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**4th International Conference on**

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**Genocide and Mass Violence in the Twenty First  
Century: Lessons from History**

**Date: 13-15 December 2020**



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**Genocide and Mass Violence in the Twenty First Century:  
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Centre for Genocide Studies  
University of Dhaka

The 4th International Conference on Genocide and Mass Violence in the Twenty First Century is being organized by the Centre for Genocide Studies (CGS), University of Dhaka on 13-15 December 2020 Via Zoom Platform . The theme of the 4th International conference is “Lessons from History”. The three-day International Conference covers a wide range of issues related to genocide and mass violence in the world. The working sessions are organized based on themes which include Genocide and Bangladesh; State, Society and Violence; The Rohingya Genocide; Memory of Genocide and Violence; Politics of Genocide, Trial and International Responses; and Preventing Violent Extremism and Radicalization encompassing the dark memories from the past to the contemporary acts of atrocities, genocide, mass violence and responses. At this equinoctial point of history when we are celebrating the 50 years of our independence and 100 years of the University of Dhaka and birth centenary of Bangabandhu, CGS recognizes that the University of Dhaka was the epicenter of genocide during the Liberation War of Bangladesh in 1971. The University lost many of its eminent teachers, scholars, students and employees during the Liberation War. CGS also recognizes the fact that in the past 150 years, tens of millions of people have lost their lives in genocide and mass atrocities around the world. This is a stark reminder for us that every effort ought to be made to ensure that acts of genocide and mass violence should stop. The conference is an initiative of CGS in this direction.

**4th International Conference on Genocide and Mass Violence in the Twenty First Century:**

Lessons from History

13-15 December 2020

Centre for Genocide Studies, University of Dhaka

**PROGRAMME****Day 1: Sunday 13 December 2020**

<b>06.00 pm-06.04 pm</b>	National Anthem of Bangladesh
<b>06.04 pm-06.05 pm</b>	One minute silence as a mark of respect for the martyrs of the Liberation War of Bangladesh in 1971.
<b>06.05 pm-06.15 pm</b>	Opening Remarks by Professor Dr. Imtiaz Ahmed, Director, Centre for Genocide Studies, University of Dhaka.
<b>Session One: Genocide and Bangladesh ( 06.15 pm – 08.00 pm )</b>	
<b>Chair</b>	Dr. Kamal Hossain, Barrister & Senior Advocate, Supreme Court of Bangladesh.
<b>06.15 pm - 06.30 pm</b>	<b>Mr. Ajoy Dasgupta:</b> Bangabandhu Initiative to Trial Crime Against Humanity
<b>06.30 pm – 06.45 pm</b>	<b>Mr. Parvez Elahi Chowdhury:</b> A Lucky Survivor's Eye Witness account of 1971
<b>06.45 pm- 07.00 pm</b>	<b>Dr. Bratati Hore:</b> "The Home & the World ; in relation to the 1971 Liberation Movement"
<b>07.00 pm-07.15 pm</b>	<b>Mr. G.M.Arifuzzaman :</b> Sexism in Genocide: Bangladesh in 1971
<b>07.15 pm-07.30 pm</b>	<b>Dr. Nahid Afrose Kabir:</b> The 1971 Genocide: The Plight of the People of Bangladesh
<b>07.30 pm-07.45 pm</b>	Open Discussion
<b>07.45 pm-08.00 pm</b>	Concluding Remarks by the Chair
<b>Session Two: State, Society and Violence (08.15 pm – 09.45pm)</b>	
<b>Chair</b>	Professor Dr. Rounaq Jahan, Distinguished Fellow, Center for Policy Dialogue, Bangladesh & Visiting Scholar, Columbia University.
<b>08.15 pm-08. 30pm</b>	<b>Mr. Md. Chingiz Khan:</b> The Communal Violence in North East India with special reference to Manipur between the Manipuri Muslims and Meiteis in the Twentieth and Twenty First Centuries

<b>08.30 pm- 08.45 pm</b>	<b>Ms. Ankita Kumari:</b> The 1971 Liberation War, Mass Rape and the Un-silencing of the Silenced: A Study of Shaheen Akhtar's translated novel The Search
<b>08.45 pm-09.00 pm</b>	<b>Ms. Arpita Mitra:</b> War Childhood' and the Arts: Uncovering Children's Transgenerational Trauma through Experiential Museums in Bosnia and Herzegovina
<b>09.00 pm-09.15 pm</b>	<b>Ms. Katri Susanna Hoch:</b> Human Rights Accountability in the Twilight of Statehood: ECtHR's approach to protecting human rights in de facto states.
<b>09.15 pm-09.30 pm</b>	Open Discussion
<b>09.30 pm- 09.45 pm</b>	Concluding Remarks by the Chair
<b>Day 2: Monday 14 December 2020</b>	
<b>Session Three: Memory of Genocide and Violence (06.00 pm – 07.15 pm)</b>	
<b>Chair</b>	Mr. Mofidul Haque, Board of Trustees, The Liberation War Museum , Bangladesh
<b>06.00 pm- 06.15 pm</b>	<b>Ms. Naziba Hoque:</b> Retrieving Memories of Places: Sites of Violence, Sites of Resistance in Bangladesh Liberation War 1971
<b>06.15 pm- 06.30 pm</b>	<b>Mr. Zunayed Ahmed Ehsan &amp; Ms. Magna Mohapatra:</b> Unmasking the Latent Structure of Genocidal history from the Holocaust to 1971 and Beyond
<b>06.30pm- 06.45 pm</b>	<b>Ms. Fatema-Tuj-Juhra :</b> Bengal Famine of 1943: Death by Hunger or Genocide by Starvation?
<b>06.45 pm – 07.00 pm</b>	Open Discussion
<b>07.00 pm- 07.15 pm</b>	Concluding Remarks by the Chair
<b>Session Four: The Rohingya Genocide ( 07.30 pm – 08.45 pm )</b>	
<b>Chair</b>	Mr. Shahidul Haque, Former Foreign Secretary and Senior Fellow, North South University.
<b>07. 30 pm-07.45 pm</b>	<b>Dr. Minati Kalo:</b> Mass Atrocities against the Rohingya People in Myanmar: An Analysis



<b>07. 45 pm-08.00 pm</b>	<b>Ms. Shahanaz Parven:</b> Genocide of the Rohingya as a Means to Promote Wealth Inequality in Myanmar
<b>08. 00 pm-08.15 pm</b>	<b>Ms. Mansura Amdad :</b> The Manifestation of Cultural Politics through Strategic Culture: The Roots of Paradoxical and Complicit State Behaviour towards the Rohingya
<b>08.15 pm-08.30 pm</b>	Open Discussion
<b>08.30 pm-08.45 pm</b>	Concluding Remarks by the Chair

### **Day 3: Tuesday 15 December 2020**

#### **Session Five: Politics of Genocide, Trial and International Responses ( 06.00 pm - 07.15 pm)**

<b>Chair</b>	Justice Syed Refaat Ahmed, The High Court Division, Supreme Court of Bangladesh
<b>06.00 pm- 06.20 pm</b>	<b>Barrister M. Amir-Ul Islam:</b> ICT BD in Global Perspective: Significance of Domestic Trial of International Crimes
<b>06.20 pm-06.35 pm</b>	<b>Mr. Kuldeep Bhattacharjya:</b> Conceptualising epistemology of genocides in South Asia: Revisiting the role of Political correctness and Social Amnesia in documenting South Asian Genocides
<b>06.35 pm-07.00 pm</b>	Open Discussion
<b>07.00 pm-07.15 pm</b>	Concluding Remarks by the Chair

#### **Session Six: Preventing Violent Extremism and Radicalization ( 07.30 pm – 09.00 pm)**

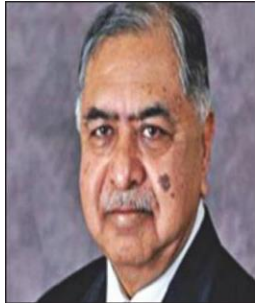
<b>Chair</b>	Mr. Robert Stoelman, Project Manager, Partnerships for a Tolerant, Inclusive Bangladesh (PTIB), The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) Bangladesh.
<b>07.30 pm-07. 45 pm</b>	<b>Mr. Md. Adbullah-Al Helal:</b> Rise of Young Gang Violence in Bangladesh and Way Forward
<b>07. 45 pm-08.00 pm</b>	<b>Dr. Uma Roy Bhowmik:</b> Role of Technology in preventing Genocide
<b>08. 00 pm-08.15 pm</b>	<b>Mr. F. M. Arafat &amp; Ms. Farhana Razzak:</b> The Changing Nature of Violent Extremism in Bangladesh: Trends, Challenges and State Responses
<b>08.15 pm-08.30 pm</b>	<b>Mr. Ashique Mahmud &amp; Ms. Hazera Khanam:</b> The significance of Counter-Narratives for Countering Violent Extremism globally and its applicability on Bangladesh

<b>08.30 pm-08.45 pm</b>	Open Discussion
<b>08.45 pm-09.00 pm</b>	Concluding Remarks by the Chair
<b>Closing Session ( 09.10 pm – 09.40 pm)</b>	
<b>Remarks by the Organizing Committee</b>	
<b>09.10 pm-09.15 pm</b>	Mr. Ajoy Dasgupta, Adjunct Faculty, Department of Mass Communication and Journalism, University of Dhaka.
<b>09.15 pm-09.20 pm</b>	Professor Dr. Amena Mohsin, Department of International Relations, University of Dhaka
<b>09.20 pm- 09.25 pm</b>	Professor Dr. Delwar Hossain, Department of International Relations, University of Dhaka.
<b>09.25 pm-09.30 pm</b>	Professor Dr. Ayesha Banu, Department of Women and Gender Studies, University of Dhaka
<b>09.30 pm-09.40 pm</b>	Professor Dr. Imtiaz Ahmed, Director, Centre for Genocide Studies, University of Dhaka.

**Session One**  
**Genocide and Bangladesh**



## Chairperson



**Dr. Kamal Hossain** : Dr. Kamal Hossain, was born on 20 April, 1937. He did his BA (Economics) from University of Notre Dame, Indiana (1955), BA (Honours in Jurisprudence) (1957), Bachelor of Civil Law (1958) and Doctor of Philosophy (International Law) (1964) all from University of Oxford. He was enrolled as a Barrister from Lincoln's Inn in 1959 and as an Advocate in the High Court at Dhaka in the same year. He is a Senior Advocate of the Supreme Court of Bangladesh. Dr. Kamal Hossain taught Constitutional Law and International Law at Queen's College, Oxford (1957-9). He was a Research Student (1958-9, 1964) and Research Fellow (1977-9) of Nuffield

College, Oxford and a Visiting Fellow (1976-7) of All Souls College, Oxford. He taught International Law and Constitutional law in the University of Dhaka (1962-7). He was a Visiting Professor at the Free University of Amsterdam (1997). He was Minister of Law (1972-3), Minister of Petroleum and Minerals (1973-5) and Minister of Foreign Affairs (1973-5) for the Government of Bangladesh. He was a member of the UN Compensation Commission for two terms (1994-6 and 1999-2005) and was Chairman of two of its Panels. He was also the UN Special Rapporteur on the Human Rights Situation in Afghanistan from 1999-2003. He is a member, Panel of Arbitrators, ICSID and served as Chair and Member of a number of international arbitral tribunals (ICC, ICSID and UNCITRAL). He was appointed as a Judge ad hoc by Malaysia for the International Tribunal of the Law of the Sea in the case Malaysia v Singapore (2003) and also as a Member of International Law of the Sea Annex VII Tribunal in the same case, and also in the case of Guyana v Suriname (2005-2007). Dr Kamal is currently Vice Chairman of the International Law Association (London), Chairman of both the Bangladesh Legal Aid and Services Trust (BLAST) and South Asian Institute of Advanced Legal and Human Rights Studies (SAILS), Honorary Fellow of the Institute of Mineral and Petroleum Law, University of Dundee and Advisory Council Member for Transparency International.

