

8TH

INTERNATIONAL
CONFERENCE

THE POLITICS OF GENOCIDE DENIAL :
GLOBAL STRUGGLE TOWARDS TRUTH,
RECOGNITION AND JUSTICE



09-11 NOVEMBER 2023

SCHEDULE, ABSTRACTS AND AUTHORS' BIO



Organised by

Liberation War Museum, Bangladesh

GENOCIDE
& JUSTICE

Schedule

Day 1: Thursday, 09 November 2023

Time & Location	Activities
15:00 – 16:15 Hours Main Auditorium	<p>Registration and Kits Distribution Opening Ceremony & Public Event Welcome Address by: Dr Sarwar Ali (Trustee, Liberation War Museum)</p> <p>Sharing the Conference Agenda by: Mr Mofidul Hoque (Trustee, Liberation War Museum & Director, Center for the Study of Genocide and Justice)</p> <p>Brief Remarks by: Barrister Patrick Burgess (President, Asia Justice and Rights (AJAR), Indonesia) & Dr Helen Jarvis (Chair, UNESCO Memory of the World Asia Pacific Regional Register, Cambodia/Australia)</p> <p>Keynote Speech on <i>The History of the Permanent Peoples' Tribunal</i> Speaker: Dr Giovanni Tognoni (Secretary General, Permanent Peoples' Tribunal (PPT), Italy)</p> <p>Guest of Honor: Mr AKM Mozammel Haque, MP (Minister, Ministry of Liberation War Affairs, Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh)</p> <p>Vote of Thanks by: Mr Asaduzzaman Noor, MP (Trustee, Liberation War Museum)</p>

Time & Location	Activities
16:15 – 16:30 Hours Lobby	Inaugural of Bangladesh Genocide Exhibition and Conference Posters
16:30 – 17:00 Hours Cafeteria	Light Refreshment
17:00 – 18:30 Hours Main Auditorium	Film Screening 'Bay of Blood' by Krishnendu Bose (India)
Day 2: Friday, 10 November 2023	
Time & Location	Activities
10:00 – 11:30 Hours Main Auditorium	<p>Panel 1: Revisiting the UN Genocide Convention and the Trial of Perpetrators responsible for the 1971 Genocide <i>Chair/Moderator:</i> Kawser Ahmed (Advocate, Supreme Court of Bangladesh & Member, National Human Rights Commission)</p> <p>Paper 1: Drafting of the UN Genocide Convention in 1948: Marginalized Voice of a Muslim Woman from Bengal <i>Presenter:</i> Mofidul Hoque (Trustee, Liberation War Museum & Director, Center for the Study of Genocide and Justice)</p> <p>Paper 2: The Public Trial of Local Collaborators in Gano Adalot: Its Challenges and Profound Lessons to End Impunity for Atrocity Crimes <i>Presenter:</i> Shahriar Kabir (President, Ekattorer Ghatak Dalal Nirmul Committee)</p> <p>Paper 3: Trial of the 1971 Genocide and the Genocide Deniers</p>

Time & Location	Activities
	<p>Presenter: Dr M A Hasan (Convenor, War Crimes Fact Finding Committee)</p> <p>Paper 4: The Possibility of Invoking the Pakistani Obligations under the Genocide Convention for the 1971 Genocide before the International Court of Justice: Some Preliminary Reflections</p> <p>Presenter: Quazi Omar Foysal (Lecturer, Department of Law, American International University-Bangladesh)</p>
10:00 – 11:30 Hours Seminar Hall (Basement 2)	<p>Panel 2: Many Faces of Denialism in Comparative Perspective</p> <p><i>Chair/Moderator:</i> Dr Elisa von Joeden-Forgey (Executive Director, Lemkin Institute for Genocide Prevention, USA)</p> <p>Paper 5: “Ethnic Cleansing” is a Euphemism Used for Genocide Denial</p> <p>Presenter: Dr Gregory H Stanton (Founding President, Genocide Watch, USA)</p> <p>Paper 6: The Phenomenon of Multideniers: Denying the Holocaust and Cambodian Genocide</p> <p>Presenter: Dr Rafal Pankowski (Professor, Institute of Sociology of Collegium Civitas, Warsaw, Poland)</p> <p>Paper 7: Understanding Rwandan Responses to Genocide Denial: The Saviors Condemned as Perpetrators</p> <p>Presenter: Dr Jonathan R Beloff (Postdoctoral Research Associate, Department of War Studies, King’s College London, UK)</p>

