA in English

Syeda Fayyada Mohsin Zora
141013006
Thesis Supervisor: Mohammad Zaki Rezwan

Fall 2021

CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

I hereby declare that this thesis is the student's own work and effort. All sources of information incorporated here have been duly acknowledged. This thesis has been submitted with my approval.



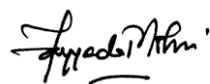
Mohammad Zaki Rezwan

Senior Lecturer

Department of English and Humanities

DECLARATION

This thesis is a presentation of my original research work. Wherever contributions of others are involved, every effort is made to indicate this clearly, with due reference to the literature, and acknowledgement of collaborative research and discussions.



Syeda Fayyada Mohsin Zora

141013006

Department of English and Humanities

Dedication

For my mother, Mrs. Yeasmin Feroz, who left the world before she could watch me get to the finish line. Everything I have ever done and everything I will ever do is for you, mummy.

Acknowledgements

I am sincerely grateful to the Almighty for giving me the strength to finish this report amidst the many hardships, and supporting me to complete my undergraduate journey.

I am grateful to my supervisor, Mohammad Zaki Rezwani, Senior Lecturer, for his support, guidance, and encouragement throughout this process.

I would like to thank all my course teachers for their help and guidance over the course of my journey in the Department of English and Humanities.

Finally, I would like to express my utmost gratitude for my family members, who have been a constant source of strength and courage, and have helped me believe in myself and my ability to achieve all that I wish to achieve.

Table of Contents

Abstract	7
Chapter 1: Introduction	8
Chapter 2: Literature Review	11
Chapter 3: Analysis.....	15
Chapter 4: Findings.....	28
Chapter 5: Conclusion.....	30
Works Cited.....	31
Appendix.....	32

Abstract

Geopolitics, as a subject, has rapidly been gaining interest around the world - not only for people interested to work or study in the field, but also for individuals eager to understand how the political climate in various regions affects other countries, including theirs. However, with the topic being vast and complex, without prior knowledge it may prove to be difficult to grasp for people unfamiliar with the terms of the trade. This paper will largely focus on how geopolitical issues can be planned, edited, and presented to the common public in a way that accurately depicts the basics of said issues, while also highlighting the impacts certain political events have on our lives, with the aim to promote more engagement from the general public, especially the youth, in geopolitical matters. The study will also explore the various ways in which students from the Humanities discipline can understand the nature of geopolitics in relation to context, location, cultures, human behavior, and power dynamics.

In order to better understand how editing and planning can play a role in this matter, this report will showcase samples from articles published in the English daily newspaper *Dhaka Tribune* on geopolitical matters, along with in-depth analyses on how the final versions were decided upon. I will also include my findings and thoughts on the data collected.

Chapter One

Introduction

Culture is what forms the basis of human behavior, perception, and communication. It shapes and molds us into categories, and helps to create distinctions amongst various groups of people. It also helps provide context for events, and adds to the background of incidents that may seem unfamiliar. Different cultures also allow for varied opinions on certain issues, understanding which help us to see things from a broader perspective. At the same time, present day news media plays a vital role in addressing these varied viewpoints and presenting more diverse, more impactful content that can influence readers positively.

A series of studies conducted by Dr. Richard Nisbett from the University of Michigan carried out experiments involving American and Asian students to determine how their varying cultures impacted their perception on things. Dr. Nisbett concluded with the theory that people from different cultures not only think of different things, but also think differently (“How Culture Molds Habits of Thought”, *New York Times Archive*). For instance, when asked to describe what they noticed from an animation of an underwater scenario, the American students mainly described the largest and fastest moving fish, while the Asian students all described the background and surroundings in great detail. This implies that Asians put a lot of importance on context and background in order to comprehend something.

This report explores how editing and planning policies can assist in presenting culture and context in terms of complex geopolitical topics, in order to increase readability.

Background:

I began my internship with *Dhaka Tribune* from October 2021, when I was put in charge of putting together a monthly article on certain geopolitical roundtable discussions for the weekly supplement, *World in Review*. My responsibilities included attending the event, gathering the information and acquiring the first draft from the assigned reporter, collecting information and photographs of all the speakers in attendance, editing the article, and laying it out for print. The articles were based on round-table discussions on various geopolitical issues being organized every month by *Dhaka Tribune*, in partnership with Bangladesh Institute of Peace and Security Studies (BIPSS). The first session of the series, “Quad and AUKUS: Creating Strategic Ripples in the Indo-Pacific,” was held on October 28, 2021; the second was titled “Taliban Takeover in Afghanistan: Regional and International Implications,” and it took place on November 30, 2021; the latest of the discussions was held on December 19, 2021, and it was titled “Belt and Road Initiative: Connecting the World.” The data analyzed in this report has been collected from the initial drafts of the articles written by the assigned reporter and printed articles on these 3 events, to showcase how the editing and planning process for the content aims to increase readership on geopolitical issues.

Company Profile: Dhaka Tribune

Dhaka Tribune is an English daily newspaper of the country, which operates both online and offline. It started publishing in 2013, and has become one of the leading English newspapers of the country. According to a report by Information Minister Mohammad Hasan Mahmud, the circulation rate for *Dhaka Tribune* stood at 40,600 in 2020 (*UNB* report). The newspaper is owned by Gemcon Group, and the founding and chief editor of the newspaper is Zafar Sobhan.

