

INTERNATIONAL NETWORK OF GENOCIDE SCHOLARS

Genocide: Knowing the Past, Safeguarding the Future



© N.B.

INoGS THIRD GLOBAL CONFERENCE ON GENOCIDE

San Francisco State University, San Francisco, California

28th June – 1st July 2012

Jürgen Zimmerer
President of INoGS
Professor of History
University of Hamburg/Germany

Volker Langbehn
Professor of German
San Francisco State University/USA

[INoGS](#)
[INoGS on Facebook](#)

Introduction



Dear colleagues,

INoGS Goes West! What better motto could there be for our conference here in San Francisco. After the founding of the International Network of Genocide Scholars in Berlin in 2005, we have held our international conferences in Sheffield in 2009 and in Brighton in 2010. Now INoGS has finally come to the USA. The location of our conferences on the global map is significant not only in a geographical sense. It also indicates that out of our European origins a global network has emerged. Our *Journal of Genocide Research* has become an indispensable tool for all scholars working in the field. The most prominent scholars in the field of Genocide Studies are amongst our members and many are at our meeting here in San Francisco.

Even in times of a rapidly growing virtual world, of which INoGS is also part (www.inogs.com; <https://www.facebook.com/INoGSONline>), face-to-face meetings are still at the heart of any network. That we can all meet here in San Francisco in the shadow of Golden Gate Bridge is a great opportunity. This is the Bridge's 75th anniversary and it seems to be a fitting symbol for INoGS in our attempt to build bridges between scholars of genocide and violence all over the world.

We are deeply grateful to San Francisco State University and its governors for hosting our convention here on their campus and for supporting it logistically and financially. Our heartfelt thanks go in particular to Professor Volker Langbehn of SFSU and his team, who prepared everything so that we can have as pleasant a gathering as the topic of our meeting allows. Professor Langbehn has not only acted as our local convener and a partner in the program committee but also as our chief fundraiser. We owe him and our sponsor's great appreciation that - for the first time in the history of INoGS - we could generously assist emerging scholars to attend this year's conference. It is central to INoGS' mission to connect people across the globe and across generations. In that respect, our 3rd Global Conference is already a success. The program of our largest conference to date promises insights into the nature of genocide and mass violence and offers discussions on methods of future prevention. The quality and variety of the papers presented is proof of the continuous interest in and strong support of INoGS in particular and of the field of Genocide Studies in general.

I wish us all a fruitful and exciting conference in San Francisco.

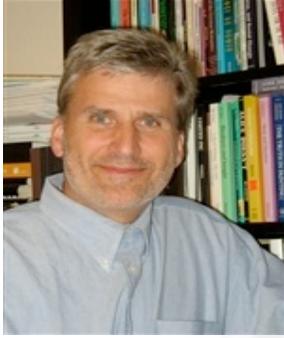
Jürgen Zimmerer

President, INoGS

Professor of History

University of Hamburg/Germany

Welcoming Remarks



Dear colleagues,

I am delighted that you are attending the 3rd Global Conference on Genocide: *Knowing the Past, Safeguarding the Future* at San Francisco State University. It is a privilege to host the conference by the International Network of Genocide Scholars (INoGS) and I sincerely hope that you will enjoy your stay at SFSU. Holocaust and genocide historiography continues to undergo major changes, and the conference is evidence of the rapid development over the past years. The increasing interdisciplinary character of this wide field of inquiry triggers a constant reevaluation and redefinition of the parameters within which we engage in the study of genocide. As reflected in the topics of the conference, to study genocide scholars and teachers have to consider the wider political, social, and cultural contexts embedded in the contours of various economic, philosophical, historical, and anthropological traditions. It is at conferences such the 3rd Global Conference on Genocide by the International Network of Genocide Scholars that practitioners have the chance to exchange with criminologist, historians, political scientists, political activists, lawyers, local school teachers and other members of the genocide research community. The interest in such an exchange across disciplinary boundaries is reflected in the over 170 submissions we have received for the conference. Moreover, the sponsorship we have received for the conference is another indicator that the work we do is well recognized and supported by a wider community that is appreciative of our engagements. To that end I would like to express my sincere appreciation to the [Goethe-Institute San Francisco](#), the [German Academic Exchange Service](#) (DAAD), the [General Consulate of the Federal Republic of Germany](#) (San Francisco), [the Jewish Community Federation and Endowment Fund](#), and the [College of Liberal and Creative Arts](#) at [San Francisco State University](#). Without their generous support, we would have not been able to sponsor and to make possible the participation of over thirty colleagues from all over the world attending the conference. San Francisco State University's student population uniquely reflects the international focus of the participants of the conference; SFSU is a place that is not contained within geographical, political, or cultural boundaries; its over 30.000 students truly demonstrate a globally focused community committed to diversity, equality, and rigorous research. Finally a big thank you to Nikki Bambauer, whose help in getting the program in its proper format has been invaluable. Similarly, a big thank you to Jim Raney, whose flexibility in getting the logistical issues done was very much appreciated.

I hope you will enjoy the conference. We really appreciate you being at SFSU,

Volker Langbehn

Professor of German

Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures

San Francisco State University

Getting to San Francisco State University Campus

Shuttle Bus From SFO Airport to SFSU University Housing

There is a **shuttle service** from the airport to the SFSU and back. We recommend Lorrie's Shuttle Service (\$12.00 per trip and person). They are located at SFO, upper level, center aisle. Follow the signs that say "Door to Door Shuttles." [For convenient SFO Airport Shuttle to the SFSU University Housing or SFSU Campus click here to book online.](#) You may also contact them at (415) 334-9000. Reservations are not required, and pre-paid tickets are valid for any day. Lorrie's Shuttle Service offers a special rate for registered conference attendees.

The conference will be held at the [Seven Hills Conference Center](#) located on the Southwest part of San Francisco State University near State Dr. and Font Blvd. Click here for directions using [MapQuest](#) ©.

Public Transportation

For a comprehensive look at the Bay Area's public transportation system, please visit www.511.org.

Driving Directions

- **From the North:** Take highway 101 south, cross the Golden Gate Bridge (toll \$5). Take 19th Ave/Hwy 1 exit. Follow this (several miles) to a right turn onto Holloway Avenue. Turn right onto Font Boulevard. Then turn right to Lake Merced Boulevard. At the first stop light make a right onto State Drive.

- **From the East:** 80 across the Bay Bridge to Hwy 101 South. Take 101 South (stay on the right) to I-280 and take the second Daly City/Mission Blvd. Exit, bearing right onto Sagamore St. and then to Brotherhood Way. Follow Brotherhood until it ends and then take a right to merge onto Lake Merced Boulevard. At the second stoplight make a right onto State Drive.

- **From the Northeast:** I-5 to 505 freeway to I-80. I-80 across the Bay Bridge to Hwy 101 South. Take 101 South (stay on the right) and take the second Daly City/Mission St. Exit, bearing right onto Sagamore St. and then to Brotherhood Way. Follow Brotherhood until it ends and then take a right to merge onto Lake Merced Boulevard.

- **From the South:** On I-280 North stay towards the left lane to exit at 19th Avenue/Hwy 1 and then bear to the right onto the ramp to Brotherhood Way. Follow Brotherhood until it ends and then take a right onto Lake Merced Blvd. At the second stop light; make a right onto State Drive.

- **From SFO Airport:** Highway 101 to 380 junction to I-280 North (follow signs to San Francisco). On I-280 North stay in the left lane to exit at 19th Ave./Hwy 1 and then bear to the right onto the ramp to Brotherhood Way. Follow Brotherhood until it ends and then take a right onto Lake Merced Boulevard. At the second stop light; make a right onto State Drive.

Parking Information

Public parking is available in the Parking Garage (Lot 20) at \$6.00 per calendar day. For brief loading and unloading, you may park up to 20 minutes in the parking area on the south side of **State Drive**. Seven Hills entrance is located by walking through the pathway between Mary Park Residence Hall and the Children's Center. We are on the left hand side directly across from Mary Ward Residence Hall. For more information, please visit the [SFSU Parking and Transportation web site](#).

Accommodation

For attendees who have paid for on-campus accommodation, double- or single-occupancy rooms will be located in either Mary Park Hall or the Science and Technology Theme Community. Breakfast is included in the accommodation rate.

For attendees who prefer hotel accommodation, the Hampton Inn San Francisco-Daly City offers free WiFi access, parking, coffee/tea bar, and hot extended continental breakfast buffet for \$149.00 per night plus tax (10%). You may call (650) 755-7500 or visit them at <http://www.dalycity.hamptoninn.com>.

Meals

Breakfast, lunch, and dinner will be served in the City Eats Dining Center, conveniently located across from *Mary Ward Hall*.

Registration

June 27: Guests staying overnight will register in *Mary Park Hall*.

June 28: Guests register for Conference and overnight stay at *Seven Hills Conference Center*, beginning at 4:00 PM.

Entertainment/Restaurants/Bars:

Excellent restaurants and bars are located in West Portal, approximately 2.3 miles from the Conference Center. Use www.google.com and search for west portal restaurants to get an overview. Reservations are recommended.

Sponsors:

The Organizing Committee would like to express their gratitude to the following supporters and their respective institutions and organizations for their generous support:

Dean Paul Sherwin from [College of Liberal & Creative Arts at SFSU](#)

Consul Peter Rothen of [The German Consulate General in San Francisco](#)

See your source of Information on Germany - www.germany.info

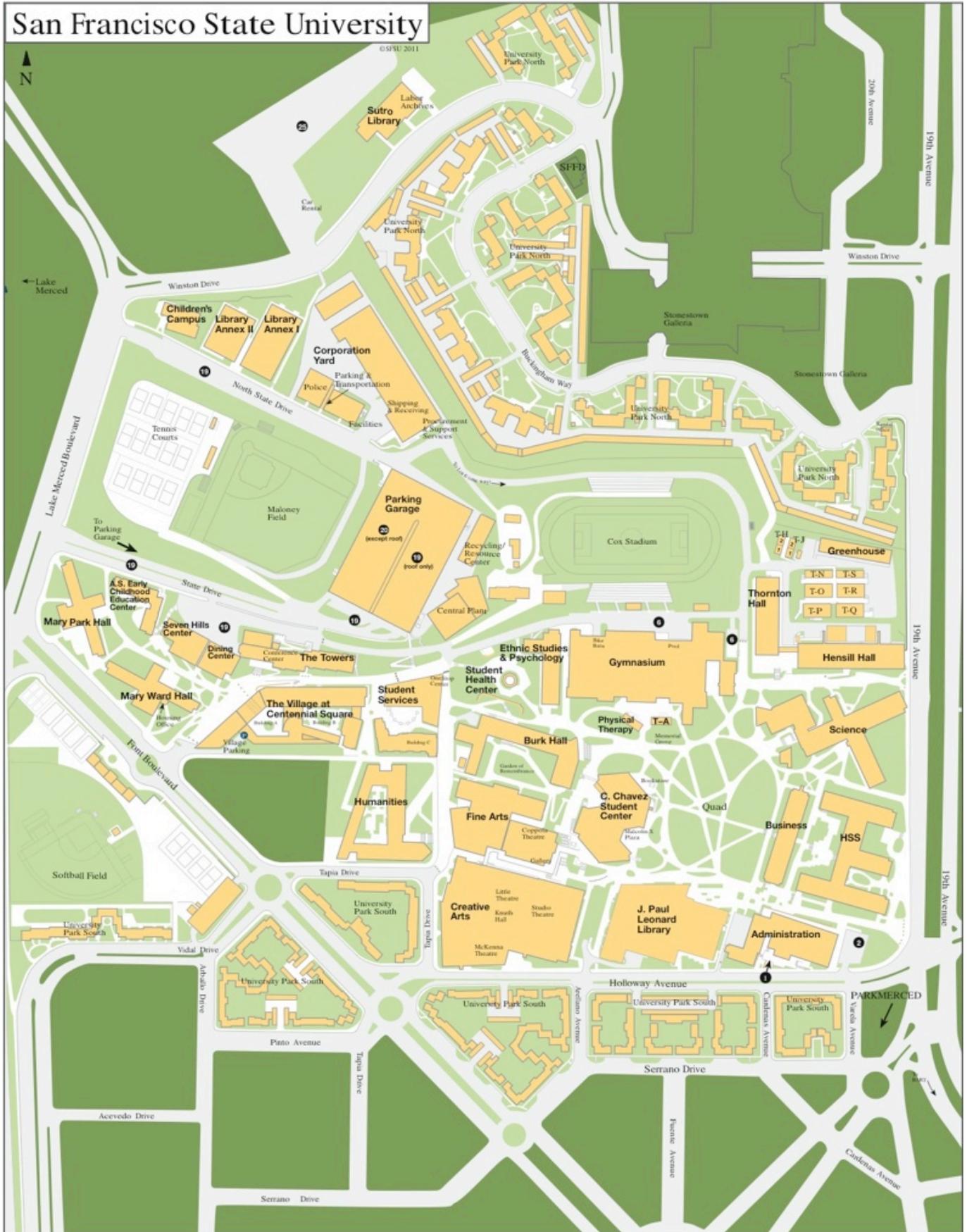
Our Choices Matter - www.transatlantic-climate-bridge.org

Sabine Erlenwein of [Goethe-Institut San Francisco](#)

- [Jewish Family and Children's Services](#)
- [German Academic Exchange Service \(DAAD\)](#)

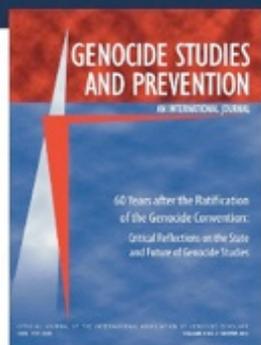


Map of San Francisco State University



GENOCIDE STUDIES AND PREVENTION

An International Journal



Genocide Studies and Prevention is an international, interdisciplinary, peer-reviewed journal that addresses cutting-edge issues in the field of genocide studies and related areas such as preventive diplomacy, conflict management, intervention, sanctions, and post-genocide issues. The journal publishes articles on the latest developments in policy, research, and theory from various disciplines, including history, political science, sociology, psychology, international law, criminal justice, women's studies, religion, philosophy, literature, and anthropology.

Genocide Studies and Prevention ONLINE www.utpjournals.com/gsp

Genocide Studies and Prevention Online is an incredible resource providing the latest in genocide studies research and commentary. Access the full archive of current and back issues at Project MUSE.

Recent special issues available at *GSP Online*

60 Years after the Ratification of the Genocide Convention: Critical Reflections on the State and Future of Genocide Studies (part 1 *GSP* 6.3, part 2 *GSP* 7.1)

Volume 7, issue 1 of *Genocide Studies and Prevention* continues the discussion of the state of the field of genocide studies that was initiated in volume 6, issue 3. Due to our (the editors') keen desire to include as many different voices and perspectives as possible, we reached out to old hands in the field, younger but well established scholars, and several scholars who recently completed their graduate studies but have already made an impact on the field. ... Through the entire sequence across these two issues of *GSP*, we hope that readers will gain a solid sense of the history of the field and insight into some of the perdurable issues that have been at the heart of the field since its inception and that they have opportunities to reflect on the host of issues and concerns raised by authors coming from different disciplines (e.g., history, political science, sociology, psychology, philosophy) with vastly different perspectives. ... (excerpts from *Editors' Introduction* by Henry Theriault and Samuel Totten, *GSP* Co-editors)

A Symposium on MARO: Mass Atrocity Response Operations (*GSP* 6:1)

GSP presents a symposium on *MARO* (*Mass Atrocities Response Operations: A Military Planning Handbook*). Developed through the collaboration of the Carr Center for Human Rights Policy at the Harvard Kennedy School and the US Army Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute, the *MARO Handbook* outlines the identification, preparation, and response processes involved in dealing with mass atrocities. This thought-provoking issue of *GSP* presents multiple international perspectives on the development, use, and implications of this controversial handbook.

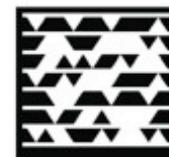
Other special issues also available at *GSP Online*

The Armenian Genocide (*GSP* 1:2)

The Prevention of Genocide: Ideas from International Politics and a Symposium on International Law (*GSP* 2:1)

The 1994 Rwandan Genocide (*GSP* 2:3)

The Aftermath of Genocide (*GSP* 3:3)



UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO PRESS
Journals

5201 Dufferin Street, Toronto, Ontario M3H 5T8 Canada
Tel: (416) 667-7810 Fax: (416) 667-7881
journals@utpress.utoronto.ca www.utpjournals.com
www.facebook.com/Genocide.Studies.and.Prevention

NAZI LABOUR CAMPS IN PARIS

Austerlitz, Léviton, Bassano, July 1943–August 1944

Jean-Marc Dreyfus and Sarah Gensburger

180 pages • 978-0-85745-139-2 Hardback

HOLOCAUST SURVIVORS

Resettlement, Memories, Identities

Dalia Ofer, Françoise S. Ouzan, and Judy Tydor Baumel-Schwartz [Eds.]

356 pages • 978-0-85745-247-4 Hardback

REASSESSING THE NUREMBERG MILITARY TRIBUNALS

Transitional Justice, Trial Narratives, and Historiography

Kim C. Priemel and Alexa Stiller [Eds.]

348 pages • 978-0-85745-530-7 Hardback

THE HOLOCAUST AND HISTORICAL METHODOLOGY

Dan Stone [Ed.]

356 pages • 978-0-85745-492-8 Hardback

HOLOCAUST AND JUSTICE

Representation and Historiography

of the Holocaust in Post-War Trials

David Bankier and Dan Michman [Eds.]

344 pages • 978-9-65308-353-0 Hardback

THE KINGS AND THE PAWNS

Collaboration in Byelorussia during World War II

Leonid Rein

458 pages • 978-1-84545-776-1 Hardback

THEATRES OF VIOLENCE

Massacre, Mass Killing and Atrocity throughout History

Philip G. Dwyer and Lyndall Ryan [Eds.]

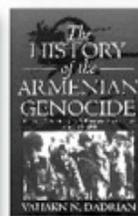
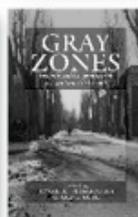
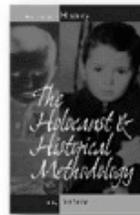
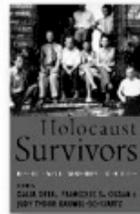
350 pages • 978-0-85745-299-3 Hardback

JUDGMENT AT ISTANBUL

The Armenian Genocide Trials

Vahakn N. Dadrian and Taner Akçam

376 pages • 978-0-85745-251-1 Hardback

**POLISH FILM AND THE HOLOCAUST**

Politics and Memory

Marek Haltof

288 pages • 978-0-85745-356-3 Hardback

CONCENTRATIONARY CINEMA

Aesthetics as Political Resistance in

Alain Resnais's *Night and Fog*

Griselda Pollock and Max Silverman [Eds.]

272 pages • 978-0-85745-351-8 Hardback

INVESTIGATING SREBRENICA

Institutions, Facts, Responsibilities

Isabelle Delpla, Xavier Bougarel, and Jean-Louis Fournel [Eds.]

224 pages • 978-0-85745-472-0 Hardback

TEXTS FOR TEACHING**THE 'FINAL SOLUTION' IN RIGA**

Exploitation and Annihilation, 1941-1944

Andrej Angrick and Peter Klein

530 pages • 978-0-85745-601-4 Paperback

EXPLOITATION, RESETTLEMENT, MASS MURDER

Political and Economic Planning for German

Occupation Policy in the Soviet Union, 1940-1941

Alex J. Kay

256 pages • 978-0-85745-165-1 Paperback

POLITICS OF INNOCENCE

Hutu Identity, Conflict and Camp Life

Simon Turner

194 pages • 978-0-85745-609-0 Paperback

GRAY ZONES

Ambiguity and Compromise in

the Holocaust and its Aftermath

Jonathan Petropoulos and John Roth [Eds.]

338 pages • 978-0-85745-291-7 Paperback

THE HISTORY OF THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

Ethnic Conflict from the Balkans

to Anatolia to the Caucasus

Vahakn N. Dadrian

206 pages • 978-1-84545-779-2 Paperback

www.berghahnbooks.com
Berghahn Journals

NEW IN 2012!

Conflict and Society

Advances in Research

Editors-in-chief: Alexander Horstmann, Mahidol University and Ronald S. Stade, Malmö University

Publishing peer-reviewed articles by international scholars, *Conflict and Society* expands the field of conflict studies by using ethnographic inquiry to establish new fields of research and interdisciplinary collaboration. An opening special section presents general articles devoted to a topic or region followed by a section featuring conceptual debates on key problems in the study of organized violence. Review articles and topical overviews offer navigational assistance across the vast and varied terrain of conflict research and comprehensive reviews of new books round out each volume. With special attention paid to ongoing debates on the politics and ethics of conflict studies research, including military-academic cooperation, *Conflict and Society* will be an essential forum for scholars, researchers, and policy makers in the fields of anthropology, sociology, political science, and development studies.

 ISSN: 2164-4543 (Print)
 ISSN: 2164-4551 (Online)

www.berghahnbooks.com

Julia von dem Knesebeck

THE ROMA STRUGGLE FOR COMPENSATION in Post-War Germany



The Roma Struggle for Compensation in Post-War Germany

Thirty years passed before it was accepted, in West Germany and elsewhere, that the Roma (Germany's Gypsies) had been Holocaust victims. Drawing on a substantial body of previously unseen sources, this book examines the history of the struggle of Roma for recognition as racially persecuted victims of National Socialism in post-war Germany. Since modern academics belatedly began to take an interest in them, the Roma have been described as 'forgotten victims'. This book looks at the period in West Germany between the end of the War and the beginning of the Roma civil rights movement in the early 1980s, during which the Roma were largely passed over when it came to compensation. The complex reasons for this are at the heart of this book.

The case of the Roma reveals how the West German administrative and legal apparatus defined and classified National Socialist injustice, and in particular where pejorative attitudes were allowed to continue unchallenged. The main obstacle for Roma seeking compensation was the question, unresolved for many years, of whether National Socialist policies against Roma had been racially motivated as opposed to

having been mere policing measures. The National Socialists' view that Roma were essentially 'asocial', 'workshy' and criminal was shared by many Germans after the war, including some of those responsible for compensation.

Paradoxically, success in claiming compensation was built largely on the Roma's claim to be an ethnic minority. The Roma had to prove that they were a 'race' which had been subjected to National Socialist persecution, in spite of their invariably depicting themselves as German in autobiographic material. The author presents, for the first time, a full account of the changing perception of the persecution of the Roma, and of the means by which compensation was eventually achieved.

Julia von dem Knesebeck read History at Cambridge University and gained her D.Phil at Oxford University. Whilst at Oxford, she received a scholarship from the Alfred Toepfer Foundation in Germany and was a research fellow at the Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies (part of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum).



Buy your copy online at www.herts.ac.uk/UHPress or return the completed order form below

Please supply:

The Roma Struggle for Compensation in Post-War Germany

by Julia von dem Knesebeck

ISBN 978-1-907396-11-3, UH Press, 288pp, paperback
£20.00 / \$39.95 **Available from June 2011**

(+p&p UK £2.75, Europe £5.00, rest of world £8.00)

Payment method:

- Cheque enclosed (payable to **University of Hertfordshire**)
- Credit card Type: _____
Number: _____
Expiry date: _____ Issue no: _____ 3-digit security code: _____
- Please invoice - institutional orders only
- Please tick this box if you are happy to receive further information from UH Press.

Name _____

Address _____

Postcode _____

Tel. _____

Email _____

Send to:

Gill Cook, Information Hertfordshire
University of Hertfordshire Press
College Lane, Hatfield
AL10 9AB, UK

Tel: 01707 284654

Fax: 01707 284666

Email: UHPress@herts.ac.uk

Web: <http://www.herts.ac.uk/UHPress>



Discover the **Journal of Genocide Research**

with a **FREE**
7 Day Online Trial!

Journal of Genocide Research

*The Official Journal of the International
Network of Genocide Scholars*

Journal of Genocide Research is a cross-disciplinary journal that promotes the scholarly study of genocide. Genocide is a contested legal, historical, sociological and political term that is applied in various spheres: in international law, in academic analyses of genocide, past and present, and in political claim making.

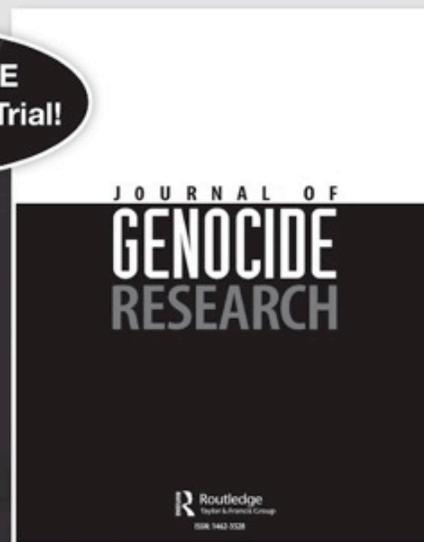
Journal of Genocide Research welcomes contributions that combine empirical research with conceptual reflection on these and related topics, like social psychology, military intervention, post-genocide conflict management as well as gender and memory issues. All submissions undergo rigorous peer review, based on initial editor screening and anonymized refereeing by two external scholars.

**Don't delay, sign up for your FREE trial today!
Here's how...**

Sign in or register at www.tandfonline.com (new users will need to complete a short registration process and validate their account)
Go to www.tandfonline.com/r/cjgr7

Enjoy your 7 days free access!

Available anytime you are signed in
to Taylor & Francis Online.



RECENT ARTICLES

**Fighting for our mutual benefit:
understanding and contextualizing the
intentions behind Nazi propaganda for
the Arabs during World War Two**
Thomas J. Kehoe

**The Holocaust, the legacy of 1789 and
the birth of international human rights
law: revisiting the foundation myth**
Marco Duranti

**The 'Jewish narrative' in the Yad
Vashem global Holocaust museum**
Amos Goldberg

**The Canadian Museum for Human
Rights: the 'uniqueness of the
Holocaust' and the question of genocide**
A. Dirk Moses

www.tandfonline.com

Book Exhibit

This year's Global Conference on Genocide will feature a special book exhibit organized and managed by the [LIBRARY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE](#). The exhibit will provide a comprehensive collection of the latest and most significant titles, and will contribute substantially to the excitement and intellectual value of our meeting. The book exhibit will be open throughout the conference. Please stop by early and often, say hello to book exhibit manager Rebecca Pappas—and browse to your heart's content. All books are on sale at special, discounted rates.



