



International Seminar

THE ROHINGYAS IN BANGLADESH: IN SEARCH OF A SUSTAINABLE FUTURE

ORGANIZED BY

**The Department of International Relations
and the Centre for Genocide Studies
at the University of Dhaka**

in collaboration with

**The Foreign Service Academy, Ministry of Foreign
Affairs, Government of Bangladesh
and the United Nations High Commissioner for
Refugees**

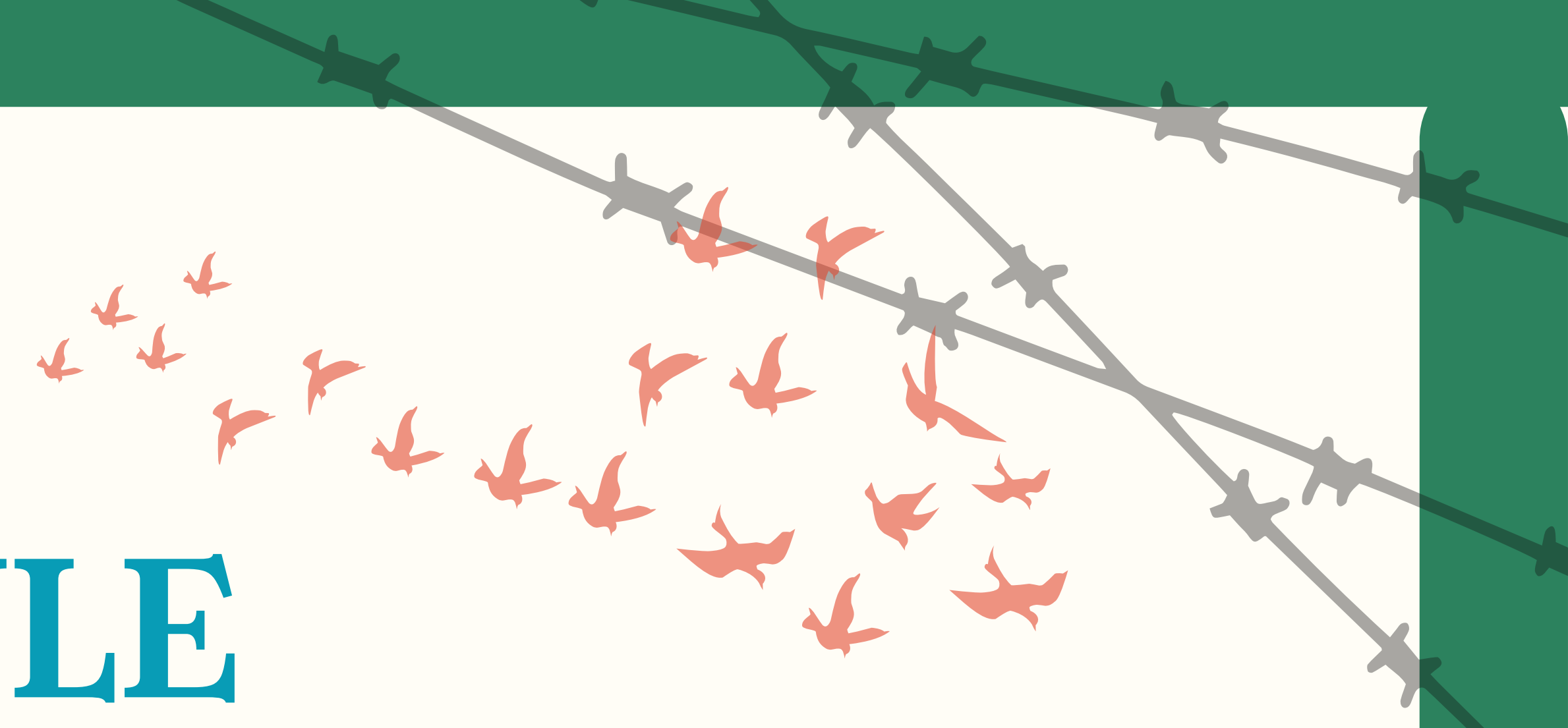
MONDAY, 3 FEBRUARY 2025



PROGRAM SCHEDULE

VENUE	FOREIGN SERVICE ACADEMY
DATE	MONDAY, 3 FEBRUARY 2025
OPENING SESSION	9:00 AM – 10:10 AM
Chair of the Session: Professor Mamun Ahmed, PhD, Pro- Vice Chancellor (Academic), University of Dhaka	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Welcome remarks by Mr. Iqbal Ahmed, Director General, Foreign Service Academy, Government of Bangladesh [10 minutes]• About the Seminar: Bridging the Gaps between Theory and Practice in the Study of Myanmar and Rohingya Crisis, Professor ASM Ali Ashraf, PhD, Chair, Department of International Relations, and Director, Centre for Genocide Studies, University of Dhaka [10 minutes]• Remarks by Special Guest Mr. Md. Jashim Uddin, Foreign Secretary, Government of Bangladesh [10 minutes]• Key Note Paper: The Rohingya Conflict and Refugee Crisis from Myanmar Perspective: Origins, Dynamics and Prospects of Return, Professor Anthony Ware, PhD, Deakin University, Australia [20 minutes]• Remarks by Guest of Honor, Ms. Sumbul Rizvi, UNHCR Country Representative for Bangladesh [10 minutes]• Remarks by the Session Chair and Guest of Honor: Professor Mamun Ahmed, PhD, Pro-Vice Chancellor (Academic), University of Dhaka [10 minutes]• Remarks by Chief Guest of Opening Ceremony: H.E. Khalilur Rahman, PhD, High Representative on Rohingya Problem and Priority Issues Affairs to the Chief Adviser, Government of Bangladesh [10 Mins]
TEA BREAK	10:10 AM – 10:40 AM

PROGRAM SCHEDULE



PANEL I	MYANMAR: STATE, CONFLICTS AND THE DISPLACED [10.40 AM- 12:00 PM]
Chair: Ambassador Mashfee Binte Shams , Former Rector, Foreign Service Academy	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• The Rohingya Crisis: Evolving Dimensions Ms. Ferdousi Shahriar, Director General (Myanmar Wing), Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Bangladesh
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Myanmar's Conflict Dynamics, Society and Foreign Policy Professor Rashed Uz Zaman, PhD, Department of International Relations, University of Dhaka
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Myanmar's Military, Ethnic Armed Conflict, and the Rakhine crisis: Implications for Bangladesh and Future Pathways Brig Gen Md Mahbubul Haque ndc, afwc, psc (retd.) Former Defence Attache to Myanmar
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Identity and Justice for Rohingya Professor Nasir Uddin, PhD, Department of Anthropology, University of Chittagong
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• What are Others Doing to Ensure a Safe and Secure Future for Rohingyas? Professor Shahab Enam Khan, PhD, Department of International Relations, Jahangirnagar University.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Arakan Army and the Future of Rohingyas in Rakhine Mr. Khandakar Tahmid Rejwan, Graduate Student, Department of International Relations, University of Dhaka

PROGRAM SCHEDULE

HEALTH BREAK

10 MINUTES

PANEL II

ROHINGYAS: PROTECTION AND SUSTAINABLE FUTURE [12:10 PM- 1:30PM]

Chair: Professor Delwar Hossain, PhD, Department of International Relations, University of Dhaka

- Refugee Protection Mechanism in Cox's Bazar and Bhashan Char

Saleh Mohammad Shafi, Assistant Protection Officer, UNHCR Representation in Bangladesh

- The Hosts and the Guests: A Dynamic Relationship between the Host Community and Rohingyas in Bangladesh

Professor Lailufar Yasmin, PhD, Department of International Relations, University of Dhaka

- In Search of Sustainable Return

Professor Syeda Rozana Rashid, PhD, Department of International Relations, University of Dhaka

- Gendered Violence and Insecurity in the Rohingya Camps

Benjamin Etzold, PhD, Senior Researcher, University of Bonn, Germany

- Is 'Resilience' Enough to Protect the Stateless Rohingyas?

Professor Niloy Ranjan Biswas, PhD, Department of International Relations, University of Dhaka

- Healthcare Needs of Rohingya Women: Role of Aid Agencies

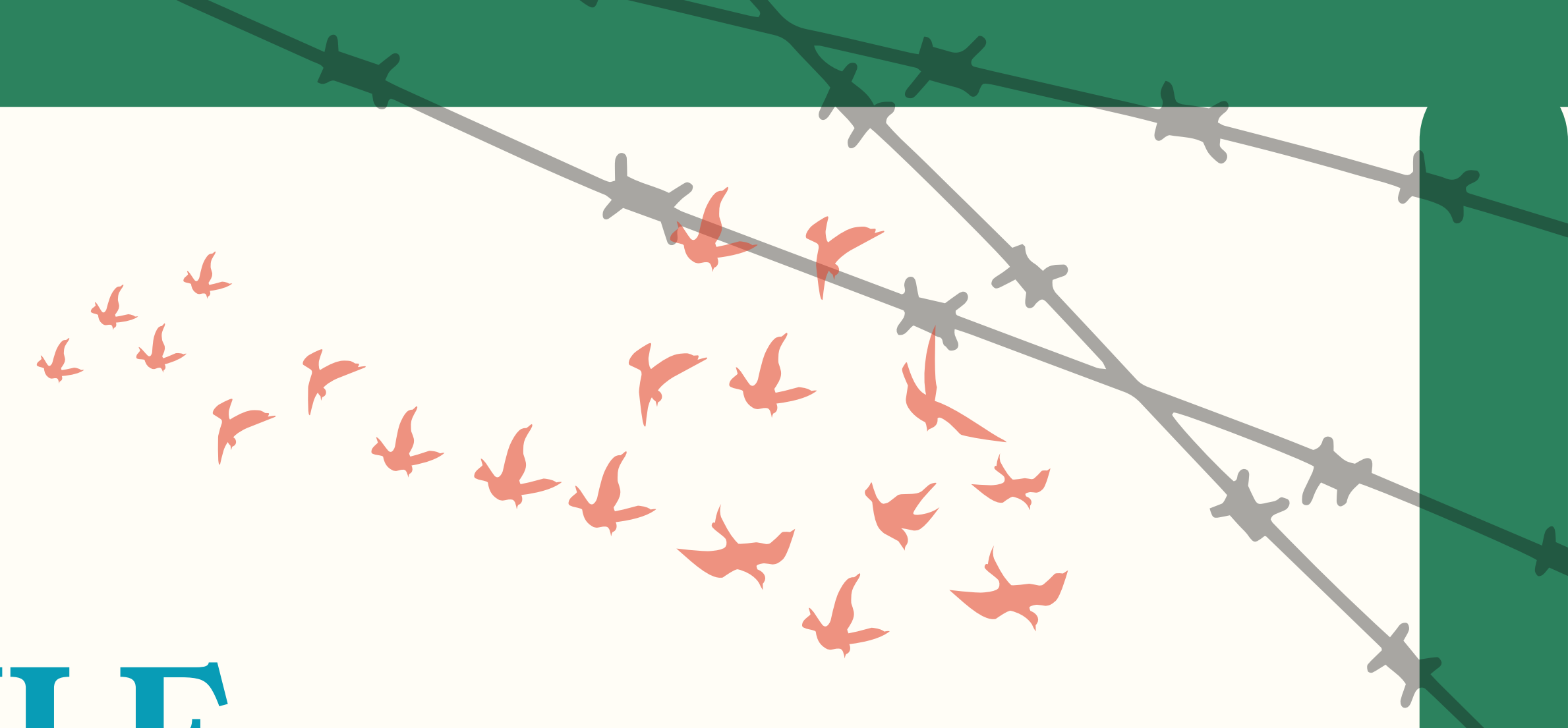
Noor Nahar Shukanna, Graduate Student, Department of International Relations, University of Dhaka