## Paper one:

### Mr. Ajoy Dasgupta: Bangabandhu Initiative to Trial Crime Against Humanity

জনাব অজয় দাশগুপ্ত : একাত্তরের জেনোসাইডে জড়িতদের বিচারে বঙ্গবন্ধুর উদ্যোগ



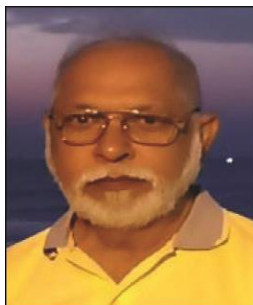
**অজয় দাশগুপ্ত:** অজয় দাশগুপ্ত। মুক্তিযোদ্ধা। ১৯৭১ সালে বাংলাদেশের গৌরবের মুক্তিযুদ্ধে অস্ত্র হাতে লড়েছেন। সত্তরের দশকের শুরুতে বাংলাদেশ ছাত্র ইউনিয়ন প্রকাশিত জনপ্রিয় সাপ্তাহিক ‘জয়ধ্বনি’ সম্পাদক। ঢাকা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় সিনেটে ছাত্র প্রতিনিধি (১৯৭৪-৭৬), জগন্নাথ হল ছাত্র সংসদ ও রসায়ন বিভাগ ছাত্র সংসদের সাধারণ সম্পাদক। ঢাকা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় ও জগন্নাথ বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় সাংবাদিকতা বিভাগে খণ্ডকালীন শিক্ষক। সাংবাদিকতার পাশাপাশি আর্থ-সামাজিক বিষয়ে গবেষণা কাজে যুক্ত রয়েছেন। সাত দশকের হরতাল ও বাংলাদেশের রাজনীতি, গুজবের অর্থনীতি, একাত্তরের ৭১, অর্থের নীতি অর্থের নৈতিকতা, বাংলাদেশের অর্থনীতি, বঙ্গবন্ধুর আন্দোলন কৌশল ও হরতালসহ প্রায় ২০টি গ্রন্থের রচয়িতা।

**সারসংক্ষেপ:** বঙ্গবন্ধু শেখ মুজিবুর রহমান ১৯৭১ সালের ৬ মার্চ পাকিস্তানের প্রেসিডেন্ট ইয়াহিয়া খানের গোলটেবিল বৈঠকের আমন্ত্রণ প্রত্যাখ্যান করে বলেছিলেন, ‘যখন বাঙালিদের হত্যা করা হচ্ছে তখন এই আলোচনার আহ্বান নির্দয় তামাশা। ৭

মার্চ রেসকোর্স ময়দানের ভাষণে বলেছেন, ‘আজ ঢাকা, চট্টগ্রাম, খুলনা, রাজশাহী, রংপুরে আমার ভাইয়ের রক্তে রাজপথ রঞ্জিত হয়েছে।’ ১৯ মার্চ জয়দেবপুরে নিরস্ত্র জনতার ওপর পাকিস্তানি সেনাবাহিনীর গুলিবর্ষণের তীব্র নিন্দা করেন। ২৬ মার্চ বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা ঘোষণার সময়ে বলেছিলেন, পাকিস্তানি সেনাবাহিনী অতর্কিতে পিলখানা ইপিআর ক্যাম্প ও রাজারবাগ পুলিশ লাইন আক্রমণ করেছে। ১৭ এপ্রিল গণপ্রজাতন্ত্রী বাংলাদেশ সরকারের শপথ গ্রহণের পর প্রধানমন্ত্রী তাজউদ্দীন আহমদ বলেন, পাকিস্তান মৃত এবং বাঙালিদের লাশের পাহাড়ের নিচে তার কবর রচিত হয়েছে। ইয়াহিয়া খান জেনোসাইড ও পোড়ামাটি নীতি অনুসরণ করছেন। এভাবে তিনিই প্রথম বাংলাদেশ সরকারের দিক থেকে জেনোসাইড শব্দটি সামনে আনেন। ১৯৭২ সালের ৮ জানুয়ারি পাকিস্তানি বন্দিশালা থেকে মুক্তিলাভের পর বঙ্গবন্ধু লন্ডন, দিল্লি ও ঢাকায় প্রদত্ত ভাষণে পাকিস্তানি হানাদার বাহিনীর জেনোসাইডের তীব্র নিন্দা করেছেন। দিল্লিতে তিনি বলেন, পাকিস্তানিরা বাংলাদেশে যে নৃশংস ও বর্বরোচিত কাজ করেছে, মানব ইতিহাসে এমনটি আর কখনও ঘটেনি। ১৪ জানুয়ারি ঢাকায় সংবাদ সম্মেলনে তিনি বলেন, পরিকল্পিত গণহত্যায় প্রায় ৩০ লাখ নিহত হয়েছে। জেনোসাইডের হোতাদের বিচারের জন্য প্রধানমন্ত্রী বঙ্গবন্ধু শেখ মুজিবুর রহমানের উদ্যোগে বাংলাদেশ ইন্টারন্যাশনাল ট্রাইব্যুনাল (ট্রাইব্যুনাল) অ্যাক্ট ১৯৭৩ প্রণয়ন করে, যা পরবর্তী সময়ে মানবতাবিরোধী অপরাধে অভিযুক্তদের বিচারের আইনি ভিত্তি তৈরি করেছিল। এর ধরাবাহিকতায় কয়েকজন অপরাধীকে দণ্ড প্রদান ও তা কার্যকর করা হয়েছে। বিচার কাজ অব্যাহত রয়েছে। জেনোসাইডের দায়ে অভিযুক্তদের বিচারে বাংলাদেশের পদক্ষেপ বিশ্বের যে কোনো স্থানে এ ধরনের অপরাধে জড়িতদের শাস্তি প্রদানে নজির হয়ে থাকবে।

## *Paper Two:*

### *Mr. Parvez Elahi Chowdhury: A Lucky Survivor's Eye Witness account of 1971*



**Mr. Parvez Elahi Chowdhury:** Born in 1955 in Kurigram and finished his high school in 1970. Completed his M. Sc. (Geography) from Dacca University in 1980 and in 1993 did a diploma in Programmable logic Control (PLC) from Vanier College, Montreal. During early life worked in the tea plantation for Duncan Brothers Bangladesh Ltd and later for Xerox Canada in Toronto. During 1971 he was in Lalmonirhat along with his parent and three brothers. Where during the Bangladesh liberation war lost his police officer father and two brothers, while he was also a captive and tortured but miraculously survived, witnessing several others to die. Married and lives in Toronto, Canada with two sons.

**Abstract:** During 1971, our father, a Police Sub-Inspector, Shaheed Abdur Rahman Chowdhury, was posted in Lalmonirhat of Rangpur as RIO (Railway Intelligence Officer). In Lalmonirhat we were three brothers, Tofail Elahi Chowdhury, a 2nd year H.Sc, I am Parvez Elahi Chowdhury, S.Sc an candidate and the youngest Towfiq Elahi Chowdhury, a grad 6 student. Our cousin brother Abul Hasnath Chowdhury a grade 10 student, who was also living with us since 1961. Our eldest brother a PAF Flg.Off. (Air.Cdre. BAF retd.) Ishfaq Ilahi Chowdhury was posted in Lahore, West Pakistan. Our 2 elder Sister Tarifa Akhtar (married) and Parveen Akhtar, 2nd.year B.A.hons. Student of Eden Girls Collage were living in Dhaka. During 70's Lalmonirhat was an administrative Thana under Kurigram subdivision but an important Railway Control and Communication Centre of North Bengal. Population was bigger than Kurigram and almost half of the town population were non-Bengali, commonly called the 'Biharis'. They were mostly Railway workers and employees which gave the town a different dimension than most other towns of the then East Pakistan (Bangladesh). Though we never had any affiliation with any political party, but during 1970 Election we three brothers were quite active along with our other friends. We always tried to hide this kind of activity from our father who was a police officer. Everyone was quite happy about the Election result and waiting to see a big change in East Pakistan. There were lot of speculation about the Intention of the Military Junta and their friend Mr. Z.A. Bhutto. Everything changed suddenly on 1st. March 1971, around 1-30 PM President Gen. Yahiya Khan postponed indefinitely the upcoming 3rd. March, 1971 Parliament Assembly in Dhaka. Situation of Lalmonirhat was the same as of the whole country. Our hope of a peaceful power transfer was shattered. As Dhaka radio went off the air on 7th. March, 1971 around 2-30 PM; so living in Lalmonirhat, we only listened to the recorded speech of Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman on the next day 8th. March around 9-00 AM. After his speech finished while we all were very quietly sitting in the room a few moments passed in a pin drop silence and then our father a veteran of 23 years, very disciplined and obedient police officer, broke the

silence and said very loudly “Is sSheikh Mujib only a Person?” He has become a Nation! A Country now!). We were stunned to hear that from him! It was clear that our father has switched his loyalty from Pakistan government. He openly expressed his desire to revolt on 8th. March, 1971 and join with the 75 Million people of Bangladesh. Though we were College and High School students, we started receiving training with only bamboo stick in the Lalmonirhat High School ground, but we never knew that our 52 years old father was also preparing himself for the final war! He was ready to do the supreme sacrifice for his Motherland. As a Bengali-Bihari mixed population town, Lalmonirhat faced its first racial trouble on 23rd. March 1971 as all Bengalis raised the new Bangladesh flag, including the local Police Station (Thana) and GRP Thana, all government offices, and bazars. However, in the Bihari neighbourhood, called “Up-Yard Colony”, Pakistani flag kept flying. This raised tension among the locals and non-locals. The GRP and Thana police along with the local leaders took quick action to defuse the tension and situation was brought under control without any fatality. This proved that the Bihari population would not support the Bengali cause of provincial autonom. On the 1st of April 1971, Our 52 year old father, a veteran Police officer of 23 years, Shaheed Abdur Rahman Chowdhury was seriously injured in an encounter with Pakistani forces in the Lalmonirhat Air Field. He was transferred in the Lalmonirhat Railway Hospital along with several other injured Bengali that evening. On the evening of 1st April 1971, Bengali EPR Cpt. Nawazesh Uddin and his EPR soldier, Police, Ansar and Civilian block the North side of the Tista Bridge. They resisted a Company of 4 Frontier Force Regiment for 3 days. Pakistani lost their Company commander Maj. Ezaj Mustafa Syed along with several other ranks in Tista. Not to mention Bengali causality was a lot many. Later under heavy counterattack by the Pakistani army, we lost Tista on the early morning of 4th April. On the 4th of April 1971, by 8 o’clock morning Pakistan Military captured Lalmonirhat and killed my father along with 37 other Bengali injured inside the Lalmonirhat Railway Hospital. Military left the dead body to rot and threw those in the ditch. Attacking a Hospital and killing Injured inside the Hospital is a major war crime committed by Pak Army. Again on 13th April 1971, my elder brother Tohfael Ilahi Chowdhury, cousin brother Abul Hasnath Chowdhury and myself along with a railway employee named Khondokar Belayet Hosain and a few others were captured by Pakistani military. That day we all were interrogated and tortured . Later they handed us over to the Bihari Killer Group. That evening while killers were executing one by one in front of me in their Killing Field, miraculously only I survived! No dead body was ever found! From 4th April to 13th. April our six members family in Lalmonirhat was reduced to three. Torturing and Killing unarmed prisoner is a Major War Crime! Dishonouring Dead Body is also a War Crime! From 4th of March 1971 Pakistani Military and their Bihari collaborators started an indiscriminate Bengali killing spree all over Kurigram subdivision, which never stopped till 5th of December 1971. Lalmonirhat and Kurigram have the biggest numbered of Marked mass graves – This is a Clear Genocide! May Allah bless them all with Jannah-Ameen!