Program Overview

| | |
|--|-----------|
| Thursday 28TH June | 23 |
| 16:00: <i>Arrival/Registration at the Seven Hills Conference Center</i> | 23 |
| Opening Ceremony: 17:00-18:00 | 23 |
| <i>Seven Hills Conference Center: Nob Hill Room</i> | 23 |
| Opening Remarks | 23 |
| Jürgen Zimmerer, President of INOGS | 23 |
| Welcoming Remarks | 23 |
| Robert Corrigan, President of San Francisco State University | 23 |
| Paul Sherwin, Dean of the College of Creative Arts & Humanities | 23 |
| Bernhard Abels, German Consulate General in San Francisco | 23 |
| Jale Yoldas, Goethe-Institut in San Francisco | 23 |
| Volker Langbehn, Co-organizer of the Conference | 23 |
| 18:00-19:00: Keynote Lecture | 23 |
| <i>Seven Hills Conference Center: Nob Hill Room</i> | 23 |
| “Historical Injustices and Reparations” | 23 |
| John Torpey (City University of New York) | 23 |
| 19:00-19:45: Wine Reception (sponsored by Taylor & Francis) | 23 |
| <i>Seven Hills Conference Center: Coit Lounge</i> | 23 |
| 20:00: Dinner | 23 |
| <i>Towers Conference Center</i> | 23 |
| Friday 29th June | 24 |
| 0700-0900: Breakfast at the City Eats Dining Center | 24 |
| Session 1: 0900-11:00 | 24 |
| <i>Seven Hills Conference Center: Nob Hill Room</i> | 24 |
| 1. Destroying corpses: Mass Violence and bodies’ treatments | 24 |
| Moderator: Michael Salter (University of Central Lancashire) | 24 |
| Long time missing corpses: soviet mass violence and bodies’ disappearance | 24 |
| Elisabeth Anstett (CNRS-Inserm-EHESS-Université) | 24 |
| “Causing bodily harm to members of the group”: a rhetorical phrase or an effective tool for genocide prevention? | 24 |
| Caroline Fournet (University of Groningen) | 24 |
| Criminological perspectives on the destruction of the body in theatres of mass violence | 24 |
| Jon Shute (University of Manchester) | 24 |
| <i>Towers Conference Center: Sunset</i> | 25 |
| 2. Genocide Recognition | 25 |
| Moderator: Lidwien E. Kapteijns (Wellesley College) | 25 |
| The More Who Die, the Less We Care: Psychic numbing and genocide | 25 |
| Paul Slovic (University of Oregon) | 25 |
| Tapping into the “Smart Crowd” to Predict Genocide | 25 |
| Christopher Tuckwood (The Sentinel Project for Genocide Prevention, Toronto) | 25 |
| Collin Sullivan (The Sentinel Project for Genocide Prevention, Berkeley) | 25 |
| Genocidal Paths: The Patterns of Repression that Lead to Genocide | 25 |
| Jessica Brandwein (University of Notre Dame) | 25 |
| <i>Towers Conference Center: Richmond</i> | 25 |
| 3. Nazi Genocide I | 25 |
| Moderator: Kitty Millet (San Francisco State University) | 25 |
| “A Collective Exercise in Forgetting and Eye-closing”: The Missing Reception of the Holocaust in German and American Sociology | 25 |
| Michael Becker (University of Jena) | 25 |
| Shifting Stances: Why French Catholic Bishops defected from Vichy to defend Jews during the Holocaust | 26 |
| Aliza Luft (University of Wisconsin, Madison) | 26 |
| The Economics of Genocide: Capital Market Segmentation, Occupation Economics and the Financing of | |

| | |
|---|----|
| Genocide in Nazi Germany 1933-1945 | 27 |
| Mary Leacy (Wagner College) | 27 |
| A Romantic Genocide Convention: Raphael Lemkin's Life and Works for a Critical Genocide Studies | 27 |
| Douglas Irvin-Erickson (Rutgers University) | 27 |
| <i>Towers Conference Center: Presidio</i> | 28 |
| 4. Genocide and the Arts I | 28 |
| Moderator: Volker Langbehn (San Francisco State University) | 28 |
| A Holly Jolly Holocaust: Humor, Genocide, and the Moral Imagination | 28 |
| Adam Muller (University of Manitoba) | 28 |
| Out of the dark: challenges to genocide invisibility and contemporary art practice | 28 |
| Yvonne Kyriakides (University of Oxford) | 28 |
| Staging Eichmann | 29 |
| Jordan Mattox (Fuller Theological Seminary) | 29 |
| A Moment of Protest: Simplicissimus Responds to the Making of Genocide in German Southwest Africa | 29 |
| Jeremy Garsha (San Francisco State University) | 29 |
| <i>Mary Park Hall: Park Lounge</i> | 29 |
| 5. Post-Colonial Africa | 29 |
| Moderator: Jürgen Zimmerer (University of Hamburg) | 29 |
| Biafra to Darfur: Mass Violence in Post-independence Africa | 29 |
| Adedayo Adedoyin (Michael Okpara University of Agriculture) | 29 |
| Genocidal Anxieties among Afrikaner Communities in Democratizing South-Africa | 30 |
| Yehonatan Alsheh (University of Cape Town) | 30 |
| "A Vision from Hell" | 30 |
| Edward Haley (Claremont McKenna College) | 30 |
| Kirsti Zitar (Claremont McKenna College) | 30 |
| The Reverberations Apocalypse in Genocide and the Implication for Religion | 30 |
| Samson Ijaola (Olabisi Onabanjo University) | 30 |
| <i>11:00-11:30: Coffee in the Seven Hills Conference Center (Foyer)</i> | 31 |
| Session 2: 11:30-13:30 | 31 |
| <i>Seven Hills Conference Center: Nob Hill Room</i> | 31 |
| 6. Questioning the Conventional Lessons of Genocide | 31 |
| Moderator: Jürgen Zimmerer (University of Hamburg) | 31 |
| Different ways of representing massive state violence and their implications for working through historical trauma | 31 |
| Daniel Feierstein (Universidad Nacional de Tres de Febrero) | 31 |
| Critical Genocide Studies and the Comparative Approach | 31 |
| Ernesto Verdeja (University of Notre Dame) | 31 |
| Critical Genocide Studies: Justice and Time | 32 |
| Alex Hinton (Rutgers University) | 32 |
| <i>Towers Conference Center: Sunset</i> | 32 |
| 7. Three Approaches to Holocaust Education at the High School Level in the San Francisco Bay Area | 32 |
| Moderator: Jeremy Garsha (San Francisco State University) | 32 |
| The Jewish Family and Children's Services' Holocaust Center | 32 |
| Jessica Minturn | 32 |
| Anne-Marie Yellin (Holocaust survivor) | 32 |
| Facing History and Ourselves | 32 |
| Eileen O'Kane | 32 |
| The Helen and Joe Farkas Center for the Study of the Holocaust | 32 |
| Bruce Bramlett (Mercy High School, San Francisco) | 32 |
| <i>Towers Conference Center: Richmond</i> | 32 |
| 8. Reconceptualizing Genocide | 33 |
| Moderator: Gregory Kent (University of Roehampton) | 33 |
| Understanding Genocide: Eliminating Ethnic Bias | 33 |
| Anahit Gomtsian (University of Illinois, Chicago) | 33 |
| Discrimination law and genocide: prevention through conceptual consistency | 33 |
| Monika Ambrus (University of Rotterdam) | 33 |
| Forcible transfer of children from one group to another group as a punishable act of cultural genocide under the Genocide Convention | 33 |
| Miguel Salgueiro Meira (Lawyer, Portugal) | 33 |
| The difficulties and benefits of previously utilised justice process for genocide: The development of a model for the justice process of genocide | 34 |
| Natalie Skellon (Community Learning Disability Team, United Kingdom) | 34 |

| | |
|---|----|
| <i>Towers Conference Center: Presidio</i> | 34 |
| 9. Contemporary Asia | 34 |
| Moderator: Thomas Bryant (Alice Salomon Hochschule Berlin) | 34 |
| The Power of Terms: Naming Violence | 34 |
| Sandra Fahy (University of Southern California) | 34 |
| Summary of findings from ethnographic interviews inside Cambodia with survivors of the Cambodian Genocide | 35 |
| Daniel N. Huck (Berea College/Leiden University, USA/Netherlands) | 35 |
| State-Induced Famine in North Korea | 35 |
| Rhoda Howard-Hassmann (Wilfrid Laurier University)..... | 35 |
| Nuclear Genocide and the Question of Genocidal Intent | 35 |
| Akio Kimura (Meiji University) | 35 |
| <i>Mary Park Hall: Park Lounge</i> | 36 |
| 10. The International Politics of Genocide | 36 |
| Moderator: Edward Haley (Claremont McKenna College)..... | 36 |
| Becoming Bystanders: Contesting and Determining the Canadian and U.S. Responses to the 'Genocide' in East Pakistan, 1971..... | 36 |
| Richard Pilkington (University of Toronto)..... | 36 |
| Genocide, Cyprus, and the International Order | 36 |
| Jerome Bowers (Northern Illinois University)..... | 36 |
| There can be no finality when it comes to the implementation of human rights, humanitarian or human protection standards..... | 36 |
| Megan Schmidt (New York University) | 36 |
| The Mendacity, Atrocity, and its Corollary: Revisiting Simele, Iraq..... | 37 |
| Sargon Donabed (Roger Williams University) | 37 |
| 13:30-14:30: Lunch at the City Eats Dining Center | 37 |
| Session 3: 14:30-16:30 | 37 |
| <i>Seven Hills Conference Center: Nob Hill Room</i> | 37 |
| 11. Rwanda..... | 37 |
| Moderator: Nikki Bambauer (San Francisco State University) | 37 |
| Rwanda: The shadow of traumatic experiences..... | 37 |
| Andrea Grieder (University of Zurich) | 37 |
| Rescuers during the Rwandan Genocide..... | 38 |
| M. Therese Seibert (Keene State College)..... | 38 |
| The Influence of Identity Reconstructions on Reconciliation in Post-Genocide Rwanda | 38 |
| Birthe C. Reimers (Kennesaw State University)..... | 38 |
| <i>Towers Conference Center: Sunset</i> | 38 |
| 12. Transnational Approaches to Genocide I | 38 |
| Moderator: Volker Langbehn (San Francisco State University)..... | 38 |
| Characterization and Dehumanization of Perpetrators and Victims: A Framework to Untangle Genocide in the Congo | 38 |
| Christopher P. Davey (Utah Valley University) | 38 |
| Socialization process of threats: shift from conflict to mass killing | 39 |
| Tetsushi Ogata (George Mason University)..... | 39 |
| Has the time arrived for an additional protocol to the Genocide Convention relating to “cultural genocide”? | 39 |
| Miguel Salgueiro Meira (Lawyer, Portugal)..... | 39 |
| Cultural Genocide and Key International Instruments: Framing the Indigenous Experience | 39 |
| Shamiran Mako (University of Edinburgh) | 39 |
| <i>Towers Conference Center: Richmond</i> | 39 |
| 13. Armenia | 40 |
| Moderator: Kitty Millet (San Francisco State University) | 40 |
| Raphael Lemkin, Cultural Destruction, and the Armenian Genocide | 40 |
| Peter Balakian (Colgate University) | 40 |
| GENOCIDE AND DENIAL: A PHENOMENOLOGICAL APPROACH | 40 |
| Khatchik DerGhougassian (Universidad de San Andrés)..... | 40 |
| Martín Böhmer (Universidad de San Andrés) | 40 |
| Reimagining the Lost Armenian Landscape: The Role of the Photography and Memoir in the Politics of Memory and Genocide Denial. | 40 |
| Armen Marsoobian (Southern Connecticut State University)..... | 40 |
| <i>Towers Conference Center: Presidio</i> | 41 |
| 14. Genocide and Education I | 41 |
| Moderator: Dagmar Lieske (JFCS Holocaust Center)..... | 41 |

| | |
|---|----|
| Age-appropriateness, 'difficult knowledge' and first contact with genocide..... | 41 |
| Simone Schweber (University of Wisconsin, Madison)..... | 41 |
| Animating Genocide: The Children's Films of Yoram Gross | 41 |
| Lawrence Baron (Richard Stockton College of New Jersey) | 41 |
| Interactive Witnessing, Videogames and Genocide..... | 42 |
| Elke Heckner (University of Massachusetts, Amherst) | 42 |
| <i>Mary Park Hall: Park Lounge</i> | 42 |
| 15. The Law and Tribunals I..... | 42 |
| Moderator: Hilary Earl (Nipissing University)..... | 42 |
| The anti-Semitic Nazi leader Julius Streicher and the Holocaust proceedings at the International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg (1945/46) – Legal lesson of a centenary trial and lasting legacy of a millennial crime..... | 42 |
| Thomas Bryant (Alice Salomon Hochschule Berlin)..... | 42 |
| From the Ottoman Genocide of Christians to today's preemptive wars: Learning from the past to be more efficient killers | 43 |
| Thea Halo (Sano Themia Halo Pontian Heritage Foundation)..... | 43 |
| 16:30-17:00: Tea & Coffee in the Seven Hills Conference Center (Foyer) | 43 |
| INoGS Plenary Session: 17:00-19:00 | 43 |
| <i>Seven Hills Conference Center: Nob Hill Room</i> | 43 |
| 19:00-19:30: Open Bar | 43 |
| <i>Seven Hills Conference Center: Coit Lounge</i> | 43 |
| 19:30: Dinner at the City Eats Dining Center | 43 |
| Saturday 30th June | 44 |
| 0700-0900: Breakfast at the City Eats Dining Center | 44 |
| Session 1: 0900-11:00 | 44 |
| <i>Seven Hills Conference Center: Nob Hill Room</i> | 44 |
| 17. Corporate Liability for Genocide Under International Law..... | 44 |
| Moderator: Thomas Bryant (Alice Salomon Hochschule Berlin) | 44 |
| Michael Bazylar (Chapman University)..... | 44 |
| Sam Garkawe (Southern Cross University)..... | 44 |
| <i>Towers Conference Center: Sunset</i> | 44 |
| 18. Any 'Room' for Japan? Challenges and Dilemmas of Japan's Proactive Initiatives for Genocide Prevention .. | 44 |
| Moderator: Gerhard Wolf (University of Sussex) | 45 |
| Genocide Research in Japan: Taking a Step Forward for 'Sustainable' Genocide Prevention | 45 |
| Yuji Ishida (University of Tokyo)..... | 45 |
| Why Exploring for Genocide Preventing Tools? –From Field Research in Rwanda..... | 45 |
| Ai Yamashita (University of Tokyo) | 45 |
| The Limits of Trials in Dealing with the Past: Seeking Holistic Transnational Justice Approach towards Proactive Genocide Prevention | 45 |
| Kyoko Cross (Kobe University)..... | 45 |
| Evaluation of the Roles of NGOs in Preventing Genocide: A Theoretical Approach and its Evaluation | 46 |
| Masaki Sawa (University of Waseda)..... | 46 |
| 'Ideal' and 'Reality': Can Japan Proactively Join Genocide Prevention Initiatives in the International Arena? | 46 |
| Mayumi Watabe (Independent consultant on human security and post-conflict reconstruction strategy, Japan)..... | 46 |
| <i>Towers Conference Center: Richmond</i> | 46 |
| 19. Genocide and Education II | 46 |
| Moderator: Dagmar Lieske (JFCS Holocaust Center)..... | 46 |
| Teaching Genocide Prevention..... | 46 |
| Roberta Devlin-Scherer (Seton Hall University) | 46 |
| Nancy Sardone (Georgian Court University)..... | 46 |
| Education and Genocide Prevention: A Critical Analysis of Children's and Young Adult Literature of the Genocides in Bosnia and Kosovo..... | 47 |
| Jane Gangi (Mount Saint Mary College)..... | 47 |
| The Turn Toward Genocide Education and Prevention | 47 |
| Randall H. Kaufman (Miami Dade College) | 47 |
| Magdalena Lamarre (Miami Dade College)..... | 47 |

| | |
|---|----|
| <i>Towers Conference Center: Presidio</i> | 48 |
| 20. Genocide and Philosophy..... | 48 |
| Moderator: Kitty Millet (San Francisco State University)..... | 48 |
| What's Modern in "Modern" Genocides: Hegel, the Logic of Violence, and Genocide Studies | 48 |
| Joshua D. Goldstein (University of Calgary) | 48 |
| Maureen Hiebert (University of Calgary) | 48 |
| A linguistic precedent of Genocide: the «exécutions nationicides» described by François-Nöel Babeuf in Du Système de Dépopulation | 48 |
| Carmelo Leotta (Università Degli Studi Di Padova) | 48 |
| Perpetrator abhorrence: a moral sentiment? | 49 |
| Ditte Marie Munch-Hansen (University of Copenhagen) | 49 |
| <i>Mary Park Hall: Park Lounge</i> | 49 |
| 21. Transnational Approaches to Genocide II..... | 49 |
| Moderator: Sarah Curtis (San Francisco State University)..... | 49 |
| Crystallizations of the Western Global State in the era of Climate Crisis | 49 |
| Gregory Kent (University of Roehampton) | 49 |
| Building the Non-Genocidal Society: A Relational and Bottom-Up Perspective | 49 |
| Christopher Powell (University of Manitoba) | 49 |
| Territorial Cleansing: The Geopolitics of Genocide | 50 |
| Nicole Reiz (University of Kansas) | 50 |
| 'Group' Identities and Individual Rights: Genocide Studies and the Problem of 'Group' Rights in Questions of Prevention | 50 |
| Sarah Danielsson (City University of New York) | 50 |
| <i>11:00-11:30: Coffee in the Seven Hills Conference Center (Foyer)</i> | 50 |
| Session 2: 11:30-13:30 | 50 |
| <i>Seven Hills Conference Center: Nob Hill Room</i> | 50 |
| 22. Genocide and Education III..... | 50 |
| Moderator: Jane Gangi (Mount Saint Mary College) | 50 |
| Narratives of Injustice: Measuring the Impact of Witness Testimony in the Classroom | 50 |
| Susan Legere (Boston College)..... | 50 |
| "Why Does Wearing A Yellow Bib Make Us Different?": a case study of explaining genocide in a West of Scotland high school | 51 |
| Henry Maitles (University of the West of Scotland)..... | 51 |
| First week of school after the 1994 Rwandan genocide: the case of students in public secondary schools in Kigali | 52 |
| Musa Wakhungu Olaka (University of South Florida) | 52 |
| Imagination, performance and affect: a critical pedagogy of the Holocaust?..... | 52 |
| Steven Cooke (Deakin University)..... | 52 |
| Donna-Lee Frieze (Deakin University) | 52 |
| <i>Towers Conference Center: Sunset</i> | 52 |
| 23. Genocide and Indigenous people in North-America I..... | 52 |
| Moderator: Dane Johnson (San Francisco State University)..... | 52 |
| Networks of Destruction in Indigenous North America: Boarding/Residential Schools and Genocide in Canada and the US..... | 52 |
| Andrew Woolford (University of Manitoba) | 52 |
| Humanitarian Intervention: Changing the Conversation in American Politics..... | 53 |
| Dan McMillan (Independent Scholar, USA) | 53 |
| <i>Towers Conference Center: Richmond</i> | 53 |
| 24. Nazi Genocide II | 53 |
| Moderator: Deborah Anna Brown (San Francisco State University)..... | 53 |
| Goebbels's Close Enemies- Intimacy as an analytic tool for the understanding of genocidal rhetoric's in Goebbels Diaries | 53 |
| David Deutsch (Ben Gurion University) | 53 |
| Hitler's 'Indian Wars': The Colonial Origins, Context, and Content of Nazi Genocide (including the Holocaust)..... | 53 |
| Carroll P. Kakel (The Johns Hopkins University)..... | 53 |
| Conflicting historical memories of ethnic cleansing against German minorities | 54 |
| James Mayfield (Stanford University) | 54 |
| From (forced) emigration to deportation: Reconsidering the Nisko Plan and the initial phase of National Socialist Germanisation policy in annexed Poland..... | 54 |
| Gerhard Wolf (University of Sussex)..... | 54 |
| <i>Towers Conference Center: Presidio</i> | 55 |
| 25. Memory Across National Boundaries | 55 |

| | |
|---|----|
| Moderator: Kitty Millet (San Francisco State University)..... | 55 |
| Collective memory and war remembrance in Eastern and Northern Europe..... | 55 |
| Marianne Neerland Soleim (University in Trondheim NTNU)..... | 55 |
| The Politics of Memory and the Display of Human Remains: Murambi Genocide Memorial, Rwanda..... | 55 |
| Shannon Scully (Genocide Archive of Rwanda)..... | 55 |
| Lesson from Warsaw: Post-memory and Peace Education..... | 55 |
| Krystyna Bleszynska (Warsaw University of Life Sciences)..... | 55 |
| Survey of Genocide Memorials - Museums: 3 Atrocities; 3 Memorials; 3 Countries..... | 56 |
| Amy Fagin (20 th Century Illuminations)..... | 56 |
| <i>Mary Park Hall: Park Lounge</i> | 57 |
| 26. Mass Violence..... | 57 |
| Moderator: Gregory Kent (University of Roehampton)..... | 57 |
| “Erasing the Boundaries between Combatants and Non-Combatants: War and Targeted Mass Killing”..... | 57 |
| John Cox (University of North Carolina, Charlotte)..... | 57 |
| Neighbours becoming Perpetrators: Explaining Participation in Mass Rape and Sexual Violence in Genocide..... | 57 |
| Alexis Nesbitt (Trinity College)..... | 57 |
| “Double Killing”: Confronting Denial and Securing Memory..... | 58 |
| Clotilde Pégurier (University of Luzern)..... | 58 |
| Genocide Denial as an International Crime: Weaknesses and Advantages of this Concept..... | 58 |
| Enis Omerović (Institute for the Research of Crimes against Humanity and International Law of Sarajevo)..... | 58 |
| 13:30-14:30: Lunch at the City Eats Dining Center | 59 |
| Session 3: 14:30-16:30 | 59 |
| <i>Seven Hills Conference Center: Nob Hill Room</i> | 59 |
| 27. Remembering Genocide..... | 59 |
| Moderator: Dagmar Lieske (JFCS Holocaust Center)..... | 59 |
| Three Films, One Genocide: Memory, Memorialization and Reflection in Ravished Armenia(s)..... | 59 |
| Donna-Lee Frieze (Deakin University)..... | 59 |
| Remembering the group "in whole or in part": Reconciling individual grief with group commemoration ... | 59 |
| Pam MacLean (Deakin University)..... | 59 |
| Nigel Eltringham..... | 59 |
| The Intergenerational Transmission of the Memory of Genocide..... | 60 |
| Avril Alba (University of Sydney)..... | 60 |
| <i>Towers Conference Center: Sunset</i> | 60 |
| 28. The Silence of Violence in the Horn of Africa..... | 60 |
| Moderator: Deborah Anna Brown (San Francisco State University)..... | 60 |
| The Many Meanings of “Martyr” and the Afterlife of Violence: Eritreans in Diaspora and the Politics of Sacrifice..... | 60 |
| Victoria Bernal (University of California, Irvine)..... | 60 |
| Mass violence at the margins of the state: the return of garrison rule in the Ethiopian Ogaden..... | 61 |
| Tobias Hagmann (University of California, Berkeley)..... | 61 |
| Towards a history of large-scale violence against civilians in Somalia’s civil war..... | 61 |
| Lidwien E. Kapteijns (Wellesley College)..... | 61 |
| Discussant..... | 61 |
| Donald Donham (University of California, Davis)..... | 61 |
| <i>Towers Conference Center: Richmond</i> | 61 |
| 29. Approaches to Genocide Prevention..... | 61 |
| Moderator: Kitty Millet (San Francisco State University)..... | 61 |
| When Good Breaks out during Genocide: Case Studies of Heroic Acts in the Face of Evil..... | 61 |
| Paul R. Bartrop (Richard Stockton College of New Jersey)..... | 61 |
| Law and Genocide: A Promise Unfulfilled..... | 62 |
| Alex Alvarez (Northern Arizona University)..... | 62 |
| The Politics of Genocide Prevention in the 21st Century: How Are We Doing?..... | 62 |
| Herbert Hirsch (Virginia Commonwealth University)..... | 62 |
| Catholicism as a Fail-safe to Genocide? Some reflections on Religion, Violence, and the Prevention of Mass Murder..... | 62 |
| Lauren Faulkner (University of Notre Dame)..... | 62 |
| <i>Towers Conference Center: Presidio</i> | 62 |
| 30. The Law and Tribunals II..... | 62 |
| Moderator: Dane Johnson (San Francisco State University)..... | 62 |
| Between Genocide and Persecution: An International Criminal Law Response to Acts of Cultural Annihilation..... | 62 |

| | |
|---|----|
| Elisa Novic (European University Institute) | 62 |
| Guilt Admissions and Interview Techniques in International Courts and Tribunals | 63 |
| Melanie O'Brien (Griffith University) | 63 |
| A case study on evidence and intent for genocide: the Falun Gong in China | 63 |
| David Matas (University of Manitoba) | 63 |
| <i>Mary Park Hall: Park Lounge</i> | 63 |
| 31. Genocide and the Arts II | 63 |
| Moderator: Volker Langbehn (San Francisco State University) | 64 |
| Political Epistemology of Genocide: The Impact of Genocide pictures on Politics | 64 |
| Philipp Ruch (Collegium for the Advanced Study of Picture Act) | 64 |
| Genre and the Literature of Genocide | 64 |
| Katherine Wilson (University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee) | 64 |
| The Role of Genocide and Post-Genocide Literature in Creating Politically Engaged Imagined Communities | 64 |
| Kate O'Neill (University of Calgary) | 64 |
| 16:30-17:00: Tea & Coffee in the Seven Hills Conference Center (Foyer) | 65 |
| Session 4: 17:00-19:00 | 65 |
| <i>Seven Hills Conference Center: Nob Hill Room</i> | 65 |
| Roundtable Discussion | 65 |
| 19:30: Dinner at the City Eats Dining Center | 65 |
| Sunday 1st July | 65 |
| 0800-10:00: Breakfast at the City Eats Dining Center | 65 |
| Session 1: 0900-11:00 | 66 |
| <i>Seven Hills Conference Center: Nob Hill Room</i> | 66 |
| 33. Genocide and Indigenous people in North-America II | 66 |
| Moderator: Dagmar Lieske (JFCS Holocaust Center) | 66 |
| Silencing History and Failing to See the Future: Denying Genocide and Climate Change in the United States | 66 |
| Jeff Benvenuto (The State University of New Jersey) | 66 |
| Centre and Periphery: Context and Content of Settler Colonial Genocide | 66 |
| Tricia Logan (University of London) | 66 |
| Present Absences: Remembrance In Germany, Amnesia In California | 66 |
| Tony Platt (San Jose State University) | 66 |
| <i>Towers Conference Center: Sunset</i> | 67 |
| 34. Reconciling with Genocide: the Role of Law in Post-Genocide Societies | 67 |
| Moderator: Thomas Bryant (Alice Salomon Hochschule Berlin) | 67 |
| 'Bad Nazis and Other Germans': The fate of SS-Einsatzgruppen Commander Martin Sandberger in Postwar Germany" | 67 |
| Hilary Earl (Nipissing University) | 67 |
| Justice at Dachau? US Military Commission Courts and the Adjudication of Nazi Crimes | 67 |
| Tomaz Jardim (Ryerson University) | 67 |
| Reconciliation in Rwanda: the Push and Pull of Post-Genocide Law | 67 |
| Valerie Hébert (Lakehead University at Orillia) | 67 |
| <i>Towers Conference Center: Richmond</i> | 68 |
| 35. Circassian Genocide | 68 |
| Moderator: Elizabetta Nelsen (San Francisco State University) | 68 |
| Effacing a Crime, Denying a Nation: Russian Strategies for Concealing the Circassian Genocide | 68 |
| Walter Richmond (Occidental College) | 68 |
| Watching History in the Re-making: Sterilizing place and rewriting history through international events | 68 |
| John Hagher (Circassian Association of California) | 68 |
| Cicek Chek (Circassian Association of California) | 68 |
| <i>Towers Conference Center: Presidio</i> | 69 |
| 36. Genocide on Trial: Linking the Perpetrators to the Atrocity | 69 |
| Moderator: Elies van Sliedregt (VU University Amsterdam) | 69 |
| Insider Witnesses: Linking Perpetrators at What Cost? | 69 |
| Joris Van Wijk (VU University Amsterdam) | 69 |
| Genocide on Trial: Tales of Genocide: the Didactic Purpose of Trials Versus the Rights of Accused | 69 |
| Elinor Fry (VU University Amsterdam) | 69 |

| | |
|--|----|
| The Historical Character of Genocidal Intent..... | 69 |
| Marjolein Cupido (VU University Amsterdam) | 69 |
| <i>Mary Park Hall: Park Lounge</i> | 70 |
| 37. Settler Colonialism and Genocide: When Hunters-Gatherers and Commercial Stock Farmers Clash..... | 70 |
| Moderator: Jürgen Zimmerer (University of Hamburg)..... | 70 |
| Socio-Ecological Systems and Ecocide in Conflict Between Hunter-gatherers and Commercial Stock Farmers in Australia | 70 |
| Norbert Finzsch (University of Cologne)..... | 70 |
| The Destruction of Hunter-gatherer Societies by Commercial Stock Farmers in Southern Africa, Australia and North America compared | 70 |
| Mohamed Adhikari (University of Cape Town) | 70 |
| Physical and/or Cultural Genocide? Conflicts between Hunters-Gatherers and Pastoralists in Eastern and Southern Africa..... | 71 |
| Robert Hitchcock (Michigan State University) | 71 |
| 11:30-12:30: Lunch at the City Eats Dining Center | 71 |
| Special Power Point Presentation throughout the Conference..... | 72 |
| Amy Fagin (20 th Century Illuminations)..... | 72 |
| Participants | 73 |
| <i>Presenters / Chairs</i> | 73 |

THURSDAY 28TH JUNE

Thursday 28th June

16:00: Arrival/Registration at the Seven Hills Conference Center

Opening Ceremony: 17:00-18:00

Seven Hills Conference Center: *Nob Hill Room*

Opening Remarks

Jürgen Zimmerer, President of INOGS

Welcoming Remarks

Robert Corrigan, President of San Francisco State University

Paul Sherwin, Dean of the College of Creative Arts & Humanities

Bernhard Abels, German Consulate General in San Francisco

Jale Yoldas, Goethe-Institut in San Francisco

Volker Langbehn, Co-organizer of the Conference

18:00-19:00: Keynote Lecture

Seven Hills Conference Center: *Nob Hill Room*

Historical Injustices and Reparations

John Torpey (Department of Sociology at the Graduate Center, City University of New York)

19:00-19:45: Wine Reception (sponsored by Taylor & Francis)

Seven Hills Conference Center: *Coit Lounge*

20:00 Dinner

Towers Conference Center

Friday 29th June

0700-0900: Breakfast at the City Eats Dining Center

Session 1: 0900-11:00

Seven Hills Conference Center: *Nob Hill Room*

PANEL 1: DESTROYING CORPSES: MASS VIOLENCE AND BODIES' TREATMENTS

**Moderator: Michael Salter (University of Central Lancashire, United Kingdom)
email – msalter1@aol.com**

Long time missing corpses: soviet mass violence and bodies' disappearance

Élisabeth Anstett (Permanent Research Fellow at CNRS-Inserm-EHESS-Université, Paris, France)

During the socialist era, the Soviet Government set up a vast system of forced labor camps, overseen by a central administration: the Gulag. Between 1918 and 1989, more than 20 million of Soviet citizens from all ethnic, religious and social backgrounds were sentenced to forced labor and detained within this system. Even if the number of executions, as such, has been limited (800 000 for the Stalinist period, and a few thousands more before 1930 and after 1953), historians of the Gulag thus consider that two millions of detainees have died in custody. Their corpses have never been returned to their families, nor have these last been put in situation of being able to identify the true fate as much as the place of burial of their relatives.