PROGRAM SCHEDULE

LUNCH BREAK	1:30 PM – 2:15 PM
PANEL III	ACCOUNTABILITY, JUSTICE AND RIGHTS OF ROHINGYAS [2:15 PM – 3:50 PM]
Chair: Ambassador Humayun Kabir, President, Bangladesh Enterprise Institute	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Rohingya Issue in the ICC and ICJ Ambassador Riaz Hamidullah, Secretary(West),Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Bangladesh
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Rohingya Crisis,Geopolitics, and the Search for a Strategic Plan Mr. Obaidul Haque, Associate Professor, Department of International Relations, University of Dhaka
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Born Withouta Nation: Unveiling the Forgotten Rights of Rohingya Children Mohammad Atique Rahman, PhD, Associate Professor, Department of International Relations, University of Dhaka
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Everyday Acts of Resistance: The Rohingya Struggle Against Genocide in Myanmar Bayes Ahmed, PhD, Associate Professor, Department of Risk and Disaster Reduction, University College London (UCL), UK
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• The RohingyaRefugees: An Examination of their Rights within Bangladesh Saima Ahmed, PhD, Assistant Professor, Department of International Relations, University of Dhaka

PROGRAM SCHEDULE



	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Media Portrayal of the Rohingya Refugee Crisis: Assessing the Visuals and Textual Themes, Frames, and Narratives in the Pre- Genocide and post Genocide news in selective Bangladeshi newspapers Mr. Ali Siddiquee, Assistant Professor, Department of International Relations, University of Dhaka
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Rohingya Diaspora & Activism Title [TBC] Ansar Anas, PhD, Senior Researcher, Arnold Bergstraesser Institute (ABI), Freiburg, Baden-Württemberg, Germany Abu Faisal Md Khaled, Research Associate, Institute for International Law of Peace and Armed Conflict (IFHV), University of Bochum, Germany
CLOSING SESSION	4:00 PM – 5:00 PM
Chair: Professor Niaz Ahmed Khan, PhD , Vice Chancellor, University of Dhaka	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Conversation with H.E. Mr. Md. Touhid Hossain, Hon'ble Advisor, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, Chief Guest of the Closing Ceremony <p>Facilitated by Professor ASM Ali Ashraf, PhD, Chair, Department of International Relations, and Director, Centre for Genocide Studies, University of Dhaka [45 minutes]</p>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Closing Remarks by Session Chair and Guest of Honor, Professor Niaz Ahmed Khan, PhD, Vice Chancellor, University of Dhaka [10 minutes]

PROGRAM SCHEDULE

- Vote of Thanks: **Professor Muhammad Ruhul Amin**,
Department of International Relations, University of
Dhaka,
and Joint Convener: Seminar Organizing Committee [5
minutes]

TEA & NETWORKING

5:00 PM - 5:30 PM





INAUGURAL SESSION

WELCOME ADDRESS

MR. IQBAL AHMED

DIRECTOR GENERAL, FOREIGN SERVICE ACADEMY (FSA)

**MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS (MOFA), GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S
REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH**



Mr. Iqbal Ahmed, a career diplomat belonging to BCS(FA) 21st batch, has joined the Foreign Service Academy as Director General in mid-November 2024. He had served as the Consul General of Bangladesh in Miami, Florida, USA since the establishment of the Mission on mid-September 2021 till end-September 2024. Before that, he served as the Consul General of Bangladesh in Milan, Italy for more than 3 years. At the headquarters, he served as Director in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Bangladesh for 6.5 years in United Nations/Multilateral Economic Affairs/SAARC & BIMSTEC wings, Foreign Secretary's Office, as well as at the Foreign Service Academy.



OPENING REMARKS

PROFESSOR ASM ALI ASHRAF, PHD

CHAIR, DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, AND DIRECTOR,
CENTRE FOR GENOCIDE STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF DHAKA



ASM Ali Ashraf is a Professor of International Relations at the University of Dhaka. He holds a Ph.D. in International Security Policy from the University of Pittsburgh, USA. His teaching and research interests are broadly in the fields of security and intelligence studies, international migration, and public policy. He has authored more than two dozen journal articles and book chapters at home and abroad. He has edited a volume titled *Intelligence, National Security, and Foreign Policy: A South Asian Narrative* (Dhaka: BILIA and DUIR, 2016, reprinted 2019). Dr. Ashraf was a Fulbright Scholar and Matthew B. Ridgway Center for International Security Studies Fellow at the University of Pittsburgh. He often lectures at the Defence Services Command and Staff College, the Foreign Service Academy, the Police Staff College, and the National Defence College of Bangladesh. He is a member of the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), London.



REMARKS BY SPECIAL GUEST

MR. MD. JASHIM UDDIN

FOREIGN SECRETARY

GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH



Ambassador Md. Jashim Uddin is the 27th Foreign Secretary of Bangladesh. A career diplomat, Ambassador Md. Jashim Uddin joined the Bangladesh Foreign Service in 1994. He belongs to the 13th batch of BCS (Foreign Affairs) Cadre. In his diplomatic career, Ambassador Uddin served extensively both at home and abroad. Prior to his appointment as Foreign Secretary, he was serving as Bangladesh's Ambassador to the People's Republic of China with concurrent accreditation to Mongolia. He also served as Bangladesh's Ambassador to Qatar from 2020 to 2022 and as Bangladesh's Ambassador to the Hellenic Republic (Greece), with concurrent accreditation to the Republic of Malta and the Republic of Armenia from 2015 to 2020. A student of International Relations, Ambassador Md. Jashim Uddin did both his Bachelor's and Master's from the University of Dhaka. Later on, he obtained an MA Degree in Modern International Studies from the University of Leeds, UK. He also attended a yearlong course at the National Defence College in Dhaka.



KEY NOTE PAPER

ANTHONY WARE, PHD

ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF HUMANITARIANISM & DEVELOPMENT
SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES, DEAKIN UNIVERSITY,
AUSTRALIA



THE ROHINGYA CONFLICT AND REFUGEE CRISIS FROM MYANMAR PERSPECTIVE: ORIGINS, DYNAMICS AND PROSPECTS OF RETURN

Abstract

Almost a million Rohingya reside in camps and communities in Cox's Bazar after the 2017 ethnic cleansing in Myanmar. This places great strain on Bangladesh's resources, and is not the first time Rohingya have fled into Bangladesh. This presentation will explore the origins of the conflict in Myanmar, why they have been so persecuted, the narratives and events that led to the ethnic cleansing which drove them across the border, and current events. The lecture will then discuss the prospects for repatriation and suggestions for sustainable solutions, based on recent events in Myanmar including the 2021 coup and the territorial gains of the Arakan Army over the last two years. In particular, the lecture will explore prospects of negotiation with the Arakan Army, the National Unity Government (in exile) and State Administrative Council + Tatmadaw, and the complexities of doing so—as well as consideration of alternative policy within Bangladesh. There will be time for question, answer and discussion at the end of the lecture.



BIO

Anthony Ware is an Associate Professor in Humanitarianism and Development at Deakin University, Australia. His research focuses on humanitarian/international development approaches in conflict-affected situations, with a particular interest in conflict-sensitivity, do no harm, everyday peace, peacebuilding, and countering violent/hateful extremism via community-led programming. He has published more 65 academic papers/chapters, 2 journal special issues, 7 research reports for industry and 7 books, including Myanmar's 'Rohingya' Conflict (2018, Oxford University Press), Conflict Sensitivity/Do No Harm in Development, Humanitarian & Peacebuilding (2025, Routledge), and Responding to Violent and Hateful Extremism (2024, Routledge). He has just published 2 reports on the Rohingya camps in Cox's Bazar.



GUEST OF HONOR

Ms. SUMBUL RIZVI

UNHCR COUNTRY REPRESENTATIVE FOR BANGLADESH



Appointed in October 2023, as UNHCR Representative in Bangladesh, Ms. Sumbul Rizvi arrives from UNHCR headquarters in Geneva following a successful tenure as the Principal Advisor on Internal Displacement to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. Immediately prior in 2018 she served as the UN Coordinator establishing an inter-agency response to the Rohingya refugee crisis in Cox's Bazar, Bangladesh. Ms. Rizvi has spent over 35 years in human rights and humanitarian work—as an NGO advisor with the United Nations and as litigating counsel in Indian courts. She brings a breadth of experience addressing situations of internal displacement, refugees and asylum-seekers, statelessness, and migration. This is her second posting to Bangladesh, having served as the UN Coordinator establishing an inter-agency response to the Rohingya refugee crisis in Cox's Bazar in 2018. She was the Principal Advisor on Internal Displacement to the High Commissioner in Geneva, leading a system-wide strengthening of UNHCR's IDP response across the world. In November 2022, she aided the UN Country Team and the Resident Coordinator in Afghanistan to develop solution-oriented approaches to forced displacement. She has served with UNHCR in operations including Iraq during the Mosul conflict, Afghanistan, and Darfur-Sudan.



SESSION CHAIR AND GUEST OF HONOR

PROFESSOR MAMUN AHMED, PhD

PRO-VICE CHANCELLOR (ACADEMIC), UNIVERSITY OF DHAKA



Dr. Mamun Ahmed, a Professor in Dhaka University's Biochemistry and Molecular Biology Department, is the Pro-Vice Chancellor (Academic) of the university. Prof Mamun Ahmed completed his Bachelor's and Master's degrees from Dhaka University Biochemistry and pursued his PhD in virology from Nihon University School of Medicine, Japan. He completed his post-doctoral fellowship in translational and clinical virology at the University of Pittsburgh, USA. Prof. Dr. Mamun Ahmed worked as a research associate professor at Thomas E Starzl Transplant Institute, Pittsburgh, and the University of Nebraska, Lincoln, USA. He teaches general biochemistry courses, especially virology at the undergraduate level and Molecular Diagnostics at the master's level. He has published about 53 research articles in national and international peer-reviewed journals.

CHIEF GUEST OF THE INAUGURAL SESSION

KHALILUR RAHMAN, PHD

**HIGH REPRESENTATIVE ON ROHINGYA PROBLEM AND PRIORITY ISSUES
AFFAIRS TO THE CHIEF ADVISER, GOVERNMENT OF BANGLADESH**



H.E. Dr. Khalilur Rahman is the High Representative of the Chief Adviser of the Government of Bangladesh on the Rohingya Problem and Priority Issues with the rank of an Adviser. Dr. Rahman joined the United Nations Secretariat in 1991 as a Special Adviser at the UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) in Geneva. During the ensuing 25 years at the UN, he served in different senior positions in New York and Geneva, including as Chief of the LDCs program at the UN secretariat, Chair of the UN system interagency group on non-tariff barriers to international trade, and principal coordinator of the program on new and dynamic sectors of world trade, etc. Dr. Rahman studied at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, and the Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, and earned an MA in Law and Diplomacy and PhD in Economics.