Dhaka Tribune holds a liberal stance in editorial writing (Wikipedia), and according to their website, their tone is “non-judgemental, objective and fair.” It is also part of their pledge “to seek the truth, deliver the facts and offer relevant context and analysis where appropriate.” The website mentions their vision to “enable maximum participation in the national dialog”, while providing a platform for new voices and visions to be expressed.

Working for a leading English daily newspaper was an opportunity I could not refuse. With English Language and Literature as my major, writing, editing, and planning content on various human issues and caters to a wide range of people seemed like the perfect fit for me. I was never interested in political/geopolitical issues, and did not attempt to understand the complex concepts either. However, when I was put in charge of putting together the articles on geopolitical discussions, a colleague helped me understand the concepts and also shed light on the impacts of geopolitical issues on Bangladesh, which I was previously unaware of. This brought on the idea for this report, to explore ways to simplify geopolitical concepts so they reach a larger audience.

A large portion of my responsibilities during my internship included the planning, editing, and execution of the articles based on roundtable discussions. This put me in charge of making executive decisions on which of the points discussed should be mentioned and to what extent, making sure the points of view of the attendees were presented accurately, and also to ensure that my edits did not compromise the quality and depth of the discussions that took place.

Though it is not explicitly stated in any of their policies, *Dhaka Tribune* has some guidelines for editing. During my training period, I was instructed to focus on correcting grammatical and spelling errors, while also simplifying the language in order to increase readability. Furthermore,

I was also told strictly to omit any and all incohesive and irrelevant information, and change the tone to a more neutral and respectful one.

In case of articles where the context is missing and/or unclear, if the authors and reporters are accessible, I have to collaborate with them to add or elaborate on it. In case of the supplement content, since both I and the reporter in charge had access to the audio files from the discussions, I had to refer back to those in case some of the content provided by the reporter was unclear or incomplete. Here, again, I had to make executive decisions as to which of the information written by the reporter was relevant, and which should be removed.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

With modern technology and the internet, the world has come under an umbrella. Having access to the internet means that information about almost anything is at the tip of our fingers. Media has played the most vital role in the spread of information since the beginning of time. It is the tool that has been used by humankind to gather information about not only the people around them, but also about lands far away.

But the media, especially in powerful countries, is influenced and controlled by the people in power. There is usually an approved narrative that is sold, which then reaches the masses. In his book titled *Media, Geopolitics, and Power: A View from the Global South (Geopolitics of Information)*, Herman Wasserman discusses how the involvement of various foreign companies in South African media and their people's dissatisfaction with the misrepresentation of their nation is testament to the fact that the media can play a vital role in the representation of a country, its people, its culture, and its political approaches. Misrepresentation not only impacts the internal dynamics of the country and how the leaders operate, but also affects the perception other nations may have of them. This, then, may lead to conflicts with other nations that severely impact the political climate of the world at large.

Therefore, we can assume from here that what we see in the news is not always the complete truth, and thus a lot of the information is lost when the rich and powerful narrate it. Creating a space for people to learn about specific geopolitical issues from live discussions, videos, or

feature articles can allow for misconceptions to be cleared up, thus giving way to better understanding and more interest in global geopolitics, especially from the youth.

At the same time, culture is a large factor in determining the behaviors, language, actions, and trends of a particular region. How one country operates or what is acceptable there may not make sense to someone from a different country; this does not always mean that either way is bad or wrong. However, failing to take the cultural differences into account or understanding the context may make way for misunderstandings to be formed and conflicts to rise among various nations. For example, the Western media has, time and again, painted a picture that women in Muslim-majority countries are oppressed and need to be saved, because they are made to cover their heads and are not brought to the forefront in most cases. In a study titled “The Portrayal of Muslim Women in Western Media: A Content Analysis of the New York Times and The Guardian”, Faiswal Kasirye, International Islamic University Malaysia, studies 49 articles from the New York Times and The Guardian which contribute to the misrepresentation of Muslim women as oppressed and “victims”. This kind of narrative from popular and reliable media platforms conditions its many international readers into believing in the incorrect portrayal of Muslim women without any understanding of their religion or culture.

In an article called “The Geopolitics of Culture: Five Substrates” on the Oxford University Politics Blog (OXPOL), author Nayef Al-Rodhan states:

“Culture has a salient geopolitical relevance in a world that defines itself by much more than diplomatic exchanges and inter-state relations. This is primarily because of the deeply visceral and emotional connotations associated with identity issues. This has been the case throughout history, as exchanges have taken place between people of different cultures for

millennia, but today they are marked by unprecedented intensity and scope of relations. This offers great opportunities on a number of levels but also has the potential to initiate tension or conflict when combined with injustice, inequalities and insecurities.”

He further explains the 5 substrates that the relevance of culture on geopolitics relies on. Firstly, he says “large collective identities” are important influencers of global politics. He mentions, “The emotionality embedded in identity issues must be accounted for as it is a strong generator of political biases within and across state borders.”