Time & Location	Activities
	<p>Paper 8: Bridging History and Humanity: The 1971 Genocide Denial and the Quest for Justice</p> <p>Presenter: Professor M Ala Uddin (Department of Anthropology, University of Chittagong)</p>
10:00 – 11:30 Hours Projection Room (Basement 2)	<p>Panel 3: Truth, Memory and Accountability towards Reconciliation in Post-Conflict Society</p> <p><i>Chair/Moderator:</i> M Sanaul Huq (Chief Coordinator to Investigating Agency, International Crimes Tribunal, Bangladesh)</p> <p>Paper 9: The Healing Power of Expression: Exploring Truth-Seeking through Presenter: Songs and Memorialization in the Aftermath of Genocidal Events, specifically in Bangladesh</p> <p>Presenter: Maliha Jaman (Undergraduate Student of Archaeology, Jahangirnagar University)</p> <p>Paper 10: Memory, Justice and Truth: Analyzing the Role of Museums in Recognizing the Genocide of 1971 in Bangladesh</p> <p>Presenters: Abue Jawfore Taufique Ahamed Ahade (Lecturer, Department of Maritime Law and Policy, Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman Maritime University) & Arnab Sanjarah Elma (LLM Student, Bangladesh University of Professionals)</p> <p>Paper 11: Post-Conflict Reconciliation and the Role of Truth Commissions: A Comparative Analysis of Truth-Telling and Accountability Processes</p>

Time & Location	Activities
	<p>Presenter: Nusrat Jahan Rodon (Law Graduate, Jahangirnagar University)</p> <p>Paper 12: Unveiling Shadows: Exploring the Far-reaching Effects of Denying Genocide on Reconciliation, Justice, and Social Unity in Post-Conflict Settings</p> <p>Presenter: Sharmin Sultana (Lecturer, Department of Sociology and Social Work, The Peoples University of Bangladesh)</p>
11:30 – 12:00 Hours Cafeteria	Light Refreshment
12:00 – 13:30 Hours Main Auditorium	<p>Plenary Session 1: 75 Years of the UN Genocide Convention: Successes and Failures of International Law</p> <p><i>Discussants:</i></p> <p>Dr Elisa von Joeden-Forgey (Executive Director, Lemkin Institute for Genocide Prevention, USA)</p> <p>Dr Helen Jarvis (Vice-President, Permanent Peoples' Tribunal (PPT), Italy)</p> <p>Barrister Patrick Burgess (President, Asia Justice and Rights (AJAR), Indonesia)</p> <p>Dr Rafal Pankowski (Professor, Institute of Sociology of Collegium Civitas, Warsaw, Poland)</p> <p><i>Moderator:</i> Shaoli Dasgupta (Research Volunteer, Liberation War Museum)</p>
13:30 – 14:30 Hours Cafeteria	Lunch Break