PANEL I:

MYANMAR: STATE, CONFLICTS AND THE DISPLACED

THE ROHINGYA CRISIS: EVOLVING DIMENSIONS


Ms. FERDOUSI SHAHRIAR

DIRECTOR GENERAL, MYANMAR WING

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS (MOFA), GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S
REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH



Ms. Ferdousi Shahriar joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as a member of the Bangladesh Civil Service (Foreign Affairs) Cadre on 25th January 1999. She served as the Assistant Secretary in South Asia, SAARC, and Africa & Welfare Desks from 1999 to 2000. She worked as Senior Assistant Secretary at Administration (Personnel-1), and Protocol (Policy/Mission service) Divisions in 2002-2003. Thereafter, she worked as the first secretary at the Embassy of Bangladesh in Bangkok and later as a Counselor from 2005 to 2008; as Director at Foreign Secretary's Office, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Dhaka, Bangladesh from 2009-2011; and as a Counsellor in the Embassy of Bangladesh, Rome, Italy from 2011-2014. Prior to the current appointment, she worked as the Minister and Deputy Chief of Mission at the Embassy of Bangladesh in Washington, D.C., from December 2020 to July 2023. She was the Assistant High Commission of Bangladesh in Manchester, United Kingdom from 2014-2017.



MYANMAR'S CONFLICT DYNAMICS, SOCIETY AND FOREIGN POLICY

PROFESSOR RASHED UZ ZAMAN, PHD

PROFESSOR, DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
UNIVERSITY OF DHAKA



Abstract

Most discussions see Myanmar's 2021 military coup and its violent aftermath as a starting-point for scrutinizing the dominant paradigm through which the country's past and present are usually narrated: a battle between authoritarian generals and a popular pro-democracy movement. This framing is insufficient for explaining the drivers of and potential solutions to the crisis in Myanmar. Rather than just being inconclusive, however, the paradigm of democracy has worked to effectively render alternative explanations and realities invisible. This is problematic in a country where many ethnic minorities experienced the much-lauded 'democratic' transition as an uptick in violence, including dispossession, war and genocide. It also bodes ill for understanding conflict dynamics after the coup of 2021, including the pivotal role of established ethnic rebel movements, and the very motivation of thousands of young people who have taken up arms. For many of these key actors in Myanmar's revolutionary war, the fight for democracy is meaningless without an end to ethnic marginalization that is deeply ingrained in the institutions of the ethnocratic state. From that perspective, the crisis of Myanmar is not only or even primarily a crisis of the political system. It is a crisis of the postcolonial nation-state itself.



BIO

Rashed Uz Zaman has been teaching at the Department of International Relations, University of Dhaka since 1998. He holds a bachelor's and a master's degree in International Relations from the University of Dhaka. He has also obtained a master's in Security Studies from the University of Hull, and a Ph.D. in Strategic Studies from the University of Reading, United Kingdom. In 2009-11, Dr. Zaman was an Alexander von Humboldt post-doctoral research fellow at the University of Erfurt, Germany. He was a Fulbright Visiting Professor in the Department of Political Science at Vanderbilt University, USA, in 2012. Dr. Zaman works on strategic and international security issues. His latest publication is an article titled 'Defence Diplomacy and Civil-Military Relations in Bangladesh' in Journal of Political & Military Sociology, 2024, Vol. 50, No. 2. He speaks regularly at various international and national educational, defense and administrative institutions. He can be contacted at rashed@du.ac.bd



UNDERSTANDING MYANMAR'S MILITARY-ARMED CONFLICT IN MYANMAR AND ROHINGYA CRISIS: IMPLICATION FOR BANGLADESH AND STRATEGIC PATHWAYS FORWARD

BRIG GEN MD MAHBUBUL HAQUE

NDC, AFWC, PSC (RETD.)



Abstract

The Rohingya crisis and the broader Rakhine conflict present major challenges for Bangladesh and the surrounding region, affecting geopolitics, security, and the economy. This paper examines the historical and political roots of Myanmar's military supremacy, ethnic tensions, and the persecution of the Rohingya, which has led to a large-scale refugee influx into Bangladesh. It explores Myanmar's strategic importance, the dynamics of the Rakhine conflict, and its impacts on Bangladesh, including security risks, economic pressure, and regional instability. The paper proposes a comprehensive yet amicable approaches to the crisis, focusing on diplomatic engagement with regional powers, international accountability, and sustainable refugee management. It emphasizes the need for long-term solutions, such as safe repatriation, third-country resettlement, and enhancing the self-reliance of Rohingya refugees to promote regional stability and prevent escalation of future crises.



BIO

Md Mahbubul Haque, a retired Brigadier General, graduated from Bangladesh Military Academy and was commissioned in the Corps of Infantry of Bangladesh Army on 21 December 1984. During his remarkable service, he commanded two Infantry Battalions and one Infantry Brigade of Bangladesh Army. He served as the Director Protection, the Director Intelligence and the Director Logistic of Special Security Forces of the Prime Minister's Office. He also served as the Commandant of the School of Infantry and Tactics, one of the prestigious Training Institutes of Bangladesh Army. Moreover, he served as the Defense Attache/Adviser at the Bangladesh Embassy in Myanmar with concurrent jurisdiction on Thailand, Cambodia, Democratic Republic of Lao and Vietnam. Before his retirement in July 2017, he was a faculty member of National Defense College for the Armed Forces War Course. Brigadier General (Retired) Md Mahbubul Haque is a graduate of Defense Services Command and Staff College and National Defense College, Bangladesh (Armed Forces War Course and National Defence Course). In addition, it is worth mentioning that Brigadier General (Retired) Md Mahbubul Haque represented Bangladesh in a good number of international forums. He served in the United Nations Peace Mission to the Democratic Republic of the Congo as a Military Observer and as the Chief of Staff of Western Sector of Ivory Coast. He has participated in the Gulf War in 1991 and played very important role during the war. His hobbies include playing golf and reading books.

IDENTITY AND JUSTICE FOR ROHINGYAS

PROFESSOR NASIR UDDIN, PHD

PROFESSOR, DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY,
UNIVERSITY OF CHITTAGONG



Abstract

Despite being victims of 'state crime' (Green, 2016) and geopolitics (Ibrahim, 2022), the Rohingyas are often framed as a 'crisis' by others. The Rohingya gained the global spotlight after Myanmar's military launched a genocidal campaign in 2017 against them, killing 10,000, raping 1900 and destroying 400 villages and forcing 750,000 to take refuge in Bangladesh (Uddin, 2020). With 1.3 million refugees, Bangladesh is grappling with significant social, economic, political and security challenges. Two repatriation attempts in 2018 and 2018 failed, and resuming the process now appears unrealistic, as the situation recently worsened with the rise of the Arakan Army (Uddin, 2024). The host society has gradually become intolerant, diminishing scopes for potential social integration. No active third-country resettlement initiative is in place. The international community imposed various sanctions following the Military coup in Myanmar, yet nothing offers hope to resolve the Rohingya crisis. Consequently, the Rohingya issue seems now a full-blown 'crises. The paper suggests some pragmatic strategic plans for redressing the Rohingya crisis, bringing the international community under the commitment to upholding the spirit of 'human rights', 'burden sharing' and 'global justice'.



BIO

Nasir Uddin (PhD) is a Professor of Anthropology at the University of Chittagong. He has conducted research at the University of Oxford, the University of Sydney, SOAS, LSE, Johns Hopkins University, East-West Center, Washington DC, Heidelberg University, VU University Amsterdam, the University of Hull, and Kyoto University. His latest edited books include “The Rohingya Crisis: Human Rights Issues, Policy Concerns and Burden Sharing” (SAGE, 2021) and “Reshaping the Rohingya Futures: Coping Strategies and Emerging Agencies” (Palgrave, 2025). His latest books include “The Rohingya: An Ethnography of ‘Subhuman’ Life” (Oxford University Press, 2020), and “Voices of the Rohingya People: A Case of Genocide, Ethnocide and ‘Subhuman’ Life” (Palgrave, 2022). His theory, “Subhuman life”, is widely discussed in the field of refugees, migrants, non-citizens, asylum seekers, stateless people, IDPs and forcedly displaced people.

WHAT ARE OTHERS DOING TO ENSURE A SAFE AND SECURE FUTURE FOR ROHINGYAS?

PROFESSOR SHAHAB ENAM KHAN, PHD

**PROFESSOR, DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
JAHANGIRNAGAR UNIVERSITY**



Abstract

The future of repatriation is a complex issue that transcends simplistic binaries of state versus identity. A crucial factor influencing this process is the stabilization of Rakhine State in Myanmar, which is tied to a multifaceted conflict ecosystem involving various non-state structures. For the first time since 1971, Bangladesh is experiencing a new border dynamic, largely due to the influence of the Arakan Army, a significant ethnic armed group that has emerged as Bangladesh's counterpart along the border. Conversely, Myanmar faces a growing array of structural challenges that intensify the entrenched military posture of its ethnic armed groups. These groups prioritize their military strategies over developing a comprehensive political understanding of governance and statecraft. In light of these complexities, it is essential for the foreign policy community in Bangladesh to acknowledge that negotiations with Myanmar regarding non-state actors are no longer limited to engagements between sovereign state entities. Instead, the landscape has evolved to encompass non-state actors, complicating the diplomatic framework. Consequently, traditional diplomatic efforts may not be sufficient to address the emerging challenges. A more nuanced approach, which includes deterrence strategies aimed at these new non-state actors, is necessary. Many of these actors operate with a limited understanding of established principles of statecraft, further complicating efforts toward resolution and repatriation. The situation in Rakhine serves as a quintessential example of this dynamic. Ethnic groups along the Bangladesh-Myanmar border have repeatedly employed historical tactics and strategies reminiscent of those used by the Tatmadaw, Myanmar's military. Understanding these historical and current factors is crucial for devising effective policies and strategies that can facilitate meaningful dialogue and potentially resolve ongoing conflicts affecting repatriation efforts in the region.



BIO

Professor Shahab Enam Khan, PhD, is a well-regarded academic and researcher with extensive expertise in International Relations. He is a permanent faculty member of the Department of International Relations at Jahangirnagar University in Bangladesh. His impressive background includes serving as the Fulbright Professor in the Department of Political Science & International Relations at the University of Delaware during the 2022-2023 academic year. Moreover, his role as the Executive Director of the Bangladesh Center for Indo-Pacific Affairs at Jahangirnagar University underscores his standing as an internationally acclaimed personality within both academic and policy circles. He has also served as Research Director at the Bangladesh Enterprise Institute. His international experience and collaborations are a testament to his global perspective and network. He has worked closely with a range of international and multilateral organizations, including the Westminster Foundation for Democracy, ASEAN Regional Forum, UNODC, UNDP Bangladesh and the Maldives, UNWomen, International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN), USAID, International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), British Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office, UK, International Republican Institute, Chatham House, the Royal Institute of International Affairs, the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation, and BRAC, Bangladesh.