Al-Rodhan also includes the significance of global security, which ensures the protection of states and cultures “through good governance at all levels that guarantees justice for all individuals, states, and cultures.” Thirdly, he points out that transcultural security should be ensured to protect human dignity, which is “a fundamental human need in the absence of which no engagement with other peoples, cultures or nations can be successful.” The author also mentions that instead of seeing significant cultural achievements of different nations as their individual accomplishments, we should consider it to be “one fluid human story, comprised of multiple geo-cultural domains that contain cultures and sub-cultures.” Finally, he states that no state can succeed by marginalizing others, and thus coexistence and respect should be practiced with other cultures in order to attain security.

From all the points made in this article, we can understand how culture is an essential element in determining the context and behavior of a nation or region, which can help us to fully grasp the power dynamics and political landscape of other nations. This can further help us to understand world geopolitics, the relationships between various nations, how these equations impact them and the rest of the world, and perhaps assist us to gain clarity on how the world operates.

Interestingly, geopolitics and humanities are interconnected in ways that may not seem obvious at first. Many works of art display power dynamics between countries or the oppression of the people in others; some literary works are known to be metaphors for significant political moves made historically. In the book *Popular Culture, Geopolitics, and Identity*, authors Jason Dittmer and Daniel Bos elaborate on how the British utilized popular culture like literature to implement their Empire, dismissing the principles of fairness and equality that they were meant to follow (Chapter Four). Furthermore, the use of popular media to present a narrative of other nations – such as Hollywood has done with North Korea and Russia, and Bollywood continues to do with Pakistan – is mentioned at length in this book. This, again, reiterates the power of media, as it assists nations to shape perceptions about and reactions towards other countries and cultures. With a morphed understanding of the power and actions of other nations, citizens may not be able to have a complete understanding of international and intercultural relations and conflicts. In that case, the accurate representation of different nations can help with the comprehension of various global historical events, that not only help us understand human nature and psychology, but also put into perspective various philosophies and theories that the study of humanities has helped us understand.

Chapter Three

Analysis

On their website, *Dhaka Tribune* claims to put out not only the news, but also relevant and engaging content that appeals to a wide range of readers, informs the public about important issues, and presents newer perspectives on various personal, national, and global matters. This vision has also been clear to me during my internship at the company. As can be seen from sections like the Features or Opinions pages of the newspaper, a large number of new and diverse contributing writers are given the space to write about topics that are new or from unique angles, so as to create more dialogue and broaden the readers' perspectives.

Over the years, *Dhaka Tribune* has produced multiple regular and special supplements based on particular themes and topics. One such supplement, *World in Review*, was introduced in September 2021, and is published weekly. The 8-pager supplement deals with various international and global topics, including opinions and think-pieces by professionals in the relevant fields.

From October 2021, *Dhaka Tribune* partnered up with Bangladesh Institute of Peace and Security Studies (BIPSS) in hosting monthly round-table discussions on a multitude of geopolitical issues, and subsequently publishing 2-page features in the *World in Review* supplement that summarize and highlight key points of discussion from each session. This is the section that I have been put in charge of, for the planning, editing, and final execution of the complete pages.

As the roundtable discussions are held once a month, there have only been 3 articles that have been printed in the period that I have worked in this department. This report will study samples from all 3 of the articles that have been published between November 2021 and January 2022, and observe the differences between the discussions that took place between professionals with a plethora of knowledge about said issues in relation to the edited versions that went on print. I will analyze the language used to introduce the geopolitical topics, how and why certain edits were made to the quotes from the speakers, and how the language in the final product may affect the readership of such articles. Below are 4 relevant samples, taken from the 3 articles, which have been analyzed in this study.

Sample 1	First draft	Final version
“Quad and AUKUS: Creating Strategic Ripples in the Indo-Pacific”, World in Review (p4-5), <i>Dhaka Tribune</i>; Published November 13, 2021	“If Bangladesh decides to be a part of the Indo-Pacific strategy in the military context, then it can have a military connotation; otherwise, Matarbari port will only serve economic and trade purposes.”	“Bangladesh must remain committed to the principles of a Free and Open Indo-Pacific (FOIP). It has ports which have significant geo-strategic importance, such as Matarbari. However, it must be emphasized that Dhaka would not join any military pact, agreement or strategy that would directly posture the country against

		another state.”
--	--	-----------------

Sample 1 has been taken from the article “Quad and AUKUS: Creating Strategic Ripples in the Indo-Pacific”, published on November 13, 2021 on the first event from the series of round-table discussions organized by BIPSS and *Dhaka Tribune*. This discussion focused on China’s relationship with superpowers like the United States, the United Kingdom, Japan, India, and Australia, and how the underlying conflicts may impact the political climate of Bangladesh. With a lot of foreign representatives in attendance, the discussion leaned towards these superpowers’ agendas and plans regarding China gaining more power. The possible impact of this on Bangladesh and the stance it is expected to take was brought into question. The portion taken from the first draft is from a section in the article where the key points of discussion are mentioned. However, without any context, this particular point may not have made sense to readers who are unfamiliar with the Matarbari port’s relevance in relation to this topic. I was aware that providing context wherever necessary is part of the company’s practice. Therefore, to clarify the relevance of the port and the neutral stance that Bangladesh is expected to make amidst brewing conflicts, I edited the key point and added some context. While the initial statement emphasized mainly on the possibility of Bangladesh taking up the Indo-Pacific strategy and the subsequent military angle attached to it: “If Bangladesh decides to be a part of the Indo-Pacific strategy in the military context, then it can have a military connotation.” In the final version, the emphasis was shifted to the ports in Bangladesh being vital for trade, and also that “...it must be emphasized that Dhaka would not join any military pact, agreement or strategy that would directly posture the country against another state.” The key point is still kept brief

while also ensuring that a reader with little knowledge on the matter can understand the stance being taken, thus reaching a wider audience as per the company's vision.

