CONVERSATION BOOKLET



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CONVERSATION BOOKLET 2023





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Message from Chairman Centre for Governance Studies

Centre for Governance Studies (CGS) is going host its flagship annual program the Bay of Bengal Conversation (BoBC) on October 7-9 in Dhaka, Bangladesh. BoBC is a platform where academics, diplomats, civil society leaders exchange ideas, opinions, information on a range of issues concerning Indo Pacific region. This year the main focus will be on matters such as diplomacy, challenges, regional peace and political stability in the Indo-Pacific.

The Indo-Pacific region encompasses 40 countries and economies, housing 65% of the world's population, 37% of its impoverished, and is predicted to contribute roughly 50% of the global GDP by 2040.

The region has seen increasing technology adoption, decreasing poverty rates, and rapid infrastructure development.

The conference will look to explain how differing Indo-Pacific strategies around the world have been adopted and put into effect.

With \$5.3 trillion of global trade passing through the South China Sea, what role can each Indo-Pacific nation play in this new theater of great power rivalry to ensure peace and prosperity for the greater Indo-Pacific region?

How can diplomatic frameworks keep ongoing disputes in the Indo-Pacific under control, and how might regional players come together to avoid the tinderbox from being lit?

To effectively address climate concerns in the Indo-Pacific, how may regional stakeholders foster discussions, participation, and collaboration to make meaningful progress?

With the US and China actively promoting their respective and separate versions of world orders, which direction must Indo-Pacific nations take going forward?

On behalf of the Centre for Governance Studies, I welcome all the participants from home and abroad. I hope your participation on BoBC will shed more light on the complex issues swirling around in this increasingly important region.

Manjur A. Chowdhury, PhD

Margin Cloudly





Chair's Note
Executive Director, Centre for Governance Studies

When we began the Bay of Bengal Conversation project last year, many considered it a pipe dream. Something far too large for our small at CGS to handle. Not only did we prove all nay-sayers wrong, but with great pleasure, I would like to announce the second edition of the Bay of Bengal Conversation, now even more extensive in scope and geopolitical importance. The scope of the conference now grows out of the issues of the South Asia region to the much more critical and turbulent Indo-Pacifc theatre. I have always believed in the potential of Bangladesh to act as an important player in regional geopolitics. Bangladesh's geostrategic position, non-aligned foreign policy, and adherence to international laws in terms of conflict resolution make it the ideal place to host any and all matters of arbitration and discussion between the geopolitical West and East.

This year's Bay of Bengal Conversation intends to provide a platform for Track 2 diplomacy with all states that consider themselves players in the Indo-Pacific region. Following this guiding premise, the discourse this year will centre on tackling the fault lines that endanger regional peace, security, and development.

The economic and geopolitical centre of gravity has begun to shift eastward in recent decades. Regions that were long deemed the world's backwaters have now begun a period of rapid modernisation comparable to what the global north experienced following World War II. As it is now understood, the Indo-Pacific region consists of 40 countries and economies, 65% of the world's population, 37% of the world's poor, and an expected 50% of the world's GDP by 2040. Because to increased technology use, dropping poverty rates, and rapid infrastructure development, this massive population is only now realising its true potential for productivity and consumption. The region also hosts nations that are particularly vulnerable to the consequences of climate change. Given the region's undeniable relevance

for any potential future world order, numerous global north nations have developed national Indo-Pacific agendas. Whether it's the appeal of the Belt and Road infrastructure or the idealistic vision of a free and open Indo-Pacific, an arms race of rhetorics has already begun.

However, the situation is not the same here as it was among the Cold War-era buffer states. The lines in the sand have not been drawn yet. Allegiances are intentionally left ambiguous, and no series of treaties and defence pacts oblige nations to pick a side. Instead, the nations of the Indo-Pacific have been presented with unique leverage over the competing world powers. And if they manage to play their cards right, the nations of the Indo-Pacific may dictate their own fate in the world to come. But before that can happen, the region must address its internal faultiness.

This year's Bay of Bengal Conversation will concentrate on identifying and elucidating aspects of different nations' Indo-Pacific strategies, as well as delving into the perspectives of regional stakeholders, academics, and diplomats to expound on trends and trajectories of regional development and challenges. When discussing geopolitical evolution in the Indo-Pacific, the discussion will focus on five distinct perspectives:

- 1. The Indo-Pacific as a convergence of foreign policy paradigms
- 2. The Indo-Pacific as a new theatre of Great Powers competition
- 3. The Indo-Pacific as a geopolitical tinderbox
- 4. The Indo-Pacific as a front-line climate action
- 5. Finding the narrative for the Indo-Pacific in the new world order

This year, the Bay of Bengal conversation will host participants from various nations. Diplomats, politicians, bureaucrats, military experts, activists, academics, journalists, civil society representatives, business leaders and many other stakeholders will come together and discuss threats, potentials, and ideas to solve the most complex geopolitical issues and ideate ways to create a more integrated, peaceful, and prosperous Indo-Pacific. As the direction for the future of the Indo-Pacific rests largely upon the action or inaction of regional actors, which kind of world order they would like to see and be a part of?

Zillur Rahman

COP, SUGS AND THE GREEN TRANSITION

ULTURE WARS BEYOND BORDERS

SECURITY ARCHITECTURE OF THE NEW ASIA PACIFIC

DEFINING COMPETITION IN THE INDO-PACIFIC

THE FUTURE OF DEVELOPMENT PARTNERSHIPS IN ASIA

THE DRAGON'S DOMAIN: BRI AFTER A DECADE

PROGRAM

DAY ONE

Saturday October 7 09:30 – 10:30 Grand Ballroom

10:30 – 11:00 Ballroom Foyer

11:00 - 12:20 Grand Ballroom

INAUGURAL SESSION

Speakers

Manjur Ahmed Chowdhury, Chairman, CGS, Bangladesh

Moussa Mara, Former Prime Minister, Mali Member, Club de Madrid

Zillur Rahman, Executive Director, CGS Chair, Bay of Bengal Conversation, Bangladesh

TEA/COFFEE BREAK

PLENARY SESSION

A Post G20 World: The Global South Rising

This year, the G20 summit began proceedings by welcoming the African Union (AU) as the newest member of a bloc that already represented 85 per cent of the world's gross domestic product (GDP). Host India, along with Brazil, Indonesia and South Africa, played a key role in avoiding a fracturing of the G20 over the Ukraine conflict, officials said, reflecting the growing power of the Global South developing nations in the group. Meanwhile, there is confirmation that BRICS will expand to give a voice to the needs of the Global South. As global south nations and develop into more active players in world politics, they also find themselves embroiled in the rivalry between great powers. What does this development mean for the global south in the turbulent future?

Speakers

Abdulla Rasheed Ahmed, Minister of State for Education, Maldives

C. Christine Fair, Professor, Security Studies, Georgetown

University, USA

Karori Singh, Former Director and Emeritus Fellow, South Asia Studies Centre, University of Rajasthan, India

Leonardo Paz Neves, Researcher, Getulio Vargas Foundation Brazil

Pramod Jaiswal, Research Director, Nepal Institute for International Cooperation and Engagement, Nepal

Fahmida Khatun, Executive Director, Centre for Policy Dialogue Bangladesh (Moderator)

12:20 – 13:30 Grand Ballroom

PLENARY SESSION

Diplomacy on Track 2: The Role of CSOs, NGOs And Think Tanks Across Borders

The expansion of the global civil society since the end of the Cold War has led to the proliferation of non-governmental organisations (NGos), Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), and Think Tanks, which are fast emerging as important non-state actors in a globalised world. Engaged in a wide variety of humanitarian, medical, educational, and other relief and development activities, these organisations also play important roles in managing and resolving different global conflicts. A small but growing number of Track II groups are helping to open the way for a more formal internal or international peace processes. How can the global civil society play an active role in maintaining peace and stability of the Indo-Pacific theatre?