Time & Location	Activities
14:30 – 16:15 Hours Main Auditorium	<p>Panel 4: Multiple Aspects of Bangladesh Genocide</p> <p><i>Chair/Moderator:</i> Barrister Patrick Burgess (President, Asia Justice and Rights (AJAR), Indonesia)</p> <p>Paper 13: Entitlement Failures in Pakistan (1950-1971): A Tale of Disparity and Struggle for Justice</p> <p>Presenter: Ahmed Javed Chowdhury (Independent Academic and Researcher)</p> <p>Paper 14: Bangladesh Genocide and International Print Media: Attestation of Times of India, the Bangkok Post, the Sunday Morning Herald, The Economist and New York Times</p> <p>Presenter: Dr Md Abdur Razzak (Assistant Professor, Media Studies & Journalism, United International University)</p> <p>Paper 15: The Global Misrepresentation of the Bangladesh Liberation War of 1971 as an Indo-Pakistani War: An Obstruction to Recognition and Memorialization</p> <p>Presenters: Fahin Rahman Aungkita (MSS Student of Criminology, University of Dhaka) & Asif Mahmud Mahee (MSS Student of Criminology, University of Dhaka)</p> <p>Paper 16: 'Buried in oblivion': Situating the Intellectual Killings of December 14 and Post-Liberation Genocide Denial within the Bangladesh Genocide</p> <p>Presenter: Anik Chattopadhyay (Undergraduate Student of History, Presidency University, Kolkata, India)</p>

Time & Location	Activities
	<p>Paper 17: Navigating Genocide & Justice: Overcoming Challenges and Charting a Path Forward in Securing Accountability for the 1971 Genocide in Bangladesh Presenter: Dhruva Bhowmik (LLM Student, Notre Dame University)</p>
14:30 – 16:00 Hours Seminar Hall (Basement 2)	<p>Panel 5: History Researchers’ Take on the Denial of 1971’s Genocide <i>Chair/Moderator:</i> Asif Munier (President, Projonmo 71 (Children of the Martyrs of the Liberation War))</p> <p>Paper 18: Genocide Denial Politics in Bangladesh and the Struggle for Justice Presenter: Ambassador Waliur Rahman (Former Secretary of Ministry of Foreign Affairs, People’s Republic of Bangladesh)</p> <p>Paper 19: Patterns and Impacts of Genocide Denial in the Post-Conflict Society of Bangladesh Presenter: Dr Tawheed Reza Noor (Bangladesh Genocide Researcher and Former Visiting Scholar, State University of New York at Binghamton, USA)</p> <p>Paper 20: The Denial of the Bangladesh Genocide of 1971 and the Efforts for its Recognition Presenter: Dr Navras Jaat Aafreedi (Assistant Professor of History, Presidency University, Kolkata, India)</p> <p>Paper 21: Genocide Denial and Peace Building in Post War Bangladesh: Problems and Challenges</p>

Time & Location	Activities
	<p>Presenter: Dr Tazeen Murshid (Director, DRC Global Development Research and Cooperation, Belgium)</p>
14:30 – 16:15 Hours Projection Room (Basement 2)	<p>Panel 6: Atrocity Crimes in Comparative Setting: The Case Studies of Holocaust, Sri Lanka, and Bangladesh <i>Chair/Moderator:</i> Dr Samina Luthfa (Associate Professor of Sociology, University of Dhaka)</p> <p>Paper 22: Holocaust Denial and Distortion and its Interconnectedness with National Identity: The Case Study of Moldova in Eastern Europe Presenter: Natalia Sineaeva-Pankowska (Holocaust Scholar and Educator, Never Again Association, Poland)</p> <p>Paper 23: Genocide against the Tamil Community in Sri Lanka: The Multifaceted Battle for Truth, Recognition, and Justice Presenter: Maxwin Paul Rayen (LLM Graduate, Raoul Wallenberg Institute of Human Rights and Humanitarian Law, Lund University, Sweden)</p> <p>Paper 24: The Long Road to Justice for Birangona: Avenues for Reparations and Steps for the Way Forward Presenters: Dr Bina D’Costa (Professor, Department of International Relations, Australian National University, Canberra, Australia) & Sara Hossain (Senior Advocate, Supreme Court of Bangladesh)</p>