In nowadays post soviet Russia, many of these human remains and mass graves are resurfacing, putting the society and the State in situation of having to deal for the first time with the missing corpses of Gulag's victims.

In this paper, I will argue that the administrative, legal and symbolic treatment of victims' dead bodies - through proper administrative instructions of early Soviet State, various burial practices (such as anonymous tombs, extensive use of mass grave, occasional use of mass-cremation), bureaucratic practices of denial of their location but also contemporary judicial practices aiming to avoid giving any legal status to Gulag's human remains often considered by local prosecutors as 'archeological artifacts with no commercial value' - fully reveals the destruction side of soviet forced labor camp project. It obliges us, therefore, to consider that the long-lasting effect of mass violent practices in contemporary Europe represents a real problem for prevention of their reappearance.

“Causing bodily harm to members of the group”: a rhetorical phrase or an effective tool for genocide prevention?

Caroline Fournet (Rosalind Franklin Fellow, Faculty of Law, University of Groningen, Netherlands)

The Genocide Convention has long been criticized for failing to ensure effective prevention of the crime. Yet, as this paper proposes to argue, a close look at the legal list of proscribed acts reveals that the admittedly evasive act of 'causing bodily harm to members of the group' could serve as an effective preventive tool.

Unlike other occurrences of death, genocidal death annihilates the human bodies of the victims, making them unrecognizable and depriving them of all individual and human identity so as to erase all traces of existence of the victim group. It is not a pathological outburst of barbaric and uncontrolled violence: it is the end result of a methodical orchestration, which inherently entails a gradual intensification of ill-treatments to the human corpses of the members of the group, culminating in the materialization of the genocidal outcome.

These ill-treatments have not been totally neglected by the legal text and, as this paper will show, considering them as genocidal acts of 'causing serious bodily harm' does not seem too extensive an interpretation. This would allow for the classification of a crime as genocide before the occurrence of the death of the victims, thereby prompting intervention and allowing for the prevention of the genocidal outcome.

History has shown that mistreatments to the human body is inherent to genocide – be it through insult, caricature, physical assault, or an outrageous yellow star – it is time for the law to consider these acts of mistreatment as genocidal and as evidence that genocide is taking place.

Criminological perspectives on the destruction of the body in theatres of mass violence

Jon Shute (Lecturer in Criminology, University of Manchester, United Kingdom)

Criminological interest in the etiology of serious violence has long borrowed from a psychological distinction between instrumental (cognitive, utilitarian) and expressive (affective, non-utilitarian) motivations, and has characterized particular criminal acts as lying at a particular point on a continuum between two polar extremes.

While not beyond criticism, the distinction has proved useful, but has generally been limited to ‘peacetime’ criminal acts outside the context of mass violence. As part of a new ERC project in this very area, this paper attempts to extend insights from this literature beyond the murder act to the physical disposal and destruction of bodies after death.

Borrowing themes from penology and the sociology of punishment, the physical destruction of the body is discussed with regard to the interplay of symbolic and instrumental motives and poses the question: in the context of the general conflict, what do the specifics of the destruction ‘achieve’ for the involved parties?

Can the treatment be seen merely as an extension of murderous ‘righteous punishment’ motives, or do practices evidence strategies for dealing with shame and moral ambivalence? To what extent can ‘instrumental’/prudential sensibilities be applied to fundamentally emotive, carnal tasks, and to what extent do they predominate? A preliminary discussion of these questions and others will be offered using examples from several theatres of conflict; and a statement on the adequacy of current theory made.

Towers Conference Center: *Sunset*

PANEL 2: GENOCIDE RECOGNITION

Moderator: Lidwien E. Kapteijns (Wellesley College, USA) email - lkapteij@wellesley.edu

The More Who Die, the Less We Care: Psychic numbing and genocide

Paul Slovic (Decision Research & University of Oregon, USA)

Most people are caring and will exert great effort to rescue individual victims whose needy plight comes to their attention. These same good people, however, often become numbly indifferent to the plight of individuals who are “one of many” in a much greater problem. Why does this occur? The answer to this question will help us answer a related question that is the topic of this talk: Why, over the past century, have good people repeatedly ignored mass murder and genocide? I shall draw from psychological research to show how the statistics of mass murder or genocide, no matter how large the numbers, fail to convey the true meaning of such atrocities. The reported numbers of deaths represent dry statistics, “human beings with the tears dried off,” that fail to spark emotion or feeling and thus fail to motivate action. Recognizing that we cannot rely only upon our moral feelings to motivate proper action against genocide, we must look to moral argument and international law. The 1948 Genocide Convention was supposed to meet this need, but it has not been effective. It is time to examine this failure in light of the psychological deficiencies I shall describe and design legal and institutional mechanisms that will enforce proper response to genocide and other forms of mass murder.

Tapping into the “Smart Crowd” to Predict Genocide

Christopher Tuckwood (The Sentinel Project for Genocide Prevention, Toronto, Canada)

Collin Sullivan (The Sentinel Project for Genocide Prevention, Berkeley, USA)

Scholars and human rights experts have long understood that genocide is to some degree predictable due to its roots in certain preconditions and common genocidal processes. This predictability means that genocide is also preventable but any effective preventive action first requires an effective early warning system. Several models have been proposed for predicting genocide but tension remains between qualitative and quantitative methods of assessing genocide risk. These two approaches are actually complementary and one possible compromise is to develop a system of “crowdsourcing” risk assessments with the help of genocide scholars.

The concept of the “wisdom of the crowd” holds that large numbers of people essentially guessing can sometimes answer complex questions or forecast the future more accurately than specialists and subject matter experts. Various intelligence agencies and academic projects are already studying the power of crowdsourcing for a variety of purposes. With regard to predicting genocide, the proposed solution is to assess the risk of genocide in a given country with the help of a “smart crowd” of pre-selected genocide experts whose anonymized responses would be based on a standardized set of background information and weighted according to their areas of expertise before being aggregated into an overall risk score.

Implementing such a system will require significant research, software design work, and testing but has great potential as it would theoretically be more accurate than any single analyst. Presenting this concept and

generating discussion at the INOGS conference will be an important step in its development and implementation.

Genocidal Paths: The Patterns of Repression that Lead to Genocide

Jessica Brandwein (Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies, University of Notre Dame, USA)

Genocide is not the first strategy that governments implement when attempting to deal with a “problematic” group of citizens. Instead, genocides generally begin with lower levels of repression that escalate over a period of time. These patterns of escalating repression are not well known, and are rarely referred to within the genocide literature. Do governments follow a recognizable trajectory in repression, using such tactics as arbitrary detentions, torture and extrajudicial killings in a predictable pattern on the way to genocide? Do they steadily increase the frequency of human rights violations or do violations remain constant before spiking during a genocidal episode? This paper identifies common escalatory patterns of repressive tactics within the fifteen cases of genocide and/or politicide that began in or after the year 1980, as identified by the Political Instability Task Force. I use reports on human rights violations from Amnesty International and the United States State Department to code types and frequencies of reported human rights violations committed by the state in the five years prior to the onset of the genocide or politicide. The repressive paths of each state are then compared to identify common patterns in repressive escalation. This descriptive project is a first step in determining which states are at risk for genocide based on their history of repression and in discerning when international interventions will be most effective at interrupting this process of escalation.

Towers Conference Center: *Richmond*

PANEL 3: NAZI GENOCIDE I

Moderator: Kitty Millet (San Francisco State University, USA) email - kmillet1@sfsu.edu

“A Collective Exercise in Forgetting and Eye-closing”: The Missing Reception of the Holocaust in German and American Sociology

Michael Becker (Department of Sociology, University of Jena, Germany)

Academic sociology’s contributions to the research of the Holocaust are still marginal. This failure has to be explained by means of a historical and sociological analysis of academic sociology itself. Moreover, it also raises the question of which disciplines ‘own’ the Holocaust and can ‘define’ its legacy and why. Based on an empirical account of the reception of the Holocaust in German and American sociology, the study brings forth the epistemological reasons for its neglect by professional sociologists as well as those concerning the historical development of the field; both are understood as closely intertwined. It is argued that sociology’s silence on the Holocaust is a part of a more general failure to cope with National Socialism.

With regard to the historical development of the discipline, the representation of social groups (and their collective interests) in the field of academic sociology and aspects of science policy will be analyzed. The periods of development of academic sociology will be outlined in detail. Biographical, moral and political motivations were crucial for the very few sociologists researching the Holocaust.

With regard to the epistemological question, it is argued that the missing reception of the Holocaust can be ascribed, to a great extent, to the replacement of Social Theory and Social Philosophy by Social Engineering. The resulting positivist understanding of society obscured the reflection of the unprecedented events of the Holocaust.

Those findings question sociology’s ability to understand ‘modern’ society. Moreover, sociology is a particular self-definition of society. That self-definition is constantly being negotiated and renegotiated in academic sociology, with the prevailing concepts in turn influencing the development of society. Therefore the study is not only a contribution to the history of sociology, but one way to understand which meaning the Holocaust has for the collective identity of a particular society.

Shifting Stances: Why French Catholic Bishops defected from Vichy to defend Jews during the Holocaust

Aliza Luft (Department of Sociology, University of Wisconsin, Madison, USA)

How does context shape behaviors in genocide? In this paper, I argue that one reason why lessons from past genocides tend to be ineffective is because of the overwhelming focus in scholarship on categories of perpetrators, not contexts of behaviors. Even among scholarship that emphasizes heterogeneity, the idea is that

individuals participate in violence “at one point in time for one reason but continue at another point in time for another reason” (Finkel and Straus, forthcoming). In this paper, I argue that not only do motivations change over time in a genocide, but so do actions: a given actor can be a collaborator at one point, a resister at another, and a rescuer at yet another. By exploring the case of French bishops’ deviance from support for anti-Jewish policies, and their decisions to defect from the Church in order to save Jews in France during the Holocaust, this paper highlights what can be gained by research that focuses on decisions to protest or endorse genocide in contrast to work that emphasizes categories of perpetrators for analysis.

The Economics of Genocide: Capital Market Segmentation, Occupation Economics and the Financing of Genocide in Nazi Germany 1933-1945

Mary Leacy (Economics Department, Wagner College, USA)

Studies of genocide have emphasized the productive costliness of this behavior. It has been argued that the outcome of World War II could have been different if the Nazi regime did not consume so many productive resources in the pursuit of first discrimination and then genocide. The methodology and ontology of most genocide studies ignore the approach of economics. Indeed often they refer to the physiological/historical/sociological origins of genocide as the dominant forces behind the occurrence of genocide. Economics when it is included is often regarded as marginal to these other motivations particularly in the role of exchange rate markets, clearing procedures and international transfer of funds.

Connections between exchange rate markets, clearing procedures and international transfers of funds during the 1930’s and occupied Europe directly funded the Nazi regime and war effort. Occupied territories financed not only their own occupation but also the expansionary war effort. The origins of genocide have their roots in applied economics and its practitioners but also had parallel origins in the structure of the interwar currency and economic structure. There has been an avalanche of discussion and discovery of legitimate businesses, both in Nazi Germany and outside, such as IBM, Allianz, and Ford that profited from the Holocaust. All of these, worked within a particular international financial structure. It was this international financial structure, with its connections plus a bankrupt ideology that set the pattern. The exchange rate/ international reserve mechanism is the perfect tool for occupation and population control in genocidal regimes both historical and modern. At the core of my research agenda are six assumptions:

- The Nazi economy was an extension of Weimar economic policy minus labor sector divisions
- The process of economic discrimination preceding genocide produced short run economic profits for all classes of Germans as well as dulled their sense of injustice and decency
- Active not passive economic profits were made in the very act of genocide by individuals, corporations, banks and governmental structures
- There was a high level of international complicity in the world business community
- The economic structure that permitted and benefited from genocide existed prior to the rise of the Nazis with origins as far back as World War 1
- A large illegal or shadow economy preceded the rise of the Nazis. This sector was legalized and incorporated into the mainstream by the Nazi state on ascension to power

This paper will focus on clearing arrangements and transfers between the Reichbank, occupied nations and the BIS (Bank for International Settlements).

A Romantic Genocide Convention: Raphael Lemkin’s Life and Works for a Critical Genocide Studies

Douglas Irvin-Erickson (Center for the Study of Genocide, Conflict Resolution, and Human Rights, Rutgers University, USA)

When Raphael Lemkin coined genocide, he was not describing social phenomena; he was creating ideas. But where did these ideas come from? Indeed, Lemkin was indebted to the 20th-century anthropologist of Bronislaw Malinowski, the Romantics Johann Gottfried Herder and Giuseppe Mazzini, and the 16th-century Spanish jurist Francisco de Vitoria, who sought to ground a universal category of humanity deserving of rights into Catholic law. But why does this matter today?

Lemkin's famous opposition to the UN Declaration of Human Rights was substantive: he believed that individual rights were important, but liberal rights grounded in the state could never be a universal category nor emancipatory. It was not Romanticism's relativism to which Lemkin felt an elective affinity; it was Romanticism's anti-state and anti-liberal cosmopolitan insistence in upholding the virtue of cultural diversity.

Under Lemkin's hand, the first humanitarian law of the UN must be understood as a Romantic provision in Liberal law. But he intended to use the Genocide Convention to reintroduce universal categories of humanity that could protect people in the postwar world who were especially vulnerable to the nation-state's tendency to demand uniform identities — people such as religious, racial, or ethnic minorities and indigenous groups. Thus, Lemkin believed and explicitly wrote that the Genocide Convention could ground a new form of world citizenship that did not rely upon the liberal state to guarantee.

Engaging Lemkin's ideas forces us connect the subjective and objective aspects of the field of genocide studies, in keeping with the demands of a Critical Theory. It asks us to reconsider the history of our ideas, and how these ideas inform the practice of politics, the law, and even academics — animating everything from the Responsibility to Protect movement to new progressive movements that gravitate to the cosmopolitan vision of the Genocide Convention bequeathed to posterity by Lemkin himself.

| |
|--|
| Towers Conference Center: <i>Presidio</i> |
|--|

| |
|---|
| PANEL 4: GENOCIDE AND THE ARTS I |
|---|

Moderator: Volker Langbehn (San Francisco State University, USA) email - langbehn@sfsu.edu

A Holly Jolly Holocaust: Humor, Genocide, and the Moral Imagination

Adam Muller (Department of English, Film and Theatre, University of Manitoba, Canada)

This paper engages critically with a number of different representations that attempt to reframe the Holocaust comedically, and asks whether or not Hayden White was correct when he asserted that the horrific essence of the events comprising the Nazi genocide may not legitimately be given a comic emplotment.

There is a significant difference between laughing at Nazism and laughing at genocide. In drawing it out, I will make reference to works of wartime propaganda such as Charlie Chaplin's *The Great Dictator* (1940) and the Oscar-winning cartoon *Der Fuehrer's Face* (1943), as well as later works including the television series *Hogan's Heroes* (1965-71) and Mel Brooks' *The Producers* (1968). I will argue that these relatively early representations, which laugh at Nazism and for the most part go nowhere near the Holocaust, are ritual productions whose moral and political efficacy remains crucially linked to their generation of what the anthropologist Mary Douglas has termed "symbolic pollution."

Importantly distinct from these earlier comedies are more recent attempts to represent the Holocaust in ways capable of sustaining laughter. Amongst these attempts I will identify two (more and less morally pernicious) representational types, distinguishable from one another teleologically. A paradigmatic token of the latter is Roberto Benigni's 1997 film *Life is Beautiful*, a work whose failings have been generally acknowledged even as its wider ambitions remain morally legitimate. The two wholly pernicious representations I wish to discuss are the 2009 "Germany Issue" of *Heeb*, a periodical by and for young, hip, urban Jewish readers, and the website *Hipster Hitler*. Specifically, I will examine problems inherent in *Heeb*'s article "That Oven Feelin'," which contains images of Roseanne Barr dressed as Hitler taking a tray full of charred "Jew cookies" out of the oven, as well as the issue's image and recipe for "The Final Solution German Chocolate Cake." I will also be offering criticisms of *Hipster Hitler*'s ironic reimagining (and commercial exploitation) of Hitler as a metropolitan slacker whose t-shirts bear titles such as "Death Camp for Cutie," and who possesses a love/hate relationship to "juice" (a play on "Jews"). What do such attempts to make us laugh tell us about ourselves at this particular point in our moral and social history? What do they suggest about our understanding of, and resources for dealing creatively with, the horrors of genocide?

Out of the dark: challenges to genocide invisibility and contemporary art practice

Yvonne Kyriakides (University of Oxford, United Kingdom)

Prominent scholars such as Henry Huttenbach, Marcia Esparza and Daniel Feierstein have argued that denial and invisibility facilitates the practice of genocide in Latin America. Predicated on Hannah Arendt's proposition of genocide as a political crime supported by cultural and social processes, this paper investigates how such processes may be opposed by critical voices. It explores both how contemporary art practice may address denial or invisibility that exacerbate the failure to prevent and also how art may posit a critical stance, which, though independent of engaged politics, stands against North American- and Euro-centrism towards the southern hemisphere. My central claim is that certain contemporary art practices are able to offer political and social critiques and a subversive voice that speak out against the practice of genocide. Through Theodore Adorno's demands for ethical art practice in response to genocide worldwide, this paper undertakes analytical readings of several artworks produced by Francis Alÿs, a Belgian artist, based in Mexico. The paper will explore Alÿs's combination of poetics and politics and his use of metaphors located in geo-historical referents to genocide. The

paper argues that Alÿs's artworks reflect his interest in creating linkages between the historical genocidal violence of European colonialism in Africa and the genocidal violence in recent contemporary events in locations that include those in Latin America. With an intricate weaving of political and ethical concerns, while maintaining a non-engaged art practice, Alÿs opens new cultural channels that propose readings that bring visibility to genocide and propose a subversive cultural voice against its practice.

Staging Eichmann

Jordon Mattox (Fuller Theological Seminary, USA)

Zionists and their supporters have long exercised dominion over holocaust literature. Works like *The Holocaust Industry* and *Selling the Holocaust*, critical of Zionists and the state of Israel's role in historical production, have been dismissed by the prominent scholarly community as controversial and overly-political. Finkelstein and Cole point to the 1967 War as the seminal moment of the emergence of the Holocaust Discourse. Despite the significance of the 1967 War, this paper will argue that this Holocaust Discourse emerged in 1961, during the proceedings of the Adolph Eichmann Trial. In particular, this paper analyzes the language of the chief prosecutor Gideon Hausner's opening speech in the trial and the role the political establishment, especially Ben Gurion, played in the research and preparation of the speech. Hausner highlights themes that Finkelstein later argued are integral to the singularity discourse in holocaust literature, which is often used to justify Israel's aggressive foreign policy. These themes include the archetypal evil German, the holocaust's uniqueness and irrationality, and the perennial innocence of the Jewish people. In the end, by showing the relationship between the themes in the speech and the political oversight, this paper hopes to affirm Finkelstein's implied thesis that the holocaust discourse present in holocaust literature was originally politically constructed.

A Moment of Protest: Simplicissimus Responds to the Making of Genocide in German Southwest Africa

Jeremy Garsha (Department of History, San Francisco State University, USA)

My talk examines the 3 May 1904 "Special Issue" of the satirical German weekly magazine, *Simplicissimus* as a form of protest against the beginnings of genocide in German Southwest Africa. This specific publication was the only time *Simplicissimus* fully and explicitly addressed the issue of colonialism. Its particularity underscores the existence of a rare and overlooked German middle-class backlash against African colonialism and the ideology of imperialism as a reaction to a convergence of European crimes committed in sub-Saharan Africa.

By contextualizing the global events surrounding its publication, my article shows that the "Special Issue" of *Simplicissimus* directly responded to the making of genocide in Southwest Africa by referencing the atrocities committed in the Congo Free State (1884-1908) and the highly publicized and controversial war tactics employed by the British against the Boers during the South African War (1899-1902). In this way, the "Special Issue" creates an intertextuality with *Simplicissimus*' satirical European and American literary contemporaries, specifically Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* (1902). Using a visual analysis of illustrations found within the "Special Issue," my article unpacks these texts to show that like Conrad, the artists of *Simplicissimus* utilized the theme of colonialism as corruption, which threatened to turn good Germans into excessive "brutes." By combining visual analysis with historical contextualization, my article shows that *Simplicissimus*' "Special Issue" offers invaluable insight into the mindset of the German intelligentsia and urban middle-class, and details the larger issues of colonialism and genocide that audiences were both captured by and protesting against.

| |
|--|
| Towers Conference Center: <i>Presidio</i> |
| PANEL 5: POST-COLONIAL AFRICA |

Moderator: Jürgen Zimmerer (University of Hamburg, Germany)
email - juergen.zimmerer@uni-hamburg.de

Biafra to Darfur: Mass Violence in Post-independence Africa

Adedayo Adedoyin (Michael Okpara University of Agriculture, Nigeria)

Nigeria-Sudan socio-political systems since their independence in 1960 have witnessed series of catastrophic crises that distort their socio-political development in their post-colonial era. This was as a result of their colonial experience that played on their ethno-religious differences for maximum exploitations. Their ethno-religious exploitations in their post-colonial governance culminated into different elements of division, disunity, hatred and insecurity at large. Nigeria civil war of 1967-1970 and Sudan-Darfur civil war of 1970s-2011 brought

about the untold killings and suffering conditions of their citizens during a crisis situation, particularly the women, who are participating in dual capacities as victims and actors in fending for their families and society at large. In other words, this paper set-out to discuss issues on Biafra and Darfur genocide from the perspectives of international war crime and war guilty. Secondary method of data collection would be used. Suggestions for the genocides prevention and nation building/integration would be proffered.

Genocidal Anxieties among Afrikaner Communities in Democratizing South-Africa

Yehonatan Alsheh (Department of History, University of Cape Town, South Africa)

As of the 1990s, following the dismantling of white rule in South-Africa and the establishment of majority rule in its stead, several fundamentalist religious organizations advocating extreme Afrikaner nationalism, have been spreading a conspiracy theory. According to it, the night Nelson Mandela dies, the "black" populations of South Africa will slaughter all the "white" populations in their sleep. One of those organizations, named: "Dogter van Sion" (in Afrikaans: Daughter of Zion), disseminates an elaborated version of this conspiracy theory titled "Uhuru" or "the night of long knives" (but also: "Operation Vula"; "Operation White Clean-Up"; or the "Red October Campaign") in several web-sites, printed materials and videos. While those groups are fairly marginal, consisting of only a handful of activists, South Africans appear to be well familiar with this conspiracy theory, although as the paper will show this obviously and symptomatically varies among the different communities of South-Africa.

In this paper I wish to present the various elements composing this conspiracy theory, trace their highly diverse ideological origins, as well as characterize the sociological profile of the people adhering to it. Focusing on the genocidal anxieties that those groups aim to spread and inflame, I suggest interpreting this phenomenon as generated by the process of democratization that South Africa has been undergoing since the referendum of 1990. In view of the discourse framing the Apartheid regime itself as a form of genocide, the shadows of Zimbabwe as of the mid-1990s (the influence of white Rhodesians that resettled in South-Africa should not be overlooked in this regard), and the 1994 Rwandan genocide, one may safely argue that genocidal anxieties play a noteworthy role in the political imagery of contemporary south Africa. Yet as this paper will argue, critically following Michael Mann's paradigm, this has also been – or is - the case the case in several other democratizing societies. Given so, fleshing out the dynamics responsible for the emergence of such anxieties among certain populations in the context of democratization, appears to be necessary in order to further our understanding of both the actual process of democratization (as oppose to its ideologically-crafted images) and the phenomenon of genocide.

“A Vision from Hell”

Edward Haley (International Relations Program, Claremont McKenna College, USA)

Kirsti Zitar (International Relations Program, Claremont McKenna College, USA)

The paper, titled “A Vision from Hell”, is focused on the dire situation in Somalia and why governments and the international community have failed to heed the warning signs leading up to mass death from starvation.

My fellow researchers and I approach this topic primarily from the discipline of political science: it is often political agendas and policies that hamper a government’s response to early warning of impending crisis. In the second stage of our research we will examine mass killing in Congo and Burundi and whether, once again, warnings of genocide have been ignored.

The Reverberations Apocalypse in Genocide and the Implication for Religion

Samson Ijaola (Olabisi Onabanjo University, Nigeria)

Religion has since been considered as a massive weapon of destruction as Killing in the name of God or for a religious inclination is becoming a recurrent issue in human history. It is apparent that several cases of war, for instance the America- Afghanistan; holocaust; and other cases of genocide around the world have religious undertone.

Often, it is either religion is the real cause of genocide or the medium of justification for the cruelty of war, and solicitation for public support by self driven politicians and leaders. However, the apocalyptic inclination from religious doctrine has been observed as what makes most of these individuals who have lunched genocide very adamant on their course of actions.

The argument therefore is that the pliability of religion obvious in personal interpretations and religious exclusivism, inevitably, and definitely, allow the apocalyptic obsession that expresses itself in the genocidal

incidents recorded in human history. Hence religion is label as anti-social system promoting the evolutionary doctrine of the survival of the fittest.

This paper therefore, consider cases of genocide of Hitler's Nazism, Bush Jr. declaration of war against Afghanistan and Iraq on account of terrorism, and Osama Bin Laden' terroristic attack on America, highlighting their religious apocalyptic undercurrent and its implication for Religions.

11:00-11:30: Coffee in the Seven Hills Conference Center (Foyer)

Session 2: 11:30-13:30

Seven Hills Conference Center: *Nob Hill Room*

PANEL 6: QUESTIONING THE CONVENTIONAL LESSONS OF GENOCIDE

Moderator: Jürgen Zimmerer (University of Hamburg, Germany)
email - juergen.zimmerer@uni-hamburg.de

Different ways of representing massive state violence and their implications for working through historical trauma

Daniel Feierstein (Centro de Estudios sobre Genocidio & Universidad Nacional de Tres de Febrero, Argentina)

The author's work on genocide as a social practice has frequently focused on how genocide transforms and reorganizes the social fabric. In this paper he argues that different representations of massive state violence (presented variously as civil war, ethnic cleansing, crimes against humanity, state terrorism and genocide) have very different effects on a society's ability to develop collective structures of understanding of the consequences of terror.

Through a close analysis of events in Nazi-occupied Europe, the Former Yugoslavia and the Southern Cone of Latin America (Argentina, Chile and Uruguay) and their aftermath, the author questions overly "definitional" approaches to these problems. Instead, he examines the impact of different theoretical and legal approaches on processes of memory and representation and on working through trauma. In doing so, he also problematizes common sense notions of memory and representation.