Sample 2	First draft	Final version
“An impending humanitarian crisis: What lies ahead for Afghanistan after the Taliban takeover?”, World in Review (p4-5), <i>Dhaka Tribune</i>; published on December 11, 2021	“We must reinsert the women into the narrative. In other words, we must rescue the woman from the clutches of the Taliban. When we talk about the role of women in Afghanistan, we must really put the conversation in the context of how women always and women's bodies always have been a part of war mongering missions and how it's a participant and a factor that would help us understand the status quo and monitor the ways in which women's lives in Afghanistan have been controlled, surveilled, and	“A conversation on Afghanistan must consider how international foreign policy is now geared towards feminist foreign policy. Immediately after 9/11, when the invasion of Afghanistan was becoming a reality, probably for the first time in modern contemporary political history, did we see instances where feminism was trotted out as one of the reasons why an invasion of a sovereign nation might be justified. So when we talk about the role of women in Afghanistan, we must really put the conversation in the context of how women and

	managed. So I think before we say, or generalize commentary, such as this is how women's lives have always been in Afghanistan, or this is about Islam, or this is about the misrepresentation of Islam, we must really put our discourse into perspective.”	women’s bodies have always been a part of warmongering missions, and we must really consider how Afghan women’s lives have, for years, been controlled, surveilled, and managed.”
--	---	--

Sample 2 is a quote by one of the speakers taken from the second roundtable discussion by BIPSS and *Dhaka Tribune*, titled “An impending humanitarian crisis: What lies ahead for Afghanistan after the Taliban takeover?” This discussion dealt with the Taliban takeover and its effects on other South Asian countries, including Bangladesh. Naturally, as with all other conversations about Afghanistan, women’s rights were brought up by various speakers; to which, one speaker, Dr. Nazia Manzoor, Senior Lecturer, North South University, responded at length and from a feminist and humanities perspective. It’s important to note here that the discussions last about 2 hours, with multiple participants speaking for an average of 10 minutes each. While every speaker raises important questions, due to space limitations, we have to make significant edits and omissions, and pick only the most vital points. Here, in the first draft, the writer chose one portion of the speaker’s 10-minute long speech which she thought to be the most vital portion. However, without some context, this portion may not have the same kind of impact that it is meant to have. In my opinion, beginning the quote with, “We must reinsert the women into the narrative. In other words, we must rescue the woman from the clutches of the Taliban” takes

away from the gravity of the problem. This particular quote being the only one that directly addressed the struggles of women in Afghanistan, it may have seemed a little out of place and, thus, less significant. However, the plights of Afghan women are caused by other deep-rooted problems of the nation and abroad; hence, while editing, I brought in a large portion of the background on the feminist movement and Afghanistan that the speaker had mentioned, such as, “Immediately after 9/11, when the invasion of Afghanistan was becoming a reality, probably for the first time in modern contemporary political history, did we see instances where feminism was trotted out as one of the reasons why an invasion of a sovereign nation might be justified.” Adding this helped to connect the issues spoken about and also emphasize on the fact that women’s issues are very much integrated in the ongoing conflicts, and are not to be considered merely a cultural or religious flaw on the Afghans’ part.

Sample 3	First draft	Final version
“An impending humanitarian crisis: What lies ahead for Afghanistan after the Taliban takeover?”, World in Review (p4-5), <i>Dhaka Tribune</i>; published on December 11, 2021	“Being a Muslim, it is really upsetting to listen to a few terms; Islamic terrorism, Taliban or terrorists. The Muslims are being called terrorists since 1979, and I feel ashamed. When a Christian commits a crime, we don't blame Christianity. Why did the superpowers -- the	<i>Omitted</i>

	Soviets, and the Americans go there? Leave them alone and let them lead their lives.”	
--	---	--

Putting the pages together from start to finish also meant that I had to make conscious, executive decisions while editing and finalizing the content. One of the challenges of this was that there were a number of influential and important individuals present as speakers at the event, and I had to ensure that they were not misquoted and/or misrepresented. Despite the space constraint for the article, my aim was to keep as many of the speakers’ quotes as possible, so that their valuable input did not go unshared. However, space was not the only constraint here. As can be seen in Sample 3, one speaker only expressed their personal feelings on their religion being portrayed poorly, and they did not back up their sentiments with any background information or explanation as to why the existing discrimination against Islam and Muslims is unfair or damaging. To me, the quote seemed too heavily based on emotions, and while the emotions echo those of other people from the same faith, I felt that this particular portion did not add much value to the article as a whole, and that it did not serve our purpose. Our aim was to present varied points of view from various experts on the topic, which could perhaps educate more people about the current circumstances in Afghanistan and assess the impacts it may have on its neighboring countries. Also, in my view, the Islamophobia the speaker mentioned is not only part of a much larger issue, but also remains an unclear and uncomfortable topic for many, and should be treaded carefully and comprehensively in order to create effective dialogue. Therefore, I made the decision to remove the quote from the final product.