### *Paper Three:*

#### *Dr. Bratati Hore : "The Home & the World ; in relation to the 1971 Liberation Movement"*



**Dr. Bratati Hore:** Dr. Bratai Hore obtained PhD, M.Phil & M.A. from Jadavpur University. Obtained two post-doc fellowships from UGC on (1) Popular Agitations: Case Study of Four Urban Centric Movements of 1949-1954 in West Bengal. (2) Role of women in Telengana Movement: 1946-1951. Associate Professor in History, Surendranath College for Women, Kolkata. Mainly engaged in writing articles on Women's Movements, Peasant's movements & genocide studies.

**Abstract:** The readers of " Ekattorer Smriti"( Memory of 1971) and "Ekattorer Dinguli"(meaning- Days of 1971) (English: Of Blood and Fire, translated by Mustafizur Rahman), will remember Jyotirmoy Guha Thakurta, a prominent teacher of Dhaka University, a responsible Provost and Rumi, the 'son of Revolution' because a living document of a glorious liberation war has been created by the pen of two writers with those deaths as reference points. The year 1971 is an inseparable part of the life of Bangladesh and the Bengali race. That year saw the fulfillment of the finest dreams of the Bengali race. In this year the Bengalis composed their greatest Epic. In this year the Bengalis as a community exceeded their noble struggle to become nobler. This year the Bengalis as a nation upheld a thousand years old heritage to become best of all. This memoir of Bashonti is not just an attempt to touch history, not a lofty work of literature. It is not known before that a memoir can be so dispassionate yet as clear as a film. It is not realized that a history of the genesis of a nation can be so quiet yet reverberate such inner passion. Such a cruel yet beautiful description of the Liberation War can only be written after internalizing suffering and grief beyond description. Those who witnessed the awakening of Bengali race at this moment of mortal insecurity are burdened with a heavy responsibility. For the sake of new generation and coming age, the truth arising from their experiences must be recorded; the heartbeat of Liberation War be generated from rainbow lights of multiple perspectives from age to age, from generation to generation. [8] Ekattorer Dinguli (The Days of '71) is an extraordinarily powerful and affecting book. Just as the holocaust needed a Diary of Anne Frank that brought the numbing total of deaths down to an individual, human case, so the Bangladeshi massacres are brought down to the feelings of a mother for her son. Jahanara Imam, a highly educated successful Head teacher, and her family were in no doubt that the Bengalis needed their own homeland. Both books portray moment by moment struggle between West Pakistan and present day Bangladesh. It is a struggle between ferocious desire to banish nobler feelings and desperate effort to snatch back the right to lead an honest life;

the inner struggle that at every moment whittles away at inner conscience. These two writers have held up this ruinous moment of civilization. From the dawn of human civilization, man has continued this struggle for existence in the hope of new life. That struggle has been enclosed in an epic framework. They had set at naught all negativity, darkness, dying society; life led in the bright light of morning has found its language in these writings. In the middle of twentieth century, Camus had tried to understand the reality of contemporary life in his book "the Rebel". That reality he labeled as 'Logical Crime'. He wanted to understand how 'Logical Crime' justifies its criminality. In this context one should mention the relevance of those two books because the rationale behind 'Logical Crime' is becoming more strident. The truth is in the blade. The Liberation War took place in 1971. But the war is not yet ended. The consciousness of the war is still alive. Today's battle is with hunger, poverty, illiteracy and religious fundamentalism, a war imbued with the spirit of Liberation War.

## Paper Four:

### Mr. G.M. Arifuzzaman: Sexism in Genocide: Bangladesh in 1971

জনাব জি.এম.আরিফুজ্জামান : নারী বিদ্বেষ ও জেনোসাইডঃ প্রেক্ষিত বাংলাদেশ ১৯৭১



জনাব জি.এম.আরিফুজ্জামান : জনাব জি.এম.আরিফুজ্জামান বর্তমানে ঢাকা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের সেন্টার ফর জেনোসাইড স্টাডিজের একজন গবেষণা সহযোগী হিসেবে কর্মরত। তিনি ঢাকা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের উইমেন অ্যান্ড জেনোসাইড স্টাডিজ থেকে মাস্টার্স এবং স্নাতকোত্তর সম্পন্ন করেছেন। জেনোসাইড, জেন্ডার, কূটনীতি, শান্তি ও বিচার, মানবাধিকার, পরিবেশ ইত্যাদি বিষয়গুলো তাঁর গবেষণার আত্রহের বিষয়বস্তু। এই পর্যন্ত তাঁর ২টি গবেষণা প্রবন্ধ এবং ১টি বই প্রকাশিত হয়েছে। তিনি বিভিন্ন জাতীয় ও আন্তর্জাতিক পর্যায়ে প্রবন্ধ উপস্থাপন করেছেন। তিনি ২০১৪-১৫ সেশনে ঢাকা ইউনিভার্সিটি ডিবেটিং সোসাইটির সভাপতি এবং ঢাকা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় গবেষণা সংসদের প্রতিষ্ঠাতা সিনিয়র সহ-সভাপতি ছিলেন। ইমেলের মাধ্যমে যোগাযোগ করুন: gmarif.cgs @ du.ac.bd, gmarifuzzaman@yahoo.com

সারসংক্ষেপঃ ১৯৭১ সালে বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধের সময় নারীর প্রতি সহিংসতা ও নির্যাতনের মত ঘটনা সম্পৃক্ত দৃশ্যমান। পিতৃতান্ত্রিক সমাজ ব্যবস্থায় একজন নারীকে নারী হিসেবে জন্মলাভের কারণে বিভিন্ন বৈষম্যমূলক আচরণের মুখোমুখি হতে হয়। পিতৃতান্ত্রিক সমাজ ব্যবস্থায় শুধুমাত্র বিশ্বাসের ভিত্তিতে একটি জেন্ডারকে অন্যের চেয়ে শ্রেষ্ঠ বলে দখানো হয়ে থাকে। এটি বৈষম্যমূলক, কুসংস্কারমূলক এবং এটা প্রয়াশই নারীর প্রতি ব্যাপকভাবে প্রকাশিত হয়। এই প্রবন্ধে জেনোসাইডের সাথে নারীর প্রতি বৈষম্যের সম্পর্ককে ফুটিয়ে তোলা হয়েছে। ১৯৭১ সালে বাংলাদেশে স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ কালীন সময়ে পাকিস্তান হানাদার বাহিনী এবং তাদের দোসরদের দ্বারা নারীদের প্রতি যৌন নির্যাতন, ধর্ষণ, দলগত ধর্ষণ এবং নির্মমভাবে হত্যার মত ঘটনা ঘটে। প্রায় ০২ লক্ষ নারীদেরকে যৌন নিপীড়ন, নির্মমভাবে ধর্ষণ এবং গণধর্ষণের শিকার হতে হয়, জোরপূর্বক গর্ভধারণের অনেক উদাহরণ পাওয়া যায়। বিভিন্ন ক্যাম্পে নারীদেরকে আটকে রেখে ক্রমাগত ধর্ষণ করা হয়। ক্যাম্পে কি পরিমাণ নারীরা হত্যার শিকার হয়েছেন, তার সঠিক পরিসংখ্যান জানা নেই। অনেকেই যুদ্ধ শিশুদের জন্ম দিয়েছেন, যা বাঙালি জাতির ইতিহাসে "দূষিত রক্ত" বলে আখ্যায়িত করা হয়। নারীর প্রতি বৈষম্য জেনোসাইডে একটি অস্ত্র হিসেবে কাজ করেছিলো।



## *Paper Five:*

### *Dr. Nahid Afrose Kabir: The 1971 Genocide: The Plight of the People of Bangladesh*



**Dr. Nahid Afrose Kabir:** Dr Nahid Afrose Kabir is currently a Professor of History in the Department of English and Humanities at BRAC University, Dhaka, Bangladesh. She is also an Adjunct Professor at Georgetown University in Washington DC, USA and holds Adjunct positions at Edith Cowan University, Perth and at the University of South Australia, Adelaide, Australia. Nahid Kabir holds a PhD degree in History and an MA in Historical Studies from the University of Queensland, Brisbane, Australia. She also holds BA (Hons) and MA in History degrees from the University of Dhaka, Bangladesh. During 2009–2011, Dr Nahid Kabir was a Visiting Fellow at the Centre for Middle

Eastern Studies at Harvard University, USA. Dr Nahid Kabir’s research interest primarily includes qualitative research, identity and cross-cultural understanding. Since 2005, Kabir has 56 peer reviewed publications including four books published from Routledge and Edinburgh University Press, United Kingdom. Email: [n.kabir@bracu.ac.bd](mailto:n.kabir@bracu.ac.bd)

**Abstract:** During the partition of India, the people of East Bengal (later East Pakistan and now Bangladesh) were searching for an identity and a separate nation, and embraced Pakistan as their homeland. Soon after the establishment of Pakistan in 1947, the government in West Pakistan (now Pakistan) began viewing East Pakistanis as the “Other”, instead of treating them as their fellow country people. In 1948, the founder of Pakistan, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, declared Urdu the state language of East Pakistan, ignoring the fact that the East Pakistanis were Bengalis whose mother tongue was Bangla. Over a period of 24 years (1947–1971), Bengalis were marginalised intellectually, culturally, economically and politically. Finally, in the 1970 general election, the Awami League under Sheikh Mujibur Rahman’s leadership won a landslide victory in East Pakistan, but the West Pakistani government did not want to hand over power to the Awami League. Instead, the Pakistani military dictator Yahya Khan resorted to violence, thinking that only extreme violence would subdue the Bengalis. This led to genocide in Bangladesh from 26 March to 16 December 1971. It resulted in the deaths of about three million Bengalis, including Muslims, Hindus, political activists, students, professionals, businesspeople, rural and urban people, and women. I am a Bangladeshi woman who lived in Karachi in West Pakistan from 1964 to 1970, as my father was transferred to West Pakistan for work. We moved back to Dhaka in East Pakistan in 1970. During the nine-month genocide period in 1971 we lived in Dhaka. In this paper, from my personal experience and observations, I will share my views on the disparity

that I saw between East and West Pakistan, and later the genocide in Bangladesh. I will first briefly discuss the background to the genocide. Secondly, I will discuss my research methodology. Thirdly, I will examine atrocities committed against the victims of genocide. Fourthly, I will discuss my observations of Bangladeshis' sufferings, their mental agony, my extended family members' role as freedom fighters, and the genocide committed by the Pakistani military in my surrounding urban areas. Finally, I conclude that it is time that the United Nations recognised that the atrocities committed by the Pakistani military government against the Bangladeshi people in 1971 were "genocide".

**Session Two**  
**State, Society and Violence**

## *Chairperson*



**Professor Dr. Rounaq Jahan** : Professor Dr. Rounaq Jahan was a Senior Research Scholar and Adjunct Professor of International Affairs at the School of International and Public Affairs at Columbia University, USA. She was a Professor of Political Science at Dhaka University, Bangladesh and headed the women’s programme at the UN Asia-Pacific Development Center, Kuala Lumpur and the International Labour Office, Geneva. She was a Research Fellow at Harvard, Chicago and Boston universities in USA and Chr. Michelsen Institute in Norway. She was the Rajni Kothari Chair of Democracy at the Center for the Study of Developing Society (CSDS) Delhi, India. Professor Jahan received her PhD in Political Science from Harvard University. She is the author of several internationally acclaimed books and numerous articles. Most of her research is focused on issues of politics, governance, gender, development and health.