Speakers

Debapriya Bhattacharya, Distinguished Fellow, Centre for Policy Dialogue, Bangladesh

Jovan Ratkovic, Senior Fellow, Agora Strategy Group, Serbia

Konstantinos Foutzopoulos, Executive Director, South East Leadership Dialogue, Greece

Matej Gregorec, Programme Manager, Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs, Slovenia

Vlada Galan, Partner, Altum International Strategies, Ukraine

Sheela Tasneem Haq, Senior Governance Specialist UNDP Bangladesh (Moderator)

13:30 - 14:30 Ballroom LUNCH

14:30 - 15:50 Grand Ballroom

PLENARY SESSION

Scepticism and Conspiracy: The Dangers of Misinformation and Disinformation

At the moment, 5G towers and vaccine misinformation are only the tip of an iceberg of conspiracy. Society has long grappled with the dissemination of false information, but the arrival of the internet age has proved a dangerous tinderbox. The wide range of themes targeted by false information online, including particularly sensitive areas such as politics, climate change, religion and health, makes misinformation's potential negative impacts even more dire. Arguably, the most significant and widespread impact of false information online, irrespective of the theme or target audience, is the growing mistrust of institutions and the disruption of democratic processes worldwide. Now, the impacts of false information on the internet are being acutely felt in Bangladesh and other nations in South Asia. This could have dire consequences for social cohesion and inclusive progress in affected communities and wider society in the long term. This session will discuss the need for targeted efforts by the appropriate stakeholders, specifically tailored towards combating misinformation and disinformation online. Perhaps, through collaborative effort, we may find the potential to address the problem and cultivate a safer, more enriching digital experience for all internet users.

Speakers

Anurag Acharya, Director, Policy Entrepreneurs Inc., Nepal

Cuihong Cai, Professor, Centre for American Studies, Fudan University, China

Leo Wigger, Editor, Zenith Magazine, Germany

Nurul Kabir, Editor, New Age, Bangladesh

Parveen F Chowdhury, President, Commonwealth Journalist Association, Bangladesh

Faruq Faisel, Former Regional Director, South Asia and Bangladesh, Article 19 (Moderator)

15:50 - 17:10 Grand Ballroom

PLENARY SESSION

COP. SDGs and the Green Transition

As the shift towards net zero gathers momentum, Global South countries face a formidable combination of pressures, challenged by COP to deliver socio-economic development while meeting their nationally determined decarbonisation targets. In the coming days, these pressures are only set to intensify. For countries like Bangladesh and its neighbours, green jobs are both a mechanism to achieve sustainable development and an outcome of policies to pursue sustainability. Meanwhile, the discussion on unlocking the potential of women's leadership for accelerating the Just Energy Transition has only just picked up steam. As we head steadfast into the 22nd century, humanity must be prepared for a massive transition in almost every regard of economy and society. But what does this transition mean for the countries primed for rapid industrialisation across the world? Though a consensus has emerged among government leaders on the need to transition to a low-carbon future, a broader societal consensus on how best to transition to that low-carbon future has not coalesced. The question still remains of how "just" this transition will be in the face of the changing geopolitical reality.

Speakers

Ambika Vishwanath, Founder & Director, Kubernein Initiative, India

Arif Faisal, Climate Change Expert, Program Specialist, UNDP Bangladesh

Arjan De Haan, Senior Program Specialist, International Development Research Centre, Canada

Emmanuel Antwi Akoto, Project Manager, BSW Solar, Ghana

Sardar M Asaduzzaman, Head of Programme Management and Partnership Unit, UNDP Bangladesh

Rashed Al Mahmud Titumir, Professor, Department of Development Studies, University of Dhaka, Bangladesh (Moderator)

17:10 – 18:00 Ballroom Foyer TEA/COFFEE BREAK

18:30 - 20:00 Surma

AFTER SHOW CONVERSATION (BY INVITATION ONLY)

Culture Wars Beyond Borders

There have always been cultural conflicts in every society. But within the last two decades, culture wars have become much sharper. Declining trust in institutions that hold together the cohesion of society, growing class inequalities, and the proliferation of technology in the form of social media and alternative news enable and encourage people to cluster in their cultural groups. As a result, we see international conspiracy theories being peddled along with culture war topics. The effect the culture wars are having on geopolitics is clearly visible. Whether it be the support for Ukraine, Brexit, and increasing vaccine hesitancy in Africa, the effects of the battle between the left and right in the global north is no longer an internal issue. The question now is, what do we do about it?

Speakers

Ali Riaz, Distinguished Professor, Illinois State University, USA

C. Christine Fair, Professor, Security Studies, Georgetown University, USA

Debjyoti Chanda, Associate Professor, Rabindra Bharati University, Kolkata. India

Irfan Yar, Founder, Afghanistan Security Institute, Canada (Moderator)

18:30 – 20:00 Meghna

AFTER SHOW CONVERSATION (BY INVITATION ONLY)

Gender Geopolitics: The Women's Empowerment Movement of The Indo-Pacific

As a concept, a field of research and an analysis tool, gender is not used enough by and in geopolitics, particularly in the context of the Indo-Pacific. Yet, women's and LGBTI rights, sexual and sexist violence, sexuality, and relationships between men and women have become major preoccupations of major political parties worldwide. When political goals are gender-neutral, bias in favour of men and gender stereotypes are reinforced. While some countries or regions fight more than others against sexist

discrimination, sexual violence and violence against LGBTI and promote access to rights and resources, a backlash can occur anywhere. Meanwhile, populist nationalist governments and authoritarian regimes are obsessed with reinforcing gender stereotypes and inequalities and fight their deconstruction. Is there value in trying to analyse geopolitics from the perspective of gender? And Is there room for feminism in modern diplomacy?

Speakers

Peter Grk, Secretary General, Bled Strategic Forum, Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs, Slovenia

Rani Yan Yan, Adviser, Chakma Chief Circle and Indigenous Peoples Human Rights Defender, Bangladesh

Vlada Galan, Partner, Altum International Strategies, Ukraine

Kamakshi Wason, Global COO, Tillotoma Foundation, India (Moderator)

20:30-10:30 Pool Cafe DINNER (BY INVITATION ONLY)

DAY TWO

Sunday October 8 09:30 – 10:30 Surma

CONVERSATION OVER TEA (BY INVITATION ONLY)

Geopolitical Realism, Great Powers, and the Clash of Civilizations in the Indo-Pacific

The modern school of realism in international relations argues that all international relations are driven by natural laws of struggles for power between states. It advocates for a foreign policy designed not from ideals but through understanding the existing power dynamics of rival states. The ultimate result of this form of geopolitics is something akin to the 19th-century Concert of Europe, a multi-polar power balance amid overlapping spheres of influence and overlapping national interests. Where this arrangement falls short, however, is when it is idealism and culture, rather than rational calculation, that fuels the fires of dissent among societies, nations, and civilisations. Today's Indo-Pacifc is a collection of disparate strategic and economic interests along with a collage of various competing ideals. What could be the ideal path to co-existence in this emerging theatre? Does realism give the answer? Or is there a requirement for a brand new kind of concert in the Indo-Pacific?