Sample 4	First draft	Final version
“Belt and Road Initiative: Connecting the world”, World in Review (p4-5), <i>Dhaka Tribune</i>; published on January 8, 2022	Belt and Road Initiative (BRI): The context A reincarnation of the old Silk Road, the belt came first. The plan for the road is outlined by Xi Jinping in 2014. The road is the maritime route and the belt consists of the land routes. BRI also takes up a lot of bigger construction and infrastructure projects all around the world. For example, the Padma Bridge Rail Link project in Bangladesh, Central Asia China Gas Pipeline, Doraleh multipurpose Port in Djibouti, Mombasa-Nairobi Standard Gauge Railway in Kenya, the Melaka Gateway project in Malaysia, the Belgrade, Montenegro Bar port in Serbia etc	Belt and Road Initiative (BRI): The context The Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) is a combination of connectivity by land and maritime routes. The concept was first introduced by President Xi Jinping during his visit to Kazakhstan in 2013 and further explained during his address in Jakarta next year. Touted as the reincarnation of the old Silk Road, the belt came first. The plan for the road was outlined by Xi Jinping in 2014. The road is the maritime route and the belt consists of the land routes. So far, according to official statistics, 142 countries have

	including other very large infrastructures and mega projects all around the world.	signed on to BRI, which entails 42 countries in Sub Saharan Africa, 34 countries in Europe and Central Asia, 24 countries in East Asia and the Pacific, 17 countries of the Middle East in North Africa, 19 countries in the Latin America and the Caribbean, and 7 countries in South Asia. Thus, BRI's expansion has touched all the continents. There are also 66 international organizations that are connected to BRI, which includes various financial institutions and construction institutions, showcasing the variety of entities taking part in the initiative. The total cost approximation for the vision of BRI is estimated to be \$4 trillion which is massive to
--	---	--

		say the least. The World Bank estimates that by 2018, \$600 billion has already been spent on the BRI project and the funding which had slowed down due to the pandemic for the last two years is again picking up, with the pace of disbursement over 100 billion dollars a year and increasing. BRI has also taken up a lot of big construction and infrastructure projects all around the world. For example, the Padma Bridge Rail Link project in Bangladesh, Central Asia China Gas Pipeline, Doraleh Multipurpose Port in Djibouti, Mombasa-Nairobi Standard Gauge Railway in Kenya, the Melaka Gateway project in Malaysia, the Belgrade, Montenegro Bar port
--	--	---

		in Serbia etc including other very large mega infrastructure projects all around the world. The BRI essentially rests on six economic corridors; four land corridors, and two corridors that have maritime access. The corridors are Eurasia Land Bridge Economic Corridor, China-Mongolia-Russia Economic Corridor (CMREC), China-Central Asia-West Asia Economic Corridor (CCAWECC), China-Indochina Peninsula economic corridor (CICPEC), Bangladesh, China, India Myanmar economic corridor (BCIMEC) and China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC).
--	--	--

A lot of the time, my job includes not just editing a piece of work, but also doing my own research to verify the information I've been given, and sometimes adding more information to increase the weight and credibility of the article. In this case, for the third session of the BIPSS

and *Dhaka Tribune* series of round-tables, we decided to include a more thorough context for readers who may be unfamiliar with the Belt and Road Initiative. Upon receiving the first draft, I, myself, found it difficult to fully grasp the concept and purpose of the initiative. Therefore, after carrying out my own research on the topic and by the help of the recordings of the discussion, I was able to include more information that provides a more in-depth and comprehensive background to the topic at hand. As can be witnessed from the final version, a lot of statistics and information was included, which could make it easier for readers with little to no idea about the subject to better understand why this topic is relevant for Bangladesh or South Asia as a whole. It is also important, I believe, to make more readers aware of these initiatives that have a global impact. However, while our aim is to make the articles simpler in order to reach a wider audience, it is also important to not compromise with the complexities of the topics. Geopolitical issues are vast and complex in nature, and while some context can help the general public be introduced to the idea and gain interest in it, we also have to be careful not to delve too deep into the history and intricacies of the topic, and keep the focus on further discussions taking place to spread new ideas and opinions. With the information provided as context, it is my hope that readers who grasp the basic idea on the subject are encouraged to do their own research too in order to understand the issues better and continue the dialogue.

Chapter Four

Findings

From the analyses of the data given in the last chapter, what is certain is that context is vital in order to present new and complex ideas to the general public. Generally, as human nature goes, an unfamiliar or complicated topic which is not necessarily a part of one's area of expertise is something they tend to avoid. Even with news reports and mentions in the media, the technical jargon used or the direct mentions may discourage someone from trying to delve deeper into the subject. However, geopolitics is a subject that affects almost every country globally. Having some understanding of it can shed some light on the power dynamics between different nations, how the economies vary based on their cultures, how conflicts are resolved differently based on geographical location, and how all of these different factors may impact us as a country and a people. These are all grand ideas involving a multitude of factors, and so, studying these may prove to be overwhelming. However, if these complex ideas are made simpler, it could greatly impact how the general public, especially the youth, respond to global cultures and behaviors.