Thus, the author distinguishes different ways of using the past in the present, different ways of defining the victims, and different causal explanations and meanings, as well as the types of cross-generational transmission of trauma in each case, especially those resulting from the concepts of war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide. He highlights the representational power of genocide in relation to other concepts, particularly when genocide is seen as the "partial destruction of the national group", a mode of representation applicable to almost all genocides of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

Critical Genocide Studies and the Comparative Approach

Ernesto Verdeja (Department of Political Science and Peace Studies, University of Notre Dame, USA)

Genocide studies has grown enormously over the past two decades, with significant advances in understanding the conditions, onset and patterns of mass violence, as well as the numerous "post-violence" challenges societies face. However, as the field has expanded and our knowledge deepened, new conceptual and theoretical issues have emerged. This paper follows Dirk Moses and Alex Hinton's provocative call for a "critical" genocide studies by examining some of the fundamental epistemological and ontological assumptions operating in comparative genocide studies, reflected in particular in recent political science and sociology research design. Part I sketches the dominant comparative method that focuses on nation-state cases of genocide (Midlarsky, Valentino, Mann, Harff). I argue that the focus on the nation-state reflects an older theoretical bias in political science and sociology favoring coherent and well-bounded institutional actors that only partially fits post WW2 genocides and mass atrocities, where genocidal violence varies significantly subnationally and regionally. Part II calls for situating comparative genocide research within broader contexts of political violence (civil war, state repression, and similar literatures) to understand how they are related temporally (in terms of sequencing) and spatially. This entails regional comparisons (for example, Great Lakes Africa, South East Asia, etc) of mass violence rather than global comparisons of only canonical genocides. Part III calls for decentering our comparative analytical domains beyond the standard country level and single victim group in order to gain insight in the dynamics of genocide, including how perpetrator policies develop and vary by target group. This draws on recent advances in microanalyses of identity formation and reification in civil war to theorize about subnational patterns of violence diffusion. Part IV shows how such an analytical reorientation may provide new ways of

incorporating historically ignored or marginalized cases, such as Burundi, DR Congo, Indonesia, and Bangladesh, Argentina. Part V concludes the paper.

Critical Genocide Studies: Justice and Time

Alex Hinton (Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Rutgers University, USA)

Focusing on the late artist and S-21 survivor Vann Nath, this paper explores the relationship of justice and time at the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia, or Khmer Rouge Tribunal. This paper approaches this issue from the perspective of critical genocide studies by parsing out different conceptions of time operative in the court, including the notion of “transitional justice time” that often underlies trials and truth commissions. By implying reductive conception of “healing” and “closure,” transitional justice time misdirects us away from a deeper understanding of the ways in which people like Vann Nath understand and cope with the violence of the past.

Towers Conference Center: *Sunset*

PANEL 7: THREE APPROACHES TO HOLOCAUST EDUCATION AT THE HIGH SCHOOL LEVEL IN THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA

Moderator: Jeremy Garsha (San Francisco State University, USA) email - jgarsha@gmail.com

Our three very different organizations collaborate on our common mission to provide dynamic, historically grounded, ethically relevant Holocaust and genocide education to the challenging and diverse population of Bay Area students. Our synergy, drawing from our unique approaches, will be featured in this panel, which will include Holocaust survivors and students who work with us.

The Jewish Family and Children’s Services’ Holocaust Center

Jessica Minturn (Jewish Family and Children’s Services, San Francisco, USA)

Anne-Marie Yellin (Holocaust survivor)

The Jewish Family and Children’s Services’ Holocaust Center is dedicated to the education, documentation, research, and remembrance of the Holocaust. The center offers courses, screenings, lectures, overseas study tours; coordinates a survivors speakers bureau; and conducts special research projects with teens, college students, and professional historians.

The Center works with public, private, parochial, and Jewish schools, as well as the general public, to honor Holocaust survivors; increase understanding of the instrumental events of Jewish history; and establish effective programming for the post-eyewitness era.

Recognizing the vital role that survivors play in educating our community about the Holocaust and other genocides and the consequences of intolerance, indifference, and inaction, JFCS has taken a lead in programming that allows people of all ages to learn vital lessons from survivors’ histories and personal experiences.

Facing History and Ourselves

Eileen O’Kane

Facing History and Ourselves, an international nonprofit organization, with its Bay Area chapter headquartered in Hayward, is devoted to providing workshops, seminars, and online learning to help teachers and their students learn about the dangers of indifference and the values of civility. In addition to helping schools confront the complexities of history in ways that promote critical and creative thinking about the challenges we face and the opportunities we have for positive change, Facing History is also devoted to improving school culture and cultivating safe spaces for learning. Our core historical case study, “Holocaust and Human Behavior,” is central to our work here in the Bay Area and worldwide.

The Helen and Joe Farkas Center for the Study of the Holocaust

Bruce Bramlett (Religious Studies Teacher, Mercy High School, San Francisco, USA)

The Helen and Joe Farkas Center for the Study of the Holocaust, located at Mercy High School, San Francisco, exists to honor Holocaust survivors and to bring them together with today’s students. By integrating the use of

survivor oral testimonies in educational settings, either in person or by means of primary and secondary resources, we educate both students and their instructors about social justice and moral courage.

Towers Conference Center: *Richmond*

PANEL 8: RECONCEPTUALIZING GENOCIDE

Moderator: Gregory Kent (University of Roehampton, United Kingdom)
email - g.kent@roehampton.ac.uk

Understanding Genocide: Eliminating Ethnic Bias

Anahit Gomtsian (Department of Political Science, University of Illinois, Chicago, USA)

In a 1941 broadcast, Winston Churchill, referring to the heinous Nazi extermination of the Jews, said, —we are in the presence of a crime without a name (Lemkin 1946). Two years later, Raphael Lemkin, former Adviser on Foreign Affairs to the U.S. War Department, coined the word —genocide, derived from a joining of the Greek word *genos* (race, clan) and the Latin suffix *cide* (killing). Lemkin could not have predicted the frequency with which his term would be applied in the years following: in Sudan, Rwanda, the Congo, Cambodia, and numerous others. As the occurrence of genocide grew more frequent, so too did the study of it. Today, many scholars write concerning genocide; some seek to define it, others to explain it. A common thread tying a majority of the research together is the grouping of Lemkin’s word, genocide, with ethnic, a word originating from the Greek *ethnos*, meaning —band of people living together.

The nature of genocide—that is, the often present conflict between two different ethnic groups—has lent itself to a branding which, as a quick perusal of the current literature proves, is quite prevalent. A search for scholarly work on genocide returns titles such as *Ethnic Genocide* (Lemarchand), *Ethnic Conflict and Genocide* (Lemarchand 1996), *The History of the Armenian Genocide: Ethnic Conflict* (Dadrian 2004) and *Genocide, Ethnic Cleansing and Nationalism* (Conversi 2006), among many others. A rudimentary history of any genocide appears to support such a connection—how often, for example, has the ethnic rift between Hutus and Tutsis been touted as the crux of the Rwandan genocide, or the supposed hatred of the Ottoman Turks of their Armenian minority?

Discrimination law and genocide: prevention through conceptual consistency

Monika Ambrus (Erasmus School of Law, University of Rotterdam, Netherlands)

The experiences of World War II led to the adoption of the Genocide Convention indicating a consensus on condemning genocide. Still, the (armed) conflicts occurring in different parts of the world thereafter involved mass killing of people with the intent to destroy a particular (racial, national, ethnic or religious) group giving rise to the creation of international and internationalized criminal courts with jurisdiction *rationae materiae* over alleged crimes of genocide committed by individuals. The adjudication by these judicial bodies over genocide has resulted in certain conceptual inconsistencies within the very same case as well as across the different cases, in particular with regard to the identification of (the members of) the protected groups.

Conceptually, there is an essential link between genocide and direct racial discrimination: the concept of genocide has a clear discriminatory component. Based on this relationship, it can be argued that the inclusion of the concept of discrimination and the theoretical considerations of discrimination law in the adjudication over charges of genocide would yield a more coherent and consistent interpretation. This conceptual clarity could contribute to a better understanding of the crime of genocide and to a broader acceptance of the legal reasoning and punishing the perpetrators among the public. This broader acceptance could, subsequently, also make people reject the idea of making any distinction on the grounds of racial or ethnic origin.

The purpose of this contribution is to analyze how the incorporation of theoretical considerations stemming from discrimination law in the assessment of genocide charges can contribute to preventing genocide through conceptually consistent and well-reasoned judgments.

Forcible transfer of children from one group to another group as a punishable act of cultural genocide under the Genocide Convention

Miguel Salgueiro Meira (Lawyer, Portugal)

During the travaux préparatoires of the Genocide Convention (GC) the punishment of cultural genocide acts was the subject of intense debate and strong opposition from some states. Since then, international doctrine and case law has mostly understood that cultural genocide was totally excluded from the GC, underlining that the preparatory works shows that states wanted and voted that complete exclusion.

We have a different opinion on this respect, based on an analysis of the context in which the GC was adopted and of its preparatory works. By the time the GC was adopted, the way that the concept of genocide – as it was created by Raphael Lemkin – was understood contemplated the cultural genocide form. On the other side, the courts that tried NAZI war criminals understood that forcible transfer of children from one group to another group could lead to the human group destruction not as an act physical and biological genocide but as a cultural genocide one. It was on this framework that the preparatory works took place.

Through a deep analysis of those preparatory works, we have to conclude that cultural genocide was not totally excluded from the GC. Beyond acts of physical and biological genocide, the GC also contemplates one act of cultural genocide – the forcible transfer of children from one group to another group, punishable per se, without any dependency relationship or connection with acts of physical or biological genocide.

The difficulties and benefits of previously utilised justice process for genocide: The development of a model for the justice process of genocide.

Natalie Skellon (Psychologist, Community Learning Disability Team, Trafford, United Kingdom)

According to the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (1945), genocide is a crime in International Law (Article I), that the act of genocide is punishable (Article III), that the persons committing genocide shall be punished, whether they are constitutionally responsible rulers, public officials or private individuals (Article IV) and that the contracting parties of the Convention provide effective penalties for persons committing genocide (Article V). It highlights the importance for the requirement of a robust process for the prosecution of the perpetrators of genocide. However, in practice there have been difficulties that have occurred in relation to the prosecution process for individuals who have committed acts of genocide. Such difficulties include; the conflict of merging different legal systems, the granting of impunity, the inconsistency of the decision making process at Tribunals, etc. This article considers the difficulties and benefits of previously utilised justice processes. It argues the necessity of implementing a two-fold approach utilizing international and Community based procedures, for an effective framework for the justice process of genocide. Utilizing a clinical psychological formulation, this article consists of the development of a model for the structure of the justice process of genocide, which provides a structured framework on which the prosecution process of future genocides can be based.

| |
|--|
| Towers Conference Center: <i>Presidio</i> |
|--|

| |
|-----------------------------------|
| PANEL 9: CONTEMPORARY ASIA |
|-----------------------------------|

Moderator: Thomas Bryant (Alice Salomon Hochschule Berlin, Germany)
email - post@thomas-bryant.de

The Power of Terms: Naming Violence

Sandra Fahy (Post-Doctoral Fellow, University of Southern California, Korean Studies Institute, USA)

North Korea (DPRK) is one of the last blind spots of research into mass violence. While we may not be able to speak of genocide in its original sense, we could certainly speak of politicide and mass killing. This paper explores the arguments for and against the application of the term genocide, and other terms, to North Korea. Using interviews with North Koreans in Seoul and Tokyo, it demonstrates how North Korean's, and others, identify the violence they experienced while living inside the country. Exploring how famine, public execution, torture and political imprisonment are framed by those in the NGO, government and North Korean defector community – along with how the North Korean state frames this discourse – this paper explores the many interpretations of violence and the factors that contribute to this. When we name violence what relations are being drawn between the individual and collective experience of suffering and the larger political apparatus of power? Who benefits when we identify violence as genocide, for instance? Are some terms evoked to make non-western trauma understandable to those countries called upon to act? This paper explores human rights discourse in transit: how violations were talked about inside North Korea, on a state level, how they are understood by North Koreans in the South and finally how South Korea presents North Korean human rights violations to itself and the wider world. The fact of the violations remains the same, but the meanings shift according to context, audience and political intent. This paper explores the changeable nature of North Korean human rights discourse according to context and how certain histories are borrowed or ignored, in efforts to describe and articulate concern for North Korean suffering. This paper examines what happens to human rights in each context and questions the implications of these discourses.

Summary of findings from ethnographic interviews inside Cambodia with survivors of Cambodian Genocide

Daniel N. Huck (Project Director, Digital Narrative of Genocide Survival, Berea College/Leiden University, USA/Netherlands)

I summarize the findings from more than 100 ethnographic interviews I have completed inside Cambodia over the past four years with survivors of the Cambodian Genocide. These survivors include both victims and perpetrators, but as a group they generally represent the “everyday” Cambodian who became swept up in the three years, eight months, and twenty days of Democratic Kampuchea. My research has focused on learning how such individuals experienced the genocide and what strategies they developed to outlast the destruction. I believe in probing the mechanisms of survival, we can begin to understand why such long-term and systematic genocidal episodes can persist, especially in a culturally and ethnically homogenous society.

My research includes both men and women, so the paper will address the issue of whether gender differences impacted genocide survival strategies during the Cambodian experience. The research subjects also include both those privileged by Khmer Rouge policies (so-called, “Old People” – the traditional peasants) and those targeted by those policies (“New People” – the middling, military, and urban groups), so the paper will consider socio-economic and socio-political constructs as genocide. The paper also will address the potential role of Buddhist cosmology on survival strategies, given that each of the interviewees was queried on this phenomenon. Other phenomena that have appeared significant during the fieldwork will be discussed to the extent they raise questions for additional research. In addition, I propose to bring my archive of HD video recordings of all interviews that are fully processed (Khmer with English subtitles – at least 60 and perhaps all 100+) for display to and access by individual participants throughout the conference.

State-Induced Famine in North Korea

Rhoda Howard-Hassmann (Department of Global Studies and Balsillie School of International Affairs, Wilfrid Laurier University, Canada)

State-induced famine refers to famines caused by the state. Such famines occurred in the 20th century in the Soviet Union (Ukraine, 1932-33) and China (the Great Leap Forward 1959-61), yet there does not seem to have been any interest in addressing this type of massive human rights violation as a specific crime under international law. This paper discusses North Korea as a case of state-induced famine, and considers how international law might address this practice. A famine from 1994 to 2000 killed three to five per cent of North Korea’s population, and famine reappeared in 2010-11, despite “reform” measures meant to address the shortage of food. In addition, a prison population of about 200,000 people lives and dies in slavery-like conditions, where it is systematically deprived of food; this might be considered deliberate starvation, rather than famine. There seems little recourse under international law to punish the perpetrators of this starvation and famine. State-induced famine does fit some of the criteria of genocide in the UNGC, and could also be considered a crime against humanity under the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court. This would seem, then, to be a case for referral of North Korea’s leader, Kim Jong-il, to the International Criminal Court. The larger question is whether state-induced famine should be considered a separate crime under international law, as suggested by David Marcus (Marcus 2003). State-induced famine does not fit easily into the categories either of genocide or “collective violence”, unless the slow attrition of starvation is interpreted as a type of violence.

Nuclear Genocide and the Question of Genocidal Intent

Akio Kimura (School of Arts and Letters, Meiji University, Japan)

In spite of the concurrent suggestion by some influential scholars—including Leo Kuper, Israel Charny, and Eric Markusen—that the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki should be regarded as genocide, it is still given no more than an ambiguous status in the genocide studies. One reason for that is the failure to identify the genocidal intent as defined by the 1948 UN genocide convention. This failure is related to another failure, the failure to identify the genocidal intent in the unmilitary use of nuclear power. Charny, in particular, in his article on the definition of genocide suggests that even “negligent failure to protect against known ecological and environmental hazards, such as accidents involving radiation and waste from nuclear installations” should be regarded as genocidal. However, we have so far failed to address the relationship between the politics concerning the unmilitary use of nuclear power and the genocidal intent. As the recent case of the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear disaster in Japan shows, the use of nuclear power always involves the risk of endangering the lives of people by some unexpected causes. This is not unlike the case of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in which many civilians and foreigners were indiscriminately killed as if they were not expected to be there. We should suspect that nuclear genocide tends to involve, so to speak, unintentional genocidal intent. Moreover, we

should suspect that nuclear genocide can be caused by an abuse of unintentionality, which is in itself a clear-cut genocidal intent.

Mary Park Hall: *Park Lounge*

PANEL 10: THE INTERNATIONAL POLITICS OF GENOCIDE

Moderator: Edward Haley (Claremont McKenna College, USA) email - ehaley2@verizon.ne

Becoming Bystanders: Contesting and Determining the Canadian and U.S. Responses to the 'Genocide' in East Pakistan, 1971.

Richard Pilkington (Department of History, University of Toronto, Canada)

On 25 March 1971, fearing the secession of East Pakistan, the military dictator, President Yahya Khan, unleashed his country's West-Pakistani-dominated armed forces in a brutal campaign of massacre and repression in the East. During nine months of operations, the army butchered many thousands of civilians and some ten million refugees fled to India, precipitating one of the largest refugee crises in history. Based primarily upon government-archival evidence, this paper will analyze the original formulation of the Canadian and U.S. responses to the genocide and the ongoing development of such policies throughout the crisis, comparing and contrasting attitudes in Washington and Ottawa.

In both Canada and the U.S., the initial determination of policy was a contested affair. The nexus of national interest, concern for human rights and the need for humanitarian relief provided fertile ground for intense debate both within and without government circles. Indeed Archer Blood, the U.S. Consul-General in Dhaka, inspired a short-lived rebellion in the Department of State. This paper will investigate the nature, development and resolution of these debates, analyzing the fractured landscapes behind the superficially monolithic policy responses of each government. Moreover, it will question and reappraise the impact of Nixon and Kissinger's China initiative upon determining the initial policy of the U.S. during the critical first month of the clampdown.

Finally, it will seek to contribute to the developing understanding of the formulation international response, in the face of genocide and other atrocity crime, and of the generation of sufficient political will to intervene.

Genocide, Cyprus, and the International Order

Jerome Bowers (Department of History, Northern Illinois University, USA)

The division of Cyprus, since 1963, is fraught with competing and contested narratives. The most contentious is the mutual accusations of genocide stemming from the events of 1963-64 and again in 1974. Did the actions of the Greek Cypriots and their Turkish Cypriot counterparts constitute genocide? Both communities have declared the actions of the other as such, including additional and ongoing charges of ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity. But both were clearly aggressors and in their ethnic, communal narratives casually ignore the events in which they were perpetrators and each community uses continuous denial to consolidate the gains made as a result of their actions. This consolidation has been at the core of their efforts to impede international and national reconciliation. Such a judgment, viable and consistent with the definition of genocide (as derived from Lemkin's ideas, the UN Convention on Genocide, and the then extant body of international law) now plays an important role in the present-day negotiations for reunification. This paper will examine not only the historical situation and the "validity" of the accusations, but also the lasting impact on both the regional and international pursuits of peace, reconciliation, a bi-communal commission on missing persons, and the long-term impacts on the island's youth.

Finally, consideration must be given to the question of whether or not Turkey, plagued by the historical legacy of genocide, should also be acknowledged as one of the few nations in the modern era to proactively intervene in the early stages of genocide, and the consequences of such action.

There can be no finality when it comes to the implementation of human rights, humanitarian or human protection standards

Megan Schmidt (Department of Humanities and Social Thought, New York University, USA)

The Responsibility to Protect (RtoP) has come to the forefront of debate in the media, academia and international politics since the United Nations Security Council adopted

Resolution 1973 authorizing the use of "all necessary measures" for the protection of civilians in Libya. Advocates have declared that Resolution 1973 illustrated the ability of the norm to be implemented, while

critics have stated that Libya is evidence that RtoP is in fact a neo-colonial initiative to intervene in the affairs of other states.

The debate on the adoption and enforcement of Resolution 1973 will impact the future development of RtoP; however, the case of Libya must not be used to define the norm. RtoP provides a wide framework for the prevention of and response to mass atrocities that extends beyond the use of force. By examining RtoP's origin as well as the concerns raised about the norm, and analyzing relevant case studies, this paper will assess the impact of RtoP on the prevention of mass atrocities, arguing that the emerging norm is a positive and necessary element in guiding governments and the international community to live up to the pledge of "Never again."

The Mendacity, Atrocity, and its Corollary: Revisiting Simele, Iraq

Sargon Donabed (Department of History and American Studies, Roger Williams University, USA)

The initial destruction of the Iraqi Assyrian village of Simele, sometimes referred to as the Simele 'Massacre' or 'Incident' and the looting and razing of numerous villages of the region in August of 1933, was one of the two events in the living memory of a young Raphael Lemkin which influenced his presentation to the League of Nations in 1933 in Madrid, arguing the issue as a crime according to international law. Due to the contentious nature of his argument within the existing international legal framework, Lemkin was forced to resign from his post in 1934 by the Polish foreign minister. Yet, despite the notoriety of this issue and its discussion by the British and League of Nations committees immediately following the incident, it has rarely met with inquiry by modern scholarship on Iraq nation-building.

This paper serves to shed light on a key questions concerning Iraq, colonialism, and early state building. First, was the event as a result of British fears of losing power—and control of resources in the region that permitted the massacres to occur and assured their exclusion from any serious international investigation and response? Was the Simele incident carried out under a war paradigm because Britain feared for her oil in Mosul? Furthermore, would this event pave the way for the Iraqi regime's future policies affecting Assyrians and other minorities by simply following the colonial model for power consolidation? Lastly, was the event a catalyst for enabling a new Iraq to solidify its homogeneity as a nation?

This study is an attempt to reinsert this event into the history of the Iraqi state as part and parcel of the nation-building process. The event remains a fundamental act of the newly created Iraqi polity in its successive treatment of minority communities. It will also attempt to discern its affected on the Assyrians in both their inter and intra-communal development. Much of the research is drawn from US and British archival research as well as previous unexplored Assyrian oral accounts and narratives of the event in their native Aramaic language, including eyewitness accounts and previously unrecorded survivor interviews.

13:30-14:30: Lunch at the City Eats Dining Center

Session 3: 14:30-16:30

Seven Hills Conference Center: *Nob Hill Room*

PANEL 11: RWANDA

Moderator: Nikki Bambauer (San Francisco State University, USA) email – bambauer@mail.sfsu.edu

Rwanda: The shadow of traumatic experiences

Andrea Grieder (Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris, France & Department of Social Anthropology, University of Zurich, Switzerland)

Drawing on my ethnographic research in Rwanda (2007-2009), my presentation explores ways of dealing with the genocide in Rwanda. I argue that ways of dealing with the genocide are determined by the emotional (fear, jealousy and hatred) and relational (cohabitation) context in Rwanda as well as cultural ways of being and expressing pain through language. I focus in particularly on poetry and discursive figures of narrating the past.

My argument combines a socio-cultural understanding of trauma and suffering (through a reading of anthropological and philosophical writings on Rwanda) and a psychological approach on dealing with traumatic experiences. Through the analysis of commemoration activities, I demonstrate the political dimension of these ways of speaking about the past as well as it's transformative power in survivor's life.

Rescuers during the Rwandan Genocide

M. Therese Seibert (Department of Sociology, Keene State College, USA)

Increasingly, rescuers are being recognized in Rwandan society by the government and such non-governmental organizations (NGOs) as Ibuka, Memos, Avega, and African Rights. Bestselling memoirs like *Left to Tell* and *An Ordinary Man* also recount heroic stories of rescue. Accounts of rescue also crop up in journalistic books (e.g., *We Wish To Inform You That Tomorrow We Will Be Killed with Our Families* and *Machete Season*), scholarly books (e.g., *Order of Genocide and Killing Neighbors*), and NGO reports (e.g. Penal Reform International's 2004 report). Scholarly articles on rescue are also beginning to emerge like the ones appearing in the edited book *Resisting Genocide*. Given so many accounts of rescue, why is there a need for additional research? In general, these accounts remain at a descriptive level with a solid theory of rescue eluding scholarship. Indeed, how to conceptualize and recognize rescue and rescuers during this genocide continues to be debated. Hence, this presentation critically reviews various definitions of rescuers during the Rwandan genocide, presents a preliminary theoretical framework of rescue during the genocide, and tests specific hypotheses with secondary data compiled by the Rwandan survivor organization Ibuka. Understanding rescuers is important for several reasons. Rescuers, who chose not to kill, promote reconciliation by compelling killers to take responsibility for their actions. They also have the potential to inspire hope, promote post-genocide healing, and stave off retaliatory violence that is grounded in a view of collective Hutu guilt.

The Influence of Identity Reconstructions on Reconciliation in Post-Genocide Rwanda

Birthe C. Reimers (Department of International Conflict Management, Kennesaw State University, USA)

Rwanda today is a country where thousands of perpetrators of the 1994 genocide live side by side with its survivors. According to the official governmental narrative, there is 'unity and reconciliation' among the people, and all Rwandans are identified by their nationality – not as Hutu, or Tutsi, or Twa ethnicities. By institutionalizing unity and reconciliation and outlawing the identification of people by ethnicity, the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) government has been actively involved in the identity reconstruction of its people. President Kagame claims that these measures sustain peace and promote reconciliation.

However, according to Galtung (2001), reconciliation is a process that heals the traumas of victims and perpetrators after violence, brings closure, and transforms their relation. Prerequisites for such reconciliation are justice and forgiveness. Since the latter cannot be imposed by a third party, reconciliation is a process that needs to take place between the victim and the perpetrator and cannot be institutionalized.

To what extent is the governmental identity 'make-over' conducive to reconciliation? To what degree is it structurally violent and bearing potential for further conflict? These questions are examined in the light of several identity reconstructions in the past 120 years and through the lenses of structural violence theory and social identity theory. Informed by these theories, this paper concludes with a discussion of the effects of the above-mentioned policies on reconciliation in Rwanda and suggestions for future research.

| |
|---|
| Towers Conference Center: <i>Sunset</i> |
| PANEL 12: TRANSNATIONAL APPROACHES TO GENOCIDE I |

Moderator: Volker Langbehn (San Francisco State University, USA) email – langbehn@sfsu.edu

Characterization and Dehumanization of Perpetrators and Victims: A Framework to Untangle Genocide in the Congo

Christopher P. Davey (Department of History, Utah Valley University, USA)

Public discourse often considers genocide to be beyond comprehension and description. Western policymakers and Hollywood have caricatured, for example, the 'victim' Tutsis and 'perpetrator' Hutus conveying a veneer of neatness and understanding. This misleadingly masks the detailed histories prior to and following many cases of genocide. Popular use of these labels stems from Hilberg's foundational treatment of genocide characters in *Perpetrators Victims Bystanders*. This introduction remains a key, although, thin theoretical touchstone for identifying genocide actors. The result of this characterization is that all become dehumanized through standardization. Perpetrators are engulfed in mindless violence and victims lost to helplessness, but both are distilled into 'the other': beyond serious comprehension, reasonable description, and their own humanity.

Whilst genocide historians and scholars differ on the current balance of theory to evidence, the prominent conceptions of genocide characters must be rethought. This paper calls for a theoretical refashioning of how

these labels are used, based on case study analysis of the Congolese conflict described in the 2005 UN Mapping Report. The latter portrays actors continually caught in the strategic and survival usage of massacre, rape, exploitation and genocide. The events stretching from 1993 to 2003 offer a fertile ground for analyzing the complex and multidimensional realities of perpetrators and victims, and the possibility of generalizing these findings beyond the Congo.

Socialization process of threats: shift from conflict to mass killing

Tetsushi Ogata (Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (ICAR), George Mason University, USA)

This paper explores the model of socializing threats in genocidal mass killing while marginalizing victims and radicalizing perpetrators. Threat is one of the central elements in the breakdown of human relational mechanisms in both conflict and genocide. And yet, seen as a set of interpretations of novel events, the role of threats takes peculiar shapes in cases of mass killing, unlike conflict in general. Threats alone do not explain aggression, let alone genocidal killing, and yet they run at the core of the perpetrators' identity formation in cases of mass killing. It is argued that the analysis on the role of threats provides insights into points of divergence between conflict and genocide, and further characterization of what genocidal mass killing is.

The advent of conflict theories has made significant strides over the past decades, as well as the scholarship in the field of genocide studies. Closer assessment into conceptions of conflict origination vis-à-vis the unfolding of genocidal forces rendered by threats should reveal a new insight that will further elaborate the incipience, evolution, and socialization of genocide. Thus, the paper aims to contribute to the body of collective inquiry through an angle of analysis derived from conflict theories and their integration with genocide studies. In so doing, the paper seeks to treat threat as a theoretical and analytical concept, amid other important explanatory variables, and unravel its socialization process that merits exclusive attention and further clarification.

Has the time arrived for an additional protocol to the Genocide Convention relating to “cultural genocide”

Miguel Salgueiro Meira (Lawyer, Portugal)

During the preparatory works of the Genocide Convention (GC), an intense debate about cultural genocide took place. Almost all the national delegations said they repudiate attacks aimed at the destruction of the cultural characteristics of national groups, and many of them even acknowledged that those attacks could lead to the destruction of those groups. The Pakistanian delegation even said that “(...) physical genocide was only the means; the end was the destruction of a people's spiritual individuality” (UN Document A/PV.178)

Despite this, there was no consensus over the punishment of cultural genocide acts in the GC. Behind those objections were not true considerations of justice but rather national concerns of some delegations about their behaviors as colonialist states. Fearing that the inclusion of the punishment of cultural genocide acts in the GC could avoid several delegations to ratify it, at the end it was decided not to include them (with the only exception of forcible transfer of children from one group to another group).