Speakers

Amena Mohsin, Professor, Department of International Relations, University of Dhaka, Bangladesh

Dominique Rakotozafy, Former Minister of Defense, Madagascar

Marc Saxer, Head of the Asia Pacific Department Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Germany

Felix Kolbitz, Resident Representative, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Bangladesh (Moderator) 09:30 – 10:30 Meghna

CONVERSATION OVER TEA (BY INVITATION ONLY)

Security Architecture of the New Asia Pacific

Since the Russian-Ukraine War began in February 2022, speculation about the possibility of conflict in the Indo-Pacific theatre has been rife. High-level diplomatic visits, military drills and exercises, as well as provocative brinksmanship, have become the new language of geopolitics as great powers form an unsteady security condition. Wargame exercises undertaken by security think tanks conclude that the cost of war across the Indo-Pacific will be high for all sides. The economic entanglement between the East and West is another factor preventing violent escalation so far. How likely is it for the region to become the flashpoint for the next war between great powers?

Speakers

Arun K Sahni, Former Army Commander, Indian Army, India
Ishfaq Ilahi Choudhury, Security Specialist, Bangladesh
Satoru Nagao, Fellow (Non-Resident), Hudson Institute, USA
Bec Strating, Associate Professor, La Trobe University, Bundoora,
Australia (Moderator)

11:00 - 11:10 Grand Ballroom

MINISTERIAL SPEECH

M. A. Mannan MP, Planning Minister of Bangladesh

11:10 - 12:30 Grand Ballroom

PLENARY SESSION

Regional Energy Connectivity in Mitigating Climate Change in the Indo-Pacific

This interactive session will stimulate the active engagement of stakeholders in the Indo-Pacific region to confront global concerns about climate actions. Specifically, the session will discuss how regional stakeholders can participate and collaborate to progress against climate change due to the increasing use of fossil fuels in electricity generation, how they can progress towards regional cooperation in the production and sharing (trading) of renewable energy, and what are the latest renewable energy technologies and how are they being applied in the Indo-Pacific region.

Welcome Remarks

Abdelkader Ed Elrahal, Chief of Party, USAID BADGE

Chief Guest Remarks

Mahbubur Rahman, Chairman, Bangladesh Power Development
Board

Remarks

Muhammad Khan, Director, Economic Growth Office, USAID Banqladesh

Presentation

"Video presentation on Onshore Potential Wind Energy Development" by National Renewable Energy Laboratory (NREL)

Keynote Presentation

"Clean Energy Transition: A Regional View with a Focus on Bangladesh" by **Alam Hossain Mondal**, Deputy Chief of Party, USAID BADGE

Speakers

Chaira Vidussi, Energy Program Manager, European Commission

Ijaz Hossain, Professor, Department of Chemical Engineering, BUET

Nazmun Nahar, Senior Project Officer (Energy), ADB

Nirod Chandra Mondal, Joint Secretary Power Division Bangladesh

Shayan Shafi, Energy Team Leader, USAID Bangladesh

Mollah Amzad Hossain, Editor, Energy & Power Magazine,

Bangladesh (Moderator)

12:30-13:30 Grand Ballroom

PLENARY SESSION

Dollar Dominance vs. BRICS Expansion

BRICS leaders have said they want to use their national currencies more instead of the dollar, which strengthened sharply last year as the Federal Reserve raised interest rates and Russia invaded Ukraine, making dollar debt and many imports more expensive. However, the dollar still dominates global trade. It is on one side of almost 90% of global forex transactions. What does the dollar dependency mean for a new and volatile Indo-Pacific? Will the growth of BRICS represent a net positive or detriment to regional peace and prosperity?

Speakers

Andre de Mello e Souza, Tenured Researcher and Policy Analyst, Institute for Applied Economic Research, Brazil

Ashok Sajjanhar, Former Ambassador, Institute of Global Studies (President), India

David Morris, Senior Fellow, Center for China and Globalization, Australia

Dominique Rakotozafy, Former Minister of Defense, Madagascar

Faris Hadrovic, Business Development and Government Relations Expert, Bosnia and Herzegovina

> Mamun Rashid, Managing Director, PwC Bangladesh (Moderator)

13:30 - 14:30 Ballroom LUNCH

14:30 - 14:50 Ballroom

SPECIAL ADDRESS

Boris Tadic, Former President of Serbia Member, Club de Madrid 14:50 - 16:10 Grand Ballroom

PLENARY SESSION

ASEAN Centrality: Caught in the Tug-of-War Between the West and the East

ASEAN centrality—the idea that the institution of ASEAN should be the primary force behind any region-wide architecture built in the Asia-Pacific. Though each ASEAN member interprets the principle of ASEAN centrality differently, some view the rapid militarisation by China in the South China Sea and the formation of the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (the Quad) as destabilising factors to the grouping in the region. So far, ASEAN has a strict principle of non-intervention in its member states' affairs and consequently has played an important role in economically integrating the region. However, the grouping has been constrained with regard to two factors—balancing relations with China and the delivery of global public goods. As tensions between the East and West grow, how should ASEAN nations act in order to acquire a mutually beneficial status quo in the Indo-Pacific?

Opening Remarks

Haji Haris bin Othman, Brunei High Commissioner in Bangladesh

Speakers

Ario Bimo Utomo, Assistant Professor, Department of International Relations, Universitas Pembangunan Nasional "Veteran" Jawa Timur. Indonesia

Bec Strating, Associate Professor, La Trobe University, Bundoora Australia

Satoru Nagao, Fellow (Non-Resident), Hudson Institute, Japan Suthikorn Kingkaew, Advisor, KBU Research Institute, Thailand Nasim Ferdous, Former Bangladesh Ambassador to Indonesia Munshi Faiz Ahmed, Former Bangladesh Ambassador to China (Moderator) 16:10 – 17:10 Grand Ballroom

PLENARY SESSION

The View From The Top: Political Leadership in the Modern Age

There is an old adage that in a democracy, the people get the leaders they deserve. The notion of political leadership is an everchanging concept in human society. Though political science gives us a theoretical understanding of the mechanism of power and its processes, so far, little is known about power's effect on the person who wields it. Contemporary factors such as the impact of modern technology, the age of information and hyper-communication, the 24/7 media cycle, and all the considerations of tactics and optics result in state leaders living in permanent conflict, defending positions, making decisions, and receiving criticism and attacks on a scale that is unprecedented in human history. In this session, former heads of state across the

Speakers

world will come together to discuss their personal interpretation of the meaning of power and leadership in the 21st century. From their perspectives, we may glimpse the most essential skills and tools that assist the modern leader in statecraft.