This is where planning and editing play an important role. Although part of a leading daily newspaper, the segment I worked for is, in itself, a special portion that branches out of the regular national news. The supplement *World in Review* offers the readers of *Dhaka Tribune* some insight into particular international news and events that may prove to be important for us as a nation. Moreover, the articles I have been in charge of are a new addition to the supplement. From the very first article that was published, I was obligated to present a thorough and comprehensive insight into the geopolitical issues discussed at the events. By way of paying attention to everything discussed, and assessing the significance of everything mentioned, I was

able to put together summaries of the events with sufficient information regarding the relevant topics.

Apart from the printed version of the articles, online versions were also uploaded to the website. Furthermore, the video footage from each of the 3 events was uploaded to the *Dhaka Tribune* YouTube channel, and garnered over a hundred views each. Therefore, it can be assumed that the content being put out is reaching a wide range of audiences through different mediums.

As a renowned newspaper, *Dhaka Tribune* has a dedicated reader-base, both online and on print. Furthermore, with more new media content being put out from the company's social media, it is rapidly attracting a larger audience that has come to expect quality content from the company. With each event, the number of attendees has increased, with more people, especially the youth, interested in participating in the discussions. Therefore, it can be expected that the geopolitical topics that are being brought to the forefront will attract more readers and broaden their knowledge on these subjects.

However, while the number of attendees for the roundtable discussions has increased gradually, it is still too early to assess the impact these articles may have on people's interest in geopolitics. In order to do so, further observations and analyses will be required over a longer period of time.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

Bangladesh has been gaining significant geopolitical importance in recent years. In an article from *Foreign Policy* titled “50 Years After Independence, Bangladesh Bursts Into Geopolitics”, C. Raja Mohan explains how, over the last few decades since its independence, Bangladesh has gone from being considered a “one of the world’s most destitute countries” to graduating from the category of least developed countries, owing to its gradual and significant economic growth. This, he says, has allowed Bangladesh to be well on its way to becoming a significant player in geopolitics, especially in the Indo-Pacific region. Under such circumstances, better understanding of geopolitical issues will enable the people of the country to be involved in future geopolitical possibilities for their country.

From what I understood through this process, it seems to me that, if presented accurately and explained in a way that properly depicts the vitality of world politics, more and more people will begin to pay attention to geopolitics. This also sheds light on the importance of a proper editing process, which does not only include making corrections to the grammar, but also involves deeper consideration of what the content depicts and how it can be perceived by the readers.

Through this experience, I came to realize how closely connected the subject really is to my field of interest. Almost all major historical events around the world were either responsible for influencing, or were influenced by, culture, human interest, philosophy, the arts, and social construct; and so, it is imperative that we take real life events into account in order to fully grasp humanities as a concept.

Works Cited

- Goode, Erica. August 8, 2000. How Culture Molds Habits of Thought. *The New York Times Archive*.
<https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/library/national/science/health/080800hth-behavior-culture.html>
- UNB News. February 44, 2020. Number of Dailies in Bangladesh Now 1,277: Minister. *United News of Bangladesh*. <https://unb.com.bd/category/Bangladesh/number-of-dailies-in-bangladesh-now-1277-minister/>
- Wasserman, Herman. *Media, Geopolitics, and Power: A View from the Global South (Geopolitics of Information)*. University of Illinois Press, 2018.
- Kasirye, Faiswal. “The Portrayal of Muslim Women in Western Media: A Content Analysis of the New York Times and The Guardian”. ResearchGate, 2021.
- Al-Rodhan, Nayef. “The Geopolitics of Culture: Five Substrates”. Oxford University Politics Blog (OXPOL), 2014. <https://blog.politics.ox.ac.uk/geopolitics-culture-five-substrates/#:~:text=Culture%20has%20a%20salient%20geopolitical,exchanges%20and%20inter%2Dstate%20relations.&text=Cultures%20are%20cognitive%20structures%20tha,t,world%20and%20to%20each%20other.>
- Dittmer, Jason and Bos, Daniel. *Popular Culture, Geopolitics, and Identity*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Second Edition, 2019.

Appendices

Data 1

Quad and AUKUS: Creating Strategic Ripples in the Indo-Pacific

What's in store for the Indo-Pacific region? A round-table discussion on the future of regional geo-politics

Dhaka Tribune **BIPSS**
Towards a Secure World

Saudia Afrin

On Thursday, October 28, a roundtable discussion on the Indo-Pacific Region and AUKUS was jointly arranged by Bangladesh Institute of Peace and Security Studies (BIPSS) in partnership with Dhaka Tribune. Some of the major strategic aspects of these two initiatives, especially in relation to Bangladesh, were discussed at the event titled QAD and AUKUS: Creating Strategic Ripples in the Indo-Pacific. QAD, the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue, is a strategic dialogue between the United States, India, Japan and Australia maintained through talks between member countries, while AUKUS refers to a trilateral security pact between Australia, the United Kingdom and the United States. As these strategic initiatives have deep roots beyond the Pacific, it is critical for the strategic community to understand all the consequences, as they believe it is developing into a system which can very easily go beyond strategic competition to strategic confrontation.