More than sixty years has passed since the approval of the GC, and the world is not the same. Many states get rid of the colonial ties and are now members of the United Nations and serious defenders of the punishment of cultural genocide acts.

Nowadays doctrine and case law recognized that “The destruction of or the attacks on cultural and religious property and symbols of the targeted group” are evidence of the intent of the destruction of that targeted group. Being aware that attacks on cultural property usually occurs as a first step on the “genocide plan”, the punishment of those acts could be an important instrument to act preventively in order to avoid the physical annihilation of the members of the target group. For all this, we believe that the time has come for an additional protocol to the GC that punishment of cultural genocide acts.

Cultural Genocide and Key International Instruments: Framing the Indigenous Experience

Shamiran Mako (Department of Political Science, University of Edinburgh, Scotland)

Since its introduction by Raphael Lemkin during the Second World War, cultural genocide has served as a conceptual framework for the non-physical destruction of a group. Following a vigorous debate over the legitimacy of the concept by states fearing prosecution for ethnocidal acts, namely Australia, the United States, Sweden, and Canada, cultural genocide/ethnocide was abrogated from the 1948 Genocide Convention. This pivotal move has shifted the frame of analysis and has sparked a contentious debate about the distinguishing elements of the physical destruction of a people and their cultural dissipation. The achievements of the indigenous peoples' movement throughout the 1980s reignited the debate surrounding cultural genocide within the international arena.

This paper is both a survey of cultural genocide of indigenous populations of North America, South America, and Australia, as well as the role of indigenous social movements within the international arena. It analyzes the development of cultural genocide within international law by Raphael Lemkin, its subsequent debate by the United Nations' Ad Hoc Committee on Genocide, its omission from the Genocide Convention, and its reintroduction by indigenous peoples' mobilization to the international arena. The Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, the Indigenous Peoples Rights Act (Philippines), the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, and various findings of the ICTY relating to cultural genocide, the conference findings of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe relating to minorities, along with Lemkin's original reference to the term, will be used as frameworks for illuminating the extent and gravity of such crimes.

Towers Conference Center: *Richmond*

PANEL 13: ARMENIA

Moderator: Kitty Millet (San Francisco State University, USA) email - kmillet1@sfsu.edu

Raphael Lemkin, Cultural Destruction, and the Armenian Genocide

Peter Balakian (Department of English, Colgate University, USA)

This cultural studies paper explores Lemkin's often overlooked concept of the destruction of culture as important dimension of genocide. It develops Lemkin's notion of cultural destruction and applies it to the case of the Armenian genocide. In demonstrating how Lemkin's thinking about genocide was significantly shaped by the Armenian genocide of 1915, the paper charts that narrative in his unpublished memoir and in unpublished documents from the Lemkin archives. The paper employs notions of culture from anthropologist Clifford Geertz, literary critic Kenneth Burke, and psychiatrist and historian Robert Jay Lifton to assess what is at stake in the human enterprise of culture, cultural production and collective identity, especially in the context of genocide, thus giving a deeper sense of what is at stake in Lemkin's thinking about cultural destruction.

Then the analysis focuses on the destruction of Armenian culture in the domains of the Ottoman government's 1) burning and razing of churches, 2) torture of men, women, and children with Christian crosses, 3) mass killing of Armenian intellectuals and 4) forced conversion of Armenians to Islam. The paper suggests that is important to conceptualize the Armenian genocide as an evolving political and cultural event that took place between about 1894 and the end of World War 1 in a continuum of destruction' to use Ervin Staub's notion, through which one can chart a Lemkinian idea of cultural destruction that is genocidal in its process and outcome. I conclude with a theoretical assessment of the impact of cultural destruction on the diasporan Armenian community and note how the Armenian gaze on the remains of a ruined culture plays out in the traumatic aftermath of an unresolved history.

GENOCIDE AND DENIAL: A PHENOMENOLOGICAL APPROACH

Khatchik DerGhouhassian (Department of International Relations, Universidad de San Andrés, Argentina)

Martín Böhmer (Law School at Universidad de San Andrés, Argentina)

Genocide scholars define denial as the last stage of mass extermination. Nevertheless, whereas genocide studies have registered a remarkable progress, denial has not been a topic of systematic inquiry for a better understanding and conceptualization of its importance as an inherent part of the social practice of genocide. In this paper, we argue that the politics of denial needs better attention, and we propose a phenomenological approach to understand its importance for any genocidal process. Denial is present at the very moment of decision for an extermination plan; as such, it is an inherent part of the decision. Yet, it becomes a social practice and policy, public and international, after the implementation of the plan for its aim is to make the crime perfect by denying its mere existence. We distinguish between revisionism and denial, yet show the potential linkage between both. We consider the Turkish denial of the Armenian Genocide of 1915-1923 as a paradigmatic case for the politics of denial, and propose an analytical framework based on Richard Hovhanissian's comparative study of the denial of Genocide and Holocaust. We then apply our phenomenological approach to discuss the Argentine and Spanish cases of denial as both social practice and public policy. We conclude our paper with reflections about the necessity of a politics of prevention against denial and its implications for international public law.

Reimagining the Lost Armenian Landscape: The Role of the Photography and Memoir in the Politics of Memory and Genocide Denial

Armen Marsoobian (Department of Philosophy, Southern Connecticut State University, USA)

An integral component of many modern genocides is the systematic destruction of cultural artifacts of the targeted population. Whether it is the destruction of mosques in the Serbian appropriated lands of Bosnia or churches in the historic Armenian lands of modern Turkey, the perpetrators or their heirs attempt to minimize their crimes by wiping the landscape clean of any reminders of their victims. Great time and effort go into engineering a collective amnesia that contributes to the national narrative that is used to justify and glorify the actions of the perpetrators. In the case of the Armenian Genocide much attention has been paid in recent years to efforts to have the genocide recognized and its denial criminalized by nation states. Such efforts have no positive impact on the status quo in Turkey. An alternative approach is underway by the joint efforts of Armenians and Turks within Turkey and in the international cultural arena. I will describe one such effort undertaken by myself and Anadolu Kültür (NGO) and Depo, a space for critical debate and cultural exchange in Istanbul. We are organizing a photography exhibition that tells the story of one extended Armenian family, the Dildilians, in the Ottoman Turkey from the 1880s to their expulsion in 1922. The Dildilians were a family of photographers who documented their lives both with photographs and extensive written memoirs. Their story will be told and richly illustrated in hundreds of photographs that survived the genocide and its aftermath. My presentation will describe the objectives of exhibition project and its associated activities. While certain to be controversial, this project is intended to have a positive effect on the highly contested arena of memory politics in Turkey.

Towers Conference Center: *Presidio*
PANEL 14: GENOCIDE AND EDUCATION I

Moderator: Dagmar Lieske (JFCS Holocaust Center, USA) email - daglieske@web.de

Age-appropriateness, 'difficult knowledge' and first contact with genocide

Simone Schweber (Department of Curriculum and Instruction, University of Wisconsin, Madison, USA)

I examine the educational literature positioning children’s developmental readiness to learn about genocide. The paper begins with the debates surrounding the question of what age students should be taught formally about genocide. It includes analysis of newly written state-standards documents for the social studies, specifically discussing their positioning of the Holocaust and genocide in terms of recommended age-level and content coverage. The paper ends with a consideration of curricula available to elementary school-aged children (in the U.S.). Though state standards documents can never be attached directly to classroom-coverage, the paper should provide an entrée into the geographic spread of elementary education about genocide.

Animating Genocide: The Children’s Films of Yoram Gross

Lawrence Baron (Richard Stockton College of New Jersey, USA)



(1959)



(1982)



(*Don't Forget*, 2008)

Yoram Gross survived the Holocaust in hiding in Poland. After immigrating first to Israel and then to Australia, he embarked on a prolific career as a director of animated films for children. As early as 1959, he experimented with employing simple iconography to transmit what Jewish children endured under Nazi rule. What unites his cartoons like Sarah and the Squirrel, The Little Convict, and the Dot and Blinky movies is the scenario of youngsters evading various forms of oppression or of animals battling ecological decimation. His use of animated characters set in photographed backgrounds lends a documentary quality to his work. While some of his short films reference the Holocaust directly, his pioneering Sarah and the Squirrel universalizes the theme of the plight of children during wartime while alluding aurally and visually to the Holocaust. This paper will analyze how Gross has managed to convey the ecological and political destructiveness of modern societies within the narrative conventions of juvenile film and literature and to impart young audiences with positive messages about resisting these forces through solidarity with animals and people.

Interactive Witnessing, Videogames and Genocide

Elke Heckner (Department of German and Scandinavian Studies, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, USA)

This paper examines the tension between representations of genocide in satellite-based mapping initiative and their more controversial use in video games. Since 2007 the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) has initiated a “Holocaust Mapping Initiative” and a “Genocide Prevention Mapping Initiative” in conjunction with Google Earth. These educational interactive sites which are available on the USHMM website are intended to create a new notion of digital witnessing that engages viewers with genocidal conflict zones around the world. These sites are mostly intended for teenagers or young adults. I will analyze the possibilities and limits of the USHMM’s “Geographies of the Holocaust” interactive site and contrast its approach with that of the “Crisis in Darfur Initiative.” I will then discuss to what extent the notion of digital witnessing is also appropriate for videogames, especially for educational ones (such as on Darfur). I argue that these educational games, which are primarily geared towards teenagers, are in stark contrast to entertainment oriented-games that promote revenge fantasies. As a case in point I will examine the public debate around the proposed “Sonderkommando Revolt” videogame produced by an Israeli game maker, which was based on an uprising at Auschwitz in October 1944. The videogame eventually was cancelled because, as the Anti-Defamation League stated “its execution and imagery are horrific and inappropriate.” I will show how structurally, “Sonderkommando Revolt” is not unlike Tarantino’s film “Inglourious Basterds.” However, the positing of counterfactual history in “Sonderkommando Revolt” ends up trivializing the Jewish resistance and would have rendered the Holocaust into a theme park of revenge fantasies

Mary Park Hall: *Park Lounge***PANEL 15: THE LAW AND TRIBUNALS I**

Moderator: Hilary Earl (Nipissing University, Canada) email - hearl@sympatico.ca

The anti-Semitic Nazi leader Julius Streicher and the Holocaust proceedings at the International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg (1945/46) – Legal lesson of a centenary trial and lasting legacy of a millennial crime

Thomas Bryant (Alice Salomon Hochschule Berlin, Germany)

The history of National Socialism in Franconia in general as well as in Nuremberg in particular is inseparably linked with the name of Julius Streicher (1885-1946). As an “old fighter” (“alter Kämpfer”) of the NSDAP in the Weimar Republic, as the “Franconian leader” (“Frankenführer”) during the “Third Reich”, as one of the 22 defendants at the “International Military Tribunal” (IMT) after the end of the Second World War and – last but not least – as the editor of the anti-Semitic inflammatory weekly “Der Stürmer” (1923-1945), Streicher is representative of the rapid rise, the criminal rule, the ignominious downfall and the inhuman ideology of National Socialism.

In the city of the “Nuremberg Party Rallies” and the “Nuremberg Laws” Streicher was notorious as the “bloody czar of Franconia”. Furthermore, on account of his numerous private escapades and the crude mode of expression of his libelous weekly, the former elementary teacher Streicher was also labeled as “Reich pornographer”. Since Streicher, together with his deputy Karl Holz, became rich in the course of the state-run expropriation of Jewish citizens (“Aryanization”), he was reproached by his own fellow party comrades for pursuing scandalous nepotism and corruption. This incident initiated the abrupt end of his political career: After the “Göring Committee” had finished its investigations on this matter, the Nazi Party’s leadership withdrew its confidence in Streicher. Therefore, in 1940 he was dismissed from his post as a “Gauleiter”.

In the disguise of a painter, Streicher had gone to his country retreat until he was arrested by the US allies in 1945. After the war “Germany’s No 1 Jew-baiter”, as the US jailer colonel Burton C. Andrus had called him, Streicher had to justify himself for his National Socialist past in the city of the “Nuremberg Trials”. At the IMT he was charged of a “common plan or conspiracy against peace” as well as “crimes against humanity”, but was after all convicted on the last charge solely. Nevertheless, the former good friend of Adolf Hitler was sentenced to death and became executed in 1946.

Once more Streicher’s case brings up the much-discussed question of “Nuremberg winner’s justice” (“Nürnberger Siegerjustiz”): To what extent was it justified to impose a death sentence on a leading National Socialist who was – certainly in spite of his vile anti-Semitic agitation for a period of about two and a half decades – not directly involved in the physical destruction of European Jewry during the holocaust? Because of his early loss of power Streicher had neither taken part in the “Wannsee Conference” nor had he been in

command over the systematic planning and realization of deportations and murders in the course of the “final solution of the Jewish question”. – So is he really to be considered a victim of gross miscarriage of justice?

The paper for the conference will concentrate on Streicher’s contribution to the Nazi genocide and his case heard at the IMT. It will be mainly based on the respective case files which are edited in 41 volumes and constitute the most important historical source to reconstruct the legal treatment of Streicher’s involvement in the holocaust. On the basis of the relevant documents that were already available for the Nuremberg judges as evidence (e.g., “Stürmer” articles) as well as those documents that had been discovered only afterwards (e.g., Streicher’s political testament) the paper will provide a biographic case study dealing with the legal lesson of a centenary trial and the lasting legacy of a millennial crime.

By taking into account also topical researches, the paper will discuss the question of how Streicher’s “spiritual arson” (e.g., anti-Semitic rabble-rousing propaganda and repeated call to genocide) became litigable as a criminal offence being classified as a “crime against humanity”. How did the respective strategies of the prosecution’s argumentation on the one hand (e.g., Streicher’s cross-examination by the British assistant prosecutor M. C. Griffith-Jones) and the argumentation of the defense on the other hand (i.e. Streicher’s lawyer Hanns Marx as well as his client himself) look like either to incriminate or to exonerate Streicher as the “spiritual father of the holocaust”? – And what can be finally learned from both of these basic questions in order to handle similar present or future cases of “Volksverhetzung” (inflammatory public agitation)?

From the Ottoman Genocide of Christians to today's preemptive wars: Learning from the past to be more efficient killers

Thea Halo (Sano Themia Halo Pontian Heritage Foundation)

This paper will briefly explore the genocides of the Greeks, Armenians and Assyrians, the intentions, means, and ends of the perpetrators, and compare them to today’s political environment: the new and old methods used to win hearts and minds; the problem of enforcing international law and Human Rights, and why it’s become impossible to live up to the promise of ‘Never again.’

16:30-17:00: Tea & Coffee in the Seven Hills Conference Center (Foyer)

INoGS Plenary Session: 17:00-19:00

Seven Hills Conference Center: *Nob Hill Room*

19:00-19:30: Open Bar

Seven Hills Conference Center: *Coit Lounge*

19:30: Dinner at the City Eats Dining Center

Saturday 30th June

0700-0900: Breakfast at the City Eats Dining Center

Session 1: 0900-11:00

Seven Hills Conference Center: *Nob Hill Room*

PANEL 17: CORPORATE LIABILITY FOR GENOCIDE UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW

Moderator: Thomas Bryant (Alice Salomon Hochschule Berlin, Germany)
email - post@thomas-bryant.de

Michael Bazylar (School of Law, Chapman University, USA)
Sam Garkawe (School of Law and Justice, Southern Cross University, Australia)

This panel will focus on the debate currently ongoing before American courts about whether corporations are immune from liability for the crime of genocide and other mass atrocities under international law. To put another way, it seeks to analyze whether corporations are liable, civilly or criminally, under international law.

The question is a “hot-button” issue. Multinational corporations are increasingly investing in countries with unforgiving human rights records. Unfortunately, as part of those investments, the respective tyrannical governments in those countries have engaged in crimes against humanity, and even genocide against their own people. The willingness of these regimes to enter into and benefit from agreements with multinational corporations occurs at the dire expense of their citizenry. As these multinational corporations enter lands to extract natural resources, they often ignore, and thereby become aiders and abettors to, massive human rights abuses of the local populations residing in areas where such natural resources are found.

Over the past decade, lawsuits have been brought in American courts to recover for gross violations of human rights by multinational corporations. However, those suits now face a major barrier to achieving justice due to significant decision of the Second Circuit court of appeals in New York in *Kiobel v. Royal Dutch Petroleum Co.*, where a two-to-one majority held in 2010 that corporations are immune from liability for genocide and other massive human rights abuses under international law.

Fortunately, other federal appellate courts have decided otherwise. The United States Supreme Court in 2012 will be deciding this issue by accepting the appeal of the *Kiobel* decision. Interestingly, in order to resolve this issue, the precedent that the Supreme Court must look to are international law norms that were developed by the Allies at the Nuremberg Trials and other venues in occupied Germany. In the *Kiobel* decision, the Second Circuit court of appeals inaccurately concluded that corporations were beyond the reach of customary international law since at Nuremberg no corporations were criminally prosecuted.

A brief submitted by over a dozen academics to the Supreme Court (which includes the authors of this proposed panel) explains how Nuremberg-era jurisprudence stands for the precedent that corporations are not immune from genocide and other massive human rights abuses under international law. As evidenced by actions of the Allied Control Council taken under international law against corporations outside the courtroom, German companies who partnered with the Nazi regime did not escape accountability. For example, the German corporate cartel I.G. Farben was dismantled by the Allied Control Council for its participation in violations of international law.

As for civil liability, German corporations that were aiders and abettors in Nazi-era atrocities, such as use of slave labor, did not have to account for their actions until almost sixty years later, when they were sued in American courts in the 1990's. See e.g. Michael J. Bazylar, *Holocaust Justice: The Battle for Restitution in America's Courts* (NYU Press 2003); Michael Marrus, *Some Measure of Justice: The Holocaust Restitution Movement of the 1990's* (U. Wisconsin Press 2009).

For genocide scholars, the issue of corporate liability under international law is critical: we do not want history to repeat itself with the result that modern-era corporate entities are excused for their massive human right abuses, only to be found liable for their actions decades after the damage has been done.

Towers Conference Center: *Sunset*

PANEL 18: ANY ‘ROOM’ FOR JAPAN? CHALLENGES AND DILEMMAS OF JAPAN’S PROACTIVE INITIATIVES FOR GENOCIDE PREVENTION

Moderator: Gerhard Wolf (University of Sussex, United Kingdom) email – G.Wolf@sussex.ac.uk

Genocide Research in Japan: Taking a Step Forward for ‘Sustainable’ Genocide Prevention

Yuji Ishida (Department of Area Studies, University of Tokyo, Japan)

Genocide is not a natural disaster, but a product of human agencies assaulting universal human values. It follows a certain social and political process that is facilitated, triggered, and escalated by particular factors. Therefore, the reasons behind the occurrences of genocide should be investigated within a specific historical context. Questioning the causes of genocide gives rise to further questions: can we prevent genocide, and how? These questions are all the more difficult to answer because we see that genocide shows no sign of disappearing even 17 years after Rwanda.

The presentation will begin with an anecdote about the reasons why I came to be engaged in genocide studies in Japan, and shall then proceed to explain the major points at issue that Japanese genocide scholars so far have dealt with. The panel will conclude by proposing the pivot of an idea for approaching the sustainable prevention of genocide.

Why Exploring for Genocide Preventing Tools? –From Field Research in Rwanda

Ai Yamashita (Human Security Programme, Graduate School of Art and Sciences, University of Tokyo, Japan)

During the Pacific War 1941-45, many young Japanese soldiers went on suicide missions and gave their lives for Emperor without hesitation (so called BANZAI attacks). As my grandmother’s stories on the war have triggered me to conduct further research on the issues of war crimes, however a fundamental skepticism for highly-politicized justice has always remained in my mind as Emperor Hirohito never stood trial in the International Military Tribunal for the Far East.

While my personal conviction for ‘fair’ justice for war crimes and crimes against humanity has brought me strong interests in post-conflict judicial systems beyond the case in Japan, this presentation shall closely look at the issue of transitional justice after Rwanda Genocide in 1994. Rwanda’s process of justice-seeking has never been easy due to the huge number of perpetrators as well as the shortage of budget and the communities have been facing a number of unsolved dilemmas upon the return of perpetrators who finished their sentences. The question of ‘forgiveness’ and ‘reconciliation’ is still a biggest challenge to the country. Presenting the findings from my field research and gained observations from Rwandan NGOs, the presentation shall also examine on what are the effective tools and methodologies for promoting ‘true’ reconciliation.

The Limits of Trials in Dealing with the Past: Holistic Transnational Justice Approach towards Proactive Genocide Prevention

Kyoko Cross (Kobe University, Japan)

Preventing the reoccurrence of genocide and mass violence is one of the prime purposes of transitional justice. Transitional justice frameworks as post-conflict efforts have been developed since the end of the Cold War. In particular, in order to eradicate impunity, judicial mechanisms have been advanced, as the long-anticipated International Criminal Court was realized at the beginning of this century.

The normative efforts to hold the responsible accountable, however, do not necessarily speak for the victims and affected communities. Indeed, it has become manifest that trials could conversely amplify distrust and dissatisfaction among warring parties. As in Rwanda, post-genocide trials have been exploited as victor’s justice. In addition, there exists criticism that the costs and efforts spend on the trials should be diverted to the victims, who are still in a devastated situation.

This presentation will illuminate the limits of trials and show how psychological and physical recognition of the past could contribute to foster reconciliation, cultivating ground for preventing reoccurrence of violence. By referring to the post-war Japanese failures to acknowledge its past wrongs, this presentation argues that efforts to share memories of the past and to recognize contested historical perceptions are necessary steps to face the difficult legacies of the past. In addition, adequate reparation towards victims and their families as well as restoration of their dignity is vital in promoting sustainable peace.

Trials are critically analyzed in this presentation; however, the attempt here is not to undermine their normative function in international laws. It rather advocates holistic approaches by utilizing multiple tools, such as trials, truth commissions, reparations and memorialization efforts. Thus, transitional justice mechanisms should be designed so that they could accommodate the wishes and demands of those people most affected by atrocities. In this sense, it is important to find a way to reflect the voices of the voiceless in transitional justice policies.

Evaluation of the Roles of NGOs in Preventing Genocide: A Theoretical Approach and its Evaluation

Masaki Sawa (Department of International Relations at the Graduate School of Political Science, University of Waseda, Japan)

Discussion over the roles of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in preventing genocide is, inevitably important, particularly within Japan. The reasons are twofold. First, there exist no NGOs in Japan which are specialized or with any particular interests in efforts of preventing genocide, while a number of Japanese humanitarian or human rights NGOs are operationally active in the fields over the world. If the rationale for Japan's more proactive approach to genocide prevention initiatives in the world is valid, proposing a new form of organization is desirable in order to collect and analyze information, to advocate decision-makers and to support victims and the oppressed. Second, a more important inquiry on the roles of NGOs is to evaluate, critically from a broader perspective, on whether or not the activities of NGOs truly contribute to the prevention of genocide. The perception on their roles should change since NGOs are not only acting as a watchdog to others but may also do any 'harm' on others.

However, how do we evaluate their roles and what are the criteria if evaluated? This is one of the most vital but difficult questions. One criterion of evaluation is legitimacy, in particular, accountability, but we then need to examine how NGOs could be accountable. The answers to such a question could be explored from the following two perspectives: whose voices they represent and how they perform. The presentation shall further look at these points as essential parts of legitimacy so our perceived role of NGOs must shift to the actor who is the subject to be criticized.

'Ideal' and 'Reality': Can Japan Proactively Join Genocide Prevention Initiatives in the International Arena?

Mayumi Watabe (Independent consultant on human security and post-conflict reconstruction strategy, Japan)

While the end of the World War II had a devastating impact on Japan's self-confidence in an international setting, however, the country has rebuilt their capacity and its economic success helped to facilitate Japan's a closer engagement with the world. Yet, it is still apparent that despite the fact that Japan aspires to play more crucial roles in the global community, Japan's narrowly defined 'one-county pacifism' still persists due to constitutional constraints, as well as its underdeveloped civil society.

Having stated so, however, the recent years show that Japan becomes one of the main advocates for the concept of human security which crucially includes the essence of genocide prevention. In addition, Japanese NGOs become more active in the field of humanitarian assistance around the world. While Japan exhibiting growing interests in practical contribution to preventing and restoring humanitarian crises as evident in Kosovo, Afghanistan, Sudan and beyond, what are the country's major obstacles and challenges in terms of providing more effective and efficient assistance to genocide prevention?

The presentation shall, in this regard, assert that, if Japan wishes to get involved more in the global efforts of genocide prevention, strengthening the country's civil society through capacity building of NGOs, the development of evaluation mechanisms, and the enhancement of real cross-sector partnerships, should urgently be explored. Applying Anderson's "Do No Harm" principles (1999), the speaker shall conclude with both policy and operational recommendations for Japan to find more ways to join and contribute to genocide prevention initiatives in the international arena.

| |
|--|
| Towers Conference Center: Richmond |
| PANEL 19: GENOCIDE AND EDUCATION II |

Moderator: Dagmar Lieske (JFCS Holocaust Center, USA) email - daglieske@web.de

Education and genocide prevention

Roberta Devlin-Scherer (Department of Education, Seton Hall University, USA)

Nancy Sardone (School of Education, Georgian Court University, USA)

In thinking about teaching genocide and its prevention, we acknowledge it as a social issue that is not easy to talk or even to think about. Even when there is a state mandate to teach genocide, some teachers avoid it because the topic is difficult and challenging to talk about. Perhaps the instructional materials to teach genocide and genocide prevention are ineffective; maybe dated, perhaps too graphic and horrific.

Educators are urged to integrate technology more extensively into curricula (National Education Association 2008; Project Tomorrow 2010), and that this infusion be directed toward higher-order thinking skills (Day, Arthur, and Gettmann 2001; DeLisi and Wolford 2002; Kirriemuir and McFarlane 2004; Ravenscroft and Matheson 2002; Yell and Box 2008). As such, our goal is to develop rich examples of a kind of blending of technology and other materials that can assist middle and high school students in understanding genocide. We aim to develop a unit using emerging technologies [political cartoons, simulation game Darfur is Dying, nonfiction texts, podcasts, photo editing software] and discuss the effort schools of education have made in the state of New Jersey in creating a preservice Social Studies Conference (CASE), where genocide workshops are provided and robustly attended.

Social studies classrooms have long been the home for gaming and role-play activities. A logical choice for teachers who want to make their instruction interactive, digital simulations can often capture the attention of less eager or uninvolved students. They provide students' opportunities to assume roles, examine problems, and pose solutions while promoting basic problem solving, critical thinking, and social skills (Cotton, Ahmadi, and Esselborn 1997; Cruickshank and Telfer 2001; Kirk 2004).

We have had experience developing a unit on poverty using Haiti as the point of reference and have found that combining well-chosen nonfiction on the issue of poverty with specialized digital simulations, and other technological applications may provide encouragement and methods to help teachers and their students to face uncomfortable but critical issues. This session will present the Darfur is Dying simulation. Presenters will discuss a range of activities that can grow from this game and ways schools are currently using this game to enable students to understand genocide.

Education and Genocide Prevention: A Critical Analysis of Children's and Young Adult Literature of the Genocides in Bosnia and Kosovo

Jane Gangi (Division of Education, Mount Saint Mary College, Newburgh, New York, USA)

One possible way to address genocide prevention is through children's and young adult literature of genocide. In the last decade, since the genocides have ended in Bosnia and Kosovo, there have been at least 30 publications written for young people—autobiographies, biographies, poetry, plays, fiction, and informational text. Although most of these publications are accurate, authentic, and have at least some literary quality, a few of the texts are problematic. (Not nearly as many texts written about Bosnia are as problematic as those written about Rwanda and Darfur.) Some of those problems are: Treating the genocide in Bosnia as a Civil War, which it was not because Bosnia was for the most part, unarmed; and, presenting the genocide, because of long-standing ethnic rivalries, as inevitable, which over-simplifies and under-estimates the role Slobadan Milosevic played in manipulating the media, stirring up violence, and recruiting thugs from Belgrade's underworld to carry out his genocidal plans. Treating the genocide as inevitable also ignores the ethnic tolerance that had long prevailed in Sarajevo, documented by travelers in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. As Peter Maas reminds us, "There is no difference in the cruelty sweepstakes; it is a dead heat." Yet, outside of Northern and Central Europe and North America, there is a tendency to represent "the Other" as more violent.

In this session, I will critically analyze the books for children and young adults on the genocides in Bosnia and Kosovo, comparing the texts with academic literature on those genocides, such as works by Noel Malcolm, Peter Maas, Ben Kiernan, Adam Jones, and Samantha Power. I will also provide a bibliography of recommended texts for young people on the Bosnian and Kosovo genocides.