ARAKAN ARMY AND THE FUTURE OF ROHINGYAS IN RAKHINE

MR. KHANDAKAR TAHMID REJWAN

MSS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS (SECURITY STUDIES STREAM) STUDENT
DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, UNIVERSITY OF DHAKA



Abstract

About 15 months after the coordinated military offensive named Operation 1027 was launched by three foremost Ethnic Armed Organizations (EAOs), it appears that the military (Sit-Tat) led State Administration Council (SAC) is weaker than ever as it fully controls just a quarter of the country. In Rakhine State, such a humiliating defeat of SAC is more visible than ever in the hands of the Arakan Army (AA), which now controls 15 out of 17 state townships. AA has also recently taken control over the Myanmar side of the Bangladesh-Myanmar border, which stretches across 271 kilometers. AA's accession has affected the Rohingyas based both in Rakhine and in the refugee camps of Bangladesh. It has again created the prospect of an uncertain future for the stateless group. Focusing on this aspect and taking the lens of 'rebel governance theory,' this study first explores three factors that contributed to the swift victory of AA in Rakhine: formation of alliance, ideological motivation, and shadow governance. The study then analyses the complexity surrounding the conflict in Rakhine. It looks at the victimization of Rohingyas by both the AA and SAC, an ironic collaboration between Rohingya Armed Groups (RAG) and SAC, the geopolitical interest of foreign powers in Rakhine, and the threat of a new Rohingya exodus. Finally, the study explains the rationale of creating safer environments for Rohingyas in Rakhine and facilitating the repatriation of the Rohingya refugees from Bangladesh is strategically more beneficial to the AA.



BIO

Khandakar Tahmid Rejwan is a Research Data Analyst at the Centre for Alternatives (CA). He is a CA-SPF Junior Fellow on the Project Violent Responses to Anti-Discriminatory: A Case Study of Bangladesh 2024 and a former MRDI-Fojo Media Institute Fellow on Investigative Journalism. He finished his Undergraduate Program in International Relations at the University of Dhaka, where he stood as a class valedictorian. He is enrolled in the MSS in the Security Studies Program at the Department of International Relations, University of Dhaka. His thematic areas of interest include Strategic, Security, and Intelligence Studies. His spatial regions of interest include South Asia, China, and Myanmar.

PANEL II:
ROHINGYAS: PROTECTION AND SUSTAINABLE FUTURE

SALEH MOHAMMAD SHAFI

ASSISTANT PROTECTION OFFICER, UNHCR,
BANGLADESH



REFUGEE PROTECTION MECHANISM IN COX'S BAZAR AND
BHASHAN CHAR

Abstract: Mr. Shafi, during the panel discussion, will highlight UNHCR's collaboration with the Government of Bangladesh (GoB) in refugee protection through existing frameworks, field presence, and strategic partnerships. He will discuss key protection efforts, including community engagement, child protection, GBV response, and legal aid, in coordination with GoB, UN agencies, INGOs, and NGOs. Emphasizing data-driven advocacy, he will underscore UNHCR's ongoing commitment to refugee rights, safety, and inclusion through coordinated, evidence-based interventions in Bangladesh.



BIO

Saleh Mohammad Shafi is an Assistant Protection Officer at UNHCR Bangladesh, where he has served since 2019. He holds an LL.B. from BRAC University, an LL.M. in International Law and Justice from Fordham University, and a Master's in Development Studies from BRAC University. Previously, he worked with the UN Office of the Special Representative on Sexual Violence in Conflict in New York, as a legal fellow at Refugee Solidarity Network, and with Masoom Education in Mumbai. Before joining the UN, he acquired substantive experience working in different Bangladeshi organizations on issues related to human rights and social justice.

THE HOSTS AND THE GUESTS: A DYNAMIC RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE HOST COMMUNITY AND ROHINGYAS IN BANGLADESH

PROFESSOR LAILUFAR YASMIN, PHD

**PROFESSOR, DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
UNIVERSITY OF DHAKA**



Abstract

The Rohingya influx from the neighboring Myanmar's Arakan region is not new to Bangladesh. What is new is the nature, breadth, and complexities of the Rohingya influx since August 2017. Arguments have been made about the immediate origin of the crisis laying in the Myanmar Army driving the Rohingyas out, while internationally, the fissure in the international order influencing Myanmar to do so hoping to avoid its responsibility to protect its people, although the citizenship status of the Rohingyas was stripped off through a controversial law. For Bangladesh, the concern lies in ensuring a safe, sustainable and efficient repatriation of the stranded Myanmar nationals to the place of origin. This paper is a continuation of an earlier work on the Rohingya community that explored their relationship with the host community. It uses a qualitative methodology involving methods of primary data collection through key informant and expert interviews and primary sources such as government circulars, secondary data, and research articles published nationally, and internationally. The paper argues that some of the apprehensions that were raised about the Rohingya community's presence in Bangladesh proved to be wrong. But the relationship between the locals and the Rohingyas remained tense. It further argues, based on extensive fieldwork, that the lives of the locals and the locality have fundamentally altered due to the presence of the Rohingyas, which are irreversible.



BIO

Dr. Lailufar Yasmin is a professor and a former Chair at the Department of International Relations, University of Dhaka, Bangladesh. She has undertaken her studies at the University of Dhaka, Bangladesh, Georgia State University, Atlanta, USA, and Macquarie University, Sydney, Australia. She has been a recipient of the US Fulbright, the British Chevening, and the Australian International Post-Graduate Research Scholarship (IPRS). She has done her fellowships at the University of Ulster, Northern Ireland, UK; at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS), Beijing, China, at the Daniel K. Inouye Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies (APCSS), Hawaii, USA as a FIPSS (Fellowships in Indo-Pacific Security Studies) Fellow; at the Beyond Borders Scotland and at the Marshall T. Center for European Security Studies (GMCC), Germany. Her latest publications are on the Rohingya issue (Palgrave Macmillan: London) and The Development of International Relations in South Asia (Oxford Research Encyclopedia). Her areas of research include Bangladesh's politics, economy and foreign policy, South Asian Affairs, China's Rise, maritime security and the Indo-Pacific Region, and women's participation in the UN Peacekeeping, among others. She can be reached at lyasmin@du.ac.bd.



ROHINGYAS IN BANGLADESH: IN SEARCH OF SUSTAINABLE RETURN

PROFESSOR SYEDA ROZANA RASHID, PHD

PROFESSOR, DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
UNIVERSITY OF DHAKA



Abstract

More than 1.2 million Rohingyas belonging to the Rakhine State of Myanmar have been living in 34 camps in Bangladesh for the past seven and half years. While Bangladesh's multilayered and multipronged diplomatic initiatives to generate the humanitarian response, material assistance, and physical and legal protection for refugees received considerable traction from the international community, its effort to find a permanent solution through the repatriation of Rohingyas to Myanmar remains elusive, so far. In this context, my paper seeks to dig deeper into the challenges of sustainable solutions to the Rohingya crisis. Within the broader context of local and regional politics and global governance, the paper will analyse whether Bangladesh should think beyond the traditional notions of voluntary repatriation and explore how leveraging its resources in diplomacy, images, and commitment to good governance can contribute to creating a humane, dignified and safe return of the Rohingyas to their homeland.



BIO

Syeda Rozana Rashid teaches International Relations at the University of Dhaka, Bangladesh. She obtained a Master's in Forced Migration from the Refugee Studies Centre (RSC), University of Oxford, United Kingdom (UK) and a PhD in Migration Studies from the University of Sussex, UK. Over the past 25 years, Dr. Rashid has extensively researched migration and refugee issues, and advocated policy reform. State, Society, Social Protection, Gender, and Human rights appear prominently in her academic and policy research. She has authored four books, over 50 articles and book chapters.



GENDERED VIOLENCE AND INSECURITY IN THE ROHINGYA CAMPS

BENJAMIN ETZOLD, PHD

BONN INTERNATIONAL CENTRE FOR CONFLICT STUDIES,
UNIVERSITY OF BONN



Abstract

Gender-based violence and insecurity have increased in Rohingya refugee camps. Despite vast academic scholarship on Rohingya displacement and refugeehood, the interplay of insecurity in the camps with the conflicts and mobilities in the wider Bangladesh-Myanmar border region remains understudied. Their impact on the lives of refugees and gendered violence, including sexualized violence against women and forced conscriptions of young men, is insufficiently understood and not adequately addressed in political and humanitarian discourses. Drawing on an empirical study conducted in April-June 2024 in Bangladesh's refugee camps and the adjacent border region, the study sheds light on the different, inherently related, dimensions of gendered violence (direct, structural, cultural) and the role of the escalating war in Myanmar and the practices of armed groups in shaping the current trends. This study aims to expand the discourse on refugee vulnerability to GBV and wants to explore new avenues for humanitarian action.



BIO

Benjamin Etzold is a social geographer studying people's mobility, vulnerability and livelihoods as well as experiences of violence and displacement. He obtained a PhD from the University of Bonn (2012) with his research on street food vendors in Dhaka, Bangladesh. Benjamin works at the Bonn International Centre for Conflict Studies ([BICC](#)) and is affiliated with the University of Bonn's Centre for Dependency and Slavery Studies ([BCDSS](#)). He led the study "Mobility, Translocality, and Gendered Violence – Rohingya Women in Bangladesh–Myanmar Borderlands," which was supported by the Cross-Border Conflict Evidence, Policy, and Trends (XCEPT) research program, funded by UK International Development.

IS 'RESILIENCE' ENOUGH TO PROTECT THE STATELESS ROHINGYAS?

PROFESSOR NILOY RANJAN BISWAS, PHD

**PROFESSOR, DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
UNIVERSITY OF DHAKA**



Abstract

Is 'resilience' as a central focus of the global protection mechanism for the stateless influenced by global geopolitics focusing on the dominance of statist power politics? How does that shape 'resilience' as an adaptive protection policy and practice for the victims with (or without) addressing the complexity of statelessness? A case in point in this study is that labeling 'irregularities' of forced migration and not addressing the narratives of statelessness and the forced migrants in the global protection framework result in resilient but [in]effective operational and policy responses. It is crucial to examine how this framework has labeled the stateless Rohingyas as "irregular or illegal migrants," which can be attributed to the non-compliance of international legal norms and formal protection infrastructure for stateless persons. In the case of Rohingyas, a critical case of statelessness, resilience reflects a complex protection system that has struggled to offer tailored and effective multi-layered and multifaceted policy and operational responses to the citizenship/identity issues of Rohingyas.