> **Boris Tadic**, Former President of Serbia Member. Club de Madrid

Moussa Mara, Former Prime Minister, Mali Member, Club de Madrid

Ali Aslan, International TV Presenter, Moderator and Journalist Germany (Moderator)

17:10 - 18:00 Ballroom Foyer TEA/COFFEE BREAK

20:00 – 23:00 Grand Ballroom GALA DINNER (BY INVITATION ONLY)

DAY THREE

Monday October 9 09:30 - 10:30 Surma

CONVERSATION OVER TEA (BY INVITATION ONLY)

The Necessity of Resilience and Inclusive Growth in the Global South

The COVID-19 pandemic and global economic crisis due to a war in Europe have made clear the need for a recovery plan for the global south that promotes broad-based, inclusive economic growth. If this growth is sustainable, inclusive, and transparent, then more communities and countries, even those outside Asia, stand to benefit. Several board thematic areas of improvement are already prominent in the region. For developing countries such as Bangladesh, huge amounts of investments are required to encourage digital innovation, close infrastructure gaps, and expand opportunities for women and other marginalised people. A collective approach, especially among the most poorly connected countries in the region, can also significantly enhance supply chain resiliency and security. It is also required to develop international technology standards that protect a free and open internet, safeguard user privacy, and bring more people into Asia's thriving digital economies. This session will discuss what policies and methods can and should be undertaken by like-minded nations to deal with the challenges that disproportionally affect the poor.

Speakers

Anowarul Haq, Assistant Resident Representative, UNDP Bangladesh

Asif Nazrul, Professor, Department of Law, University of Dhaka Bangladesh

Simon Kofi Tettey, Shipping Management Business Analyst, WHO
Global Service Centre. Ghana

Maliha Mozzamel, Climate Change Program Specialist, UNDP Bangladesh (Moderator) 09:30 - 10:30 Meghna

CONVERSATION OVER TEA (BY INVITATION ONLY)

Globalism: Separating the Ideology from the Conspiracy

During the peak of the COVID-19 pandemic, the World Economic Forum's idea of "A Great Reset" turned from an analysis of optimistic economic change to the poster child of the New World Order Conspiracy theory. What became the most obvious in the discourse that followed was the fact that very few people truly understood what globalisation means. The economic science in favour of globalisation offers an abstract understanding of the process, seen as the ultimate internationalisation of commerce. capital, finances and labour. The anti-globalist side perceives globalisation as the engine of a new imperialism, which replaces the old military expansionism with economic instruments. The conspiratorial vision further sustains that globalisation is a subversive process directed for hundreds of years in order to serve the interest of the global elites. In all these differing viewpoints, where do the strands of truth merge to form the real notion of globalism and globalisation?

Speakers

Habibul Haque Khondker, Professor, Zayed University, UAE

Faris Hardovic, Business Development and Government Relations Expert, Bosnia and Herzegovina

Xia Liping, Professor, Department of Diplomatic Studies, China Foreign Affairs University, China

Parvez Karim Abbasi, Assistant Professor, Department of Economics, East West University, Bangladesh (Moderator)

11:00 - 12:20 Grand Ballroom

PLENARY SESSION

Defining Competition in the Indo-Pacific

In the ongoing paradigm shift in contemporary geopolitics, the decade-old concept of the Indo-Pacific has now emerged with renewed prominence. Based on the understanding that the diverse regions of the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean constitute a linked strategic theatre, the world's most developed and powerful nations have each begun to shift their focus Eastwards. What began at first as a collective need to safeguard freedom of navigation has now evolved into detailed foreign policy doctrines, incapsulating several overlapping strategic interests, as well as new room for economic competition. However, for the region's inhabitants, this renewed prominence also brings renewed fears. While fresh competition brings with it several economic boons, the truth of the matter is that military posturing between great powers is at an all-time high, while de-escalations seem ever more fleeting. As we witness where the Indo-Pacific region is currently heading, is it possible to form a vision of an Indo-Pacific that we can all strive for?

Setting the Agenda

Peter Haas, US Ambassador in Bangladesh

Speakers

Jeremy Bruer, Australian High Commissioner in Bangladesh
Lilly Nicholls, Canadian High Commissioner in Bangladesh
Matt Cannell, Deputy High Commissioner in Bangladesh
Zillur Rahman, Executive Director, CGS
Chair, Bay of Bengal Conversation, Bangladesh (Moderator)

12:20 – 13:30 Grand Ballroom

PLENARY SESSION

Refugee Crisis Across The World: The Fate of Millions in Limbo

Refugees from Ukraine and countless fleeing Taliban's Afghanistan and conflict-ridden countries like Syria, Myanmar, Venezuela, South Sudan and others have pushed the number of people seeking asylum to what the UN refugee agency calls an "unprecedented level". By May 2023, the displacements crossed another 10 million (over 110 million), accounting for 1.3 per cent of the global population. These people have been forced to flee their homes to flee war, violence, persecution and poverty because of lack of protection in their own countries due to their race, religion, nationality, political alignment and so on. With more potential conflicts on the horizon and the inevitability of climate change, is the world reaching critical mass in the global refugee crisis?

Speakers

Soo Jin Rhee, UNHCR Deputy Representative in Bangladesh

Irfan Yar, Founder & Managing Director, Afghanistan Security
Institute, Canada

Jan-Rolf Janowski, Chargé d'Affaires, Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany in Bangladesh

Karen Smith, Professor, Leiden University, Former UN Special Adviser, South Africa

Raja Devasish Roy, Chief, Chakma Circle, Bangladesh

Touhid Hossain, Former Foreign Secretary, Bangladesh (Moderator)

13:30 - 14:30 Ballroom LUNCH

14:30 - 15:50 Grand Ballroom

PLENARY SESSION

The Future of Development Partnerships in Asia

Asia is home to fast-growing economies, populations and markets that will bring benefits to all, and create opportunities for all who come to do business. However, poor cross-border transport infrastructure, energy and digital links, and low levels of trade are holding back economic growth and preventing poorer communities in less connected parts of the region from lifting themselves out of poverty. Gains to human development, including for women and girls, remain challenged by the absence of accountable, effective, and inclusive state institutions in places. Parts of the region are marked by a growth in authoritarian, illiberal, and anti-democratic forms of governance, eroding media freedom and freedom of expression. The capacity of some states to deliver public services for citizens, or to build resilience against climate change, health, or other threats has not kept pace with levels of economic growth. In such a dynamic scenario, effective development partnerships between developed and developing nations may have a crucial role in maintaining the region's peace, security, prosperity, and sustainable growth. However, strategic miscalculations can also lead to unsustainable dependencies on development partners with long-term ramifications. Should development partners leverage their enormous influence on the nations they are helping to bring about positive social changes? Or should the interface between the global north and south be even more hands-off?

Speakers

Charles Whiteley, Ambassador & Head of Delegation, Delegation of the EU to Bangladesh

Gregory Simons, Associate Professor, Department of Communication Science, Turiba University, Sweden

Kazi Faisal Bin Seraj, Country Representative, The Asia Foundation, Bangladesh

Stefan Liller, Resident Representative, UNDP Bangladesh

Wu Lin, Associate Professor, Institute of Asian Studies, China Foreign Affairs University, China

Peter Grk, Secretary General, Bled Strategic Forum, Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs, Slovenia (Moderator)

15:50 - 16:40 Grand Ballroom

PLENARY SESSION

The Dragon's Domain: BRI After A Decade

The world in 2023 looks far different than it did in 2013, as countries navigate multiple complex crises, alongside growing concerns about the risks of debt-financed development and the resurgence of great power competition. When President Xi Jinping launched the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) in September 2013, he signalled the dawn of a new era in how China engaged with the world. In the decade since, Chinese leaders have used the BRI as a springboard to assume a global leadership role in bankrolling connectivity infrastructure in the Global South. The result of this is the initiation of construction of various land routes and rail links through South and Central Asian countries, as well as various other megaprojects around the world. An example of such a megaproject is the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), marked as the flagship project of China's Belt and Road Initiative. After a decade of developments, what is the state of implementation for this grand strategy?