The Turn Toward Genocide Education and Prevention

Randall H. Kaufman (Holocaust and Genocide Education Program, Miami Dade College, Homestead Campus, USA)

Magdalena Lamarre (Holocaust and Genocide Education Program, Miami Dade College, Homestead Campus, USA)

Our role as Genocide educators is clear: to develop awareness and foster social responsibility through instruction. The greatest tool at our disposal is education and through Genocide awareness we encourage the civic duty of social responsibility. As educators, we have the power to make this the century when Genocide ended!

After the Holocaust, the world cried "Never Again." Unfortunately this promise stands unfulfilled as Rwanda, Serbia, and Darfur, represent our failures. What could we do? Miami Dade College responded by offering our first Holocaust course in 2008. Could we do more? In 2009, we introduced the first Genocide history course at Associate Degree level in Florida. Following the introduction of the Genocide history course, Miami Dade College established the Holocaust and Genocide Education Program (HGEP0, which now includes four courses

and two more under development. The introduction of these courses, grounded in Student Learning Outcomes, began a shift in the college's view on the Holocaust which initiated the turn toward Genocide Studies. As stated by the college, Student Learning Outcomes "facilitate the acquisition of fundamental knowledge and skills and the development of attitudes that foster effective citizenship and life-long learning." Of note was the intentional alignment with Student Learning Outcomes, particularly addressing how students:

- Solve problems using critical and creative thinking and scientific reasoning
- Demonstrate knowledge of diverse cultures, including global and historical perspectives
- Create strategies that can be used to fulfill personal, civic, and social responsibilities
- Demonstrate knowledge of ethical thinking and its application to issues in society.

Why we made the turn toward Genocide Education and Prevention and how it has affected the HGEP and the college will be the focus of this presentation.

| |
|--|
| Towers Conference Center: <i>Presidio</i> |
| PANEL 20: GENOCIDE AND PHILOSOPHY |

Moderator: Kitty Millet (San Francisco State University, USA) email - kmillet1@sfsu.edu

What's Modern in "Modern" Genocides: Hegel, the Logic of Violence, and Genocide Studies

Joshua D. Goldstein (Department of Political Science, University of Calgary, Canada)

Maureen Hiebert (Department of Political Science, University of Calgary, Canada)

To understand the origins of genocide, some scholars have posited a close relationship between modernity and the rise of genocidal violence from the 18th century onward. In making this connection, genocide scholars have emphasized the importance of uniquely modern ideas (e.g. "nation", "race", Social Darwinism, eugenics), processes, (e.g. colonialism, bureaucratization, industrial warfare) and institutions (e.g. nation-state, bureaucracy, modern militaries). We argue that these elements are not fundamental to the nature of modernity. Rather, they are its products and are thus one step removed from what is foundational about modernity and its connection to genocidal violence. A proper exploration of this relationship requires an inquiry into the necessary rather instrumental ways in which modernity is bound up with genocide. We suggest that G.W.F. Hegel's analysis of the French Revolution and the Terror provides the intellectual resources for conceptualizing modernity not just as a chronological category characterized by certain features of violence, but as an ontological category whose very structure contains an internal logic towards total violence. Through a detailed reconstruction of Hegel's account of uniquely modern violence, we uncover a particular shape of self-consciousness which provides a way to distinguish between ontologically and chronologically modern genocides.

A linguistic precedent of Genocide: the «exécutions nationicides» described by François-Nôel Babeuf in Du Système de Dépopulation

Carmelo Leotta (Dipartimento di Storia e Filosofia del Diritto e Diritto Canonico, Università degli Studi di Padova, Italy)

The word Genocide, first appeared in *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe* (1944) by Raphael Lemkin, finds an antecedent in the concept of nationicide – composed, instead of the Greek word γένος, of the Latin word natio – that Babeuf (1760-1797) uses in *Du Système de Dépopulation ou la vie et les crimes de Carrier* (1794).

The author studies the measures adopted in the military Vendée in 1793-1794 by the Committee of Nantes and condemns Jean-Baptiste Carrier, attorney of the Tribunal of Aurillac, whose systematic conduct falls «dans l'histoire de la férocité inouïe et des exécutions nationicides».

The use of this word, even if as adjective, is not a coincidence: Babeuf takes into consideration the initial period of the War of the Vendée, which started in March, 1793 with the insurrection against military conscription and ended in 1795.

When drawing up the report, he dwells with a rigorous method, based on documents, upon the most violent period of the fighting following the republican victory of Savenay (1793), when the troops sent from Paris started a project of depopulation and destruction of the territory.

The use of the term represents a tragically interesting precedent for the more recent "genocide", not only for the similarity in meaning, but also because Babeuf wants to underline, as did more efficiently Lemkin, the intent to destroy the victim group. The relevance of the term is confirmed by studies that qualify the War of the Vendée as genocide (Jones 2011).

The candidate suggests writing a paper about the concept of nationicide in the work of Babeuf.

Perpetrator abhorrence: a moral sentiment?

Ditte Marie Munch-Hansen (Department of Philosophy, University of Copenhagen, Denmark)

Theodor Adorno argued that the imperative “Never again”, imposed on mankind after World War II, gives us a bodily sense of morality because it arises from the immediate abhorrence (‘abscheu’) that we feel when made aware of the extreme suffering of Holocaust victims. Only in this “material motive” can morality in the aftermath of atrocity survive. In this paper I explore the implications of Adorno’s thesis: can we attribute a moral significance to the emotion of abhorrence and does it have a potential to prevent future mass crimes?

Empirical examples of “perpetrator abhorrence” suggest otherwise. Some soldiers involved in genocide and other war crimes experience strong emotional outbursts and physical discomfort in the actual moment of perpetration or when witnessing atrocities. Some theorists ascribe the perpetrators’ physical abhorrence a certain primordial moral quality (Arendt, Browning). I wish to question this interpretation in two ways:

First, by discussing whether abhorrence in itself should be understood as a moral sentiment. In most cases of perpetrator abhorrence, the abhorrence did not result in opposition to the killings. On the contrary, many grew into brutal routine killers. This apparently ambivalent nature of abhorrence and its negative potentials have also been a contentious topic in recent legal-philosophical discussions on disgust (Nussbaum, Murphy).

Second, I will argue that, even if some emotional and affective reactions can be understood to reflect a moral sentiment, we do not need to explain this with a deep, primordial understanding of human morality.

Mary Park Hall: *Park Lounge*

PANEL 21: TRANSNATIONAL APPROACHES TO GENOCIDE II

Moderator: Sarah Curtis (San Francisco State University, USA) email - scurtis@sfsu.edu

Crystallizations of the Western Global State in the era of Climate Crisis

Gregory Kent (Department of International Relations and Human Rights, University of Roehampton, London, United Kingdom)

State theory challenges us to see the state as a power centre some way developed from traditional Weberian understandings. Michael Mann has emphasized (in *The Sources of Social Power*), the way in which states, through polymorphous crystallization, form in different ways at distinct moments and in relation to various issue areas. Climate change crises will inevitably shape and be shaped by the Global State. During the recent Libya crisis the Global State (Shaw’s theorisation) crystallized in a unique manner; compared to earlier crystallizations, say over Bosnia, where intervention was strenuously avoided and prevented by the very states that in Libya, championed action and dragged others into action. How might such polymorphous crystallization work in climate crises?

This article will attempt to map this theoretical approach into the context of anthropomorphic climate change scenarios over the medium term. Reviewing climate crisis literature, from Stephen Schneider’s ‘worst case’ to more ‘cautious’ estimations, a spectrum of potential climate-driven crises over the next two decades will be established. How will these events impact war, in what way is genocide likely to develop? How might these changes in turn impact the Global State and in what way will it develop? How will the changing context of war and genocide in the era of rapid climate change impact on the state form? Will climate-driven conflict presage the break up and destruction of the Western Global State or ultimately lead to its expansion and consolidation?

Building the Non-Genocidal Society: A Relational and Bottom-Up Perspective

Christopher Powell (Department of Sociology, University of Manitoba, Canada)

Scholarship on genocide prevention typically has focused on top-down strategies: the implementation and enforcement of international law as a deterrent, diplomatic measures or armed humanitarian intervention to stop genocides in progress. Liberalizing and democratizing as they are, such measures still rely for their effectiveness on the very institutional framework that makes genocide possible: state power. An alternative strategy is suggested by Leo Kuper’s evocative phrase, “non-genocidal society”. In my recent book *Barbaric Civilization*, I examine how Western civilization is, constitutively, a genocidal society. By resolving social differences into political relations of deference, the Western civilizing process defers violence without dispelling it, generating the symbolic resources necessary to put Othered social groups outside the universe of obligation and the material resources necessary to destroy the social identities of groups that have been so excluded. In

this paper, I examine the implications of this analysis for preventing genocide and building a non-genocidal society from the bottom up. Preventing genocide involves working along three axes: identity-difference/indifference, interest/disinterest, and impunity/interdependence. Education and social activism can work to build moral relations that cross identity-difference boundaries, dissolving rigid group identities into a multiplicity of heterogeneous identifications. Greater social equality diminishes the rank-and-file interest in the spoils of genocidal violence. And grassroots opposition to authoritarianism, militarism, and imperialism can intersect with top-down liberalizing measures to diminish the impunity of state actors, forging a downward accountability that inhibits the efforts of genocidal elites.

Territorial Cleansing: The Geopolitics of Genocide

Nicole Reiz (Department of Geography, University of Kansas, USA)

One way to view the richly varied approaches to the study of genocide and other mass crimes is to understand them as attempting to answer the questions of who, what, when, where, why, and how. A central contention of this paper is that the "where" of genocide and other mass crimes has been understudied, under-characterized, and under-appreciated. We assert that the most important "where" of genocide and related mass crimes is the "geopolitical where," wherein geographical concepts of space, place, power relations, borders, nation, territory, and others are brought to bear.

Within this paper, we present and discuss the geopolitically-based umbrella concept of territorial cleansing, the central concept of which is that a power group seeks to effectively remove ("cleanse") a collectivity from a territory. We take a broadly based view of removal as encompassing a rough continuum of behaviors by the perpetrator group ranging from suppression of cultural expressions all the way through various forms of mass murder including politicide, gendercide, and genocide. Our discussion will focus on four major concepts in the territorial cleansing process: (1) the key role of imagined place, (2) creation of the "other," (3) establishing the preconditions and environment, and (4) the nature of the continuum of territorial cleansing. Through our discussion of these concepts we hope to solidify insights that will advance our overarching goal of giving geographers a more prominent seat at the table in the field of genocide scholarship.

Group' Identities and Individual Rights: Genocide Studies and the Problem of 'Group' Rights in Questions of Prevention

Sarah Danielsson (Department of History, City University of New York, Queensborough, USA)

The emergence and broad acceptance of what I call "radical demographic restructuring" in the latter part of the nineteenth century was dependent on the concepts of "groups" and "group" identities. This demographic restructuring was sometimes so radical that it resulted in what was later termed "genocide." As part of the response to radical treatments of populations, there emerged concepts of "group" rights, which in turn were meant to safeguard from the more radical forms of demographic restructuring. However, the concepts of "group" rights rely on the same faulty basis as the "group" concepts that are used to justify radical restructuring. This paper explores the nature of "group" identity and its central role in the articulation and perpetuation of genocidal violence. This paper argues that both the practices of genocide and the study of genocide have relied too heavily on group identities, thereby reifying 'groups' and perpetuating the underlying problems. Based on an historical study of group rights versus individual rights, the paper argues that in order to provide the legal and political communities with the proper basis for prevention, emphasis needs to be placed on individual rights, above, and in many ways exclusive of, "group" rights.

11:00-11:30: Coffee in the Seven Hills Conference Center (Foyer)

Session 2: 11:30-13:30

Seven Hills Conference Center: *Nob Hill Room*

PANEL 22: GENOCIDE AND EDUCATION III

Moderator: Jane Gangi (Mount Saint Mary College, USA) email - janegangi@snet.net

Narratives of Injustice: Measuring the Impact of Witness Testimony in the Classroom

Susan Legere (Department of Sociology, Boston College, USA)

Can a vivid presentation about a tragic chapter of history elicit in viewers an empathetic reaction, as well as evidence of the telescopic perspective Mills ([1959] 2000) described as the "sociological imagination"? Does the

addition of victims' voices make a noticeable difference in their response to the historical event, as well contemporary controversies?

Some scholars propose that oral histories, especially witness testimonies, have the potential to reach audiences more deeply than facts alone. "Narratives," as K. Slobin observed, "unfold with flesh and blood...encouraging empathy, identification and a humanization of content." (in Bochner and Ellis, 1992:171). But, little systematic research has examined how or to what extent personal testimony may encourage empathetic understanding and a broader, more nuanced understanding of social problems. In an era where entertainment content skews toward "reality" programming and technology supersedes face-to-face interactions, the challenge to pierce cultural white noise is great. Educators, then, must figure out ways to counteract the desensitization, apathy and cynicism that follow these trends—but in ways that are proven, effective and lasting.

My research seeks to discover if victim narratives help educators connect intellectually and emotionally with learners about matters of social justice. Thirteen undergraduate classes were exposed to three variations of a fact-based, multimedia presentation about Japanese internment in America during WWII. Each presentation included the same photographs, newsreel, and factual information. Presentations varied, however, in their use of survivor testimony and in the manner of its incorporation (video versus written accounts). Two groups of the sample were exposed to adult survivors describing their experiences as children in the internment camps. All groups completed surveys, and 21 participants gave extensive interviews. Data analysis examines information recall, sociological perspective, emotional response, empathetic identification and behavior predictions.

The experiment will generate much-needed empirical data on the efficacy of testimony and its ability to shape attitudes, broaden world view, and possibly influence behavior. Data reflecting a positive outcome will include a discussion as to how and why the material worked; data showing lesser impact will be accompanied by a similar analysis. Findings will assist educators in anticipating outcomes associated with various heuristic strategies, especially the use of witness testimonies.

"Why Does Wearing A Yellow Bib Make Us Different"?: a case study of explaining genocide in a West of Scotland high school

Henry Maitles (School of Education, University of the West of Scotland, Scotland)

A large West of Scotland high school took all S1 pupils (the first year of high school, aged about 12 years, some 110 in total) off formal timetable for two weeks to follow a series of citizenship initiatives. One of these days was genocide awareness; part of this, which included examining the Nazi Holocaust and Rwandan genocide, drama and role playing, involved an exercise based on the one first conducted by Jane Elliott in 1968 and known as 'Blue Eyes/Brown Eyes'. It is a simulation based on discriminating against a group within the whole cohort. It was controversial at the time and is still discussed today. In the case of this school, the pre-determined pupils chosen were 'winter babies' and the 20 of them, with their approval and parental approval, were to wear yellow bibs and were 'discriminated against' by staff and visiting speakers for the day. There was a pseudo-scientific explanation at the morning plenary to the whole year group that 'winter babies' were holding back society and all other pupils. The object of the exercise is to show the pupils how one of the UN stages of genocide – identifying the victims and encouraging discrimination against them – can develop. And, further, how easy it is to slip into the role of discriminator and discriminated.

This paper reports on and discusses this school's attempts to develop an understanding of discrimination and prejudice with the cohort. The research questions were:

- Did the pupils learn anything about genocide and discrimination from the experiment?
- Did they remember what they have learned over a period of time?
- Did the 'winter babies' gain more from the day than the 'summer babies'?
- Was the experiment worthwhile?
- What are the educational implications of the results?

Methodology involved focus group interviews with both the students discriminated against ('winter babies') and the rest of the cohort.

The paper:

Firstly, discusses the issue of using simulations in general and specifically with pupils aged about 12 years; Secondly, explains how the simulation was set up; Thirdly, reports on the pupil perception of the simulation – both the 'victims' and the 'bystanders'; and fourthly attempts to draw some tentative conclusions.

First week of school after the 1994 Rwandan genocide: the case of students in public secondary schools in Kigali

Musa Wakhungu Olaka (Holocaust and Genocide Studies Center, University of South Florida, USA)

How are teenage students who have just survived a genocide and witnessed human atrocities on a mass scale scaffolded to get back into a school learning environment and what mechanisms do schools put in place when these students are placed in the same class or physical space with other students who themselves or their parents were perpetrators or perceived perpetrators of a genocide? Five months after the onset of the 1994 Rwandan genocide, public schools were reopened yet most of the trained teachers had been killed during the genocide while others were in prison or in exile. Almost all secondary schools had to be staffed with people who had no formal education in pedagogy nor counseling traumatized persons. Only one third of the teachers had formal education in pedagogy. The purpose of this paper is to highlight how Rwandan public secondary schools in Kigali, Rwanda were able to cope with highly radicalized and traumatized students during the first week of school immediately after the genocide. This first week is critical in creating a harmonious learning environment in the school there after. Oral interviews will be used to collect data from six teachers and 15 students who were in the two main public secondary schools in Kigali.

Imagination, performance and affect: a critical pedagogy of the Holocaust?

Steven Cooke (School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Deakin University, Australia)

Donna-Lee Frieze (School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Deakin University, Australia)

In her ground-breaking book, 'Return to Auschwitz' (1981/ 1997), Kitty Hart-Moxon wrote of her return to the death camp at Auschwitz-Birkenau where she spent a number of years as a prisoner during the Holocaust as a visit to a place she belonged, almost a 'homecoming'. In the act of opening and closing her eyes she moves between past and present, with the past of fear, death, mud, and noise more 'real' for her than the benign present of grass and tourists. Her description of her return and its emotional impact illustrates the complex relationships between imagination, memory, place and performance.

Based on videotestimony interviews held in the Shoah Foundation Institute's Visual History archive and the Melbourne Jewish Holocaust Centre's archive, this paper examines Holocaust survivor testimony as it relates to their return to the sites of atrocity, particularly Auschwitz-Birkenau. It analyses how survivor's (re)encounters with material and imaginative landscapes reveals conceptions of, inter alia, agency, community, absence and belonging in the performance of self. It uses these tensions between landscapes of the past and present to develop the theoretical relationship between performativity and ideas of affect. In doing so, it explores how these ideas can be used to engage students in a critical pedagogy of the Holocaust through analysis of survivor videotestimony and in visiting landscapes of the Holocaust.

Towers Conference Center: *Sunset*

PANEL 23: GENOCIDE AND INDIGENOUS PEOPLE IN NORTH-AMERICA I

Moderator: Dane Johnson (San Francisco State University, USA) email - danej@sfsu.edu

Networks of Destruction in Indigenous North America: Boarding/Residential Schools and Genocide in Canada and the US

Andrew Woolford (Department of Sociology, University of Manitoba, Canada)

This presentation offers a comparative sociological perspective on the position of boarding/residential schools within patterns of attempted colonial genocide in North America. Using concepts adapted from the theory of Nodal Governance -- including "Networks of Destruction", "Genocidal Nodes", and "Colonial Outcome Generating Systems" -- the presentation situates Indigenous experiences of schooling within a network of colonial actors and institutions directed toward solving the "Indian Problem", which is understood here as form of governmental problematization directed toward removing perceived Indigenous barriers to settler land appropriation, resource extraction, and nation-building. Within this network, particular 'genocidal nodes' (sites where knowledge, capacity and resources are mobilized to manage a course of events) are directed toward addressing a governmental problem through their own specific institutionalization of the colonial outcome generating system (a term used to capture the order that underwrites complex collectivities as they create outcomes across time and space). Through the deployment of these terms, residential/boarding schools are argued to have acted as genocidal nodes within a broader network of destruction animated by a colonial outcome generating system that failed to fully recognize, sought to interrupt, and rationalized the forcible transformation of Indigenous life worlds. In this presentation, the nodal governance framework will be

examined in relation to the development and implementation of residential/boarding schools in the Canadian Prairies and the US Southwest.

Humanitarian Intervention: Changing the Conversation in American Politics

Dan McMillan (Independent Scholar, USA)

During the coming decades, and most likely in sub-Saharan Africa, governments will seek to perpetrate genocide, and outside military intervention will be the only way to prevent these tragedies. Perhaps the central obstacle to American humanitarian intervention has been the claim, made by the country's foreign policy establishment, that moral considerations have no place in foreign affairs, and that the United States can fight only when doing so is "in the national interest." The "national interest" is never defined, but is assumed to exclude the prevention of genocide.

These foreign policy clichés reflect both ignorance of American history and a myopic understanding of the national interest. The northern states fought the American Civil War in the service of moral purposes, namely the abolition of slavery and the preservation of the democratic experiment. While the United States fought the Second World War in large part for selfish reasons, the transcendent moral goal of saving democracy from Hitler also played an essential role. As for the national interest, military intervention to stop genocide prevents the costly disruption of commerce, enhances national prestige and earns good will in the international community, and reminds the American people of the ideals that define the nation, which can encourage the forces of progress and social justice at home. After all, the national effort to save democracy, in both World War II and the Cold War, greatly strengthened the Civil Rights Movement, not least because it helped Martin Luther King and others brand racial segregation as "un-American."

Towers Conference Center: *Richmond*

PANEL 24: NAZI GENOCIDE II

Moderator: Deborah Anna Brown (San Francisco State University, USA) email - dbrown@sfsu.edu

Goebbels's Close Enemies- Intimacy as an analytic tool for the understanding of genocidal rhetoric's in Goebbels Diaries

David Deutsch (Department of Sociology, Ben Gurion University, Israel)

The main objective of this research is to offer a new and critical approach to the rhetoric's of genocidal violence in the framework of the 'Goebbels Diaries'.

The conservative approaches referring to this issue focus upon the notion of dehumanization as an exclusive parameter for the linguistic infrastructure of the genocide. The term and the concept of dehumanization fail to explain many gaps and paradoxes within the Nazi regime concerning the Jews. As in the holocaust, in more than a few genocides as well there is a polar approach of the perpetrators to their victims which in holds, simultaneously, closeness and familiarity on the one hand and distinctiveness and strangeness on the other. These acute problems had led me to search for an alternative organizing theory.

Guiding Theory

The term 'intimacy' can help shed light upon the connection between closeness and violence. The main theses of this research attempts to show that the tension within Goebbels Diaries unravels a structure of intimate relation between perpetrators and victims. The cruel and excluding Nazi discourse can be better understood within the dynamic meanings that the concept of intimacy can offer. Intimacy and violence are linked in many ways. An intimate relationship contains a powerful tension which can generate various modes of action and reaction. Violence can be one of those modes in an intimate reality especially when it is represented as jeopardy to self-definition. Sadly the statistics of diverse domestic violence prove how intimacy and violence can coincide.

Moreover, I offer a restrained theory for further research. There is a reason to believe that there is a linguistic element in Goebbels rhetoric's which can be derived from its locality. In other words intimacy might help as typological criteria in the process of defining, understanding and preventing genocidal cases.

Hitler's 'Indian Wars': The Colonial Origins, Context, and Content of Nazi Genocide (including the Holocaust)

Carroll P. Kakel (Center for the Liberal Arts, The Johns Hopkins University, USA)

In the last decade, the debate about the intimate relations between genocide, colonialism, and the Holocaust has inspired a large (and still growing) historiography. My research is located at the intersection of Holocaust historiography and (comparative) genocide studies. This paper explores the origins, context, and content of Nazi genocide in occupied Europe during the Second World War, focusing on the Nazi-German national project of territorial expansion, racial cleansing, and settler colonization in 'the East' inspired by Hitler's and Himmler's spatial and racial fantasies. It revisits familiar events through the (corrective) lenses of 'continental imperialism', 'settler colonialism', and 'colonial genocide'. By employing a new 'optics' -- informed by the emerging fields of imperial studies, settler colonial studies, and genocide studies -- this paper suggests an alternative way to read, interpret, and understand Nazi genocide, as well as the events we have come to call 'the Holocaust'. This paper also identifies important ideological and causal links between the Nazi Lebensraum project (including Nazi colonization programmes -- actualized and planned) and Nazi genocidal violence (including the Nazi Judeocide). It argues, moreover, that one did, indeed, lead to the other.

Conflicting historical memories of ethnic cleansing against German minorities

James Mayfield (Department of History, Stanford University, USA)

This research questions the historical memory of the government-sponsored displacement of more than ten million ethnic German civilians from Poland, Hungary, Romania, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and the Soviet Union after 1945. During the expulsions of these civilian populations, as many as two million died due to starvation, hypothermia, disease, and internecine violence. The significant majority were not invading SS criminals or collaborators, but settlers whose ancestors had resided in Eastern Europe for centuries. In a similar fashion to the Nazis' conception of the nation as an exclusive racialized space, the people's republics "purified" themselves of suspicious minorities and defined their borders as the property of the dominant ethnicity. Czechoslovak nationalists even began using the term "Lebensraum" to describe their own programs for a purely homogeneous nation and used Nazi concentration camps like Theresienstadt to intern German elderly, soldiers, and children alike. Simply being of German ethnicity was equated with infectious criminality; ethnic cleansing was seen as the pursuit of national security.

This paper analyzes the factors that have consigned one of the largest forced migrations of the twentieth century to relative obscurity in public consciousness and historical memory. It isolates critical economic and social concerns that have made Germany very reluctant to acknowledge these events and have caused the implicated nations to forget them as necessary prerequisites for developing a modern state. It deconstructs the economic pragmatism, distorted historical memory, and academic bias in scholarship that have inclined Europe to selectively forget ethnic cleansing in favor of convenient détente. For the expellees' descendants, however, the ultimate result is an untold story, a perception of abandonment, and grievance over unanswered injustice. How can we avoid repeating a genocidal past if we do not even know it happened?

From (forced) emigration to deportation: Reconsidering the Nisko Plan and the initial phase of National Socialist Germanisation policy in annexed Poland

Gerhard Wolf (Department of History, University of Sussex, United Kingdom)

In Holocaust historiography the Nisko Plan occupies an important place allegedly signifying the transition from a policy of forced emigration to deportation and thus sustaining a teleological analysis ending in genocide. True as this might be in describing a sequence of events, it does not capture the inner dynamics driving the radicalisation (and if only for short periods: the de-radicalisation) of anti-Jewish policies by neglecting the context of which these policies were part of. Analysing Nisko not merely as yet another step in radicalising pre-war anti-Jewish policies, but as the first chapter of a much broader Volkstumspolitik allows not only for a rather different understanding of this crucial episode, but also for the subsequent deportation policy and the Jewish genocide in general.

In my paper I would like to advance three propositions:

- 1) Unlike most accounts of the Nisko Plan I would argue that it was not initiated to deport Jews from the German Reich, but Jews from the annexed parts of Poland. Its aim was to Germanise Poland not to de-Judaize Germany.
- 2) In accordance with some of the more recent research I agree that the Nisko Plan was aborted with the arrival of ethnic Germans in the annexed territories. However, I do not concur with the nearly unanimous assessment portraying this abrupt stop as an outright failure. Given that the aim was the Germanisation of Poland, deporting not Jews from the Katowice region but in general those living in areas where the so-called *Volksdeutsche* were to be settled, represented less a change in policy than a shift of focus.

- 3) Accepting *Volkstumspolitik* as the framework of Nazi deportation policies does not only allow for a re-interpretation of the Nisko Plan but also helps to understand subsequent developments. In contrast to much of the historiography, I would argue that the Nisko Plan was not followed by an even bolder attempt to deport the Jewish population from the annexed Polish territories as Jews were hardly affected by the following deportation waves. Very much to the resentment of Himmler and Heydrich, the local German occupation authorities targeted those instead who were either deemed to be a security risk or to occupy housing needed for ethnic Germans. Therefore, these early deportations should not be seen primarily as part of a radicalised anti-Jewish policy. They did, however, create a situation in which a further radicalisation of anti-Jewish policy could be pursued.

Towers Conference Center: *Presidio*

PANEL 25: MEMORY ACROSS NATIONAL BOUNDARIES

Moderator: Kitty Millet (San Francisco State University, USA) email - kmillet1@sfsu.edu

Collective memory and war remembrance in Eastern and Northern Europe

Marianne Neerland Soleim (Falstad Memorial and Human Rights Centre, University in Trondheim NTNU, Norway)

The Soviet prisoners of war have been described as the forgotten Nazi victims of the Second World War. Out of 5.7 million Soviet soldiers captured by the Germans between 1941 and 1945, more than 3.5 million died in captivity. Both in Eastern and Northern Europe there have been done a lot of research on the history of the Soviet prisoners of war in the recent years. This research has also given more focus on the culture of remembrance with preservations of former prison camps, memorial sites, war graves and opening of museums exhibitions connected to the Soviet prisoners in Eastern and Northern Europe. The aim of this paper is to describe and analyze whether the war graves and memories of Soviet prisoners of war and Soviet soldiers have been a part of the collective memory and war remembrance in Eastern and Northern Europe. What conditions have affected this politics of memory? The paper emphasizes war commemoration and preservation of Soviet war graves and memorial sites in Eastern and Northern Europe.