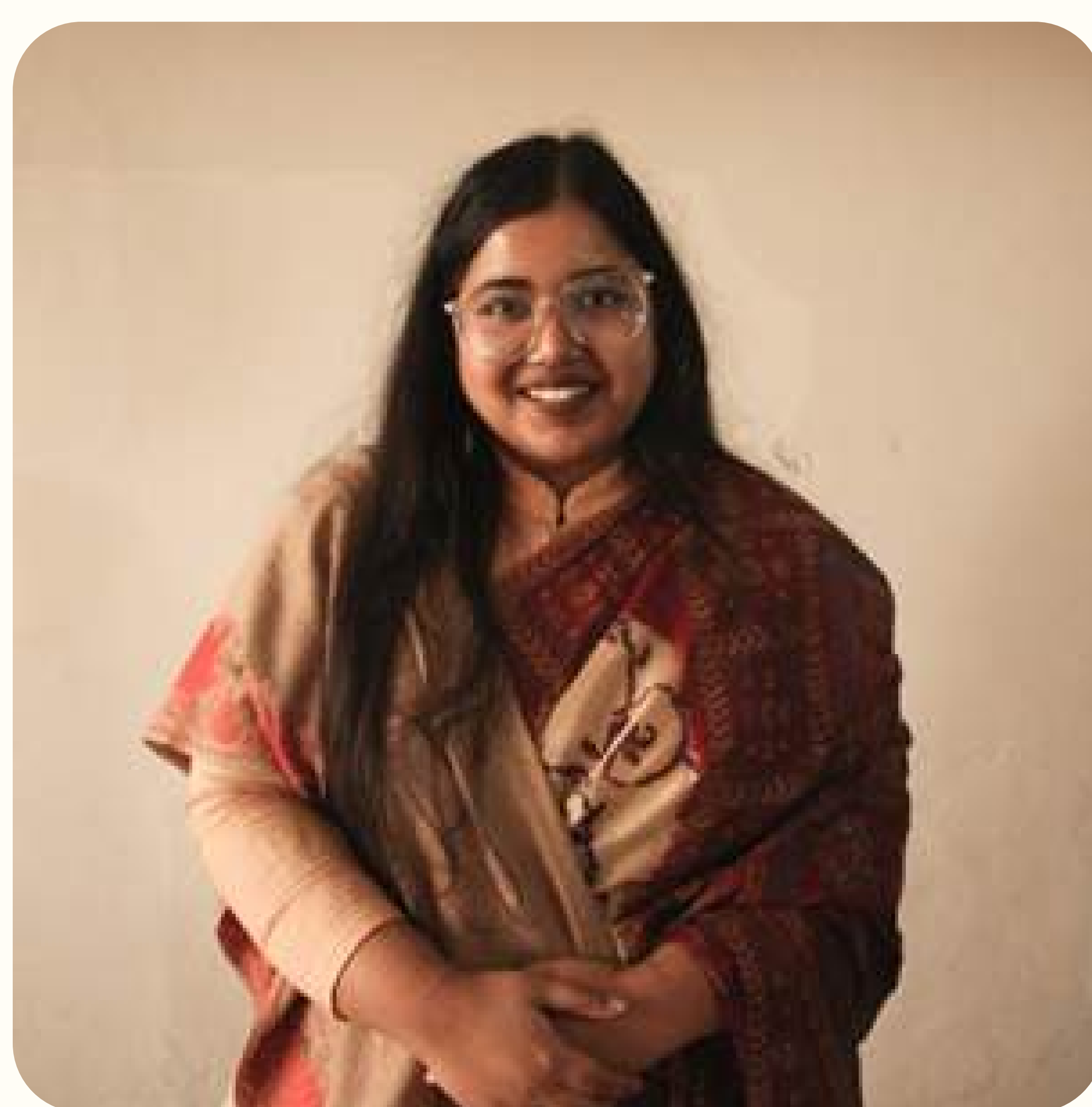
BIO

Dr. Niloy Ranjan Biswas is a Professor at the Department of International Relations, University of Dhaka. In 2016, he completed his Ph.D. in International Politics from City, University of London. In 2017, he completed the United States Institute of Peace (USIP)-Resolve Fellowship to conduct a post-doctoral study on community policing and its challenges in preventing violent extremism. Dr. Biswas has several academic and policy publications to his credit. He has co-authored his first book on Rohingyas and violence-protection dialectic, published by the University of Dhaka and University College London; co-edited five books and authored forty journal articles and book chapters. He has written extensively on forced migration, law-enforcement agencies, deradicalization and preventing violent extremism, refugees and forced migration, security governance reform, and United Nations peace support endeavors. He can be reached at niloy@du.ac.bd.

HEALTHCARE NEEDS OF ROHINGYA WOMEN: ROLE OF AID AGENCIES

NOOR NAHAR SHUKANNA

MSS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS (SECURITY STUDIES STREAM) STUDENT
DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, UNIVERSITY OF DHAKA



Abstract

The paper explores the roles of humanitarian aid organizations, especially in healthcare sectors for Rohingya women by analyzing issues such as sexual, reproductive, and mental health within refugee settings. It outlines the way humanitarian health interventions are designed and implemented by using qualitative data from interviews with aid workers together with organizational report analysis while examining their gender-responsive evaluation processes. The study depicts how operational limits, cultural divergences, and security-related obstacles hinder the healthcare provision for Rohingya women. The research probes the health programs that empower Rohingya women and enhance security within refugee populations. Moreover, the paper applies human security analytics with feminist and securitization theories to explain why health security needs incorporation within humanitarian plans. The findings provide insights to create gender-sensitive health service programs destined for crisis-afflicted communities.



BIO

Noor Nahar Shukanna is a dedicated researcher and postgraduate student of Security Studies in International Relations at the University of Dhaka, specializing in diplomacy, peace and security, development, and gender studies. With research experience under projects funded by organizations such as the World Bank and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, she has executed data analysis, transcription, and high-level seminar coordination. Her work also includes assisting esteemed professors as an RA on issues such as regional geopolitics and migration. Noor is a skilled communicator, team leader, and advocate for youth empowerment and digital literacy. She brings a passion for meaningful research and a commitment to addressing complex global challenges.

PANEL III:

ACCOUNTABILITY, JUSTICE AND RIGHTS OF ROHINGYAS

ROHINGYA ISSUE IN THE ICC AND ICJ

AMBASSADOR RIAZ HAMIDULLAH

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS (MOFA), GOVERNMENT OF THE
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH



Did graduation and post-graduation in Economics, respectively from India and Bangladesh. He joined Bangladesh Foreign Service in 1995. Served a good part of his career in multilateral economic diplomacy. In his assignments abroad, he first served at the Bangladesh Permanent Mission to UN (New York) (1999-2003). Later, as a mid-career political officer in Bangladesh Mission in New Delhi (India) (2003-05). During 2005-11, he worked on South Asian regional cooperation, including a three and half year stint at SAARC Secretariat (Kathmandu) as a Director where he dealt *inter alia* with regional agriculture and rural development, transport connectivity, SAARC Development Fund, development of regional projects. He also contributed towards development /re-organization of SAARC institutions and processes.



ROHINGYA CRISIS, GEOPOLITICS, AND THE SEARCH FOR A STRATEGIC PLAN

MD. OBAIDUL HAQUE

ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR, DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS,
UNIVERSITY OF DHAKA.



Abstract

The Rohingya crisis now stands as a key humanitarian and geopolitical problem affecting Bangladesh's national security and stability in the region. This talk looks at the changing geopolitical forces around the crisis, with a focus on the growing security risks from Myanmar's internal fight the Arakan Army's rise and land gains. Things have gotten worse along the 271km border between Bangladesh and Myanmar, with Myanmar stirring up more trouble. The talk will look at the wider effects on the region, including how nearby countries and global players are involved. Given the hurdles in sending the Rohingyas back and Bangladesh's tough diplomatic work, we need a new game plan. This plan will cover a wide-ranging diplomatic push, stronger border security, and teamwork in the region to tackle both the human crisis and safety risks. The goal is to suggest a framework to help Bangladesh deal with the tricky Rohingya crisis and find a lasting fix.



BIO

Md. Obaidul Haque is a faculty member in the Department of International Relations at the University of Dhaka, where he has been teaching since 1998. His teaching focuses on South Asian security and geopolitics, particularly exploring the strategic implications of great power competition in the region, including the Bay of Bengal and the Indian Ocean. He also examines the security implications of regional connectivity and non-traditional security challenges in Bangladesh's borderlands. He has conducted extensive field-based research and engaged with defense professionals to examine regional security concerns and post-conflict societies from Bangladesh's national security perspective. His work offers critical insights into evolving geopolitical dynamics, particularly concerning Bangladesh's strategic interests.

BORN WITHOUT A NATION: UNVEILING THE FORGOTTEN RIGHTS OF ROHINGYA CHILDREN

MOHAMMAD ATIQUE RAHMAN, PHD

ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR, DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS,
UNIVERSITY OF DHAKA.



Abstract

Being born into stateless in Myanmar, Rohingya children face severe human rights violations fuelled by decades of systemic discrimination and violence. Denied citizenship and basic freedoms, they endured forced displacement during Myanmar's brutal military crackdowns. Now refugees in overcrowded camps in Bangladesh, their conditions remain dire, marked by limited access to education, healthcare, and protection. Therefore, this paper attempts to explore the challenges faced by Rohingya children in Myanmar and their current struggles in refugee camps, highlighting the ongoing deprivation of their rights. It emphasizes the need for urgent policy interventions to address their needs and prevent them from becoming a lost generation trapped in despair.



BIO

Mohammad Atique Rahman is an Associate Professor at the Department of International Relations, University of Dhaka. He holds a PhD in Political Science from the University of Ghent, Belgium. In 2013, he was awarded a World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) fellowship to study Master of Law (LLM) in Intellectual Property at the Turin School of Law, University of Turin, Italy. He participated in the Study of United States Institute (SUSI) on “Grand Strategy in Context: Institutions, People and the Making of U.S. Foreign Policy” summer programme in 2014 at Bard College, New York, in the United States of America. In 2023, he participated International Visitor’s Leadership Program (IVLP) on “Addressing 21st Century Global Issues in the Indo-Pacific”. He published articles in international and national peer-reviewed journals, namely Extractive Industries and Society, Palgrave Macmillan, Singapore, Journal of International Development, Routledge India Originals, Journal of Bangladesh and Global Affairs, Mirpur Papers (Defense Service Command and Staff College, Bangladesh), BIISS Journal (Bangladesh Institute of International Strategic Studies), BILIA-Journal of International Affairs, Journal of Asiatic Society (humanities), Dhaka University-Social Science Review on natural resource management, development diplomacy, 4th industrial revolution, Bangladesh and ASEAN relations, multilateral treaty, and governance issues.



EVERYDAY ACTS OF RESISTANCE: THE ROHINGYA STRUGGLE AGAINST GENOCIDE IN MYANMAR

BAYES AHMED, PHD

ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR,

DEPARTMENT OF RISK AND DISASTER REDUCTION,

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE LONDON (UCL)



Abstract

Genocide is more than mass killings; it involves the intentional destruction of a group's identity and existence. The denial of genocide, as seen in the Rohingya case, reflects a complex interplay of state-led narratives, global geopolitics, and economic interests. Theories of genocide denial highlight how states manipulate history, suppress evidence, and use diplomatic power to evade accountability. This presentation examines the Rohingya genocide through these lenses, exploring how denial operates at national and international levels and its impact on justice and recognition efforts.