Time & Location	Activities
	<p>Paper 25: The Struggle of Memory Against Forgetting: The Role of Genocide Museum in Exhibiting Atrocities and Disseminating History Presenter: Dr Chowdhury Shahid Kader (Trustee Secretary, 1971: Genocide-Torture Archive and Museum Trust, Khulna & Associate Professor, Department of History, Jagannath University) with comments from Professor Dr Muntassir Mamoon (Trustee Chairman, 1971: Genocide-Torture Archive and Museum Trust, Khulna)</p> <p>Paper 26: Investigating the Atrocity Crimes against Intellectuals and Modes of Unarmed Resistance: Comparing Bangladesh 1971 with World War-II Poland Presenters: Debajyoti Mondal (MA Student of History, Presidency University, Kolkata, India) & Aditya Shankar Chattopadhyay (MA Student of History, Presidency University, Kolkata, India)</p>
16:00 – 16:30 Hours Cafeteria	Light Refreshment
16:30 – 18:00 Hours Main Auditorium	<p>Young Genocide Researchers Networking with Senior Genocide Scholars <i>Facilitators:</i> <i>Activism</i> Dr Giovanni Tognoni (Secretary General, Permanent Peoples' Tribunal (PPT), Italy) Dr Helen Jarvis (Chair, UNESCO Memory of the World Asia Pacific Regional Register, Cambodia/Australia)</p>

Time & Location	Activities
	<p><i>Career planning</i> Barrister Patrick Burgess (President, Asia Justice and Rights (AJAR), Indonesia) Natalia Sineaeva-Pankowska (Holocaust Scholar and Educator, Never Again Association, Poland) Dr Elisa von Joeden-Forgey (Executive Director, Lemkin Institute for Genocide Prevention, USA) <i>Higher studies, research, writing and publication</i> Dr Navras Jaat Aafreedi (Assistant Professor of History, Presidency University, Kolkata, India) Dr Rafal Pankowski (Professor, Institute of Sociology of Collegium Civitas, Warsaw, Poland)</p>
Day 3: Saturday, 11 November 2023	
10:00 – 11:45 Hours Main Auditorium	<p>Panel 7: Understanding and Confronting Genocide Denial <i>Chair/Moderator:</i> Dr Rafal Pankowski (Professor, Institute of Sociology of Collegium Civitas, Warsaw, Poland) Paper 27: DARVO [Deny, Accuse, Reverse Victim & Offender] Tactics in Genocide Denial Presenter: Dr Elisa von Joeden-Forgey (Executive Director, Lemkin Institute for Genocide Prevention, USA)</p>

Time & Location	Activities
	Presenters: Asif Rahman (Undergraduate Student of Law, East West University) & Mahmudul Hasan (Undergraduate Student of Law, East West University)
16:00 – 17:00 Hours Cafeteria	Light Refreshment
17:00 – 18:00 Hours Main Auditorium	<p>Young Researchers Forum: Presenting Research Papers</p> <p>Discussants: Tabassum Islam Tamanna (Research Assistant, Center for Study of Genocide and Justice) Mehjabin Nazrana (Research Assistant, Center for Study of Genocide and Justice) Tabassum Niger Oishi (Research Assistant, Center for Study of Genocide and Justice) Sayan Lodh (PhD Candidate in History, Presidency University, Kolkata, India) Moderator: Shaoli Dasgupta (Research Volunteer, Liberation War Museum)</p>
18:00 – 19:15 Hours Main Auditorium	<p>Closing Ceremony Experience Sharing on behalf of the International Delegates: Dr Giovanni Tognoni (Secretary General, Permanent Peoples' Tribunal (PPT), Italy) Dr Navras Jaat Aafreedi (Assistant Professor of History, Presidency University, Kolkata, India) Dr Elisa Von Joedon-Forgey (Executive Director, Lemkin Institute for Genocide Prevention, USA)</p>