*Paper Six:*

*Mr. Md. Chingiz Khan: The Communal Violence in North East India with special reference to Manipur between the Manipuri Muslims and Meiteis in the Twentieth and Twenty First Centuries*



**Mr. Md. Chingiz Khan** : Md. Chingiz Khan is a Ph.D Research Scholar at the Centre for Historical Studies, School of Social Sciences, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India. He has done his M.Phil Dissertation on the theme entitled 'The Formation of Muslim Community in Manipur during the 17th and 18th Centuries' under the supervision of Prof. Najaf Haider. He is pursuing his Ph.D Thesis on the Mughals warfare towards the North East regions of India during the 17th and 18th Centuries under the same supervisor. He was awarded the "NAMASTE Governor Acharya Award (2018)" in the honour of Bir Tikendrajit Singh of Manipur. This award was conferred as

recognition of academic credentials for his research work related to North East India issues particularly Manipur, Assam and Tripura. Earlier, he worked in the Indian Council of Social Science Research (ICSSR), New Delhi as an RA in Research Fellowship Division (RFS). He updated the General Knowledge of Manipur published by Ramesh Publishing House, Daryaganj, New Delhi by contributing some questions with regard to the political, economic, socio-cultural and religious contributions of Muslims in Manipur since the beginning of Seventeenth Century to the Post Independence Period with great inputs from some scholars and historians like Dr. Imtiyaj Khan, Prof. Salam Irene, MA Janab Khan, Abdur Rahman, Abdul Hakim, and other well wishers. He has written more than 34 articles related to the issues of North East India which got published in national and international journals like The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies, Man and Society-A Journal of North-East Studies, A Journal of Media Studies, International Journal of Research, Indian Historical Review (upcoming), Economic and Political Weekly (upcoming), Bangladesh Historical Studies (upcoming), Third Concept (upcoming), etc., national magazines like Tehelka, Risala (Malayalam), etc., online portals such as Counter Currents.Org, etc., local and national papers like The Indian Express, The Pioneer, The Assam Tribune, The Inquilab (Urdu), Madhyamam (Malayalam) and Ichel Express (Manipuri), etc., chapters in edited books from reputed national and international publishers including the Routledge, Mittal and Rawat Publications and Proceedings of the national and international Seminar/Conference/Workshop/Symposium.

**Abstract:** Manipur lies in one of the north eastern regions of India where different indigenous communities such as Meiteis (local community), Muslims (locally known as Pangal/ns), Tribes like Nagas and Kukis reside since times immemorial. There is lot of communal violence and riots happened in North East India particularly in Manipur between the Muslims and Meiteis, Kukis and Nagas in the Twentieth and Twenty First Centuries. A very 'unfortunate' incident happened between the Pangal community and majority community in May 3, 1993 where more than 100 Muslims (official figure) lost their lives due to this communal riot as compared to local community. Some of the scholars opined that it is a very 'unfortunate' incident as a riot occurred for the first time in the history of Manipur as far as the historical relationship between the Muslims and Meiteis is concerned since the seventeenth century onwards. As per official records, only four numbers of major community lost due to this communal riot. Before this very 'unfortunate' incident, there was no such kind of communal riot in the history of Manipur since their settlement into the state itself till 1990s. There was a firm, cordial and peaceful life in the pre-colonial and post-colonial periods (till 1990s) in Manipur while considering the relationship between two communities. It is seemingly possible to say that rumor played a crucial role for the propagation and expansion of the riot, and of course it had some socio-religious elements that were instigated by some extreme right-wing groups among the majority community. How this communal perception and feeling came out among these two communities needs to be treated painstakingly. Why and how did the riots and violence happen between them? What was the historical background of the causes of this communal riot between these two communities? What was the immediate causal factor for this riot? What were the impacts of this riot between the Muslims and major community in the contemporary Twenty First Century Manipuri society? What are the direct/indirect roles of the state and insurgent groups for the cause of this communal riot? What were the roles of civil society organizations for the occurrence of this riot? In order to know how the Muslims came to Manipur in the initial period of the seventeenth century, a brief attempt regarding the origin of Muslim community in Manipur has been made here. Further, whether this communal riot has been figured out into the religious or socio-cultural or political or economic or ideological causes or what were the sole causes of this communal riot? Still justice has not yet been established and delivered though report of it has been submitted to the Parliament of India (both Rajya Sabha and Lok Sabha). Why is it so? Further, another attempt is being made to scrutiny and examine critically the communal violence happened between the Manipuri Muslims and Meiteis in the twenty first century as a result of the twentieth century riots. The aim of the paper is purely and firmly studied on the basis of historical findings and perspectives. Keeping in mind all the reasonable issues which are mentioned above, an analytical and critical understanding of it is explored and studied here with investigative nature in great length.

## *Paper Seven:*

### *Ms. Ankita Kumari : The 1971 Liberation War, Mass Rape and the Un-silencing of the Silenced: A Study of Shaheen Akhtar's translated novel The Search*



**Ms. Ankita Kumari :** Ms Ankita Kumari is a Doctoral scholar at the Centre for English Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi with nearly 3 and half years of teaching experience. Her research interest lies in post-colonial fiction, South Asian Literature, conflict literature, and trauma and memory in historical fiction. Currently, she is teaching as Assistant Professor at Lady Shri Ram College, University of Delhi. Previously, She was teaching as a guest faculty at Motilal Nehru College, and Rajdhani College, University of Delhi. She has worked as a Teaching Assistant offering courses to the undergraduate students of the School of

Language, Literature and Culture studies, JNU. She has also taught courses in “Basic Communication Skills” and “Academic Writing” at Linguistic Empowerment Cell (LEC) of JNU. Apart from this, she has also been engaged as a Guest Faculty under ITEC-MEA English Language Training Programme conducted at the Linguistic Empowerment Cell where she has taught and trained foreign diplomats/professionals. As a Research Assistant, she has worked on the Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India, sponsored project on drafting a new “Language Policy” and on Academy of Korean Studies project on “Emerging Korea and Korean Studies in India and South Asia”. Furthermore, she has been engaged in editing and proof-reading of scholarly articles published in The Mugunghwa Journal of Korean Interdisciplinary Studies (MUJIKS). She holds her bachelor’s degree in English from Baba Saheb Bheemrao Ambedkar University, Bihar. Later, she completed her M.A. and M. Phil from Jawaharlal Nehru University. She has participated and presented papers in a number of conferences organized both in India and abroad.

**Abstract:** The nine-months brutal War for Independence in Bangladesh resulted in the mass displacement and killing of almost 3 millions Bengalis. It displayed the brutalities of a sexualized-political war where women’s bodies were scarred and defiled consciously to assert the masculine principles of war and nation-formation. The major repercussion of this genocide was the mass rape targeted against Bengali women as a conscious weapon for war. And, what made it more affective was the systematic ostracization of these women in the newly liberated Bangladesh. Soon after Bangladesh came into existence after its secession from West Pakistan, the government declared these women as Birangonas to give them honour and respect in the newly-born nation. But, on the contrary, this label was used only to single out and stigmatize them in



the society. These women were denied respectful status and recognition both in their families as well as in national discourse. Almost after Forty-six years of independence, the nation is still struggling to seek justice for Birangonas ( also called “the women of war” or “war heroines”). While the participation of women who fought in the war along with men has been celebrated, the narratives of Bangladeshi women and girls who suffered mass-rape at the hands of the Pakistani army, and the children (called “war babies”) born out of such sexual atrocity have remained largely unacknowledged. The freedom, thus, gained remains questionable in the presence of these women whose bodies and minds are still carrying the scars of their brutal past. It also seeks to question the issues of agency and representation that play a crucial role in the formulation of national memory. The paper, therefore, endeavours to do a textual analysis of Shaheen Akhtar’s translated novel *The Search* (originally published as *Talaash*) to show how the novel discursively re-writes the lost history of Birangonas. The paper will argue, how by weaving into the narrative, the voices and stories of these war heroines, the novel undertakes to coin a rightful space for their marginal history into the national history of Bangladesh. It will further attempt to chart out the bloody legacy of the 1971 partition through the traumatic experiences of the protagonist Mariam, who collectively represents the anguish of the war heroines whose bodies were deliberately used as “political battlegrounds” during such crisis.

## *Paper Eight:*

### *Ms. Arpita Mitra: War Childhood' and the Arts: Uncovering Children's Transgenerational Trauma through Experiential Museums in Bosnia and Herzegovina*



**Ms. Arpita Mitra:** Arpita has a master's degree qualification in Criminology and Criminal Justice from the University of Oxford, UK, and an advanced master's degree in Transitional Justice, Human Rights and the Rule of Law from the Geneva Academy, Switzerland. With a combined specialization in transitional justice and criminal justice, she particularly researches on the wartime experiences of children, inspired by her father's childhood memories of leaving his home in Bangladesh during the 1971 Liberation War. Among other experiences, she has contributed to the UN Special Rapporteur's mandate on the protection of human rights for IDPs through her research on the displacement and militarisation of child soldiers in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). She also awaits her upcoming publication with the Cambridge University Press, on the psycho-social reintegration of former child soldiers in Sierra Leone. Arpita has briefly associated with the 2018 Nobel Peace Prize winner Dr Denis Mukwege on the mental health and psycho-social needs of victims of conflict-related sexual violence in DRC. She has worked with numerous humanitarian and human rights international organisations at their Headquarters and Regional Offices. Currently, she is based in Bangkok, Thailand and works as a humanitarian worker and an independent researcher.

**Abstract:** The paper examines a specific impact of genocide denial in transitional justice and dealing with the past – that is, transgenerational trauma. Within this thematic, the paper streamlines the focus on the transgenerational impact of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992-95) particularly on children. In doing so, it juxtaposes some of the limitations in transitional justice mechanisms with arts-based and creative approaches in efforts to deal with the past. From the viewpoint of transitional justice, or as the author calls 'transitional politics', genocide denial and its corresponding trauma raises questions regarding the selectivity of memory, in terms of 'which' people and 'whose' experiences are, after all, acknowledged and memorialised. In learning lessons from the past, transgenerational impact of the siege in Bosnia on children exemplifies how one's past experiences continue to shape the identities and interactions of present-day generations. In doing so, this paper focuses on two sets of experiences – children born out of war, and children whose childhood was set in the context of the siege. Through the analysis of two examples of 'experiential museums' based in Sarajevo, the paper documents how, within the context of genocide denial,

non- confrontational approaches of the arts and other creative fora can act as pathways to healing, reconciliation, and memorialisation of children's experiences, particularly in engaging individuals and communities to navigate complex experiences of transgenerational trauma and cultures of silences nearly 25 years after the war.

## Paper Nine:

### *Ms. Katri Susanna Hoch: Human Right Accountability in the Twilight of Statehood ECtHR;s approach to protecting Human rights in de facto states.*



**Ms. Katri Susanna Hoch:** Katri Hoch is a PhD student at the University of Zurich, Switzerland. Her research focus is on legal accountability for human rights violations in *de facto* states from the perspective of the European Court of Human Rights. She has a Masters degree in Law from the University of Lapland, Finland as well as a masters in Advanced Studies in International Humanitarian Law in University of Geneva/ Academy for International Humanitarian and Human Rights Law, in Switzerland. Katri Hoch has worked as legal officer for refugee law with the Government of Finland and different Swiss NGOs. In addition, she has a working experience with the UN in Human Rights and Refugee Law. Currently, she is Head of Humanitarian Aid at the Embassy of Switzerland in Dhaka, Bangladesh, with a focus on Humanitarian Response.

**Abstract:** The study aims at clarifying the framework for human rights accountability of *de facto* states from the perspective of European Court of Human Rights. It clarifies the concept of *de facto* statehood and the international legal subjectivity of such entities under international law. Through better understanding of the degree of legal personality that *de facto* states have, the study contributes to clarification of the international human rights obligations of unrecognised states.

*De facto* states are entities that predominately fulfil the traditional criteria of statehood, but because of the lack of recognition, their status in international community remain disputed and they are categorised under fluid and broad group of non-state actors. Although states are the main subjects of international law, other entities have increasingly standing in the international relations having roles and capacities, and bear rights and obligations to different extent. Only states can sign and ratify international human rights treaties. The international and regional accountability mechanisms that are established by the human rights treaty frameworks, are therefore not accessible to *de facto* states which limits the overall human rights protection in *de facto* states.