BIO

Bayes Ahmed (PhD) is an Associate Professor in the Department of Risk and Disaster Reduction at University College London (UCL). His research experience spans across disaster risk reduction (DRR), conflict and migration, genocide diplomacy, hydrocide, climate mobility, and disaster displacement. He specialises in the intersection of conflict and disaster, with a vision to improve the quality of life of displaced persons, genocide survivors and stateless populations. He is driven by a passion for collaborating with frontline communities, aiming to understand their challenges comprehensively and develop culturally appropriate technologies and actionable policy recommendations to meet their specific needs.



THE ROHINGYA REFUGEES: AN EXAMINATION OF THEIR RIGHTS WITHIN BANGLADESH

SAIMA AHMED, PHD

ASSISTANT PROFESSOR,

DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, UNIVERSITY OF DHAKA



Abstract

The objective of this study is to explore the rights of Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh within the framework of international law. Bangladesh is not a signatory of the Refugee Convention of 1951 despite hosting one million Rohingya refugees in the country. There is a need, therefore, to understand what kind of protections and rights a host country is expected to provide to refugees according to international law and to learn more about what protection and rights are offered currently to Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh in practice. The study will give specific attention to discussing the principle of non-refoulement regarding repatriation, asylum, and basic human rights that involve legal protection, housing, work, education, and access to basic services of the Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh.



BIO

Dr. Saima Ahmed is an Assistant Professor at the Department of International Relations, University of Dhaka. She has obtained her PhD in Political Science, majoring in International Relations and minoring in Comparative Politics from the University of Oregon, USA. A recipient of the Fulbright Scholarship, she graduated from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy in Law and Diplomacy with a specialization in International Security and International Organizations before pursuing her PhD. Dr. Ahmed completed her bachelor's and master's in international relations from the University of Dhaka. Her areas of research are Environmental Politics, Human Rights, Humanitarian Law, International Law, International Security, etc.

**MEDIA PORTRAYAL OF THE ROHINGYA REFUGEE
CRISIS: ASSESSING THE VISUALS AND TEXTUAL
THEMES, FRAMES, AND NARRATIVES IN THE PRE-
GENOCIDE AND POST-GENOCIDE NEWS IN SELECTIVE
BANGLADESHI NEWSPAPERS**

ALI SIDDIQUEE

**ASSISTANT PROFESSOR, DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS,
UNIVERSITY OF DHAKA**



Abstract

The media, encompassing both traditional outlets like newspapers and television, and social media platforms like Facebook and Youtube, plays a crucial role in shaping public perception. In the context of refugees, this influence can be particularly significant, often leading to negative portrayals with substantial consequences for the safety and well-being of the refugees. The framing of the refugees and the crisis attached within often portrayed by the media with specific narratives, such as the "burden" narrative, portraying refugees as a drain on resources and a threat to national security. Selection of the stories and narratives often depict incidents of crime involving refugees, while neglecting the vast majority of law-abiding individuals within refugee communities, can create a distorted and fear-inducing image. Such portrayals are followed with emotional appeals which potentially can override rational thought and reinforce existing prejudices. Moreover, social media platforms often facilitate creating echo chambers and filter bubbles, where users are primarily exposed to information that confirms their existing beliefs. This paper aims to show to what extent the media portrayal of the Rohingya refugee crisis has shifted over the years by critically assessing the visuals and textual themes, frames, and narratives in the pre/during-genocide and the post-genocide years of coverage among the four selective Bangladeshi newspapers.



BIO

Md. Ali Siddiquee is an Assistant Professor in the Department of International Relations at the University of Dhaka. He joined the faculty in August 2015 as a Lecturer.

He earned his BSS and MSS in International Relations from the University of Dhaka in 2012 and 2013, respectively. In 2020, he received his Master of International Relations (MIR) degree from the University of Melbourne, Australia, with the prestigious Australia Awards Scholarship. Prior to joining the Department of International Relations, he served as a Research Officer at the Bangladesh Enterprise Institute (BEI) from June 2013 to July 2015. His research interests encompass a wide range of topics, including theories of international relations, great power politics, Indo-Pacific affairs, South Asian politics, East and Southeast Asian politics, the interplay of media and international politics, and post-truth politics. He is also actively involved in research at other institutions. He serves as an Adjunct Research Fellow at the Applied Democracy Lab, University of Dhaka.

ROHINGYA DIASPORA & ACTIVISM TITLE [TBC]

ANSAR ANAS, PHD

SENIOR RESEARCHER IN THE ASIA PROGRAM AT THE ARNOLD-
BERGSTRAESSER-INSTITUT (ABI), UNIVERSITY OF FREIBURG, GERMANY

ABU FAISAL MD KHALED

RESEARCH ASSOCIATE AT THE INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL LAW OF
PEACE AND ARMED CONFLICT (IFHV) AT RUHR UNIVERSITY BOCHUM
(GERMANY)



Abstract

This study explores the intersection of digital connectivity, mobility, and identity formation, examining how social media platforms catalyse new forms of diaspora activism among displaced Rohingyas. Through extensive online ethnographic research, we explore how digital spaces foster collective identity and community cohesion. Our analysis reveals how these virtual platforms serve as forums where diasporic Rohingya identities are constructed, debated, and evolved while investigating how emerging forms of civic and political e-activism contribute to Rohingya identity formation and their struggle for recognition.



BIO

Dr. Anas Ansar is a senior researcher in the Asia program at the Arnold-Bergstraesser-Institut (ABI), University of Freiburg, Germany. In addition to his research role, he lectures on Migration and Identity Politics at the Catholic University of Applied Sciences in Mainz, Germany. Dr. Ansar holds both a bachelor's and a master's degree in international relations from the University of Dhaka, Bangladesh. He earned his PhD with distinction from the University of Bonn, Germany, in 2024. His current research delves into the intricate dynamics of migration politics, the challenges of displacement in Asian borderlands, and the diaspora resistance against authoritarian regimes in Asia.

Abu Faisal Md. Khaled is a Research Associate at the Institute for International Law of Peace and Armed Conflict (IFHV) at Ruhr University Bochum (Germany). He currently coordinates research in South Sudan and Nigeria under Phase 3 – Leave no one behind, which focuses on mainstreaming disability in global and local humanitarian action in line with the IASC Guidelines on Inclusion.



CLOSING SESSION

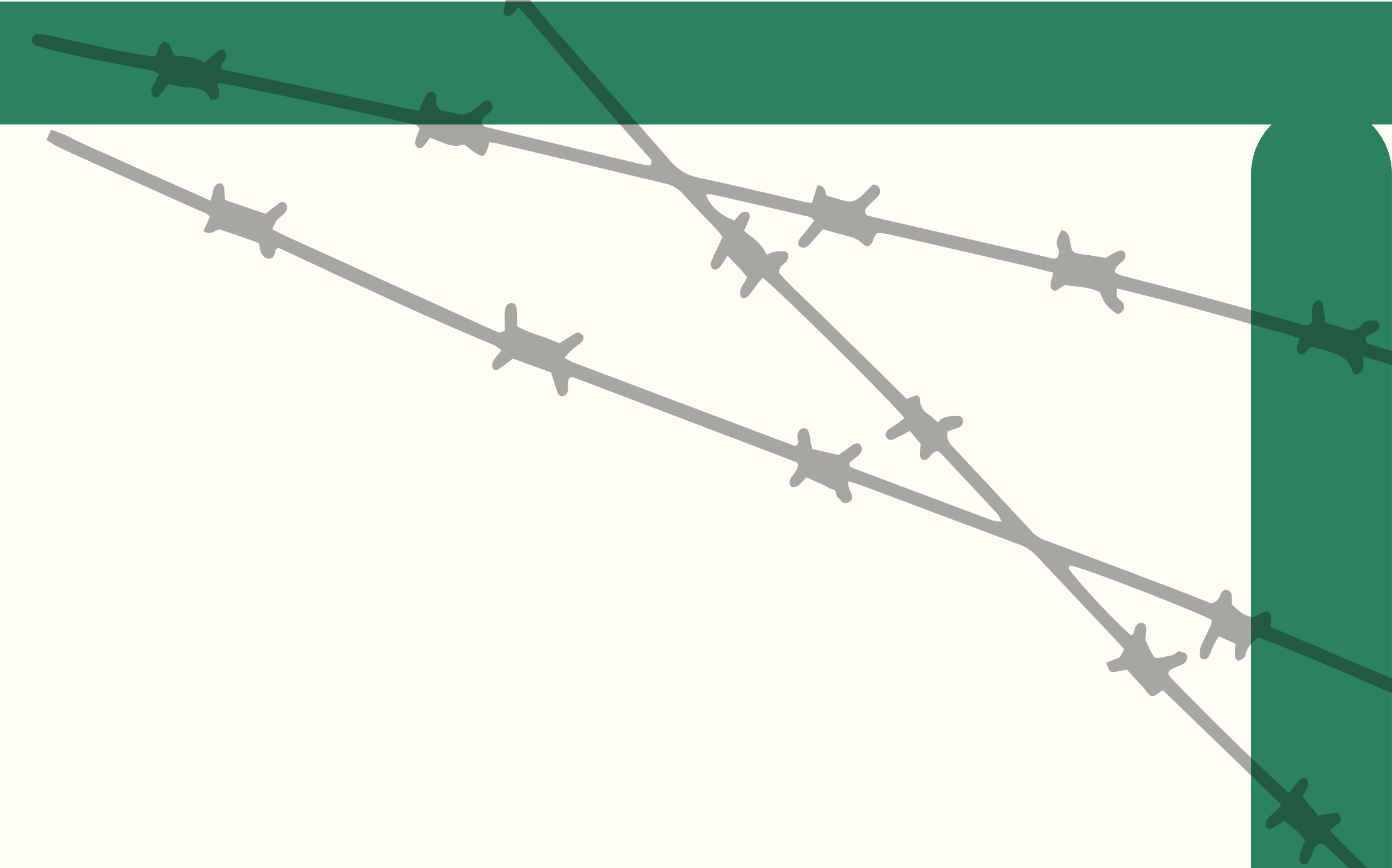
CHAIR OF THE SESSION

PROFESSOR NIAZ AHMED KHAN, PHD

VICE CHANCELLOR, UNIVERSITY OF DHAKA



Professor Niaz Ahmed Khan, Ph. D., is the Vice Chancellor of the University of Dhaka. He is also the immediate past Vice-Chancellor (Acting) of Independent University, Bangladesh (IUB), a Professor (Grade 1), and the former Chairman of the Department of Development Studies, University of Dhaka. Professor Khan's career reflects a rich blend of academic and practicing development management experiences gained in Bangladesh, Thailand and the UK. Besides serving as Bangladesh Country Representative of IUCN – the International Union for Conservation of Nature (the world's largest environmental network organization), some of his other senior development management positions include Senior Programme Coordinator (CHT), UNDP-Bangladesh; Forest and Natural Resource Management Specialist (RETA 5900), Asian Development Bank (ADB); Chairman, Bangladesh Tropical Forest Conservation Foundation; and Manager (Operations), PKSF (Rural Employment Assistance Foundation). Dr. Khan has published prolifically (more than 170 refereed publications, including some 50 in Web of Science and/or Scopus-indexed journals) on such broad fields as research methodology, environment, natural resource management, and social/community development. Besides his affiliation with numerous professional societies, he is also involved in extensive journal editorial and management roles.