Speakers

Aamna Khan, Jilin University, China

Ali Riaz, Distinguished Professor, Illinois State University, USA

Smruti S. Pattanaik, Research Fellow, Manohar Parrikar Institute for Defence Studies and Analysis, India

Vali Golmohammadi, Professor, International Relations Tarbiat Modares University, Iran

Xia Liping, Professor, Department of Diplomatic Studies, China Foreign Affairs University, China

Yoshikazu Kato, Research Fellow, Rakuten Securities Economic Research Institute, Japan (Moderator) 16:40 - 17:00 Grand Ballroom

CLOSING.

Zillur Rahman

Executive Director, CGS; Chair, Bay of Bengal Conversation, Bangladesh

17:00 – 18:00 Ballroom Foyer

TEA/COFFEE BREAK

20:00 - 23:00 Grand Ballroom AFTER EVENT PARTY (BY INVITATION ONLY)

STUDIO SESSIONS

DAY ONE

Saturday October 7 11:00 - 11:30 Chitra

Understanding the Geopolitical Importance of the Bay of Bengal

Speakers

Ashok Sajjanhar, President, Institute of Global Studies, India Former Ambassador

Rashed Al Mahmud Titumir, Professor, Department of Development Studies, University of Dhaka, Bangladesh

Parveen F Chowdhury, President, Commonwealth Journalist Association, Bangladesh (Moderator)

12:00 - 12:30 Chitra

G20 Takeaways

Speakers

Gregory Simons, Associate Professor, Department of Communication Science, Turiba University, Sweden

Kamakshi Wason, Global COO, Tillotoma Foundation, India

Andre de Mello e Souza, Tenured Researcher and Policy Analyst, Institute for Applied Economic Research, Brazil (Moderator) 13:00 - 13:30 Chitra

Booming Startups and FDI in the Global South

Speakers

Emmanuel Antwi Akoto, Project Manager, BSW Solar, Ghana

Fahmida Khatun, Executive Director, Centre for Policy Dialogue Bangladesh

Suthikorn Kingkaew, Advisor, KBU Research Institute Thailand (Moderator)

15:10 - 15:40 Chitra

Building Blocks for Good Governance

Speakers

Sheikh Sahidul Islam, Former Minister, Bangladesh

Sheela Tasneem Haq, Senior Governance Specialist UNDP Bangladesh

Judith Mwaniki, Director, Development Programmes, Consortium of Economic Research and Development Studies Kenya (Moderator)

16:30 - 17:00 Chitra

Human Rights as a Diplomatic Measure

Speakers

Faruq Faisal, Former Regional Director, South Asia and Bangladesh, Article 19, Bangladesh

Peter Grk, Secretary General, Bled Strategic Forum, Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs, Slovenia

Manjur Ahmed Chowdhury, Chairman, Centre for Governance Studies, Bangladesh (Moderator) 18:00 - 18:30 Chitra

Evolving Journalism: Traditional Media Vs Alternative Media

Speakers

Leo Wigger, Editor, Zenith Magazine, Germany

Nurul Kabir, Editor, New Age, Bangladesh

Asif Bin Ali, Lecturer, North South University, Bangladesh (Moderator)

19:00 - 19:30 Chitra

Kleptocracy and the Global Anti-Corruption Efforts

Speakers

Badiul Alam Majumder, Secretary, SHUJAN, Bangladesh

Faris Hadrovic, Business Development and Government Relations Expert, Bosnia and Herzegovina

Habibul Haque Khondker, Professor, Zayed University, UAE (Moderator)

DAY TWO

Sunday October 8 11:00 - 11:30 Chitra

Role of Women in International Peacekeeping

Speakers

Ambika Vishwanath, Founder and Director, Kubernein Initiative, India

Sayeda Lasna Kabir, Professor, Department of Public Administration, University of Dhaka, Bangladesh

Sultana Afroz, Vice President, Bangladesh Knowledge Forum, Bangladesh (**Moderator**)

12:00 - 12:30 Chitra

US and India: Overlapping Spheres of Influence in South Asia

Speakers

Aminul Karim, Retired Lieutenant General, Bangladesh Army Bangladesh

Samir Ahmad Bhat, Assistant Professor, Gandhi Memorial College India

Amena Mohsin, Professor, Department of International Relations University of Dhaka, Bangladesh (Moderator)

13:00 - 13:30 Chitra

Reskilling and Re-Educating the Workforce of the Future

Speakers

Abdulla Rasheed Ahmed, Minister of State for Education, Maldives Head of National Institute of Education (NIE), Maldives

Sheikh Sahidul Islam, Former Minister, Bangladesh

MK Bashar, Founder & Chairman, Cambrian Education Group Bangladesh (Moderator)

15:00 - 15:30 Chitra

Efficacy of Sanctions in Promotin Peace and Stability

Speakers

Ali Riaz, Distinguished Professor, Illinois State University, USA

Cuihong Cai, Professor, Centre for American Studies, Fudan University, China

Vali Golmohammadi, Assistant Professor, Tarbait Modares University, Iran **(Moderator)** 16:00 - 16:30 Chitra

Year of Elections

Speakers

Debjyoti Chanda, Associate Professor, Rabindra Bharati University, Kolkata, India

Nazmul Ahsan Kalimullah, Professor, Department of Public Administration, University of Dhaka, Bangladesh

Amna Khan, Jilin University, China (Moderator)

18:00 - 18:30 Chitra

City Diplomacy and the Future of Culture Exchange

Speakers

Di Ma, Co-Founder, 1EarthVillage, Australia

Parveen F Chowdhury, President, Commonwealth Journalist Association, Bangladesh

Ario Bimo Utomo, Assistant Professor, Universitas Pembangunan Nasional Veteran Jawa Timur, Indonesia (**Moderator**)

19:00 - 19:30 Chitra

Understanding QUAD, AUKUS, and Security Pacts in the Indo-Pacific

Speakers

Arun K Sahni, Former Army Commander, Indian Army, India

Bec Strating, Associate Professor, La Trobe University, Bundoora, Australia

Satoru Nagao, Fellow (Non-Resident), Hudson Institute, Japan (Moderator)

DAY THREE

Monday October 9 11:00 - 11:30 Chitra

Silk Roads and Spice Routes - Integrating the Fast And West

Speakers

Smruti S. Pattnaik, Research Fellow, Manohar Parrikar Institute for Defence Studies and Analysis, India

Wu Lin, Associate Professor, Institute of Asian Studies, China Foreign Affairs University, China

Nazmul Ahsan Kalimullah, Professor, Department of Public Administration, University of Dhaka, Bangladesh (Moderator)

12:00 - 12:30 Chitra

Ukraine and Russia Conflict and Effects on the Indo-Pacific

Speakers

M Sakhawat Hussain, Former Election Commissioner, Bangladesh

Vlada Galan, Partner, Altum International Strategies, Ukraine

Gregory Simons, Associate Professor, Department of Communication Science, Turiba University, Sweden (Moderator)

13:00 - 13:30 Chitra

Green New Deal for the Global South

Speakers

Judith Mwaniki, Director, Development Programmes, Consortium of Economic Research and Development Studies, Kenya

Prasenjit Chakma, Chief of Policy & Deputy Director, UNDP

Mahjabeen Khalid, Former Member of Parliament, Bangladesh (Moderator)