Although, public international law provides techniques to link human rights obligations to *de facto* states, the remedies and accountability mechanisms for human rights violations are not developed enough to accommodate any claims for human rights violations directly against non-state actor. Thus, national

institutions remain main protectors of human rights in *de facto* states.

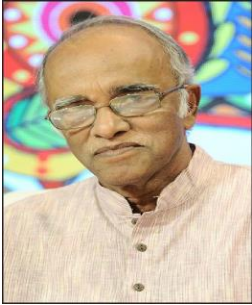
The European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) has adjudicated various applications concerning *de facto* states, and the resultant case law has great importance for the developing a framework of human rights protection of *de facto* states. The study focuses on the case law which assess the protection of European Convention of Human Rights (ECHR) through a concept of “effective “control”. As *de facto* states rarely act in complete isolation, they usually have an external power that supports its existence.

The level or degree of the control exercised by different entities over *de facto* states, establishes responsibility to protect and respect the ECHR. The ECtHR case law has not only been valuable for establishing the extraterritorial link to protecting human rights which are violated through activities beyond the territorial scope of a member state to ECHR. Thus, the ECtHR case law has been a strong mechanism to create responsibility for states that contribute excessive military, financial, political and administrative support to *de facto* states. However, the case law of ECtHR has further importance in strengthening indirectly the local institutions of *de facto* states for protecting the human rights. The study compares four cases of *de facto* states: Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, Transnistria, Nagorno-Karabakh and Kosovo of which ECtHR has case law to analyse the legal effects.

## **Session Three**

# **Memory of Genocide and Violence**

## Chairperson



**Mr. Mofidul Hoque:** Mr. Mofidul Hoque is a co-founder and one of eight Trustees of the Liberation War Museum. The museum, established in 1996, has become a peoples' museum and has earned recognition both nationally and internationally. As Director of the museum's education program, he has planned and executed its oral history project whereby students collect eye-witness accounts of the events of 1971 from senior family members. These accounts are then compiled in the museum's archive of memory. He was deeply involved with the national democratic struggle since his student days and took active part in the liberation war of Bangladesh in 1971. The museum has recently established 'Centre for Studies on Genocide and Peace' with him as Director.



*Paper Ten:*

*Ms. Naziba Hoque: Retrieving Memories of Places: Sites of Violence, Sites of Resistance in Bangladesh Liberation War 1971*



**Ms. Naziba Hoque:** Ms. Naziba Hoque is a lecturer in the Department of English, Eastern University. She completed her graduation in English Language and Literature and her MA in Literature in English and Cultural Studies (LECS) from Jahangirnagar University. Her primary research interest is in notions of identity which she explores through the range of Cultural Studies, Gender Studies, and Comparative Studies.

**Abstract:** With the 1971 Liberation War, history of Bangladesh changed forever. Every aspect of this war has a sentimental value to the people of the country because of the memory attached with it. The atrocities of war have been carried on till date through the people who took part in the war, experienced the tortures of the war and most importantly who shed blood for loving their nation. These memories are evident in the portrayal of war in varied literary productions where through the portrayal of violence against women and genocide, the barbarism of the West Pakistani military can be assumed. This paper aims to show that along with the people and the storyline, these mass-killing and violence can be represented through space. The places where people were killed, raped, buried are witnesses of the barbarism of this war. Hence, this paper examines the portrayal of lands/spaces in both fictional and non-fictional works to show that places too can bear war memories and in time may even be symbolical of brutalities of the West Pakistani military or of bravery of the people living then in East Pakistan. The paper projects that only with the celebration of these historical places and people who suffered and contributed the most can we properly retrieve the memories, both of violence and resistance, attached to those places.

## *Paper Eleven:*

### *Mr. Zunayed Ahmed Ehsan & Ms. Magna Mohapatra: Unmasking the Latent Structure of Genocidal history from the Holocaust to 1971 and Beyond*



**Mr. Zunayed Ahmed Ehsan:** I am Zunayed Ahmed Ehsan, a research scholar from the Department of Sociology, South Asian University, and New Delhi. My conference paper ‘Ridiculing Power, Destabilizing Politics: Front-stage Performance of Youth in Contemporary Bangladesh’, has been presented at International Centre for Ethnic Studies, Colombo and Pathshala, South Asian Media Institute and ‘Conceptualizing Real Enemy, Reinventing Social Movement: Towards an Alternative Politics of the People’, at Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung, Rajasthan. Currently, I am working on ‘Political Theory for a Despair Time: Searching for a New Epistemology’.



**Ms. Magna Mohapatra:** I am a research scholar from South Asian University, New Delhi. I am currently working on The Unpaid Internship Economy: The Meanings of Voluntary and Informal Work and Precarious Work Culture. I have presented a paper on ‘Humour and Performance of Power in South Asia’ in an international conference organized by the Centre for Ethnic Studies in Colombo Sri Lanka in June 2019. I have also attended the Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung Summer School based on ‘Continuations and Transformations of Social Movements’ in Sariska, India.

**Abstract:** This paper seeks to re-examine our preconceived understanding of the idea of nationalism and how this unchallenged apriori ideas lead us to genocide with the approval of the masses. Genocide from Nazi regime to genocide in 1971 and now the Rohingya crisis, has connected with our ontological understanding of being that determines citizens as citizens. When something doesn’t meet the set of criteria which we already have employed in our uncritical understanding, we assume it as violence against our understanding of citizenship and identity. Heidegger suggests the job of a philosopher is to seek for an ontology which must be interpretative. By doing so one needs to understand ontology in a phenomenological way.

Genocide as an appearance looks natural like nude makeup but is, in reality, makeup and the naked face is the disease that this makeup attempts to hide. As per Nivedita Menon, ‘Nude makeup looks are all about

your skin looking fresh and dewy, without looking like you're even wearing any makeup. All you need is eyeliner, mascara, nude lipstick, and a highlighting blush that will give your skin a natural-looking glow'. Genocide, therefore, is not the natural phenomenon and hence the ugly truth under the mask of genocide needs to be uncovered.

When we look at genocide, we assume it as the natural face of modernity but through the lens of phenomenology, a new way of seeing is possible where genocide is merely the masked face. Therefore, we can understand the underlying factors which lead to genocide and at the same time through genocide these underlying factors mask themselves. We don't see the real skin but only the made up face. This paper is not interested in the traditional understanding of genocide (which is concerned only with the tip of the iceberg), rather it is a part of intellectual politics which is more interested about the naked truth and not nudely made up faces. While mainstream intellectuals with the phantoms of their mind try to deal with the problem, we have found it more important to question our understanding of the problem itself. This paper also seeks to understand the role of mass media in shaping the consent of people for genocide. Why do a large number of people think in a one dimensional way though their historical context is entirely different? Is it because they share the same culture industry which is essentially responsible for manufacturing the consent of people? However, this is clear that a large number of masses have already lost their cognitive ability and that is why genocide is no longer a crime against humanity to them. This reminds us of the famous novel *The Stranger* by Albert Camus where a protagonist kills randomly but doesn't have the sense of guilt afterwards. Genocide is not the danger of this despair time but the real danger is our inability to rethink about what we think. Therefore, in this paper, we have tried to theorize genocide through the phenomenological description as a method which is interpretative in nature and that doesn't deny the appearance as a whole but emphasizes more on the latent structure of the appearance.

## *Paper Twelve:*

### *Ms. Fatema-Tuj-Juhra: Bengal Famine of 1943: Death by Hunger or Genocide by Starvation?*



**Ms. Fatema-Tuj-Juhra:** Ms. Fatema-Tuj-Juhra is currently working as a Lecturer of International Relations, under the Faculty of Security and Strategic Studies at Bangladesh University of Professionals (BUP). Fatema has completed Bachelor of Social Science and Masters of Social Science from Department of International Relations, University of Dhaka. She has received Dean's Award from Faculty of Social Science due to academic excellence. Her research interests include foreign policy of Bangladesh, diplomacy and negotiation, environmental migration.

**Abstract:** Indian subcontinent under the rule of British Raj had experienced severe famines and the last hit stroke in 1943 when undivided Bengal suffered the most. After five years, colonial powers established a concern over human rights and war crime. Death tolls in Europe and the trauma of holocaust during the Second World War led to the creation of Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide in 1948. But the political and economic distress of the people of Indian subcontinent, especially in this famine due to the wartime colonial policies, have rarely been cognized from the perspective of 'intent to destroy' a national, ethnic or religious group in whole or in part. Explanations behind the Bengal famine of 1943 have been scrutinized within the representativeness of policies fabricated by the British government during the Second World War as well as elements of natural disaster which exerted as the reasons behind the death of more than one million people. Academics have pointed out the socio-political context as well as the policies of Winston Churchill behind the famine. In this regard, the question is very important to ask - was it only death by hunger or it was genocide by starvation? Academic application of concepts 'Genocide by Starvation', 'Famine-Genocide' or even 'Holocaust' have been discussed with cases like the Great Famine of Ireland (1845-49) and the Famine of Ukraine (1932-33). This paper is aimed to analyze the Bengal Famine of 1943 with the lens of conceptual understanding of genocide. It will be focused to answer the question-whether the Bengal famine of 1943 has components of Genocide or not. For this research, qualitative methodology will be implicated through wartime policy analysis in Indian subcontinent by the British government, policies on their response during this famine, literature review from books and journal articles and lastly, expert interview.

**Session Four**  
**The Rohingya Genocide**

## Chairperson



**Mr. Md. Shahidul Haque:** Mr. Shahidul Haque is a Senior Fellow at the North South University, Bangladesh and also an advisor on migration and humanitarian policy at IOM, Dhaka. He was the Foreign Secretary of Bangladesh from January 2013 to December 2019. He was also a director for migration policy and IOM relations at Geneva from 2009 to 2012. He has co-authored a book titled “Migration Myth in Policy and Practice” (Springer, 2020). He received IOM Director General’s Award in 2005. He has chaired in the Global Forum for Migration and Development at 2015 and 2016.

Mr. Haque has also been extensively engaged in negotiations associated with the Rohingya. He has led Bangladesh side of the Bangladesh-Myanmar Joint Working Group on the Repatriation of Displaced Myanmar Nationals from Bangladesh. He has also chaired Bangladesh National Task Force on Undocumented Myanmar Nationals from 2013 to 2019.

Currently he is an Independent Expert to the Committee on the Rights of All Migrant Workers and their Families. He pursued his graduate studies in International Relations and Diplomacy from Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University, USA (1988). He completed his Masters Degree in Social Welfare from Dhaka University, Bangladesh. He has written articles on trade, migration, climate change and human trafficking issues published in various journals. He was awarded Honorable Mention for Robert B. Steward Prize for high academic achievement at Fletcher. He was also awarded Dhaka University Chancellor’s Award, The Grant’s Commission Award and Chancellor’s Gold Medal from Dhaka University for his outstanding academic accomplishments.

## *Paper Thirteen:*

### *Dr. Minati Kalo: Mass Atrocities against the Rohingya People in Myanmar: An Analysis*



**Dr. Minati Kalo:** Dr. Minati Kalo was a Senior PhD Research scholar in the Centre for South Asian Studies, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India. She did her Ph.D and M.Phil from the Centre for South Asian Studies, School of International Studies, JNU, New Delhi. Her major area of PhD research is Judiciary, Bangladesh and legal system. She did her PhD Thesis on Judiciary in Bangladesh: Its Independence and Challenges, 1991-2014. She also did her M.Phil Research on “A Study of the Judicial System in Bangladesh from 1991-2012”. Apart from legal system, the real zone of research intrigue incorporates Political Science and

International Relations, Migration, Refugees, Civil Society, Governance, Social issues. The candidate has taken an interest and introduced numerous papers in both national and global classes and meetings and workshops (both in India and Abroad) and furthermore filled in as a specialist in the undertaking work in various establishments and furthermore functioned as a Junior Assessor with DCPCR. As of now, she is Teaching as a Visiting Faculty at AMITY University, Noida, UP.