The Politics of Memory and the Display of Human Remains: Murambi Genocide Memorial, Rwanda

Shannon Scully (Photographic and Physical Collections Officer, Genocide Archive of Rwanda, Aegis Trust Rwanda)

This article examines the use and public display of preserved human remains in memorialization practices at the Murambi Genocide Memorial in the Southern Province of Rwanda. Murambi Genocide Memorial is a school that has been turned into a memorial site where 50,000 Tutsis were massacred in April 1994 during the Genocide against the Tutsi. During the exhumations of the mass graves in 1995, 848 bodies were preserved and are now on display in 24 classrooms. The article presents a hitherto-unexplored academic perspective regarding memorialization in post-conflict Rwanda, specifically relating to Murambi. Contrary to other academic accounts, which argue that such displays are un-dignified, an unjustified display of atrocity, or simply a display of the victors' historical narrative, the article seeks to show the display of human remains plays an integral role in the preservation of the memory of the Genocide.

The article explains why the bodies at Murambi serve as effective tools for education about genocide, preserving the memory of the events that occurred throughout Rwanda and are a reminder of the potential consequences when hatred and impunity are left to fester. It shows how they serve a purpose for future generations of Rwandese, and the world, that is greater than negative individual or political reactions. Holocaust survivor and author Primo Levi wrote that although he was witness to the Holocaust, the true witnesses were those who were killed. The bodies at Murambi, therefore, are the true witnesses to the Genocide against the Tutsi, and it is argued their existence and display should be valued and preserved, not covered and buried.

Lesson from Warsaw: Post-memory and Peace Education

Krystyna Blaszyńska (Department of Humanities, Warsaw University of Life Sciences, Poland)

Peace - one of the most universal values of Humanity - has been discussed in works of great thinkers as well as political and religious leaders. Its idea and programs had been formalized in 1945 in San Francisco at the conference aiming to establish the United Nations organization. In memory of WWII and its victims the main goal of the UN had been defined as: "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war". Peace Education had been pointed as the key issue for the mission of UNESCO and the UN. Its importance has been confirmed

by numerous declarations of the UN. Following them the report of Delors Commission "Learning: the Treasure within" (1996) emphasized learning to live together as the one of four pillars in education for 21st century.

Theorizing, Peace Education is the process developing in students knowledge, values, attitudes, and practical skills necessary to live in a peaceful harmony with the others. Following Noddings (2008) and Page (2008), acquiring these skills by individuals and groups results from the reflection on the consequences of war, hatred and social injustice. But, as Bar-Tal (2008) argues, the experience of past conflicts and inter-group violence can be also a significant barrier for building peaceful coexistence of nations, races and ethnic groups (vide: Former Yugoslavia, Rwanda, Afghanistan).

The each one individual can be described in categories of social affiliations including an ethnic one. The part of ethnic socialization is learning the in-group history: its origin, achievements, inter-group relations, historical friends and enemies. This way the collective memory has been passed from one generation to the other one. And, the most traumatic experience creates so called post-memory defined by Hirsch (2008; 103) as the "relation of the second generation to powerful, often traumatic, experiences that preceded their births but that were nevertheless transmitted to them so deeply as to seem to constitute memories in their own right". In groups and nations often exposed to the inter-group violence there can occur accumulation of trauma in succeeding generations. Identification of young generation with the experience of the elders can be intensified by the particular course of politics, social context of life and contents of formal education, and create so called "post-generation".

Such a post-generation are baby-boomers from Warsaw (which – due to its traumatic history - has been placed alongside with San Francisco on the list of the Cities of Peace in 1987). They are the first generation in the history of Poland which doesn't know a war. But the each one of their families mourned lost members. The generation of their parents passed to them the terrifying memories of genocide: Holocaust, Warsaw Ghetto Uprising (1943) and Warsaw Uprising (1944). They played between fresh graves and ruins of the destroyed city. Communist political authorities tried to build the relation with them by the remembrance of German crimes in WWII. As school students they visited Auschwitz and Treblinka. They studied Polish art, literature and cinematography reflecting the collective trauma. And, this massive experience developed in them the strong post-memory of WWII.

The process of reconciliation has been initiated in 1965 by the letter of forgiveness from the Polish bishops to the German church hierarchy, but its mile stone was the image of Willy Brandt kneeling in the front of the monument of the Heroes of Ghetto in 1970. Since that time there have been developed programs of Polish-German youth exchange, scientific and cultural cooperation, cooperation within the Polish-German Historical Commission. There has been established the Reconciliation Center in Krokowa. And the positive relations have been intensified after the collapse of the Berlin Wall. The above mentioned efforts seem to be successful. Despite of that even in the third generation flashbacks occur.

Coping with the historical trauma requires changes in attitudes towards the Past. Nobody can change it. And nobody should forget the history (Ricoeur, 1965). But learning from the Past without transmitting a hatred is possible and important as well. And it delivers the transformative experience to nations and individuals.

The aforementioned coping includes four crucial issues: 1) understanding the banality of evil, universality and dynamics of inter-group conflicts, violence and genocide, and its political, economic, social and psychological background (Arendt, 1963; Zimbardo, 2007), 2) building the emotional distance to the Past by developing the heterophatic type of post-memory (identification with a victim at a distance) rather than the idiopathic one (over-appropriate identification, lack of emotional distance resulting in the direct access to the historical trauma followed by the "appetite for alterity") (Silverman, 1996), 3) developing the feeling of justice by breaking with the tribe loyalty, group conformity and rivalry, building the empathy towards victims of a conflict independently to their group affiliations as well as rejecting the category of collective responsibility across-generations, and 4) developing dialogue between post-generations.

Polish experience shows the processes of coping with the Past and healing its wounds are possible despite they need some time and patience. Due to flashbacks activated by various events these processes aren't linear, and overcoming arising problems can be sometimes difficult for all sides of reconciliation processes. But this lesson proves young generations don't need to be hostages of the Past. Instead, they can learn from the history to create their peaceful Future.

Survey of Genocide Memorials - Museums: 3 Atrocities; 3 Memorials; 3 Countries

Amy Fagin (20th Century Illuminations, USA)

This presentation will survey 3 contemporary museum / memorial institutions which endeavor to commemorate a specific mass atrocity through a visitors experience to a site created for remembrance; education and

contemplation. The presentation will be assisted with Power Point.

Societal acknowledgment and remembrance of genocide is a pivotal factor in mending post conflict societies where mass killing of a group has occurred. Given that the 20th century has estimated death counts of well over 200 million people due to mass murder, the effort to memorialize even a tiny fraction of these victims is an essential catalyst towards prevention over this next century. With atrocities still raging on the ground the effort to create and support centers where genocide victims are remembered and honored is a vitally important effort toward building peaceful co-existence.

This survey presentation will evaluate 3 memorial / museum locations in the following categories:

1. Conception of the memorial / museum and sources of funding and technical support
2. Permanent collection and exhibitions
3. Travelling exhibitions
4. Education and Outreach for the general public; students and educators
5. Web site design.

A comparative analysis of the concepts and design of these locations and the effectiveness each has with regards to their success in promoting visitation and fostering awareness and education about the stated atrocities will conclude the presentation.

Mary Park Hall: *Park Lounge*

PANEL 26: MASS VIOLENCE

Moderator: Gregory Kent (University of Roehampton, United Kingdom)
email – g.kent@roehampton.ac.uk

“Erasing the Boundaries between Combatants and Non-Combatants: War and Targeted Mass Killing”

John Cox (Department of Global, International & Area Studies, University of North Carolina, Charlotte, USA)

Warfare has always generated indiscriminate violence. But in the last century, the boundaries between combatants and non-combatants have been nearly erased. World War I claimed the lives of millions of noncombatants while laying waste to urban and rural landscapes; in World War II, civilian deaths outnumbered military casualties. This trend has worsened: Roughly nine of ten victims of post-1945 wars have been civilians, according to one UN report. Warfare has often become a crucible of genocide, as ruling groups see the opportunity to pursue their goals. The instability and brutalization wrought by war intensifies the most belligerent, racist, expansionist trends, while strengthening the appeal of murderous solutions to perceived population problems or ethnic conflicts.

As argued by Martin Shaw, Donald Bloxham, and other leading genocide-studies scholars, war also exacerbates certain psychological factors, operating at individual and collective levels, that are then channeled toward mass violence and cruelty: the definition of entire peoples and societies as “the enemy”; the linking of internal groups (e.g., the Ottoman Armenians and Cambodia’s Vietnamese population) to an external threat; and the dehumanization of the “enemy,” both foreign and domestic. In wars and occupations with pronounced colonial and racist characteristics, young soldiers finding themselves in an “alien environment ... can easily come to feel that rules of civilized behavior no longer need to apply.” And perhaps “the least acknowledged aspect of war,” according to a veteran of the U.S.-Vietnam War, is “how exhilarating it is.”

Through a comparative approach based largely on an analysis of perpetrator testimonies from Rwanda, the Yugoslav wars, East Timor, and Nazi Germany, this paper builds upon and enhances the contributions of other scholars. I will also incorporate theories from philosophy (e.g., Hegel, René Girard) as well as other disciplines.

Neighbours becoming Perpetrators: Explaining Participation in Mass Rape and Sexual Violence in Genocide

Alexis Nesbitt (Irish School of Ecumenics, Trinity College, Ireland)

Rape, sexual and gender-based violence characterize genocides and campaigns of ethnic cleansing with ever-increasing frequency. The question of how ordinary citizens find themselves participating in genocide is a complex and sensitive one: how these same ordinary citizens find themselves perpetrating brutal and sadistic sexual violence and torture is equally as difficult to determine.

Genocides arguably follow highly similar patterns of escalation, and those participating appear to follow very similar patterns of behavior. No two conflicts are ever identical, and yet across far-reaching geographic, ethnic,

linguistic and political boundaries, genocides continue to be perpetrated using very similar methods and patterns - including in relation to rape and sexual violence.

The war in the Former Yugoslavia, the Rwandan Genocide, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo are three such areas. Specifically, in each of these conflicts, the violence was distinctively gendered and sexualised: men and women were targeted for specific kinds of violence, developing into campaigns of brutal violence involving the mass perpetration of sexual torture, mutilation and rape.

The need to belong, fear and anger are some of the most powerful human emotions. Many cases of genocide consistently demonstrate patterns of social and political behavior, whereby those in power institute mechanisms that prey upon, escalate and manufacture these emotions. History, cultural memory and identity are manipulated through broadcasted politicised remembrance. Given that previous theories regarding rape and masculinity are unsatisfactory, the question remains as to what aspect of these emotions is responsible for transforming civilians into perpetrators.

“Double Killing”: Confronting Denial and Securing Memory

Clotilde Pégorier (Senior Research Fellow at the University of Luzern, Switzerland)

Recent history has provided an unsettling assessment of the international community’s attempts to develop effective mechanisms to prevent genocide and mass violence. Instances of persecution, expulsion and destruction continue to blight areas across the globe, furnishing evidence of the essential failure of present measures and exposing the regrettable hollowness of the ‘Never Again’ mantra. The lessons of the past have, it seems, to some considerable measure gone unheeded.

This patterning of events invites reflection on the question of memory and remembrance. The importance of securing the memory of violent events is now largely imprinted on the international consciousness as a pivotal element in efforts to restore justice and prevent future violence. The processes and effects of memorialisation continue, however, to be assailed by the issue of denial – that ‘double killing’ (Wiesel) which not only absolves perpetrators of guilt, but also ignores the suffering of the victims and destroys remembrance of the crime, and so fosters the conditions for repeat violence. The present paper takes a fresh look at the nexus of genocide, memory and law and re-considers the possibilities and limitations of combating denial through national and international legislation. Focusing on one of the central controversies in such discussions, the argument is here made that anti-denial laws are not irreconcilable with freedom of expression, and that the wider outlawing of denial could and should provide an important medium through which to secure recognition and prevention, and bring about a more effective linking of past, present and future.

Genocide Denial as an International Crime: Weaknesses and Advantages of this Concept

Enis Omerović (Institute for the Research of Crimes Against Humanity and International Law of Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina)

International crimes are defined by international conventions as well as by the statutes of international courts. The crime of genocide belongs to a group of international crimes against humanity and international law, which is primarily defined by the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide of 1948.

According to this concept, and from the international law perspective, genocide denial is to be considered as a criminal act, i.e. separate and autonomous international crime which could be defined and determined in a form of an international convention. The question is whether this international convention would contain legal norms of *jus cogens* nature that affects *erga omnes*. If the answer is affirmative, then this would mean that potential perpetrators of this crime would be prosecuted in accordance with the basic principles of universal jurisdiction in international law. Regarding national level, essential elements of the crime of genocide denial should be harmonised with suggested international legal regulation and should be formulated either in a separate national legal code *per se* or in a separate section of a national criminal code.

The fundamental argument for the criminalisation of genocide denial might be that this represents very dangerous social phenomenon, which should be criminally sanctioned, and therefore it should gain all the determinants of an international criminal act, due to many reasons, particularly as genocide denial might be considered as the last stage in the execution of the crime of genocide. The phenomenon of denial may lead to re-perpetration of the crime of genocide, and could also be considered as an obvious indicator for a possible prediction of a new crime of genocide.

Some countries already possess legal sanctions for genocide denial, as this phenomenon is recognised as a crime/criminal act within their national legal systems through a special code addressing denial only (*lex specialis*), through criminal code, or as the hatred speech. However, there are countries (e.g. USA) which do not

accept the concept of the criminalisation of genocide denial and which take criminalisation as an attack to the basic human rights and freedoms such as a freedom of speech and expression.

Taking into account the abovementioned, the author of the paper is therefore introducing a new concept on how this phenomenon could be regulated on international level, suggesting that the international community (i.e. United Nations) could adopt an international convention on the prohibition of genocide denial.

International convention on the prohibition of genocide denial must provide answers to many, still controversial questions: what is exactly meant by the notion of genocide denial; which particular form of genocide denial has to be expressed or committed in order to be forbidden and punishable by law; could the crime of genocide denial be committed by natural persons or legal entities or both; what kind of penalties/sanctions should be envisaged for the crime of genocide denial. Furthermore, should this convention be mandatory for all countries in the world or one country could make a reservation on it, and should this convention be incorporated into national legal systems or to be directly applicable are also issues of a great significance and importance for the presented concept.

13:30-14:30: Lunch at the City Eats Dining Center

Session 3: 14:30-16:30

Seven Hills Conference Center: *Nob Hill Room*

PANEL 27: REMEMBERING GENOCIDE

Moderator: Dagmar Lieske (JFCS Holocaust Center, USA) email - daglieske@web.de

Three Films, One Genocide: Memory, Memorialization and Reflection in Ravished Armenia(s)

Donna-Lee Frieze (School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Deakin University, Australia)

When *Ravished Armenia*, a fictional film based on real events, first screened in New York City in 1919, it was primarily for the purposes of fundraising. Aurora Mardiganian, a survivor of the Armenian genocide, played a pivotal role in this film. However, the full-length feature film was lost until recently, when a 20-minute segment of the film was found in Armenia. Two versions of the 20-minute segment were produced, distinct in their notions of filmic representation, memory and the sacred memorialisation of the genocide. It is no oversight that one rendering is titled *Ravished Armenia*, in order to pay homage to the original film and the genocide. The second version, titled *Credo* wants to separate itself from the initial film. The two versions illuminate notions of memorialisation and reflection, and yet the new *Ravished Armenia* and *Credo* utilise distinct editing and audio techniques, the former with pedagogical motives and the latter with an emphasis on aesthetics and affect.

Ninety years after the film's first screening, the original film *Ravished Armenia* remains a revered text among generations of Armenians, however, both 20-minute versions of the film speak exclusively and yet disparately to the memorialisation of the genocide. This paper briefly explains the purpose behind the making of the original film including Mardiganian's tortured reenactment of the genocide. It then explores the significance of the new versions and how film is used in the transformation of memory. The new 20 minute *Ravished Armenia* helps foster the memory of the original film through its documentary usage of the footage. *Credo*, however, challenges this factual approach, without forfeiting the sanctity of the genocide.

Remembering the group "in whole or in part": Reconciling individual grief with group commemoration

Pam Maclean (School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Deakin University, Australia)

Nigel Eltringham (Department of Anthropology, University of Sussex, United Kingdom)

The United Nations' adoption in 1948 of the Genocide Convention marked a radical reconceptualisation of international criminal law. Through the admittedly contentious definition of genocide as the intentional destruction of a group on the basis of national, ethnic, racial or religious membership, the United Nations shifted the focus of victims' sense of loss away from that of their immediate family or community, to far broader categories whose deliberate obliteration threatened the continued existence of distinctive societies, cultures and religious practices. Those who survived not only mourned countless deaths and endured their own physical and emotional scars, but they, and indeed their descendants, were also left to answer the incomprehensible question of why their group was targeted for annihilation and what could be retrieved from such a catastrophe. Critical to the process of countering genocide has been the desire that details of genocidal events are not forgotten, nor the victims and the worlds they inhabited. While preservation of memory, commemoration and memorialisation

have emerged as fundamental strategies in remembering genocide, what is less clear is how such strategies can reconcile an individual's need to grieve with broader group memorial agendas.

The paper considers current debates on genocide memory and questions the extent to which these debates engage with what may be specific to remembering "genocide". Can a distinction be drawn between remembering incidents of mass violence or crimes against humanity and remembering genocide? Does remembering destruction of "the group" by definition entail the mobilisation of collective memory?

The Intergenerational Transmission of the Memory of Genocide

Avril Alba (Department of Hebrew, Biblical and Jewish Studies, University of Sydney, Australia)

While Marianne Hirsch posits that the 'post memory' of the second generation dominates intergenerational response to the Holocaust, Gary Weissman, in his recent and provocative study, *Fantasies of Witnessing*, challenges such notions through delineating and exploring the category of the 'non-witness'; a group without familial ties to the Holocaust. Weissman's 'non-witnesses' extend the imperative to 'remember' the genocide of European Jewry beyond the children or grandchildren of survivors and, in so doing, enlarge our understanding of both the nature and potential of what is commonly referred to as the 'intergenerational transmission of Holocaust memory'.

This paper seeks to examine the interplay between these two categories of 'witnesses' in order to delineate more clearly how these two forms of intergenerational response differ and, at times, come into conflict. Focussing on the Australian experience, the country that received the most Holocaust survivors per capita after Israel, a case study approach will be utilised. A close examination of ongoing debates concerning the past and future direction of the Sydney Jewish Museum—a community museum founded by survivors but now dominated by the second generation—provides a framework within which the interchange between these two modes of intergenerational transmission of memory can be considered.

In asking where and how personal, familial and intra-communal memories intersect with more public expressions of Holocaust memory, a space is opened up in which these diverse and often contradictory memories can be examined. While the memory of genocide is often superficially (mis) understood as a unifying memory, this investigation of alternate forms of intergenerational response illustrates that the memory is not always constructed as an inclusive one. In light of this inherent 'elasticity', the paper concludes with a consideration of the efficacy (or not) of the intergenerational transmission of the memory of genocide in the Australian public sphere and beyond.

| |
|--|
| Towers Conference Center: <i>Sunset</i> |
|--|

| |
|--|
| PANEL 28: THE SILENCE OF VIOLENCE IN THE HORN OF AFRICA |
|--|

Moderator: Deborah Anna Brown (San Francisco State University, USA) email - dbrown@sfsu.edu

The Many Meanings of "Martyr" and the Afterlife of Violence: Eritreans in Diaspora and the Politics of Sacrifice

Victoria Bernal (Department of Anthropology, University of California, Irvine, USA)

The paramount symbol of nationalist history promoted by the Eritrean state is the 'martyr,' the person who died in the long struggle for liberation from Ethiopia. This essay explores the complex array of meanings surrounding this key nationalist symbol. It pays particular attention to the ways that Eritreans as individuals invoke the symbol of the martyr in their posts to websites of the online public sphere created by Eritreans in diaspora. The figure of the martyr is valorized in postwar Eritrean political culture and deployed by the ruling party to celebrate a form of citizenship based on self-sacrifice for the state. The deep resonance of this symbol for Eritreans who survived the war eludes any singular, fixed meaning, however, and draws power from its multiple registers with individuals.

Through the mediating figure of the martyr, I suggest, relationships- between citizens and the state, between the past and the present, between national history and individual experience, between the living and the dead, between what is and what otherwise might have been- are represented, negotiated, mourned, and contested. Attending to the ways the martyr travels beyond the territorial boundaries of the nation into spaces of diaspora and cyberspace reveals the afterlife of violence. Legacies of violence do not simply remain as traces, ruins, memories, and scars on the land and people of the postwar nation, these legacies extend into new spatialities and temporalities within and beyond the nation.

Mass violence at the margins of the state: the return of garrison rule in the Ethiopian Ogaden

Tobias Hagmann (Department of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley, USA)

Despite the ruling Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front's (EPRDF) agenda of democratization and self-determination, ethno-national and state violence have remained prominent in eastern Ethiopia after 1991. Recently, the Ethiopian government adopted highly militarized tactics to subdue the growing rebellion by the Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF). Since its 2007 counterinsurgency campaign, the Ethiopian National Defense Force (ENDF) has attempted to weak and kill enemy bodies as well as discipline and punish the local Ogaadeen population, which is suspects of aiding the ONLF. Counterinsurgency measures included a temporary blockade of goods and people and the ongoing, indiscriminate imprisonment, killing and torture of civilians.

This paper provides an empirical account of the key actors and processes that led to the escalation of the conflict between the ONLF and the Ethiopian army. Drawing on interviews with key informants and news reports I describe the military, legal, political and economic components of the ENDF's counterinsurgency efforts. The paper argues that the recent crackdown on the Ogaadeen population signifies a return to a historic mode of governing the Ethiopian-Somali periphery by dint of garrison rule. The latter has its precedents in the *kātama*, the fortified military structures established by the advancing imperial army in its conquest of the southern and eastern parts of the country in the 18th and 19th century. Today garrison rule is the strategy by which the Ethiopian state maintains control over its margins, sparking both violence and resistance, and reviving old traumas that shape antagonistic attitudes between Ethiopians and Somalis.

Towards a history of large-scale violence against civilians in Somalia's civil war

Lidwien E. Kapteijns (Department of History, Wellesley College, USA)

Since 1978 large-scale violence against civilians (LVAC) has become an increasingly important political instrument in the hands of politico-military entrepreneurs in Somalia. In this paper I will argue that the clan cleansing campaign by the USC and its allies, which reached and intensified in Mogadishu following the expulsion of the military dictator M. S. Barre on January 27, 1991, represented a key shift that slid into place in Mogadishu in a matter of weeks. First, there was a sudden reversal of the axis along which the civil war had been fought until this moment. Second, civilians – until now the target of large-scale violence by the government – became perpetrators and began to target other civilians outside of the institutions of the now collapsing state. In the “wars of the militias” that followed, other clan-based militias adopted LVAC as a normalized practice.

Given the near-absence of critical scholarship about the clan cleansing of 1991 in Somalia; combined with the aporia that characterizes Somali speech about this subject in formal, shared, Somali public space, how can a historian go about documenting (analyzing and contextualizing) this under-analyzed and often purposefully concealed history – this ‘truth’ that so many consider indispensable to ‘reconciliation’ – while simultaneously creating space for that plurality of perceptions of the past that is indispensable to social reconstruction but also implies serious distortions of the past. This is the subject of this paper.

Discussant

Donald Donham (Department of Anthropology, University of California, Davis, USA)

Towers Conference Center: *Richmond*

PANEL 29: APPROACHES TO GENOCIDE PREVENTION

Moderator: Kitty Millet (San Francisco State University, USA) email - kmillet1@sfsu.edu

When Good Breaks out during Genocide: Case Studies of Heroic Acts in the Face of Evil

Paul R. Bartrop (Richard Stockton College of New Jersey, USA)

For the most part, it can be said that genocide scholars study human evil. Only very rarely, by contrast, have acts of good been studied, with the singular – and crucially important – example of those people who tried to save lives during the Holocaust, known today as the Righteous among the Nations. In fact, there has been so little work done in respect of good during genocide (other than the Holocaust) that one might be inclined to despair at the predominance of evil in the world over the relatively few chronicled acts of good which should, we would all prefer, prevail instead.

This paper is a first attempt at looking at some of the instances of good that have taken place in genocide situations. It will be shown through a series of case studies that acts of heroism do not have to take place on a

grand scale in order to be effective, or that those attempting them have to put their lives on the line when confronting massive acts of genocidal violence. While showing that there have been some exceptionally brave acts on the part of some individuals, this paper will argue that it is in a myriad small ways that the worst excesses of genocide can sometimes be avoided, and that further examination of acts of good can serve as an approach to genocide prevention that has thus far been overlooked.

Law and Genocide: A Promise Unfulfilled

Alex Alvarez (Department of Criminology & Criminal Justice, Northern Arizona University, USA)

Recent years have seen the proliferation of various legal venues and approaches to the problem of genocide. Through the creation of laws, the establishment of courts, and the prosecution of perpetrators, the international community has sought to establish the primacy of legal strategies for preventing and prosecuting genocidal outbreaks. Increasingly, it seems, we rely on the law to combat this form of collective violence. But how effective in preventing genocide can legal strategies truly be? Can we realistically depend on the rule of law to act as a deterrent to those contemplating the extermination of a population? This paper offers a critical examination and discussion of the limitations of using law and legal methods to prevent and punish genocidal states and individual perpetrators and the dangers of an overreliance on legalistic solutions to this problem.

The Politics of Genocide Prevention in the 21st Century: How Are We Doing?

Herbert Hirsch (Department of Political Sciences & Public Administration, Virginia Commonwealth University, USA)

This paper examines the role of politics in genocide prevention. Contemporary proposals to prevent genocide, from R2P, through the US Government “Blueprint,” to the present MARO put forth by the US military with the collaboration of the Kennedy School, treat genocide as though it takes place in a political vacuum. They ignore or downplay the importance of international and national political actors and institutions in the role they play in, for the most part, creating situations in which prevention is either difficult or impossible. The present paper examines these forces in light of the most recent proposals and points out how and why prevention is, at best, a difficult goal, and, at worst, a fantasy.

Catholicism as a Fail-safe to Genocide? Some reflections on Religion, Violence, and the Prevention of Mass Murder

Lauren Faulkner (Department of History, University of Notre Dame, USA)

If Christianity is a religion of selflessness and love for one’s neighbor, as its founder preached, then one might assume that it acts automatically as a preventative instrument in the minds of men and women invited to engage in genocidal enterprises. Unfortunately, historical examples suggest that Christianity as an organized system of faith does not provide an impermeable mental barrier to genocide or other mass atrocities. Using several case studies from Nazi Germany, this paper argues that religious beliefs were as effective in mobilizing support for Hitler’s war effort, of which genocide was an essential component, among Catholic clergy as it was in producing dissent and opposition. The Catholic Church and the religion it preached were ultimately not reliable antidotes to Nazism’s exterminationist ideology.

Towers Conference Center: *Presidio*

PANEL 30: THE LAW AND TRIBUNALS II

Moderator: Dane Johnson (San Francisco State University, USA) email - danej@sfsu.edu

Between Genocide and Persecution: An International Criminal Law Response to Acts of Cultural Annihilation

Elisa Novic (Department of Law at the European University Institute, Fiesole, Italy)

A legacy of Nuremberg, the crimes of genocide and persecution – a sub-crime against humanity – are sometimes difficult to differentiate from a legal perspective, particularly when it comes to processes of “cultural annihilation.” This terminology invokes Lemkin’s conceptualisation of genocide and the importance he attached to cultural destruction, both as acts – destruction of cultural heritage, linguistic restrictions – and final outcome of genocide – the disappearance of a culture through the annihilation of one group.

During the 1948 Genocide Convention negotiations, only the material dimension was discussed, and rejected. This not only resulted in a biased understanding of the relationship between the notions of culture and

genocide, but also created a “legal void”, as acts of cultural destruction, although part of processes of genocide, were left aside from the legal definition.

The development and consolidation of international criminal law from the 1990s onwards involved the conjunctive implementation, and thus differentiation in scope, of the two crimes. Case law concerning the Former-Yugoslavian conflict and the crimes perpetrated by the Khmer Rouge is particularly relevant, as it displays two trends in the implementation of the crime of persecution in relation to that of genocide:

- i) As a complement to the crime of genocide, by putting the emphasis on the potential for escalation (cf. ICTY Krajisnik and crimes committed against the Cham minority in Cambodia);
- ii) As a substitute for quasi-genocides (cf. crimes committed against the Khmer people and the Buddhist group in Cambodia).

Drawing on Lemkin’s emphasis on the link between genocide and culture, this paper therefore intends to explore the conceptual and legal relationship between the two crimes of persecution and genocide, with regard to processes of group cultural annihilation.