14:30 - 15:00 Chitra

The Burma Faultline

Speakers

Karori Singh, Former Director and Emeritus Fellow, South Asia Studies Centre, University of Rajasthan, India

Md. Touhid Hossain, Former Foreign Secretary, Bangladesh

Nasim Ferdous, Former Ambassador, Bangladesh (Moderator)

16:30 - 17:00 Chitra

War, Pandemic, and Bottlenecks in the Global Supply Chain

Speakers

Simon Kofi Tettey, Shipping Management Business Analyst, WHO Global Service Centre, Malaysia

Mamun Rashid, Managing Director, PwC, Bangladesh

Leonardo Paz Neves, Researcher, Getulio Vargas Foundation, Brazil (Moderator)

18:00 - 18:30 Chitra

Multilateralism Vs Bilateralism: The Future of Diplomacy

Speakers

Anurag Acharya, Director, Policy Entrepreneurs Incorporated, Nepal

John Gomes, Former Ambassador, Bangladesh

Jovan Ratkovic, Senior Fellow, Agora Strategy Group, Germany (Moderator)

19:00 - 19:30 Chitra

Future Markets of Asia

Speakers

Abdul Haque, Business Leader, Former President of Bangladesh Reconditioned Vehicles Importers and Dealers Association (BARVIDA)

Yoshikazu Kato, Research Fellow, Rakuten Securities Economic Research Institute, Japan

David Morris, Senior Fellow, Center for China and Globalization Australia (Moderator)

FARUQ FAISEL I FELIX KOLBITZ I GREGORY SIMONS I GWYN LEWIS I HABIBUL HAQUE KHONDKER

LEONARDO PAZ NEVES I LILLY NICHOLLS I MAHJABEEN KHALID I MALIHA MOZZAMEL

STEFAN LILLER I SUTHIKORN KINGKAEW I VALI GOLMOHAMMADI

AAMNA KHAN

Jilin University
China



ABDUL HAQUE

Business Leader, Managing

Director of Haque's Bay and

Former President of Bangladesh

Reconditioned Vehicles Importers
and Dealers Association (BARVIDA)

ABDELKADER (ED) ELRAHAL Chief of Party USAID BADGE





ABDULLA RASHEED AHMED

Minister of State for
Education
Maldives

ALAM HOSSAIN MONDAL

Deputy Chief of Party

USAID BADGE





ALI ASLAN
International TV Presenter
Moderator and Journalist
Germany

ALI RIAZ
Distinguished Professor
Illinois State University
USA





AMBIKA VISHWANATH
Founder & Director
Kubernein Initiative
India

AMENA MOHSIN

Professor, Department of
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University of Dhaka
Bangladesh





AMINUL KARIM
Retired Lieutenant General
Bangladesh Army
Bangladesh

ANDRE DE MELLO E SOUZA

Tenured Researcher and Policy Analyst, Institute for Applied Economic Research Brazil





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ARUN K SAHNI Former Army Commander Indian Army India





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President, Institute of Global Studies, Former Ambassador India

ASIF BIN ALI
Academician and Journalist
Bangladesh





ASIF NAZRUL

Professor Department of Law University of Dhaka Bangladesh

BADIUL ALAM MAJUMDER

Development Expert

Secretary, SHUJAN





BEC STRATING

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CHARLES WHITELEY

Ambassador & Head of

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Research Institute, Japan





ZILLUR RAHMAN

Executive Director, CGS and Chair, Bay of Bengal Conversation, Bangladesh

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Bay of Bengal

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Rising Tides

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Abdul Awal Shabuz





Abu Al Sayeed

Aong Cha Ching Marma





Apon Zahir

Arman Miah





Bahauddin Ahmed

Debi Karmakar





Depanjali Roy

Fahmida Haq





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Kazi Israt Jahan





Kazi Shams Mohsin Rhid

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Marzana Mahnaz

Mohammad Nihad Nowsher





Mukhlesur Rahman

Prodip kumar Shil





Roman Uddin

Sadia Tasneem





Sanjoy Debnath

TEAM BoBC

Shrabony Akter





Shurat Rana Rushmi

Subir Das





Thain Shewe Kyaw

Zillur Rahman



CODE of CONDUCT

Code of Conduct for Participation at the Bay of Bengal Conversation

The Bay of Bengal Conversation is an impartial and diverse platform with participants from all walks of life. We prioritise making the conference an inclusive and comfortable environment for all attendees, regardless of gender identity, sexual orientation, nationality, race, religion, or impairment. We ask that everyone involved with the Bay of Bengal Conversation, including participants, organisers, and hotel staff, obey our Participation Code of Conduct and understand the consequences of any infractions.

Throughout the conference, our team will also release house rules and updates, which we ask all stakeholders to observe.

The Code of Conduct is neither legal nor prescriptive. It enhances and does not supersede the implementation of any relevant policies, regulations, rules, and laws, including legislation governing the venue of the conference and any applicable host country agreements.

Participants agree to abide by the Code of Conduct as well as all relevant event rules and procedures, including health standards.

VIOLATIONS OF THE CODE OF CONDUCT

During the conference, we expect everyone to follow our anticipated behaviour rules and to respect our anti-harassment policy. This covers conference-related social gatherings as well as online social media participation. If conference organisers request that you stop engaging in banned behaviour, you must do so promptly. If unacceptable behaviour continues, the conference organisers may take any necessary action, including immediate ejection from the conference and/or reporting to appropriate authorities.

RESOURCES

Reporting Inappropriate Conduct

Please notify a conference organizer if you are subjected to harassment or other unacceptable behaviour. Event organisers will be accessible and present throughout the conference. If you witness or have a grievance and prefer to remain anonymous, please fill out and submit a handwritten/typed complaint and submit it to a member of the organising team.

Law Enforcement

If an emergency arises, please first proceed to notify a conference organiser of the issue. If then the need arises, participants should contact the Dhaka Police by dialling 999 (Emergency Number).

Medical Station

We have a doctor on call and at the station throughout the conference. In the event you need medical attention, please seek out our medical station.

Attendance and Dress Code

We restrict access to the Bay of Bengal Conversation to participants without valid confirmation cards. All participants must attend the conference in formal attire (business formal /national/uniform).

Conference Participation

Please respect fellow participants. You should frame conversations openly and inclusively. Profanity or slurs are prohibited. If you choose to attend a panel discussion, we request you stay seated for the duration.

Drugs and Alcohol

We abide by and enforce all local, state, and central laws and regulations surrounding the possession and/or use of illegal substances. In addition, please limit tobacco use to permitted areas and consume alcohol in moderation.

Safety

We hope our participants accept a shared responsibility for conference safety and notify conference organisers of any danger or misconduct they may witness. The possession of weapons or violence in any form is not permitted.

To ensure order throughout the conference, we do not permit organised demonstrations or disruptions of any kind.

ANTI-HARASSMENT POLICY

We do not tolerate any form of harassment at the Bay of Bengal Conversation. Our zero-tolerance policy prohibits all forms of harassment, including, but not limited to:

- Making derogatory or demeaning comments about someone's sexual orientation or gender identity;
- Name-calling or using slurs with a gender/sexual connotation;
- Making sexual comments about appearance, clothing, or body parts;
- · Rating a person's sexuality;
- Repeatedly asking a person for dates or asking for sex;
- Staring in a sexually suggestive manner;
- Unwelcome touching, including pinching, patting, rubbing, or purposefully brushing up against a person;
- Making inappropriate sexual gestures, such as pelvic thrusts;
- · Sharing sexual or lewd anecdotes or jokes;
- Sending sexually suggestive communications in any format;
- Sharing or displaying sexually inappropriate images or videos in any format;
- · Attempted or actual sexual assault, including rape.