**Abstract:** Bangladesh is one of the important countries facing the problems of refugees, migrations and displacements. At the Same time, Bangladesh is an over populated country of South Asia, sharing its borders with India and Myanmar. After the independence in 1971, Bangladesh has started experiencing the constant refugee flight of Muslim Rohingya (An ethnic Muslim Minority Group) from Myanmar because of the fear of religious as well as ethnic persecution. The Rohingya people have faced problems of systematic discrimination, atrocities, statelessness and targeted violence in Rakhine State, Myanmar. Such persecution has forced Rohingya women, girls, boys and men into Bangladesh for many years, with significant spikes following atrocities and violent attacks in 1978, 1991, 1992, and in 2016. Bangladesh has mostly welcomed them and provided them protection under the ad hoc decisions, although there is no statutory law for the refugees. Yet it was August 2017 that triggered by far the largest and fastest refugee influx into Bangladesh. Since then, an estimated 745,000 Rohingya including more than 400,000 children have fled into Cox’s Bazar. As of March 2019, over 909,000 stateless Rohingya refugees reside in Ukhiya and Teknaf Upazilas. For understanding the dynamics of the problem, the activities of the Rohingyas and internationalization of this issue are also singled out for particular consideration. Basically, it is a problem which manifests itself in

various forms on the societal, governmental and international levels. It is a humanitarian and moral issue, a security issue, a development issue and to a growing extent it is issue of an environmental and natural resources. So this paper aims to analyses the massive acts of violence and atrocities against the Rohingya population in Bangladesh and their Prosecution in Myanmar has resulted in grave humanitarian tragedy as well as a threat to the environment.



## *Paper Fourteen:*

### *Ms. Shahanaz Parven: Genocide of the Rohingya as a Means to Promote Wealth Inequality in Myanmar*



**Ms. Shahanaz Parven:** Shahanaz Parven is a PhD candidate of the Department of Political Processes and Analysis, in the Faculty of Social and Humanitarian Sciences of People’s Friendship University of Russia, Moscow. She is writing a dissertation on the subject of “Political Management of Migration from Bangladesh in Modern Conditions”, and she has already taken parts in conferences on the subject of migration, and also tertiary education, in Russia, and in Bangladesh with the Centre for Genocide Studies. Her scientific interests include the evaluation of demographic and social public policies, and their predicted impact on the population. Shahanaz

Parven has received a Bachelor and a Master’s degree in Public Administration from the University of Chittagong, and also holds a second Master’s degree in Political Science in the People’s Friendship University of Russia, Moscow. She speaks Bangla, English, and Russian.

**Abstract:** The problem of analysing genocides under a political economic theory is that, as it has been demonstrated in the study of the Nazi genocides, indiscriminate killing of the population does not make a country wealthier. We will thus propose a politico-economic interpretation of the on-going genocide of the Rohingyas in Myanmar, in which the usual discussion of gaining wealth from pillaging the property of dead is traded for the theory of economic development through violence, and of the promotion of inequality through genocide. The Rohingya genocide is sufficiently well studied under the theoretical framework of ethnical conflict, and its religious and political roots are often discussed by the literature on the subject. Accordingly to that theory, a genocide is a particular type of political action, through which organised violence against an ethnic group is done in pursuit of political goals, and as such largely overlaps with war of a typical nature. Another possible approach is to consider genocide as an integral part of the process of economic development of a country and, as a consequence, to apply theories in political economy for its study. The most obvious approach is to imagine the economic benefit that derives from genocide, in the form of theft of property which belongs to the exterminated population. This phenomenon has already been noted, for instance, in the case of the Rwandan, the Cambodian and the Armenian genocides. But rather than using the “pillaging” approach, we propose to read genocides as instruments that allow the promotion of inequalities among the non-exterminated members of society. This interpretation is consistent with empirical analyses

conducted in Rwanda, and with a certain reading of the liberal economic model. We propose as an empirical verification for the theory, the study of a correlation, if any can be found, between the Gini coefficient or other indicator of inequality in Myanmar and the number of killings of Rohingya in a given year.

## *Paper Fifteen:*

### *Ms. Mansura Amdad : The Manifestation of Cultural Politics through Strategic Culture: The Roots of Paradoxical and Complicit State Behaviour towards the Rohingyas*



**Ms. Mansura Amdad:** Mansura Amdad is a research data analyst at Bangladesh Peace Observatory, Centre for Genocide Studies, University of Dhaka. She obtained her B.S.S. (Hons.) and M.S.S. degrees in 2018 and 2019 respectively – both from the Department of International Relations, University of Dhaka. She was a recipient of India-Bangladesh Goodwill Scholarship in 2017 and had thereby attended the International Summer School, New Delhi, in its 2017 session. She had also worked as a research intern in Bangladesh Institute of Peace and Security Studies in 2018 and as an intern of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of the People’s Republic of Bangladesh, as well

as for United Religions Initiative – North India and Afghanistan in 2020. Moreover, she had served as an associate executive director (2016-2018) in Agami Education Foundation, a non-profit voluntary organization, and currently serves as a section editor of *Agami News*, a quarterly publication of Agami, Inc. (USA). Her area of interest lies in inter-disciplinary approaches to issues of strategy, security, political governance and geopolitics.

**Abstract:** This paper builds upon three key components derived from the Braudelian *longue durée* analysis, for an argument that countries perpetrate a cultural politics of conflict strategies towards their borderland-dwelling minority groups. While theoretically a state is inclined to protect its minority groups’ rights, the empirical study often shows a different reality – as states continually rescind such minorities their demands – resulting in a complicit, paradoxical state behaviour. The paper argues that this complicit paradox derives from longterm history, ensues due to cultural politics, and manifests continuously through conflictual strategic culture. The study proposes that paradoxical state behaviour vis-à-vis frontier minorities’ aspirations can be seen through the lens of a broader triad of historical prism covering the Rohingyas of Northern Rakhine vis-à-vis Myanmar. Drawing upon elements of critical, long-term historiography proposed by the Annales School, particularly by Fernand Braudel (with particular focus on the triad: slow-paced geographical time, which leads to faster-paced socio-economic and cultural time, and finally exhibits in event-based political history), Myanmar’s policy of segregation of the Rohingyas can be defined as a perpetration of conflict strategy in line with cultural politics of majority. The research puts into use the confluence of three components stemming from long-term history, highlights the importance of this congregation into cultural

politics in finding out the root causes and processes of state's unaffectionate, paradoxical attitude towards minority groups living at the borders – and widens the purview of strategic culture from a cultural understanding of “war” towards a cultural understanding of “conflict.” Therefore, the paper aims to contribute in shedding new light in understanding the nature of Myanmar's perpetration of strategic culture of conflict vis-à-vis the Rohingyas, through alleyways of past, present and future.

## **Session Five**

# **Politics of Genocide, Trial and International Responses**

## Chairperson



**Justice Syed Refaat Ahmed** : Justice Syed Refaat Ahmed is a Judge of the High court Division, Supreme Court of Bangladesh. He obtained LL.B. (Hons), University of Dhaka, B.A. and M.A., Wadham College, University of Oxford, UK, M.A. in Law and Diplomacy and Ph.D. from Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, USA. Enrolled as an Advocate of the District Court, the High Court Division and the Appellate Division of Bangladesh Supreme Court in 1984, 1986 and 2002 respectively. Elevated as Additional Judge of the High Court Division on 27.04.2003 and appointed Judge of the same Division on 27.04.2005. Has a number of publications to his credit. Has previously

worked as a Lawyer in the City of London and with the UNHCR in Hong Kong and Washington, D.C. Participated in International Workshops, Conventions, Study Tours and Courses held in UK, Germany, Malaysia, the Philippines, India, Italy and USA. Visited USA, UK, Ireland, the Netherlands, France, Monaco, Spain, Portugal, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, the Vatican, Turkey, Qatar, UAE, Pakistan, India, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Macau, Hong Kong and the Philippines.

## *Paper Sixteen:*

### *Barrister M. Amir-UI Islam: ICT BD in Global Perspective: Significance of Domestic Trial of International Crimes*



**Barrister M. Amir-UI Islam:** Barrister M. Amir-UI Islam, Barrister-at-Law (1961 from Lincolns Inn), formerly the President of Supreme Court Bar Association and Elected Head of the Bangladesh Bar Council, practiced in U.K. with Mr. Plattes Mills Chamber “Cloister” (Inner Temple) headed by the famous Constitutional Lawyer Mr. D.N. Pritt; since 1961-63, enrolled as an Advocate of Dhaka High Court (1963), became an Advocate of Pakistan Supreme Court in 1967 and is currently practicing as senior advocate of Bangladesh Supreme Court, sharing a corporate practice in AMIR & AMIR LAW ASSOCIATES which is known to be one of the oldest and largest law firms in

Bangladesh with a national and international presence. Barrister M. Amir-ul Islam is a renowned politician and freedom fighter; he was one of the key figures in supervising and mandating Bangladesh’s Liberation War efforts in 1971; and initiated numerous diplomatic missions which toured world capitals advocating the Bangladesh cause to win international support and recognition of Bangladesh as a sovereign and independent nation. He is the Author of “The Proclamation of Independence” of Bangladesh & Laws Continuance and Enforcement Order, both dated 10th April 1971 and one of the Framers of Bangladesh Constitution. Mr Islam acted as Special Envoy of The Prime Minister Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in 1972 and became a member of the cabinet headed by Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman (1973-74). Among many of his remarkable attributes, working as a defence lawyer for Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in various cases including Sedition Case perpetrated by the Government of Pakistan during 1960s, acting as the Legal Counsel and Consultant for the Parliament Secretariat, while Humayun Rashid Chowdhury was the speaker; working as Consultant on World Bank projects on Corporate Governance, Enforcement of Contract in Bangladesh; acting as Consultant on World Bank/Lex Mundi/ Harvard University Project on comparative litigation/Doing Business in Bangladesh, are some of the highlights; he also acted as one of the principal Amicus Curiaes in leading and famous constitutional cases in Bangladesh. He is the Chairman of Legal Education & Training Institute, LETI, Founder Honorary Secretary presently Chairman of Bangladesh Institute of Law and International Affairs (BILIA) and chaired the Legal Education Committee of LAWASIA. Barrister M. Amir-ul Islam is the Founding Charter Member & Patron of SAARCLAW. Recently, he chaired the “SCLS

Students “Tribunal on Genocide in Myanmar” organized by Department of Law, University of Chittagong, held in Chittagong District Bar Association on November 11, 2017.

**Abstract:** The paper while situating the significance of ICT Bangladesh in ensuring justice for crimes against humanity in global perspective and arguing on its criticality traces through the history of the origins of laws governing armed conflicts. Rules of war had existed in primitive societies; ancient textbooks, like the Mahabharata, the Bible, the Holy Quran also contained rules of war. The Nuremburg Charter of 1945 first codified crimes against humanity. It granted the Nuremburg Tribunal the power to try and punish people who committed crimes against humanity. It affirmed that international law imposed duties and liabilities upon individuals. In 1946, the UNGA adopted a resolution affirming the principles of international law recognized by the Nuremburg Charter and judgment. The paper dwells into the background of the Bangladesh International Crimes (Tribunal) Act 1973 and its content. Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had urged upon his return from Pakistan’s prison on the 10th of January 1972 that an international tribunal should be sent to Bangladesh to try war criminals. It is unfortunate that the world community did not take any such initiative. Initiatives were taken for trying 195 POW against whom there were specific evidence and proof. But they had to be returned due to the pressure of Pakistan’s western and Islamic allies and the assurance of Z.A. Bhutto to both Bangladesh and India that they would be tried in Pakistan. The Hamoodur Rahman Commission was constituted by the Pakistan government for this end. The commission put the responsibility on the top brass of Pakistan military. Pakistan did not keep its’ promise of trial.