Time & Location	Activities
	Dr Rafal Pankowski (Professor, Institute of Sociology of Collegium Civitas, Warsaw, Poland) Announcement of the Dhaka Declaration on Bangladesh Genocide and Justice by: Mr Mofidul Hoque (Trustee, Liberation War Museum & Director, Center for the Study of Genocide and Justice) Guest of Honor: Md Shahriar Alam, MP (State Minister, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, People's Republic of Bangladesh) Vote of Thanks by: Ms Sara Zaker (Member Secretary & Trustee, Liberation War Museum)
19:15 – 20:00 Hours Main Auditorium	Cultural Performances
Day 4: Sunday, 12 November 2023	
10:30 – 15:30 Hours Jalladkhana Museum, Rayer Bazar Killing Field, Dhaka University Memorial Sites	Sites (of Genocide) Seeing (exclusively for international delegates)

The Phenomenon of Multideniers: Denying the Holocaust and Cambodian Genocide

Dr Rafal Pankowski

Abstract

During the course of my research, conducted in cooperation with partners in Southeast Asia and supported by the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA), we have identified that many of the discursive strategies of Holocaust deniers are similar to the strategies of denial and distortion of other genocides such as the Cambodian Genocide; in some cases, that denial or distortion is even promoted by the same actors, who can be called multi deniers. This is not to say that all of those cases are identical: the Holocaust, as a tragic event, has its specificity; all of the other genocides and crimes against humanity such as the Bangladesh genocide also have their specificities, and the strategies of denial are also specific. But those commonalities exist, and it is important to analyze and expose them. This paper aims to present some examples. Khieu Samphan was the nominal head of state during the time of the Khmer Rouge regime, responsible for some of the most horrific crimes against humanity. His book, translated to English and distributed in Phnom Penh a few years ago, is a classic example of genocide denial or distortion; one in which the author uses arguments that are typical of those who deny or distort the Holocaust in Europe. Samphan deflects guilt, a common strategy identified by scholars such as Michael Shafir in cases of Holocaust denial and distortion.

Samphan also attempts to shift the blame to other individuals such as Pol Pot, and other nations, such as Vietnam, claiming that the worst crimes were not committed by the Khmer Rouge regime, but by the Vietnamese army. This kind of blame shifting is also highly characteristic of Holocaust deniers and distorters in Europe. The next example is the French lawyer of Khieu Samphan, Jacques Verges. Verges, who is of Thai origin, defended many problematic individuals, including war criminals. As well as representing the Khmer Rouge leaders, he also defended Klaus Barbie, a notorious Nazi criminal. In the course of defending the Khmer Rouge leaders, Verges resorted to discursive strategies that were tantamount to genocide denial or trivialization and minimization. Jan Myrdal was a Swedish public figure, author, and activist who displayed a clear antipathy against Jews. He was fascinated with the Khmer Rouge regime and for many years was involved in denying the reality of its crimes in Cambodia, as well as promoting a radical version of Holocaust distortion. Another case is Israel Shamir, who is of Russian-Jewish origin, has lived in several countries, including Israel and Sweden, and is a conspiracy theory promoter. He accuses the Jews of exaggerating the Holocaust for their own benefit. He has also written articles claiming that genocidal crimes committed by the Khmer Rouge regime never occurred. He is a prime example of a multi-denier who denies or minimizes genocides and abuses of human rights, both during the Second World War and in Cambodia in the 1970s.

Author's Bio

Dr Rafal Pankowski is a Professor at the Institute of Sociology of Collegium Civitas in Warsaw, Poland. Pankowski received his MA and PhD from the University of Warsaw. He also studied at the University of Oxford. He published the books 'Neo-Fascism in Western Europe: A Study in Ideology' (Polish Academy of Sciences, 1998), 'Racism and Popular Culture' (Trio, 2006), and 'The Populist Radical Right in Poland' (Routledge, 2010). He was a visiting professor at the Centre for European Studies of Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, and at the International Buddhist Studies College of Mahachulalongkornrajavidyalaya University, Ayutthaya, Thailand. He is a co-founder of the 'Never Again' Association.