A participant should never knowingly make a false or misleading claim about prohibited conduct.

PROHIBITION OF RETALIATION

Threats, intimidation, or any other form of retaliation against a participant who has made a complaint or provided information in support of a complaint are prohibited.

The organisers will take any reasonable and appropriate action needed to prevent and respond to retaliation in accordance with its applicable policy, regulations, and rules.

MEDIA ADVISORY

ELIGIBILITY

All accredited members of the media, as well as senior journalists, columnists, and commentators who are not accredited, are eligible for participation as long as they are registered.

A COVID-19 vaccination certificate is mandatory for everyone attending the event.

VENUE AND AGENDA

The "Bay of Bengal Conversation" Dialogue will be held in Dhaka, Bangladesh, from October 7-9, 2023, at the Pan Pacific Sonargaon, 107 Kazi Nazrul Islam Avenue, Dhaka 1215, Bangladesh.

The full agenda is available at https://bayofbengalconversation.cgs-bd.com/

Please bear in mind that session timings are subject to change.

CONFERENCE ACCESS

Media will have access to all public sessions.

Public sessions can also be viewed live on CGS's web platform or our Twitter and Facebook handle. You can also visit our website for various updates on the conference.

SOCIAL MEDIA

Find us on Twitter (@CGSbangladesh) and Instagram (@centreforgovernancestudiesbd), YouTube (/c/CGSBD), Facebook (/cgs.org), and follow all conference updates with the hashtag <#BoBC2022>.

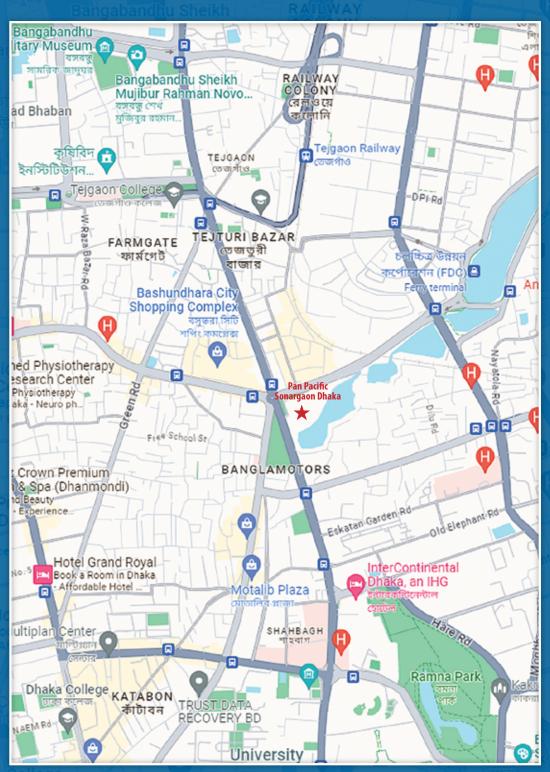
We encourage you to use <#BoBC2022> so that we can identify your message on our social media platforms.

MEDIA CODE OF CONDUCT

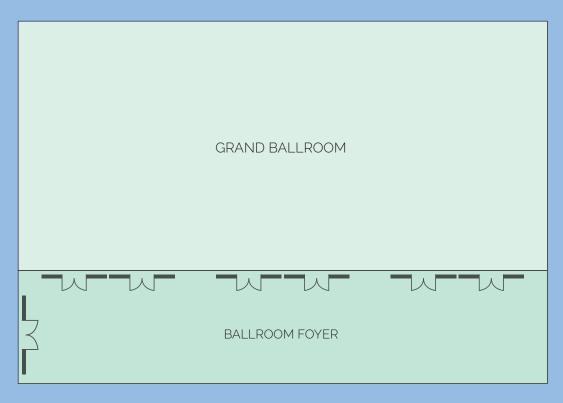
The Bay of Bengal Conversation Charter of Participation applies to all members of the media. If any media members are found to be in violation of conference rules, their access may be revoked. We expect that the media will be transparent and accurate in its coverage of conference events. "The Bay of Bengal Conversation" and its hosts, "The Centre for Governance Studies," must be fully acknowledged in all media coverage during and after the conference, including off-stage interactions with speakers and participants. Only active sessions and discussions, as well as mutually agreed-upon interviews, are expected to be covered by the media.

CONTACT

For any queries or assistance, please write to Sanjoy Debnath (sanjoy@cgs-bd.com)