CHIEF GUEST OF THE SESSION

MR. MD. TOUHID HOSSAIN

HON'BLE ADVISOR, MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH



Md Touhid Hossain was sworn in as the Adviser for Foreign Affairs of the Interim Government of Bangladesh on 08 August 2024. He is a former Foreign Secretary of Bangladesh, his tenure being from December 2006 to July 2009. A career Foreign Service officer, he served in different capacities at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and in Bangladesh missions abroad from 1981 to 2014, including stints as First Secretary in Delhi and Deputy High Commissioner in Kolkata. He was the High Commissioner of Bangladesh to South Africa with concurrent accreditation to Angola, Namibia, Botswana, Mozambique, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. He retired from service in January 2014. Hossain has also worked in different capacities at the Foreign Service Academy, including as Principal from 2009 to 2012. He served as a governing body member at BISS, BILIA, Foreign Trade Institute, DSCSC, and NDC.



MODERATOR OF THE SESSION

PROFESSOR ASM ALI ASHRAF, PhD

CHAIR, DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, AND DIRECTOR,
CENTRE FOR GENOCIDE STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF DHAKA



ASM Ali Ashraf is a Professor of International Relations at the University of Dhaka. He holds a Ph.D. in International Security Policy from the University of Pittsburgh, USA. His teaching and research interests are broadly in the fields of security and intelligence studies, international migration, and public policy. He has authored more than two dozen journal articles and book chapters at home and abroad. He has edited a volume titled *Intelligence, National Security, and Foreign Policy: A South Asian Narrative* (Dhaka: BILIA and DUIR, 2016, reprinted 2019). Dr. Ashraf was a Fulbright Scholar and Matthew B. Ridgway Center for International Security Studies Fellow at the University of Pittsburgh. He often lectures at the Defence Services Command and Staff College, the Foreign Service Academy, the Police Staff College, and the National Defence College of Bangladesh. He is a member of the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), London.



VOTE OF THANKS

PROFESSOR MUHAMMAD RUHUL AMIN

DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, UNIVERSITY OF DHAKA



Muhammad Ruhul Amin has been working at the Department of International Relations, University of Dhaka, since October 1993. After he graduated from the Department of International Relations, University of Dhaka, he obtained an MA degree in International Economics from the International University of Japan. He worked first as the Dean of Business and Social Sciences and then as acting Vice-Chancellor of Sylhet International University from 2014 to 2016. He has authored three books and thirty-five research papers. Notable among his publications are Development Issues and Strategies of Bangladesh: Lessons from Malaysia, Bangladesh Revisited: A Comprehensive Study of an Asian Nation, etc. He has taught as a visiting faculty in various private universities. He was a former Chairperson of the Department of International Relations, University of Dhaka.



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MSS (Dhaka), MPIA (Pittsburgh), PhD
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Professors



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Yokohama)



Professor Ashequa Irshad

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Professor Ehsanul Haque

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Professor Dr. Rashed Uz Zaman

MSS (Dhaka), MA (Hull), PhD
(Reading)



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**Professor Dr. Mohammad Tanzimuddin
Khan [On deputation]**

MSS (Dhaka), MA (Warwick), PhD (New England)



Professor Dr. ASM Ali Ashraf

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PhD (Pittsburgh)



Professor Dr. Syeda Rozana Rashid

MSS (Dhaka), MSt (Oxford), PhD
(Sussex)



Professor Dr. Md. Abdul Mannan

MSS (Dhaka), PhD (Melbourne)



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Professor Dr. Niloy Ranjan Biswas
MSS (Dhaka), MA (George Washington),
PhD (City, University of London)

Associate Professors



Mr. Md. Obaidul Haque
MSS (Dhaka) MSt (Oxford)



Ms. Bushra Hasina Chowdhury
MSS (Dhaka), MA (Sussex)



Mr. Sheikh Shams Morsalin (On study leave)
MSS (Dhaka), MSc (Sussex)



Dr. MD. Sazzad Hossain
MSS (Dhaka), PhD (Wuhan)



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MSS (Dhaka), MA (Sussex)



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Ms. Sayeda Akther

MSS (Dhaka)



Mr. Md. Ali Siddiquee

MSS (Dhaka), MIR (Melbourne)



Mr. Md. Anwarul Azim

MSS (Dhaka), MIDEAC (ANU, Canberra)



LIST OF DUIR FACULTY MEMBERS



Ms. Lamea Momen
MSS (Dhaka), MA (Sussex)

Lecturers



Ms. Samia Zaman
MSS (Dhaka)



Md. Tanvir Habib
MSS (Dhaka)



Ms. Mansura Amdad
MSS (Dhaka)



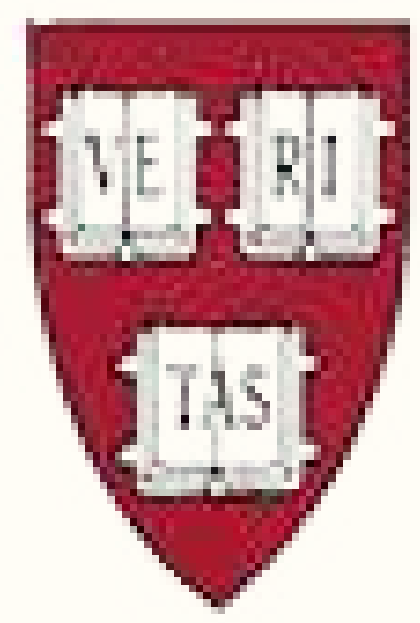
Ms. Iffat Ara Jasmin
MSS (Dhaka)



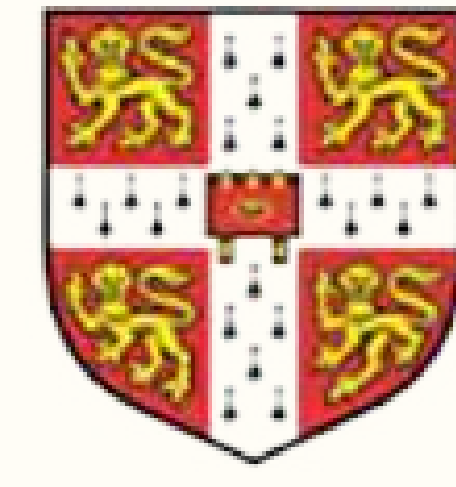
Mr. Saddam Hosen
MSS (Dhaka)



BRINGING GLOBAL ACADEMIC EXPERTISE TO DUIR



HARVARD
UNIVERSITY



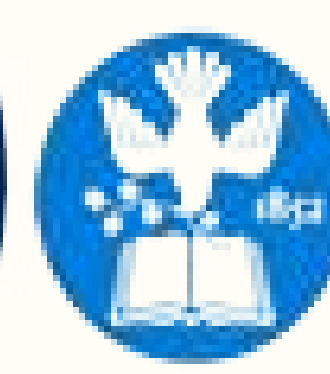
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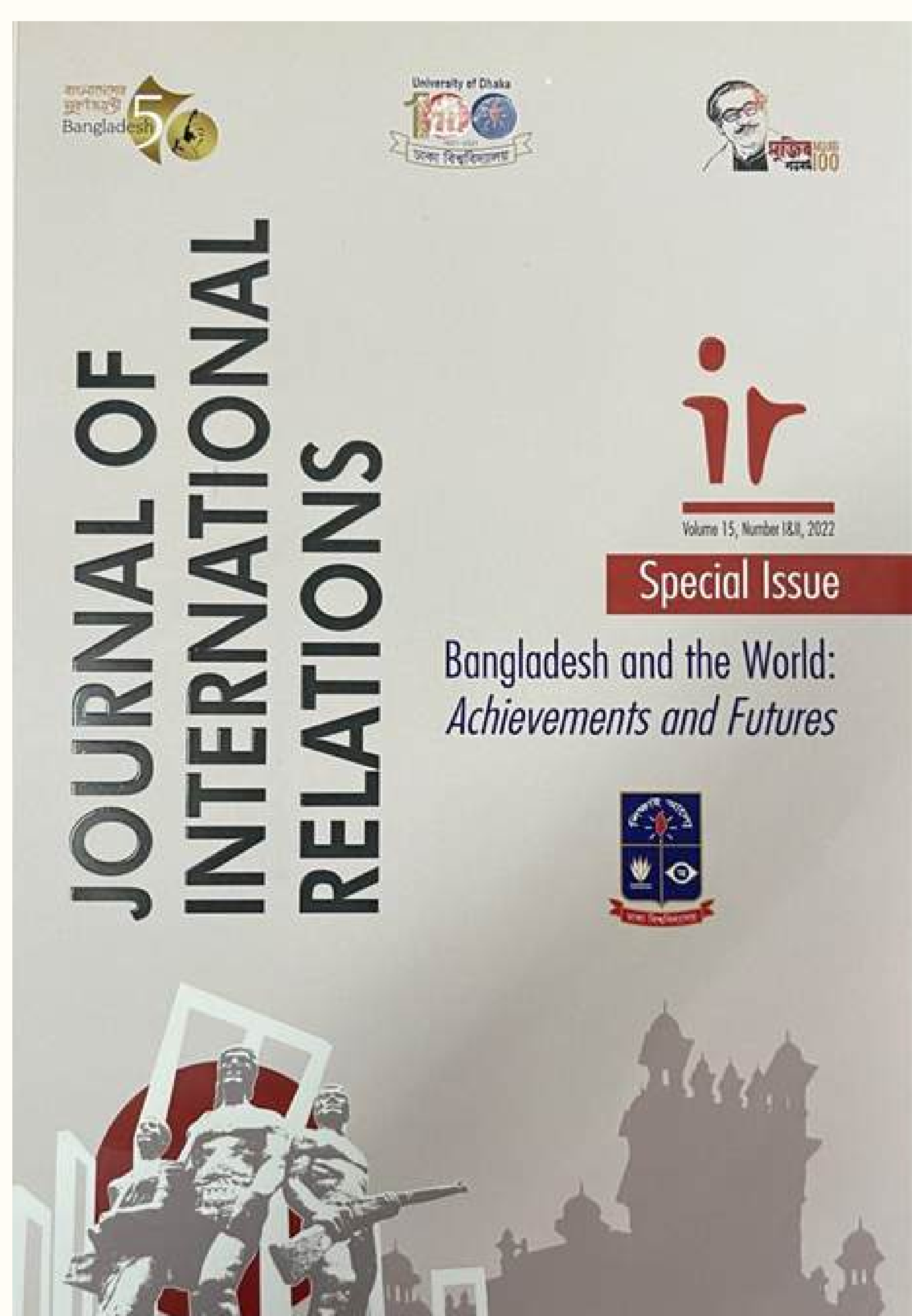