The beginning of the inauspicious was marked by Major General A M M Moinuzzaman (Retd), President, BIPSS, and Zafar Sobhan, Editor, Dhaka Tribune. Providing a brief geopolitical background of the two initiatives, Major General A M M Moinuzzaman shed light on the fundamental shifts that are

taking place rapidly in the strategic landscape, particularly in the Indo-Pacific region. The speakers expressed that the QAD and AUKUS initiatives have new approaches on the horizon and it would take some time before they take up a consequential shape. They agreed that it was essentially intended to contain China, which had been making significant advances in the region as well as in other parts of the world. The speakers also lauded the fact that Asia, with particular reference to South Asia, was absent

from these initiatives. "Bangladesh, though a small geographical entity, is the eighth largest nation in the world," said General A M M Moinuzzaman, "so we have a different role to play as an Indian Ocean littoral state and as a key player in the Bay of Bengal. Therefore, it is crucial that we act as an active player in the game."

Zafar Sobhan added, "There needs to be more robust and detailed discussions on the changing world which we live in, especially what Bangladesh's stance and policies should be in

this changing geopolitical and geostrategic environment." The respectable panel included Brig Gen Shahedul Anam Khan, nd, par (Retd), former Associate Editor of The Daily Star and DG of the Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies, Parvez Karim Abbasi, Assistant Professor of East West University, and Md Touhid Hossain, former Foreign Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Bangladesh. Brig Gen Shahedul Anam Khan discussed the military aspect of maritime strategy of AUKUS, its ramifications, as well as the implications in the region of focus. He further explained that some of the three countries included in the Asian Century belong in the Indo-Pacific region. It is home to the world's most populous countries, with the largest democracies and largest Muslim population, which include more than half the world's population.

"According to the Western perception, by a pretender to power and that status quo, the Americans, and especially its allies, would not like to cede control on dominance of this region to another country, China. Thus, QAD and AUKUS happened as a consequence," he continued. On the matter of QAD's signed expansion, Md Touhid Hossain explained that there is definitely an effort by the US behind this. "I don't think that the nations of ASEAN share the same interests," he added. "There's a big difference between the interests of the littoral states of the South China Sea and other nations."

"One question could arise -- would Bangladesh perhaps join QAD?" he continued. "I'll now, the response from Bangladesh has definitely not been positive. However, there could be a situation in which a choice has to be made. But at present and in the near future, it does not seem likely."

He also insisted that Bangladesh should be focused on protecting its national interests, even if it displeases any other country. Assistant Professor Abbasi emphasized on what would be the future trends in terms of the coming conflict, and strategic ambiguity between China and the US. "What will happen in recent times is that we will increasingly see greater competition between the US and China. There may not be a direct confrontation, but there will always be a threat of war. That's where we are, technology wars, network wars, incipient space wars, and even what we're currently noticing in the form of the vaccine war."



MAJOR GENERAL ANAM MOINUZZAMAN (Retd), President, BIPSS

What is happening in the Indo-Pacific is classical and has always happened when there is a rise of a new power. But my hope is that the so-called New Cold War probably will not go hot, because there is much at stake here and nations are much more mature. But we should be prepared for other forms of warfare. My apprehension is that we have to watch our grey zones, and we should watch more than just our borders now. New forms of hybrid warfare are coming, so the battlefield will move to other domains and be different from classical military battle. As a small nation but a significant strategic player, Bangladesh needs to take note of all these new developments so that we can play our rightful share.



PARVEZ KARIM ABBASI, Assistant Professor, East West University

Each of these countries -- whether it's Japan, South Korea or ASEAN countries -- are increasingly dependent on China for trade investment, so the Chinese geo-economic clout has expanded. This is the fundamental thing that one has to take into account. Bangladesh must be very careful. We already have a mini arms race with Myanmar. Bangladesh's strategic neutrality will be greatly impacted by whichever country or group of countries can help us to resolve the Rohingya issues in a peaceful and speedy manner.



DR. SACHA KLUMMEN, Head of Political Affairs and Public Diplomacy, Australian High Commission

Australia is an Indo-Pacific country; we, of course, rightly respect Bangladesh's independent foreign policy, and we would never ask Bangladesh to take any sides. The vision for the Indo-Pacific is one that is open, resilient and inclusive. It's understood by rules, norms and respect for the sovereignty of all states, large and small. Australia's national interests are tied to the stability and prosperity of the Indo-Pacific.



ZAFAR SOBHAN, Editor, Dhaka Tribune

The new great game is upon us in the strategic importance of the Indo-Pacific region. And what are the implications thereof for Bangladesh? Because Bangladesh is a significant country considering its population, growing economy strategically and extremely well positioned, Bangladesh stands to gain and lose from whatever greater games are being played, in the region and globally. So this is of extreme importance to us. And it is, of course, of extreme importance to many other countries.



SHAMSHEER M CHOWDHURY, Former Foreign Secretary, Government of Bangladesh

Let's hope that we are not ringing the alarm bells just because our concern has come into existence. There will be postures from QAD and AUKUS, but I do not foresee any war breaking out. This is a progressive thing that Bangladesh has demonstrated great maturity in being able to find the right kind of balance.