The International Crimes (Tribunal) Act was passed in 1973 by Bangladesh. The act of genocide was perpetrated in Bangladesh by Pakistan’s occupying army with their cohorts, i.e., the Razakars, Al Badr, Al Shams and various local killing squads created by Pakistan army in 1971. Following the assassination of the Father of the nation, the political climate changed; a complete political environment of immunity prevailed. This culture of impunity is responsible for various acts of violence. The Awami League had the issue of the trial of war criminals in its’ election manifesto. The International Crimes (Tribunals) Rules of Procedure, 2010 was framed as provided under the 1973 Act. This Act assured the trial of the perpetrators in accordance with international and human rights standards.

It is a major lesson of history that unless perpetrators of crimes are brought to justice, crimes would continue, therefore it is not surprising that despite the adoption of the Convention sixty years ago nearly fifty genocides have taken place.



## Paper Seventeen:

### *Mr. Kuldeep Bhattacharjya: Conceptualising epistemology of genocides in South Asia: Revisiting the role of Political correctness and Social Amnesia in documenting South Asian Genocides*



**Mr. Kuldeep Bhattacharjya:** Mr. Kuldeep Bhattacharjya Graduate in Political science Honours from Delhi College of arts and Commerce, Delhi university. Masters in Politics: International and Area Studies from MMAJ Academy of International Studies , Jamia Milia Islamia, New Delhi. Currently Enrolled in Post graduate one year programme in International Law, Diplomacy and Laws of International Institutions from Indian Academy of International Law and Diplomacy (2019-20)

**Abstract:** Genocides may be defined as an organised massacre of a particular targeted community or ethnic group often backed by sectarian political motif and at times even passively backed by the established political power and the hegemonic state. South Asian states with its due colonial baggage and multi ethnic social setup has been a hotbed of identity driven politics to the extent that they even take violent sectarian turns. They have experienced persecutions of minorities based on their religious and ethnic identities and even social ostracization to political violence. However what becomes a point of concern is the validation of these violences as Genocides under the book of the law of a particular state and government. The language of documentation also becomes a very important role as it not only depicts the effective process of legitimate record keeping by the state and government but also the will of a political state to endorse a crime and allow due jurisprudence to take over it. The epistemology thus becomes an effective tool to not only provide justice to the victims but also create ground for future political resistance and social restraints on similar acts and by thereby also allow support and protection to the marginal and victimised community. However often it appears that the south Asian states in order to consolidate the contested states and bring stability to its sovereign acknowledges undue importance to political correctness and thereby often creating a process of Guided social amnesia on genocidal acts by the state or a majoritarian to minority community thereby seeding further space for future discord, disenfranchisement and potential identity conflicts. Thus, this paper tries to engage on the question of documentation of genocides and the socio cultural connotations of political correctness and social amnesia in providing retributive and distributive justice to victims of genocides in South Asia. The paper attempts to theoretically conceptualise the epistemology of genocides in South Asia with a focused study on India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka ;thereby also unravelling the structure of power and hierarchy existing in South Asian genocidal documentation and articulation.

## **Session Six**

# **Preventing Violent Extremism and Radicalization**

## *Chairperson*



**Mr. Rob Stoelman:** Mr. Rob Stoelman, Masters in Managing Rural Development from SOAS, University of London. After 18 years' of work experience in the private sector, he got introduced in 2002 in development work through a volunteer assignment in Bangladesh. He has been working for UNDP since 2004, first with UNDP's Chittagong Hill Tracts Facility, after in Rakhine State, Myanmar, at the moment as project manager in the prevention of violent extremism. Rob has management experience in post conflict areas and is familiar to work in highly political sensitive contexts

## *Paper Eighteen:*

### *Mr. Md. Abdullah-Al Helal: Rise of Young Gang Violence in Bangladesh and Way Forward*



**Mr. Md. Abdullah-Al Helal:** Mr. Md. Abdullah-Al-Helal is Assistant Professor at Northern University, Bangladesh. He has twelve research articles published in national and international standard academic journals. His latest articles entitled “Culture Shock and Adaptation Process of Rural Students at Universities in Dhaka: A Phenomenological Study” published in Asian Journal of Cultural Policy from National University of Korea. Besides he has two books published from Lambert Academic Publishing, Germany. His interested area of research is media, culture, gender studies and underprivileged people of Bangladesh. Apart from these, he is a regular contributor of Daily Sun, a leading national English daily in Bangladesh.

**Abstract:** Nowadays, rise of teen age gang is a cause of grave concern for their violent activities not only in Dhaka city but across the county too. This study explores that there are an estimated 50 to 60 teen-gangs active in Dhaka city. Around 8,000 to 10,000 youth and teenage people are believed to have been active members of the youth-gangs in the capital. Outside Dhaka, criminal activities by teenage and youth gangs are also noticed at divisional, district and upazila levels. Vast majority of the youth and teens fall between the ages of 14/15 to 20/22 years. It is revealed that these gangs regularly engage in unlawful activities like including killing, stalking of girls, raping, mugging and extortion. The gang members also frequently fight members of rival gangs. It is also identified in this study that about 300 youngsters have been implicated in about 100 murders over the past 16 years in Dhaka alone. Apart from these this study investigates the nature of young gang violence; area based juvenile gang, sensitive murder by young gang and factors behind this gang. At the end this study suggests the possible solutions to combat young gang violence in Bangladesh. This study is qualitative in nature which is carried out based on secondary sources as primary source in this purpose difficult to collect.

## *Paper Nineteen:*

### *Dr. Uma Roy Bhowmik: Role of Technology in preventing Genocide*



**Dr. Uma Roy Bhowmik:** Dr (Mrs) Uma Roy Bhowmik is an Associate Professor and HOD, Department of Education, Don Bosco College, Tura-794002, Meghalaya, INDIA.

**Abstract:** One of the most exciting areas where technology can play a role is in the actual prevention of genocide. Examples include the possibility of identifying and countering websites that incite hatred using mobile phone networks to document abuses and warn threatened communities and employing GPS technology to guide targeted people to safe areas. Fortunately, effective early warning means that civil society groups can play a strong role in preventing genocide without government support. One of the most powerful ingredients of genocide is hate speech. A number of factors that could help determine the likelihood of hate speech actually leading to violence. One of these factors focuses on the level of influence the speaker has and the level of audience susceptibility to dangerous speech. If a well respected speaker starts spouting hate messages to population that are not prone to questioning authority or are in dire circumstances i.e living in a state of extreme hunger, fear, economic depression etc, the likelihood that the speaker can incite large groups to harm other human beings increases. Another factor is the use of dehumanizing language as this is an intentional effort to make people of another community seem less human and more like creatures. By convincing audiences that they are in immediate danger, the speaker induces extreme fear that triggers the “fight or flight” mode. This is when the rational brain shuts down , mob mentality rules and the recipe for a large scale slaughter is in place. By building a comprehensive understanding of the factors which make genocide likely in a given country, monitoring the operational processes underway and identifying the key actors, we can devise preventive measures most likely to stop the genocidal process. If people know in advance that this speaker is going to say the other side is seeking to annihilate them , and that these accusations are false and are just an effort to scare them into raising fists and arms, then the audience is much less likely to buy the story from the speaker. Of course, genocide prevention is a complex and difficult task and we cannot do this independently , so we should always consult with experts , other NGO’s and threatened communities themselves before taking action.

## *Paper Twenty:*

### *Mr. F. M. Arafat & Ms. Farhana Razzak: The Changing Nature of Violent Extremism in Bangladesh: Trends, Challenges and State Responses*



**Mr. F. M. Arafat:** F M Arafat is a Research Data Analyst at Bangladesh Peace Observatory, Centre for Genocide Studies at the University of Dhaka in Bangladesh. He is also an Adjunct Faculty at Global Studies and Governance Program at Independent University, Bangladesh (IUB). He holds a bachelors and a masters in International Relations from the University of Dhaka. His research interests are in global politics, security studies, violent extremism, and international migration. He has recently presented a paper titled, “The Pathway to Regional Cooperation in the Bay of Bengal Region: BIMSTEC vs. BRI” at the regional conference on “Maritime Issues in the Bay of

Bengal Region’ at Bangladesh Institute of Law and International Affairs (BILIA) at Dhaka. He has also written several opinionated articles in popular media. He has worked on several projects commissioned by the United Kingdom Department for International Development, International Organization for Migration (IOM), and the International Labour Organization (ILO), Counter Terrorism and Transnational Crime Unit (CTTC), Refugee and Migratory Movements Research Unit (RMMRU), and Centre for Genocide Studies (CGS). His most recent publications include a co-authored book titled “Dynamics of Decentralisation: Migration Services Under Spotlight.”



**Ms. Farhana Razzak:** Farhana Razzak is a Senior Research Manager at the Bangladesh Peace Observatory (BPO) project housed at the Centre for Genocide Studies (CGS), University of Dhaka since 2017. She has been a Research Fellow at the Bangladesh Film Archive under the Ministry of Information. Before joining CGS, Ms. Razzak worked as a Researcher in an intercultural exchange project at Goethe-Institut. She pursued her Bachelors and Masters in International Relations from the Department of International Relations, University of Dhaka. Some of her notable publications are: A Gendered Perspective of 1947 Partition Influx in Bangladesh: An Analysis of Intergenerational

Struggle (2018) in South Asian Journal of Policy and Governance, Russia- China Strategic Relations in 21st Century (2016) in Foreign Affairs Insight and Review, and The non-Legitimization of Nuclear Weapon and Nuclear Weapons in South Asia: Regional Warfare and Political Strategy (2015) in Nuclear Weapon: Why Must Be Banned Right Now. Also, her notable research includes different aspects of Preventing Violent Extremism,

Political Violence, Genocide, Forced Migration, Violence against Women, Political Economy, Blue Economy, and Maritime Defense. She is the recipient of Dean's Award (2017), Tun Dr. Mahathir bin Mohamad Fellowship (2016), Abdus Samad Azad Gold Medal (2017), and Shaheed Shahnawaz Memorial Award in Fine Arts (2009) from the University of Dhaka. She can be reached at: farhana.nijhum@gmail.com

**Abstract:** The landscape of violent extremism in Bangladesh has evolved gradually and steadily in the last decade as the structure of militant groups, use of weapons, suspected targets, execution of the attacks, source of terrorism financing, the extent of external influence, process of recruitment and radicalization, surveillance of the state all have transformed significantly. The networked structure and hierarchical leadership of earlier Bangladeshi Violent Extremist Organizations (VEOs) in the 2000s have changed and leadership, as well as the networks have become more scattered due to increased surveillance of the law enforcement and external influence of transnational VEOs such as Islamic State (IS). The recruitment strategy of the latest VEOs such as Neo JMB has also diversified as well educated and upper-middle-class individuals are recruited falsifying the argument that only deprived and marginalized can be radicalized. The paper explores the changing nature of violent extremism in Bangladesh by focusing on few key indicators such as organizational structure, recruitment strategy, method of financing, linkage with regional and transnational VEOs. It endeavors why the nature of violent extremism in Bangladesh got through rapid changes in span of a few years and what role the external variables play in it. The paper applies two prominent competing hypotheses; first, networked structure and hierarchical leadership of VEOs by Bruce Hoffman and second, leaderless jihad by scattered groups or individuals by Marc Sageman to debate how the nature of the violent extremism in Bangladesh shifted. The paper uses archival data from Bangladesh Peace Observatory (BPO) database, Country Report on Terrorism, South Asian Terrorism Portal (SATP) and daily newspaper content analysis to probe the changing nature of violent extremism in Bangladesh. In addition, it uses Key Informant Interviews (KIIs), In-Depth Interviews (IDIs) of the academicians, analysts, practitioners to test the theoretical arguments. Moreover, the paper maps how the counter violent extremism strategy of the Bangladesh government is coping with the changing landscape of violent extremism in Bangladesh.