Location: DHAKA Legend: * CONVERSATION VENUE





Bay of Bengal Conversation 2023

PARTNERS













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	٠	٠			•	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	۰		•	٠	٠	٠	٠					٠	٠	•	٠		٠	٠	٠	٠	٠		٠	٠		•	٠	٠	٠
•	٠	٠	٠	٠	•	٠	٠	٠	•	٠	•	٠		٠	٠		•	٠	٠	•	٠	•	•	•	٠	٠	٠	•	•	٠	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	۰
•	•	•	٠	٠	•	•	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	•	٠	•	٠		٠	•	٠	•	٠	•	•	•		٠	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	٠	•	•	•	•	•
	٠	٠	٠	٠	•	٠	•	٠	•	٠	•	٠		۰	•		•	•	٠	•	٠		•	•	۰	•	٠	•	•	٠	•	•	•	•		•	•	•	•	۰
•	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	۰	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	۰	•	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	•	٠	•	۰	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	•	٠	٠	۰	•	۰	٠	۰
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٠	۰	٠	٠	٠	٠	۰	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	۰	٠	۰	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	•	٠	٠	۰	٠	٠	•	٠	۰	•	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	۰
٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	•	٠	٠	•
٠	۰	٠	٠	٠	•	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	۰	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	•	٠	•	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	•
٠	٠	۰	٠	٠	۰	۰	٠	٠	٠	۰	۰	۰	٠	٠	٠	۰	۰	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	۰	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	۰	٠	٠	۰	٠	۰	۰	۰	•	۰	٠	۰
٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	•	٠	٠	٠	٠	•	•	٠	•	•	٠	•	٠	•	•	•	٠	٠
٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	•	•	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	•	•	٠	•	٠	•	•	•	•	•
٠	۰	۰	٠	٠	٠	۰	٠	٠	٠	۰	٠	۰	٠	٠	٠	۰	۰	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	۰	٠	۰	٠	۰	۰	٠	•	٠	٠	۰
٠	٠	۰	٠	٠	٠	۰	٠	۰	٠	۰	٠	۰	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	۰	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	•	٠	۰	٠	۰	٠	۰	•	۰	٠	٠
•	•	٠	٠	٠	٠	•	•	٠	٠	٠	٠	•	٠	•	•	٠	٠	•	٠	٠	٠	٠	•	•	•	•	٠	٠	•	•	•	•	٠	•	٠	•	•	•	•	•
٠	٠	۰	٠	٠	٠	۰	٠	٠	٠	۰	٠	۰	٠	۰	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	•	٠	٠	٠	٠	۰	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	•	٠	٠	•
٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	۰	٠	۰	٠	٠	٠	۰	٠	۰	۰	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	۰	•	۰	٠	٠	٠	•	۰	•	٠	٠	٠	٠	۰	٠	٠	٠	•
٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	•	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	•	٠	٠	•
٠	٠	۰	٠	٠	۰	۰	٠	٠	٠	۰	۰	۰	٠	٠	٠	۰	۰	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	۰	٠	٠	٠	٠	۰	۰	٠	٠	۰	٠	۰	٠	۰	٠	۰	٠	٠
٠	٠	۰	٠	۰	۰	۰	٠	۰	٠	۰	۰	۰	٠	٠	۰	۰	۰	٠	٠	۰	٠	٠	۰	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	۰	۰	۰	٠	۰	•	۰	٠	۰
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٠	٠	٠	•	•	•	۰	•	٠	•	٠	٠	٠	•	٠	•	•			۰	•	•	•	٠	•	٠	•	•	•	•	۰	•	٠	•	•	•	٠	•	٠	•	•
٠	٠	٠	•		•	۰	•	٠	•	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	•	•		•	٠	•	٠	•	٠	٠	٠	•	•	•	•	۰	•	٠	•	٠	•	٠	•	٠	٠	•
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	٠	•	•		•	•	•		•	•		•	•	•	٠	•				•			•	•	•		•	٠	•	٠	•		•	۰	•	۰	٠	•	•	٠
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۰	•	٠	•		•	۰	•	۰	•	۰	٠	۰	٠	٠	•	•			۰	•	٠		٠	•	٠		•	•	•	•			•	•	•	•	•	۰	٠	٠
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•	٠	٠	•	٠	•	•	٠	۰	•	•	٠	•	٠	•	٠	•	٠	•	٠	٠	٠	•	٠	٠	٠	٠	•	٠	•	•	•	٠	•	•	•	•	٠	٠	۰	۰
•	•	٠	٠	•	٠	٠	٠	٠	•	٠	•	•	٠	•	•	•	•	٠	٠	٠	٠	•	٠	٠	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	٠	•	•	•	۰	•	•	٠	٠
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•	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	•	•	٠	•	•	٠	٠	•	٠	٠	٠	•	٠	٠	۰	٠	٠	٠	٠	۰	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	•	٠	٠	٠
•	٠	۰	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	•	•	•	٠	•	۰	•	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	•	٠	٠	٠	•	•	٠	•	•	•	٠	•	۰	•	۰	۰	•	٠	٠
•	•	•	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	٠	٠	•	٠	•	•	•	•	٠	•	•	•	•	٠	٠	•	٠	٠	٠	•	•	•	٠
٠	٠	٠	•	٠	•	۰	٠	۰	•	۰	٠	۰	٠	٠	٠	•	٠	٠	۰	•	۰	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	•	•	•	•	•	٠	•	٠	•	٠	•	۰	٠	٠
٠	٠	٠	•	٠	٠	۰	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	•	•	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	•	٠	٠	٠	٠	•	•	•	•	•	٠	•	٠	•	٠	•	٠	٠	٠
•	•	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	•	•	٠	•	٠	•	•	•	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	•	٠	•	•	•	•	٠	•	•	•	•	•	٠	٠	٠	٠
٠	٠	٠	•	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	•	٠	٠	۰	٠	٠	•	٠	٠	٠	•	٠	٠	۰	•	٠	۰	٠	۰	•	٠	٠	۰	•	۰	٠	٠	٠	٠
۰	٠	۰	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	۰	•	•	٠	•	٠	•	۰	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	۰	۰	٠	•	۰	•	•	٠	٠	٠	۰	•	۰	٠	٠	۰	٠
•	•	•	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	•	•	٠	•	•	٠	٠	•	٠	٠	٠	•	٠	٠	•	•	٠	٠	•	•	•	•	٠	٠	•	٠	•	٠	٠	•	•	٠
•	٠	۰	•	٠	•	۰	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠											۰		•	•	•	۰	•	٠	•	٠	•	•	•	٠	۰	٠
۰	٠	۰	٠	۰	٠	•	۰	٠	•	•	•	•	٠	•	۰	۰	۰	٠	٠	•	٠	٠	٠	۰	۰	٠	۰	۰	۰	۰	۰	۰	٠	۰	•	۰	۰	•	۰	۰
•	•	•	•	٠	•	٠	٠	٠	•	•	•	•		•	٠	•	٠	٠		•	٠	٠	•	•		•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	۰	•	۰	٠	•	•	٠
•	٠	٠	•	٠	•	•	٠	٠	•	•	•	•	•	٠	•	•	٠	٠			٠	٠	•	٠	۰	٠	•	۰	•	۰	•	٠	•	۰	•	•	٠	•	٠	٠
•	٠	۰	۰	۰	٠	•	٠	۰	•	•	٠	•	٠	•	•	•	۰	٠	۰	•	٠	٠	۰	•	۰	۰	•	۰	٠	•	٠	٠	•	٠	٠	٠	•	۰	•	۰
•	•	٠	•	٠	•	•	٠	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	٠	٠	•	•	•	•	•	٠	•	•	•	٠	•	۰	٠	٠	•	٠	•	•	٠	•	٠	٠
٠	٠	۰	•	•	•	۰	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	•	٠	٠	۰	•	•	٠	٠	•	٠	•	۰	٠	٠	•	•	•	•	٠	•	•	•	۰	•	۰	۰	•	٠	٠
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٠	•	٠	٠	٠	•	٠	٠	٠	•	•	٠	•	٠	•	٠	٠	۰	٠	٠	٠	۰	٠	۰	•	٠	٠	٠	۰	•	•	٠	٠	•	٠	•	٠	•	•	•	۰
٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	•	٠	٠	٠	٠	•	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	•	•	•	٠
٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	•	٠	٠	٠	•	٠	•	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	•	•	•	•	•	٠	٠	•	•	•	•	٠	•	٠	•	٠	•	٠	•	٠
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٠	•	٠	٠	٠	•	٠	٠	٠	•	•	٠	•		•	٠	٠	۰	٠	٠	•	٠	٠	۰	•	٠		٠	•	•	•	•	٠	•	٠	•		•	•	•	٠
٠	•	•	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	•	٠	٠	٠	•	•	•	٠	٠	٠	•	٠	٠	٠	٠	•	٠	•	٠	٠	•	٠	٠	•	٠	•	٠	•	•	•	•	٠
٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	•	•	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	•	•	•	•	•	•	٠	•	٠	•	•	٠	•	٠	•	٠	•	۰	•	٠
٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	۰	٠	۰	٠	٠	٠	٠	۰	٠	٠	٠	۰	٠	۰	•	۰	٠	٠	۰	•	•	٠	٠	•	٠	•	٠	•	٠	•	۰
٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	•	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠
٠	•	٠	٠	٠	•	٠	٠	٠	٠	۰	٠	۰	٠	•	•	٠	۰	٠	٠	٠	۰	٠	٠	•	٠	٠	•	٠	•	٠	٠	٠	•	٠	•	٠	•	•	•	٠
٠	۰	٠	۰	٠	٠	٠	٠	۰	٠	۰	٠	۰	٠	۰	٠	۰	۰	۰	٠	٠	٠	٠	۰	٠	۰	•	٠	٠	٠	۰	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	•	۰	٠	٠
٠	•	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	•	۰	٠	٠	٠	٠	•	٠	۰	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	•	٠	٠	٠	٠	•	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	•	•	•	٠
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