SHAHEEDUL ISLAM CHOWDHURY, Special Correspondent, Dhaka Tribune

The new, Bangladesh has indicated that it is keen to engage in the economic part of the Indo-Pacific. Based on Japan's strategic relationship with Bangladesh, and the country's dependence on the development aspect, my impression is that in the long run, there may be some strategic part to play in Matarah Port. However, US data, there are only two aspects that prevail -- the coal-based power plant and the deep sea port. However, no one knows what will come afterwards.



BRIG GEN SHAHEEDUL ANAM KHAN (Retd), Former Associate Editor, The Daily Star

The AUKUS is a consequence of a perceived threat. A power, which is assuming great preponderance, is China. So AUKUS is focused on China, and there is no doubt about it. China is becoming a world power. Acknowledge and live with it. The more you try to prevent China from emerging and playing its own role, the more you will create a situation that will be deleterious to a balanced and peaceful growth of the Indo-Pacific region. There is also the innate interest of the US to keep and maintain its military industrial complex. Behind all of the American involvement in world affairs in conflicts and other issues, one of the driving forces was to keep the military industrial complex running.



HE PROF SUDHARSHAN DS SENEVIRATNE, High Commissioner of Sri Lanka

There is a need to seriously look at the importance of Bangladesh and the position it can take in the Indo-Pacific. As two corners of the Bay of Bengal, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka need to consider the aspects of the connectivity of Indo-Pacific and Bay of Bengal, the dominance of the Bay of Bengal, blue economy, hegemony and strategic position the countries already have to observe the centrality of Bay of Bengal and chalk out the policies that we can adopt together. Are we willing to go with this party or that, or to serve out a neutral path in our region? This is a very serious issue, and we do not want others to come in and tell us what to do.



HUMAYUN KABIR BHUIYAN, Special Correspondent, Dhaka Tribune

I always tend to think that whatever you say about QAD or AUKUS in capacity, we may negotiate it, but the fact remains that these are all about dominance, nothing else.



MD TOUHID HOSSAIN, Former Foreign Secretary, Government of Bangladesh

There is the pressure of remaining neutral, and also the pressure of joining one side. So, if you have two friends, and there is pressure on you from both parties to join them and the consequence of you joining one side becomes even more dangerous, then you remain neutral, despite the pressure. In the context of India, particularly in India and China, Bangladesh will have to remain neutral, even if it displeases someone; there is no other way, because we have vital interests in both countries.



REZAUL KABIR, Former Secretary, Government of Bangladesh

In the future there will be a lot of different types of races that we should be concerned with. One such is the race to heat climate change. With this sort of ascent in the region, the climate change vulnerable countries like Bangladesh should declare a neutral stance, so that the actions of the big powers do not have an adverse impact of climate change and global warming on the country.



REAR ADMIRAL ASMA ANWAR (Retd), Former High Commissioner, Former Assistant Chief of Naval Staff, Bangladesh Navy

Another sharp entry of AUKUS has added more confusion, and it will add more strategic dilemma, particularly in the European and Western countries.

PHOTOS: MAHMOUD HOSSAIN/OPU

<https://www.dhakatribune.com/special-supplement/2021/11/12/quad-and-aukus-creating-strategic-ripples-in-the-indo-pacific>

An impending humanitarian crisis: What lies ahead for Afghanistan after the Taliban takeover?

A roundtable discussion on the takeover and its regional and international implications



Dhaka Tribune

Saudia Afrin

On November 30, a roundtable discussion on regional and international implications of the Taliban takeover in Afghanistan was jointly arranged by Bangladesh Institute of Peace and Security Studies (BIPSS) and Dhaka Tribune.

Held at the Twinn, Dhaka, the event titled *Taliban Takeover in Afghanistan: Regional and International Implications* was moderated by the President of BIPSS, Major General ADM Mustamizman, Zafar Sohan, and Editor, Dhaka Tribune, Zafar Sohan. The session was attended by many distinguished dignitaries, analysts, scholars, foreign diplomats, government officials, editors, and scholars.

Geopolitical and geo-economic issues regarding Afghanistan, the role and regional players – such as India, Pakistan, China – along with regional and international upshots were discussed at the event. This event is a part of the ongoing series of discussions being held on these emerging security issues.

Former chairman of Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies (BIPSS), Major General Mustamizman

mod Firdaus Min (Beds), Professor of International Relations, Dhaka University, Dr. Lalulufar Yasmin, and Assistant Professor at East West University, Parvez Karim Akbari, participated in the event at the designated positions.

After years of bloody conflicts with the government and US-led NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) forces, the Taliban took control of Afghanistan, seizing Kabul on August 15 this year. Against the backdrop of Taliban takeover, the discussions at the roundtable placed great emphasis on a stable Afghanistan, and stressed the need for a holistic approach from the international community, in order to save the Afghan people from a humanitarian disaster looming on the horizon.

The failure of the international community to act at the right time will make Afghanistan vulnerable to food security issues, violent extremism, poverty, as well as financial crisis.

The situation in Afghanistan is still very fluid, and therefore, South Asia needs to understand the complexities of the problem arising in Kabul, along with its impacts. The discussion also encompassed the implications for Bangladesh, in terms of violent extremism. ■

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

MAJOR GENERAL ADM MUSTAMIZMAN (Beds)
President, BIPSS

</

I'm sure Bangladesh is going to gain a lot out of this. We need to develop this particular area in which there's a big gap. And I think BRD will help in bringing more development programs in this country. ■