Panel 6

Atrocity Crimes in Comparative Setting: The Case Studies of Holocaust, Sri Lanka, and Bangladesh

Holocaust Denial and Distortion and its Interconnectedness with National Identity: The Case Study of Moldova in Eastern Europe

Natalia Sineaeva-Pankowska

Abstract

Moldova and Romania are countries in Eastern Europe where the Shoah and Romani Holocaust (Porajamos) have often been silenced, denied, and distorted in various forms. Both nations have faced the challenges of dealing with the past and their complex history of war, genocide as well as denial. The proposed paper focuses on Holocaust denial and distortion and its interconnectedness with national identity building processes in Moldova. The paper might be of interest to researchers and practitioners in Bangladesh and across South Asia, not least because the historical relationship between Moldova and Romania in the context of genocide is in some ways similar to the relationship between Bangladesh

and Pakistan. Genocide denial is an instrument of an extremist agenda of pan-Romanian nationalists denying Moldova's claim to independence. The methodological approach used in the study is the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and the Discourse-History Approach, applied to the primary sources: public and academic discourses, politicians' speeches, news reports and newspaper fora, high school history textbooks, and museum exhibitions. Historically and culturally Moldova had long been connected with Romania. However, it has also had its own tradition of independent nationhood going back to the Middle Ages. During its history Moldova had also been a part of the Russian and Ottoman empires. During World War II (from 1941 until 1944) it was overseen by the Romanian authorities. Romania under fascist leader Ion Antonescu was allied to Nazi Germany and the Axis powers until 1944 and during this period 300,000 of Moldovan Jews and Roma were exterminated by the Romanian army and its collaborators. From 1944 Moldova was incorporated into the Soviet Union. After the disintegration of the Soviet Union, it became an independent country. Holocaust memory discourse in post-Soviet Moldova is complicated by the country's complex history, its background, and, as a consequence, the complexity of the (post-Communist) Moldovan national identity. The paper would define several interacting, sometimes competing versions of Moldovan national identity (three main ideal types: pan-Romanian, pan-Soviet/Slavic and Moldovenist). They influence social life and politics in the context of nation building and memory, including Holocaust memory. It can be claimed that the majority of Holocaust denying literature in Moldova and/or its arguments is in fact imported from other countries rather than produced in the country. The phenomenon of Holocaust distortion in Moldova is strongly connected with a similar phenomenon in

Romania, but parallels can also be seen with the wider international phenomenon of Holocaust denial. Moldovan historians who attempt to distort the Holocaust, often refer to the Romanian distorters and copy their arguments and ideas on the basis of a shared pan-Romanian ideology. Nevertheless, in both Moldova and Romania today the distorters and negationists are increasingly opposed by civil society, the Jewish and Romani communities, intellectuals, and artists.

Author's Bio

Natalia Sineaeva-Pankowska is a Holocaust scholar and educator. Her PhD research deals with Holocaust distortion and denial and its interconnectedness with national identity-building processes in Moldova. Born in Moldova and of a minority background, she has extensive experience in the field of memorialization and dealing with the past in Eastern Europe as well as South/Southeast Asia. Her recent experience includes work at the "NEVER AGAIN" Association and the POLIN Museum of the History of the Polish Jews in Warsaw, Poland, as well as cooperation with the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum in Phnom Penh, Cambodia, and other museums and sites of memory. In 2018, she was a European Holocaust Research Infrastructure Fellow at the Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Bucharest, Romania and Rotary Peace Fellow at Chulalongkorn University in Bangkok, Thailand. She is a board member of the Rotary Peace Fellowship Alumni Association. She has written for numerous academic and non-academic publications including "The Holocaust: Studies and Materials of the Polish Center for Holocaust Research", "Midrasz", "Słowo Żydowskie/Dos Jidisze Wort" (Poland), "Kyiv Post" (Ukraine), and "Evrejskaya Gazeta" (Germany).