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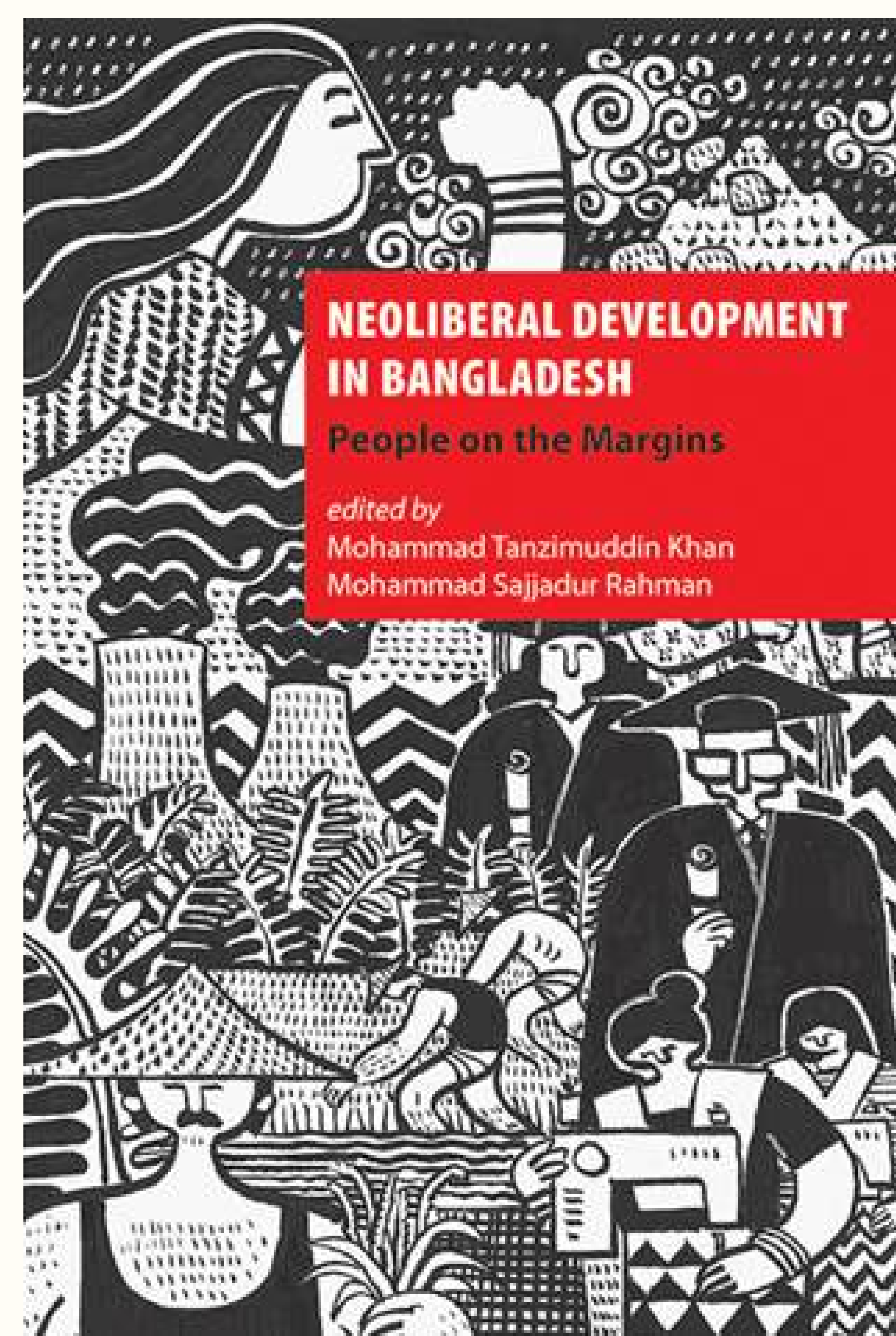
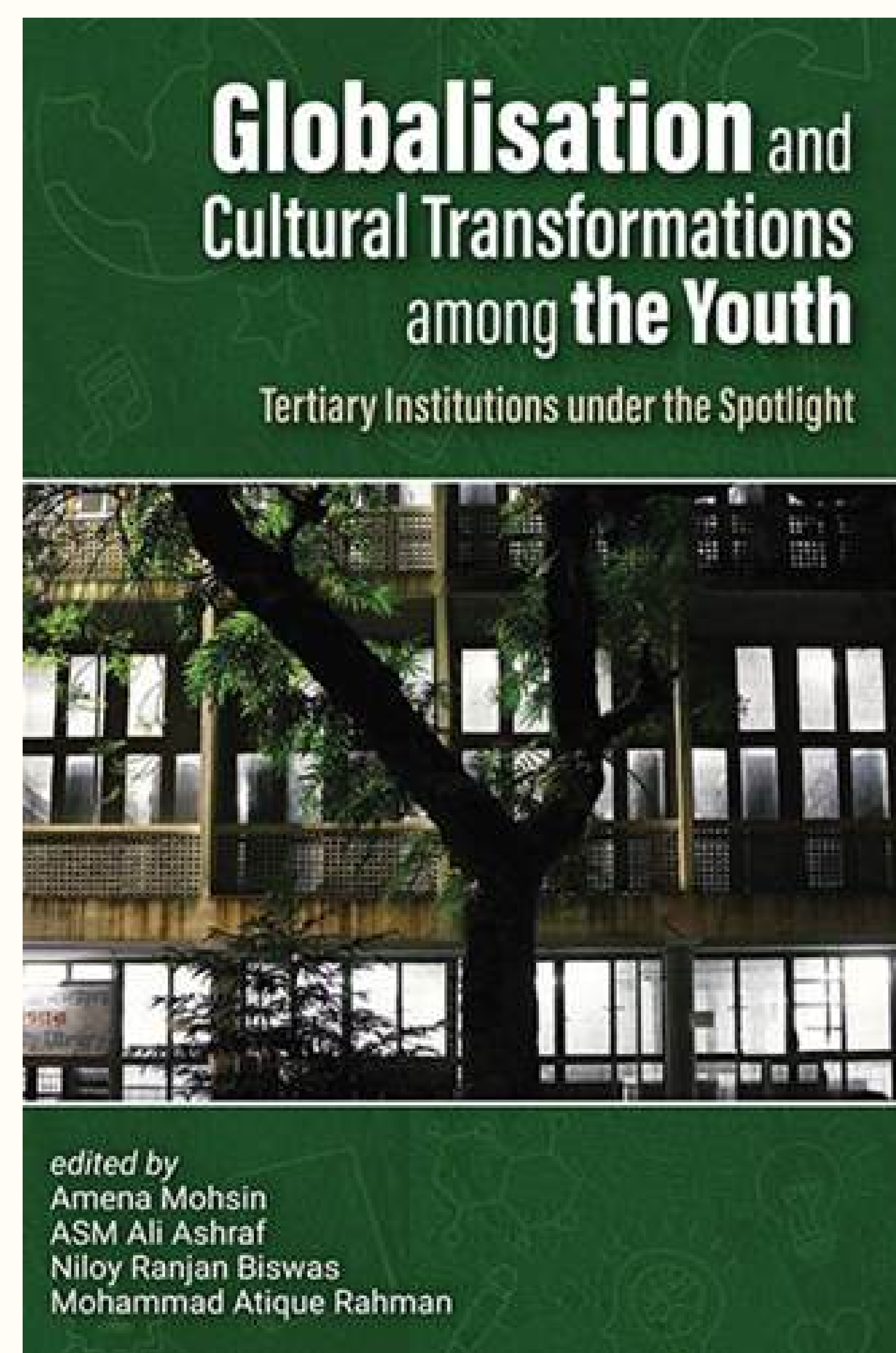
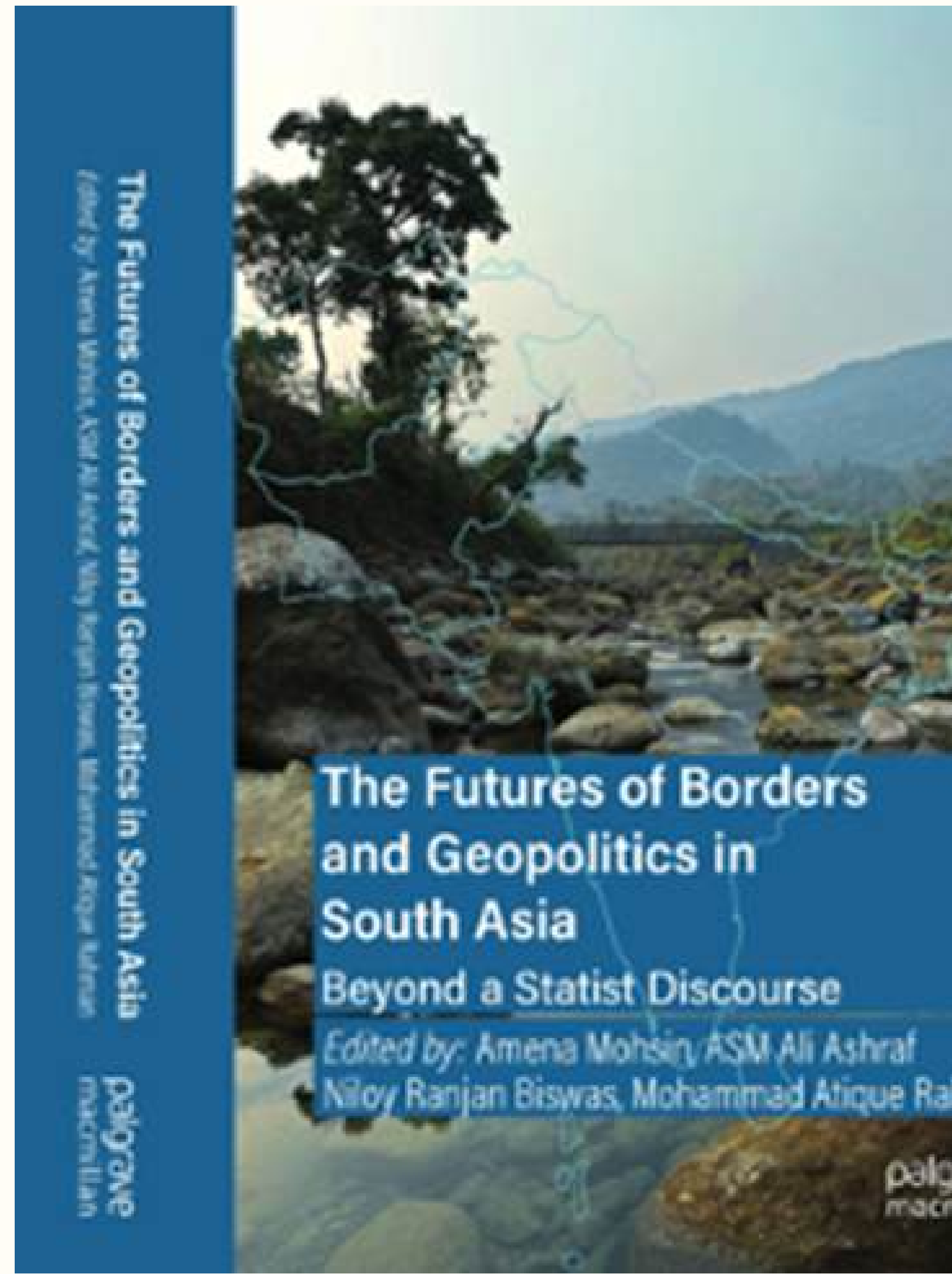


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OUR INTELLECTUAL FOOTPRINTS





DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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