## *Paper Twenty One:*

### *Mr. Ashique Mahmud & Ms. Hazera Khanam: The significance of Counter-Narratives for Countering Violent Extremism globally and its applicability on Bangladesh*



**Mr. Ashique Mahmud:** Ashique Mahmud is currently working as a Research Data Analyst, Bangladesh Peace Observatory, Centre for Genocide Studies, University of Dhaka. He holds a bachelor and a master degree in International Relations from the University of Dhaka. He co-authored eight editions of bi-monthly peace reports published from Bangladesh Peace Observatory, CGS, University of Dhaka. Previously he worked at Saved the Children International as Humanitarian Trainee.



**Ms. Hazera Khanam:** Hazera Khanam is currently working as a Research Data Analyst, Bangladesh Peace Observatory, Centre for Genocide Studies, University of Dhaka. She holds a bachelors and a masters in International Relations from University of Dhaka. She co-authored five editions of bi-monthly peace reports published from Bangladesh peace Observatory, CGS. She worked as a research assistant of 'Bangladesh Foreign Polycypaedia', 'Election Violence in Bangladesh', 'Survey research on state of higher education in Bangladesh' projects under CGS. She worked as a Junior Programme Assistant in Second International Conference in Future of Higher Education under

Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Bangladesh. She attended 7th International conference of International Centre for Research and Development in Nepal Kathmandu and presented the paper on 'The Gradual Ramp up of Rohingya Crisis and Bangladesh's Challenges: An Overview from Bangladesh Perspective' co-authored with F.M. Arafat.

**Abstract:** The paper examines if the process of counter-narratives is significant for countering violent extremism globally or not. It also enquires whether it is important to develop a counter-narratives mechanism in Bangladesh to reduce the vulnerability and growing challenges posed by violent extremism. To get a better idea of the scenario of countering violent extremism, the cases of Indonesia and Saudi Arabia will be drawn upon to investigate about whether the applicability of the counter-narratives in Bangladesh will work or there are other alternative ways of countering violent extremism. Both countries are suffering from the strain of terrorism and violent-extremism, their way of struggling and resilience initiatives against violent extremism is remarkable to understand the global countering violent extremism perspective also. This

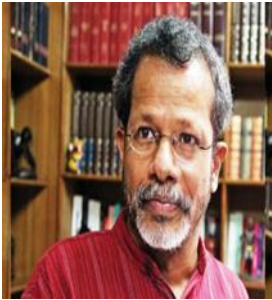


paper is divided into two parts. First part will discuss the understanding of the dialects of the narratives of the extremists that has remained unchallenged for a long time, the Global identity politics and its impact on current global system, the role of war on terror to increase the intensity of violent extremism around the globe, the conflicts between the multiculturalism and rise of violent extremism and, the role of the governments and International organizations to counter-violent extremism. The second part will examine if Bangladesh needs a counter narrative mechanism by drawing upon comparative analysis of case studies of Indonesia and Saudi Arabia. The paper follows mix methodology that includes both Qualitative and Quantitative analysis. For qualitative method –Key informants interviews, journals, books, newspaper articles and, articles of the think tanks will be used exclusively. In the quantitative method parts, the data of Bangladesh Peace Observatory and the statistics of Counter Terrorism and Transnational Crime Unit of Bangladesh police will be made use of providing bar, graphs, charts, tables and for comparative analysis to show the ongoing process of countering-violent extremism.

## Conference Organizing Committee

### Convener

**Professor Dr. Imtiaz Ahmed, Director, Centre for Genocide Studies, University of Dhaka, Dhaka.**



**Professor Dr. Imtiaz Ahmed:** Professor Dr. Imtiaz Ahmed was born in Barisal, Bangladesh, and is Professor of International Relations and Director, Centre for Genocide Studies at the University of Dhaka. Professor Ahmed was educated at the University of Dhaka, The Australian National University, Canberra, and Carlton University, Ottawa. He is also currently Visiting Professor at the Sagesse University, Beirut. Professor Ahmed is the recipient of various awards and honours. He has authored, co-authored, or edited 26 books and 8 monographs. More than 120 research papers and scholarly articles have been published in leading journals and chapters in edited volumes. His recent publications are the following edited books: *Genocide and Mass Violence: Politics of Singularity* (Dhaka: Centre for Genocide Studies, University of Dhaka, 2019); *The Rohingya Refugee Crisis: Towards Sustainable Solutions* (Dhaka: Centre for Genocide Studies, University of Dhaka; BRAC University: Centre for Peace and Justice; ActionAid, 2019); and *Women, Veiling and Politics* (Dhaka: University Press Limited, 2020).

## Members

**Mr. Ajoy Dasgupta, Adjunct Faculty, Department of Mass Communication and Journalism, University of Dhaka, Dhaka.**



**Mr. Ajoy Dasgupta:** Mr. Ajoy Dasgupta, freedom fighter, 1971—participated in the battle fields against occupied Pakistani Army> After liberation he returned to Dhaka University class room, at the same time worked as Editor of Joyoddhani...a popular student weekly> He was elected as General Secretary of Jagannath Hall Students Union and Chemistry Department Students Union of Dhaka University> took active part for students cause in the Dhaka University Senate Student as student representative during 1974-76. . He is acting as guide in the 'Pathway to Genocide, DU' programme for Dhaka University students organised by CGS> Author more than 20 books..,such as Ekattorer Ekattor, Seven Decades of Hartal and Politics of Bangladesh, Economics of Rumour> He is a working Journalist and Part time teacher at Dhaka University and Jagannath University MCJ Department.

## Dr. Amena Mohsin, Professor, Department of International Relations, University of Dhaka



**Dr. Amena Mohsin:** Dr. Amena Mohsin teaches in the Department of International Relations, University of Dhaka. She graduated from the same department and later received her MA and PhD degrees from the University of Hawaii, USA and Cambridge University, UK. Amena has received several national and international fellowships, which include the East-West Center Graduate Fellowship, CIDA International Fellowship, Commonwealth Staff Fellowship, SSRC Fellowship and Freedom Foundation Fellowship. She writes on rights, gender and minority, State, Democracy, Civil-Military relations, borders and human security issues. She is the author of “The Politics of Nationalism: The Case of Chittagong Hill Tracts, Bangladesh” (UPL, 1997), “The Chittagong Hill Tracts, Bangladesh: On The Difficult Road To Peace” (Lynn Rienner Publishers, 2002), “Ethnic Minorities of Bangladesh: Some Reflections the Saontals and Rakhaines” (Programme for Research on Poverty Alleviation, 2002), “Women and Militancy: South Asian Complexities”, edited (with Imtiaz Ahmed), (Dhaka, University Press Limited. 2011), Conflict and Partition, CHT, Bangladesh, (with Delwar Hossain) SAGE, 2015). Of the Nation Born, edited with Hameeda Hossain, Zubaan, Delhi, 2016

**Dr. Delwar Hossain, Professor, Department of International Relations, University of Dhaka, Dhaka.**



**Dr. Delwar Hossain:** Delwar Hossain, Ph.D. is Professor of International Relations, University of Dhaka, Bangladesh and concurrently the Director of the East Asia Center, University of Dhaka. Delwar was the Chair of the Department of International Relations, University of Dhaka during 2009-2012. Delwar earned his Bachelor and Master's degrees in International Relations from the University of Dhaka, Bangladesh. He did his second Master's degree in Asia Pacific International Relations from International University of Japan (IUJ), Japan as an Asian Development Bank Scholar in 2001. Delwar earned his Ph.D. in global and intercultural studies from Ferris University in Yokohama, Japan as a Monbukagakusho scholar in 2007. Delwar recently published book on *COVID-19*

*Global Pandemic and Aspects of Human Security in South Asia: Implications and Way Forward* (New Delhi, 2020) [co-author]; *Bangladesh-East Asia Relations: Changing Scenarios and Evolving Linkages* (The East Asia Study Center, University of Dhaka, 2019) [Editor]; *Globalization and New Regionalism in South Asia: Issues and Dynamics* (Dhaka, 2010) [author]; "The Dynamics of Bangladesh-India Relations: From a Paradigm Shift to a Challenging Era?", in Amit Ranjan (ed.), *India in South Asia: Challenges and Management*, Springer Nature, Singapore, 2019; "Unfolding Bangladesh-India maritime connectivity in the Bay of Bengal region: a Bangladesh perspective", *Journal of the India Ocean Region*, Taylor and Francis, 2019.

**Dr. Ayesha Banu, Professor, Department of Women & Gender Studies, University of Dhaka, Dhaka.**



**Dr. Ayesha Banu :** Dr. Ayesha Banu, Professor, Department of Women and Gender Studies, University of Dhaka. She was awarded PhD degree on Bangladesh Women's Movement from University of Dhaka in 2015. She received her first Masters in Sociology (1987), University of Dhaka, while her second Masters as a commonwealth scholar (1993-94), was obtained from the Institute of Development Studies (IDS), University of Sussex, UK.

Ayesha Banu started her career as a researcher at the Institute of Development Studies (BIDS) in 1989 and worked in Centre for Policy Dialogue (CPD) during 1998-2000. She has been teaching at the Department of Women and Gender Studies, University of Dhaka since 2001, and as a part time faculty in BRAC (2012-14) and Population Sciences, Dhaka University (2010-). She is involved in gender training as resource person for post graduate and undergraduate students, officials from public and private sector, policy makers, women's organisations and participants of certificate courses offered by various organisations and universities. She has institutional affiliation with Central Women's University, Hatkhola as member of Academic Council, Dhaka; Begum Rokeya University, Rangpur; Human Development Foundation (HDF), Dhaka.

Broad areas of interest: Women's movement, poverty and livelihood, women and religion, body and sexuality, gender and development

**Dr. Niloy Ranjan Biswas, Associate Professor, Department of International Relations, University of Dhaka, Dhaka**



**Dr. Niloy Ranjan Biswas :** Dr. Niloy Ranjan Biswas is an Associate Professor of the Department of International Relations at the University of Dhaka. In 2016, he completed his Ph.D. in International Politics from City, University of London. He was a recipient of the Fulbright Fellowship (2010-12) to pursue a Master's degree in Security Policy Studies at The George Washington University, Washington DC. In September 2017, he successfully completed the United States Institute of Peace (USIP)-Resolve Fellowship to conduct an in-depth study on community policing and its challenges in preventing violent extremism. He has written extensively on law-enforcement agencies and preventing violent extremism, security governance, refugees, and regional contributions to United Nations peace support endeavours. His most recent articles are published in National Security (VIF), Asian Journal of Comparative Politics, The Round Table: The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs, International Peacekeeping (Taylor & Francis), Journal of International Peacekeeping (Brill) and Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies Journal. Email: niloy@du.ac.bd.

**Mr. Mohammad Atique Rahman, Assistant Professor, Department of International Relations, University of Dhaka, Dhaka**



**Mr. Mohammad Atique Rahman:** Mr. Mohammad Atique Rahman is currently working as an Assistant Professor at the Department of International Relations, University of Dhaka. He obtained his second Master of Law degree on Intellectual Property, 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. He is currently pursuing his PhD degree in the Department of Conflict and Development, Faculty of Political and Social Sciences, University of Ghent, Belgium. He received prestigious CGS-Square Fellowship-2016 to conduct research on "Creation and re-creation of rumor and propaganda: making sense of organized genocide in 1971." He published articles in peer reviewed journal namely *Mirpur Papers* (Defense Service Command and Staff College, Bangladesh) *BISS Journal* (Bangladesh Institute of International Strategic Studies), *BILIA-Journal of International Affairs*, *Journal of Asiatic Society* (humanities), *Dhaka University-Social Science Review* on development diplomacy, human security, social protection, Bangladesh and ASEAN relations, and governance issues and book chapters in edited volumes which were published by University Press Limited-Dhaka, Bangladesh, Prothoma Prokashoni, Dhaka, Bangladesh, Centre for Genocide Studies, University of Dhaka, Bangladesh and Centre for East Asian Studies, Dhaka, Bangladesh.





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