Guilt Admissions and Interview Techniques in International Courts and Tribunals

Melanie O’Brien (ARC Centre of Excellence in Policing and Security, Griffith University, Australia)

Guilt admissions are a vital element of both preventing and coping with genocide. Guilt admissions can provide us with an insight into why such crimes were committed, and can be a coping mechanism for both victim and perpetrator. Many factors could influence a perpetrator to confess. These may be psychological, anthropological, or sociological, such as a perpetrator’s upbringing or personality. However, there are other elements in the criminal justice process that may influence admissions of guilt, including the interview and questioning process.

Persons who work at international courts and tribunals come from a variety of backgrounds. National training and experience inevitably influence investigators and prosecutors. A variety of interview techniques exist, some which are recognised as being more successful in criminal interrogations and confessions, for example, cognitive interviewing. These differences may impact significantly on whether perpetrators confess.

This paper will discuss the author’s inter-disciplinary study of interview techniques in international criminal courts and tribunals, seeking to address some pertinent issues with regards to interviewing suspects and insider witnesses. Such issues include the specific difficulties faced by investigators with regards to interviewing suspects and insider witnesses of international crimes that do not exist in the domestic context of ‘ordinary’ crimes. This analysis is undertaken through domestic interview techniques analysis, and interviews by the author with investigators and lawyers from one or more of the international tribunals or courts. This paper is based on a project that aims to ultimately assist practitioners in international criminal justice to increase their success in prosecutions, and contribute to an increase in guilt admissions.

A case study on evidence and intent for genocide: the Falun Gong in China

David Matas (Faculty of Law, University of Manitoba, Canada)

Falun Gong combines and updates the Chinese exercise qi gong traditions and the Chinese Taoism and Buddhism spiritual traditions. The practice grew starting from 1992 to a number greater than the membership of the Communist Party in 1999 when it was banned. The Party set up an office on June 10, 1999, called the 610 office after the date of the ban, to enforce the ban.

The banning led to widespread protests. On November 30, the head of the 610 office announced a new policy on the movement one element of which was "destroy them physically."

After that Falun Gong were arrested and asked to denounce the practice. Those who did not were tortured. Those who still refused to recant after torture disappeared.

What happened to the disappeared? David Kilgour and I concluded that Falun Gong practitioners were killed in large numbers for their organs to be used in transplants. The evidence we gathered raises two questions relating to the law of genocide. One question is what level of evidence and what kind of evidence are necessary to establish that genocide has occurred. The second is whether the circumstances of this abuse, even if accepted as established, manifests an intent to destroy the group in whole or in part. The purpose of the paper would be to address and answer those questions.

Mary Park Hall: Park Lounge

PANEL 31: GENOCIDE AND THE ARTS II

Moderator: Volker Langbehn (San Francisco State University, USA) email - langbehn@sfsu.edu

Political Epistemology of Genocide: The Impact of Genocide pictures on Politics

Philipp Ruch (Collegium for the Advanced Study of Picture Act, Germany)

When the Nobel Prize winner Doris Lessing traveled to Afghanistan 26 years ago, she faced the front line of a bitter, asymmetric war. A ruthless battle of modern high-tech equipment against Stone Age methods of fighting. The emotions, observations and statements that found their way into Lessing's notebook are by no means limited to the war of the Soviets in Afghanistan. In Peshawar, Lessing encounters a commander of the mujahedeen, who complains: "We cry for help, but the wind blows away our words." This observation did not lose, but gain relevance. It seems, the West can no more be reached by words. They do not have an impact. What about the power of images? The lecture will raise basic assumptions on the perception of pictures from genocides. Analyzing Bosnian war images, were they able to be trajectories of emotions of injustice, cries for help and genocidal terror?

Genre and the Literature of Genocide

Katherine Wilson (Department of English, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, USA)

Since World War II, literary canons across the world have been saturated by stories of mass atrocity, making the atrocity narrative one of the most common documents of modernity. My paper argues that the production and interpretation of these narratives has come to be governed by three distinct paradigms in the last half of the 20th century: the institutionalization of Holocaust studies, the emergence of the modern human rights movement, and the development of international law. Comparing distinct uses of the phrase "bearing witness" across these three paradigms, I show how each discourse has developed, over the course of their evolution, a unique ethics for reading and interpreting atrocity narratives. I further argue that this discursive disparity has over time led to the compartmentalization of atrocity narratives into the separate literary genres including "Holocaust literature" and "human rights literature." Although normally connected with conventions of writing, I use "genre" in this paper as a descriptor of textual reception and reading practices. Instead of enabling individual testimonies, atrocity genres act as templates which may desensitize readers to narratives that differ from their expectations. In this sense, genres set the standard for a "correct" response to the text. Although all texts function at the intersection of two imperatives—the demand for a work's representational uniqueness and the demand for its correspondence to genre—I argue that in our encounters with a growing body of atrocity narratives a surprising pattern of reading has emerged: the more an account represents generic conventions, the more it meets the standards of an authentic testimony within each paradigm.

The Role of Genocide and Post-Genocide Literature in Creating Politically Engaged Imagined Communities

Kate O'Neill (Department of English, University of Calgary, Canada)

This paper examines the role of political literature in critically engaging with the recent genocide in Rwanda and the continuing genocide in Darfur. More specifically, I consider how texts such as Gil Courtemanche's *A Sunday at the pool in Kigali* and Halima Bashir & Damien Lewis's *Tears of the Desert* serve the essential function of forging new "imagined communities" (Anderson) and "imagined geographies" (Said) in the aftermath of violent events.

Because ethnicity has been at the heart of each of these conflicts, texts such as these can reaffirm the bonds that link members of these communities. For minority populations under attack, such literature can offer a sense of community across borders, drawing nationals, refugees, and immigrants/asylum seekers together into a shared community that is empowered through this literary representation.

These texts also create secondary communities because of their broad global readership. Such communities are linked by a shared understanding of and sense of outrage over the events detailed by the authors. Greater awareness of the causes behind such conflicts is the first step towards provoking effective international responses. These texts use literature as a political teaching tool, challenging the way that news is disseminated and further evolving the function of the novel as a form of writing.

Finally, these texts challenge the limited understanding of foreign cultures perpetuated by news reports that do not offer a complex picture of the social realities that instigate and perpetuate these conflicts. By giving readers a broader and more detailed understanding of these communities, authors counteract popular perceptions of war-torn countries and thus refute the "imagined geographies" that are set in motion by a western gaze that tends to focus on violent media spectacle.

SATURDAY, 30TH JUNE

16:30-17:00: Tea & Coffee in the Seven Hills Conference Center (Foyer)

Session 4: 17:00-19:00

| |
|--|
| Seven Hills Conference Center: <i>Nob Hill Room</i> |
|--|

| |
|------------------------------|
| ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION |
|------------------------------|

19:30: Dinner at the City Eats Dining Center

Sunday 1st July

0800-10:00: Breakfast at the City Eats Dining Center

Session 1: 0900-11:00

Seven Hills Conference Center: *Nob Hill Room*

PANEL 33: GENOCIDE AND INDIGENOUS PEOPLE IN NORTH-AMERICA II

Moderator: Dagmar Lieske (JFCS Holocaust Center) email - daglieske@web.de

Silencing History and Failing to See the Future: Denying Genocide and Climate Change in the United States

Jeff Benvenuto (The Center for the Study of Genocide, Conflict Resolution and Human Rights (CGCHR) at The State University of New Jersey, USA)

In the United States, shallow awareness of history is matched by myopic perceptions of global environmental problems. Memories of the great Mississippian culture in the North American southeast, for example, have been virtually obliterated. Generally speaking, there has been a thorough disavowal of colonial genocides by American civilization. In a similar way, it has also disowned any real future by willfully denying or failing to adapt to climate change. Modern consumer culture in the United States feels as strongly entitled to private property and material abundance as did its settler-colonial forbearers. It also draws from nationalist myths like American exceptionalism and Manifest Destiny to perceptively insulate consumers from realizing their exacerbating impacts on our current ecological situation. This paper explores how denials of genocide and climate change in the United States might be related, in that they presently exhibit a sense of being atemporal and suspended in a state of disbelief, thus arrogantly disassociating American society from any responsibility to history or the future.

Centre and Periphery: Context and Content of Settler Colonial Genocide

Tricia Logan (Department of Modern History, Royal Holloway, University of London, Canada)

The Canadian Museum for Human Rights (CMHR), currently being built in Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada is emerging as a space for debate, even before it is open. The museum is envisioned as an innovative ideas museum and a centre for dialogue. The museum is intended to integrate Canadian curriculum standards and represent a community-driven narrative of “Canada’s human rights culture”. As the first memory institution of its kind and scope, the museum has drawn significant public support, pressure and attention for its design and content. Holocaust and genocide content has been among the most scrutinized content of the museum.

This paper will examine the museum’s approach to settler colonial and Indigenous genocides in the museum. There are inherent connections between a national historic narrative in Canadian history and how certain events are entered or are erased from a national institution like the Canadian Museum for Human Rights. This paper will also reflect on the state of Canadian history and the treatment of settler colonial genocide in Canada. Canada’s role in the residential school system, assimilative policies, forced sterilization and other state-perpetrated atrocities are all notably misrepresented in Canadian history. A human rights approach to creating a museum and revising a portion of history should confront the colonization of Canadian history and the significance of providing voice and agency to individuals and groups whose histories were long relegated to the periphery of Canadian history. This paper will discuss how these concepts of confronting Canadian history and colonial legacy manifest themselves in the CMHR and how they are still being developed and debated.

Present Absences: Remembrance In Germany, Amnesia In California

Tony Platt (Department of Justice Studies, San Jose State University, USA)

Drawing upon three recent visits to Germany, I explore how this country addresses its Nazi past, the meaning of the Holocaust, and the social and political machinery of genocide. Memorial culture in Germany is contrasted with California’s legacies of public amnesia, in particular its failure to address the region’s tragic racial past. Genocidal policies against California’s native peoples in the mid-19th century were accompanied by expropriation of lands and exploitation of survivors, followed by the systematic looting of native gravesites in the name of science, education, and sport. In the 20th century, the creation of a public narrative of the state’s past – the “California Story” – both excused and legitimated racist images of Native Americans, making it easier for future generations to evade a reckoning with the region’s tragic and sorrowful history. California continues

to be shaped, culturally and socially, by these bitter legacies and divisions. What will it take to create a public history that does justice to the past?

Towers Conference Center: *Sunset*

PANEL 34: RECONCILING WITH GENOCIDE: THE ROLE OF LAW IN POST-GENOCIDE SOCIETIES

Moderator: Thomas Bryant (Alice Salomon Hochschule Berlin, Germany)
email - post@thomas-bryant.de

'Bad Nazis and Other Germans': The fate of SS-Einsatzgruppen Commander Martin Sandberger in Postwar Germany

Hilary Earl (Department of History, Nipissing University, Canada)

In a book about the children of leading Nazis, *My Father's Keeper*, Stephan Lebert writes that "there has been a theory of history doing the rounds [in Germany], based on silence and a simple formula: there are the bad Nazis and then there are the other Germans." This is a great myth writes Lebert. The truth is that there were only perpetrators, "first and second class, and maybe third too." In the case of SS officer Martin Sandberger, a brilliant university student who earned a PhD in law and then under the Nazis, became leader of Sonderkommando 1a, the SS unit in charge of killing racial and political enemies of the Reich in Estonia, was both a "bad Nazi" and an "other German."

Sandberger was captured and arrested in May 1945 and was tried by the Americans at Nuremberg in 1947-1948 in a group trial against two dozen Einsatzgruppen leaders. The evidence against him was overwhelming, and thus the court at Nuremberg found him guilty and sentenced him and 13 of his colleagues to death by hanging. Like so many of those tried after the war, Sandberger's death sentence was commuted and he was released from prison in 1958. From then until his death on March 20, 2010 he lived his life in anonymity, never speaking to anyone about what he had done during the war, that is until Walter Mayr, a Spiegel reporter, found him "hiding in plain sight" in an elite Stuttgart nursing home a month before he died. This paper seeks to understand the process by which a man such as Sandberger made and unmade himself under shifting contexts of the war and post war period; how a seemingly average German became a major perpetrator of the Nazi regime and then how after the war, he was able to reintegrate back into German society.

Justice at Dachau? US Military Commission Courts and the Adjudication of Nazi Crimes

Tomaz Jardim (Department of History, Ryerson University, Canada)

Contrary to popular perception, the vast majority of Nazi war criminals brought to justice in the wake of the Second World War were not tried at Nuremberg, but were instead tried by American military commission courts – akin to those currently functioning at Guantanamo Bay. On the grounds of the former concentration camp Dachau, the U.S. military tried nearly 1700 war crimes suspects in rapid trials that produced hundreds of death sentences and employed lax legal standards that caused outcry in Germany and eventually led to a Senate investigation in Washington, DC. My talk will explore how questionable legal practices impacted the ability of the Dachau courts to accurately and adequately address Holocaust crimes, and convey a pedagogical message designed to prompt the German public to recognize the evils of National Socialism. Understanding the flaws of the US Army's approach to war crimes prosecution forces reflection on the implications of compromising legal standards in order to guarantee that the perpetrators of mass atrocity do not walk free.

Yet despite the shortcomings of the American military system, I will show that the rough justice at Dachau had its merits. Most importantly, the lack of resources and legal staff available to Dachau prosecutors forced military personnel to rely on concentration camp survivors to assist in every stage of the preparation of cases for trial and provide the lion's share of evidence against the accused. The Dachau courts thus became a venue in which hundreds of survivors were able to play an important role in the punishment of their former captors, and to emerge from powerlessness in the process.

Reconciliation in Rwanda: the Push and Pull of Post-Genocide Law

Valerie Hébert (Department of History, Lakehead University at Orillia, Canada)

In the three generations since Nuremberg, the testimony of victims, perpetrators, and witnesses has become a central feature of atrocity trials. Nowhere is this seen as clearly as in Rwanda's Gacaca tribunals. In their design and operation, these tribunals depend on the collective community-based construction of a historical narrative, through testimony, to determine guilt and responsibility for crimes related to the genocide. However,

the Rwandan government's efforts in supporting these tribunals (which entered their final phase in 2011) has had unanticipated and at times deleterious effects on the surviving victims of the genocide. Indeed, in attempts to maintain the appearance of community-based justice, the Rwandan government has resorted to increasingly coercive measures to obtain citizen participation in weekly meetings of the tribunals. Also, in efforts to close the social divide between Tutsi and Hutu, the government has banned reference to these categories in everyday conversation. As a result, victims live a parallel existence of having to routinely revisit the trauma of the Hutu-Tutsi genocide, while in their present lives – at least publically – subscribing to the new narrative that denies the existence of separate ethnicities. Moreover, recent research in psychology on post-genocide Rwanda suggests that the experience of testifying in Gacaca is potentially detrimental to the testifier, and only further complicates social reconstruction after genocide. In discussing the issues raised here, this paper will highlight the ethical and political ramifications of particular post-atrocity justice models in societies struggling to reconcile with traumatic histories.

Towers Conference Center: Richmond

PANEL 35: CIRCASSIAN GENOCIDE

Moderator: Elizabetta Nelsen (San Francisco State University, USA) email - enelsen@sfsu.edu

Effacing a Crime, Denying a Nation: Russian Strategies for Concealing the Circassian Genocide

Walter Richmond (Occidental College, USA)

This paper analyzes two methods Russian politicians and scholars have used to deny the Circassian genocide of 1863-64 since the time of the genocide to the present. I believe that examining them will contribute to our understanding of the ways in which perpetrators of genocide attempt to justify their actions.

--treating the genocide as simply one chapter in a century-long migratory process from Russia to the Ottoman Empire. By shifting the focus to the larger issue of Muslim out-migration, the proponents of this argument are able to downplay (or omit) the actions of the Russian army during its ethnic cleansing of Circassia. The entire migratory process is also presented as "voluntary" by selective use of evidence and exclusion of the broader context of Russian colonization and oppression of the Muslim peoples of the Caucasus and Black Sea region.

--denying the existence of a Circassian nation or even a Circassian ethnic group. If there was no such nation as Circassia or people as Circassians, so this argument goes, there was no genocide. One particularly interesting strategy of the proponents of this argument is the manipulation of the term "Circassian," which originally had a vague definition for the Russians and which was used by the Ottomans to mean any migrant from the Caucasus.

The paper will begin by summarizing other, more commonly used, genocide denial strategies by the Russians. The paper will conclude by contrasting the two examined strategies with others in order to place them in context with other attempts at genocide denial.

Watching History in the Re-making: Sterilizing place and rewriting history through international events

John Hagher (Circassian Association of California, USA)

Cicek Chek (Circassian Association of California, USA)

In a letter from a Russian officer to his commander regarding the situation within just one of the concentration camps set up to house Circassian deportees in 1865 he writes:

"According to the information from the fortress Constantinovskoye, around 110,000 natives were sent; those resettlers who arrived after that point of time had to stay quite a long time in the barracks on the north-eastern side of Constantinovskoye bay (modern Adler in the Sochi district), where they were also burying their dead according to their tradition. I have collected the information on the matter of how high the death rate was among replacing people and how deep their bodies were buried. This information is needed in order to prevent possible spreading of epidemics in the spring time caused by shallowly buried bodies." State Historical Archive of Georgia, Fund 416, inventory 3, unit storage 142. "

Fast forward 147 years to the Sochi World exhibit in Vancouver where a spectacular hologram of Cossacks greets you at the entrance. Within this immense exhibit showcasing Sochi, there is absolutely no mention of the indigenous Circassians who populated that region for over 5000 years. Instead, the Cossacks, who in fact were the primary instrument of genocide, are portrayed as the historic dwellers of Sochi. The land of Circassian

Genocide, Sochi, with mass graves and all, is being cleansed, literally and figuratively on occasion of the 2014 Winter Olympics. History is being re-written and ethnocide completed not in the shadows of some secret government agency, but in the most public venue imaginable. This paper will discuss the genocide, and continuing ethnocide, of Circassians in the context of the 2014 Winter Olympiad in Sochi.

Towers Conference Center: *Presidio*

PANEL 36: GENOCIDE ON TRIAL: LINKING THE PERPETRATORS TO THE ATROCITY

Moderator: Elies van Sliedregt (Dean of the Faculty of Law, VU University Amsterdam, Netherlands) email - e.van.sliedregt@vu.nl

Insider Witnesses: Linking Perpetrators at What Cost?

Joris Van Wijk (Department of Criminology, VU University Amsterdam, Netherlands)

The 2010 strategy of the ICC Prosecutor states that “those situated at the highest echelons of responsibility, including those who ordered, financed, or otherwise organized the alleged crimes” will be selected for prosecution. The only way to secure a conviction of such high ranking accused is to present evidence that can link the superiors on trial to the actual crimes committed on the ground. Obtaining such ‘linkage evidence’ is exceedingly complex. While the Nazis meticulously kept records of their crimes, today’s high ranking perpetrators generally do not leave any paper trails. Using testimonies of insider witnesses - persons who belonged to the same organization as the accused - is therefore the preferred prosecution strategy for international tribunals such as the ICTY, ICTR and ICC.

Using insider witnesses is important for an additional reason. As former ICTY prosecutor Carla Del Ponte notes, insiders can establish “directly and succinctly, for the first time in a public forum, that the atrocity occurred; and (...) as a member of the military or a government confront those authorities and individuals in the region who still deny the atrocities.”

However, using insider witnesses has many setbacks, too. Should a prosecutor actually ‘dance with the wolves’? How to find such insiders? How to induce them to testify? And what to do with them after they have testified?

In this paper, the numerous normative, practical and legal dilemmas faced while doing justice with the help of perpetrators are explored and discussed.

Genocide on Trial: Linking the Perpetrator to the Atrocity / Tales of Genocide: the Didactic Purpose of Trials Versus the Rights of Accused

Elinor Fry (Department of Criminal Law and Criminology, VU University Amsterdam, Netherlands)

Recording history is often regarded as amongst the broader goals of international criminal justice. Scholars such as Mark Osiel and Lawrence Douglas argue in favor of trials as forms of transitional justice enabling society to come to terms with a violent past, and hence as contributing to reconciliation. Indeed, international and domestic genocide judgments have provided detailed accounts of conflicts and mass atrocities, thusly creating historical narratives.

Yet, the question arises whether creating a historical record should be an explicit goal of a genocide trial or whether it is merely an inevitable side effect. Within the narrower legal context, the primary goal of a criminal trial is to determine whether a particular accused is guilty of the charges brought against him. Evidence law plays a dominant role here, not only as instrument for accurate fact-finding, but also as guarantee for procedural fairness through identifying and governing the information presented at trial. However, evidentiary rules may taint historical narratives: parties negotiate on agreed facts, and certain evidence is ruled inadmissible. Conversely, setting the historical record as a goal of a genocide trial may violate the rights of the accused: evidence is introduced that does not see to the guilt of the accused or the context of his alleged crimes.

Focusing on evidence law as governing tool, this paper examines the friction between the pedagogical purpose of creating a historical record and the due process rights of the accused where the interests of historical truth-telling and legal fact-finding diverge.

The Historical Character of Genocidal Intent

Marjolein Cupido (Faculty of Law, VU University Amsterdam, Netherlands)

Genocide is characterized by 'the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such'. The ad hoc Tribunals refer to this mental element as *dolus specialis*. They generally hold that *dolus specialis* may be inferred from the facts of the case. The finding of a genocidal plan and the accused's awareness of its consequences are particularly relevant in this respect.

The anthropologist R.A. Wilson recently argued that in proving the genocidal plan prosecutors resort to historical evidence. According to Wilson, *dolus specialis* thus obtains a historical-political character. This finding may have serious implications for our legal understanding of this mental element, in particular in light of the principle of individual criminal responsibility. Legal scholars generally hold that *dolus specialis* is an aggravated criminal intent that refers to the individual's intent to destroy (part of) a protected group. The use of historical evidence in establishing *dolus specialis* may, however, give this mental element a less individualized and more contextual character than is currently acknowledged by legal scholars.

This paper aims to provide further clarity on the ad hoc Tribunals' understanding of *dolus specialis* by means of factor-based case law analyses. This analysis provides insights into the factors on which the evaluation of *dolus specialis* in individual cases is based. The paper particularly evaluates whether the Tribunals have adopted an historical approach towards *dolus specialis*, giving this mental element a contextual character.

Mary Park Hall: *Park Lounge*

PANEL 37: SETTLER COLONIALISM AND GENOCIDE: WHEN HUNTERS-GATHERERS AND COMMERCIAL STOCK FARMERS CLASH

Moderator: Jürgen Zimmerer (University of Hamburg, Germany)
email - juergen.zimmerer@uni-hamburg.de

Socio-Ecological Systems and Ecocide in Conflict Between Hunter-gatherers and Commercial Stock Farmers in Australia

Norbert Finzsch (Department of History, University of Cologne, Germany)

Socio-ecological systems combine biotopes and humans in a complex system that tends to be stable and resilient, even when under stress. Australia is subject to severe climatic variations which demanded adaptive social organization from indigenous societies. As a result pre-colonial Aboriginal social structures were decentralized, non-hierarchical and highly mobile. Central to the Australian socio-ecological systems was the Aborigines' system of firestick farming that exploited the vegetative cycles that occur after a bushfire. Such systems, though highly resilient to spatio-temporal variation, were vulnerable to invaders.

Early settlers in Australia tended to treat the environment as inimical to their plans to live and settle on the land. Since commercial stock farmers were interested in acquiring land with a dense layer of grass, anything that impeded the growth of grass or plants on which cattle could feed, were destroyed. First among the plants that stood in their way was the Australian eucalyptus tree. The main technique for getting rid of the tree was bark-ringing that consisted of cutting away the bark near the bottom of the stem. After the tree had died off the trunks could be burnt. The ecological effects of bark-ringing were widespread and so severe that they brought affected areas close to ecological collapse. Even if the eucalyptus tree could never be beaten back completely, the ability of the soil's upper crust to hold water was tremendously diminished. Strategic use of bark-ringing was also used to drive away the indigenous population. For example, the Bogong Moth (*Agrotis infusa*) which was one of the most important sources of protein for aborigines in New South Wales depended for its existence on the eucalyptus tree. With the deforestation of large parts of New South Wales it became more difficult for the insect to find the giant eucalyptus tree (*eucalyptus regnans*) on which it fed, greatly reducing the amount of protein available to Aborigines.

This chapter discusses manipulations of Australian socio-ecological systems as part of settler attempts to drive Aboriginal people into the hinterland. These strategies played an important role in the destruction of Aboriginal society and formed part of the genocidal campaigns against them.

The Destruction of Hunter-gatherer Societies by Commercial Stock Farmers in Southern Africa, Australia and North American compared

Mohamed Adhikari (Department of History, University of Cape Town, South Africa)

The five century long process of European overseas conquest included many instances of the extermination of indigenous peoples. In cases where invading commercial stock farmers clashed with hunter-gatherers conflict was particularly destructive, often resulting in a degree of dispossession and slaughter that destroyed the ability of these societies to reproduce themselves biologically or culturally. The experience of aboriginal peoples

in settler colonies as diverse as those in southern Africa, Australia, North America and Latin America bears this out.

The frequency with which encounters of this kind resulted in the complete, or near complete, annihilation of forager societies raises the question whether this form of colonial conflict was inherently genocidal, an issue that has not in any systematic way been addressed by scholars. This paper explores the nature of conflict between hunter-gatherers and market-oriented stock farmers through a series of geographically and historically diverse case studies spread over three continents. The main focus is on how the global economic system tended to bring together the practices of metropolitan and colonial governments, the interests of providers of capital and the consumers of commodities, and the agency of local actors ranging from military commanders to graziers in remote outposts in ways that fostered the violent dissolution of native society. It seeks to identify salient shared features in conflicts between hunter-gatherers and market-oriented stock farmers that served to intensify hostilities and tilt the balance toward genocidal outcomes. The one known exception to the pattern of extermination is also considered in an attempt to understand why this particular form of conflict tended toward the most radical of solutions.

Physical and/or Cultural Genocide? Conflicts between Hunters-Gatherers and Pastoralists in Eastern and Southern Africa

Robert Hitchcock (Department of Geography and Anthropology, Michigan State University, USA)

Violent and non-violent conflicts between hunter-gatherers and market-oriented pastoralists have taken place in a number of areas in eastern and southern Africa in the 20th and 21st centuries, including ones in which there is competition over land and natural resources. There are cases where foragers have had to cope with incursions of pastoralists in their lands, as occurred, for example, in Chad (the Haddad), Kenya (the Okiek and Boni), Somalia (the Eyle), Tanzania (the Hadza), Namibia (the Ju/hoansi San), and Botswana (various San groups, including the Ju/hoansi, Nharo, !Xoo, Khwe, Tyua, and Kua). Not all of these cases involved deadly conflict. In some cases, pastoralists negotiated with hunter-gatherers to enable them to gain entry to their areas. There are also situations where pastoralists entered the land of hunter-gatherers uninvited, as occurred, for example, in Nyae Nyae, Namibia, where in late April 2009 Herero pastoralists crossed a veterinary cordon fence with hundreds of cattle and established themselves at water points already occupied by Ju/hoansi San. Questions addressed in this paper include whether or not the interactions between hunter-gatherers and pastoralists can be characterized as cases of physical or cultural genocide, neither, or both; potential differences between commercial and subsistence pastoralists in the ways in which they interact with hunter-gatherers, the role of the state in favoring certain groups at the expense others, the significance of implementing conflict resolution strategies, the need for greater collaboration between hunter-gatherers and pastoralists, and the importance of reconciling the competing agendas of different groups.

11:30-12:30: Lunch at the City Eats Dining Center

Special Power Point Presentation throughout the Conference

Beyond Genocide

Amy Fagin (20th Century Illuminations, USA)

This series of emerging contemporary illuminated manuscripts examines regions of the world where large scale episodes of genocide and mass annihilation have been perpetrated. Looking directly at and synthesizing beyond each cataclysm, the series depicts and interprets a complexly layered crystallization of the historic legacy of genocide around the planet.

Early illuminated manuscripts were hand crafted and bound books, scrolls or palm leaves; often including gold or silver, with religious text and important social themes defining their illustration. Historic illuminated manuscripts, from traditions around the world and covering several millennia were, typically, highly prized art objects and often represented major religious, social and artistic beliefs of the period.

This selection of contemporary illuminations draws on the history of this traditional art form, re-mediated as a Post-Modern-Art expression. *Beyond Genocide* reflects the manuscript illuminators' treatise on the social phenomena of genocide. Each illumination portrays the path of contemplation and commentary as a visual story which represents a culture or civilization threatened or extinguished by the violence of genocide.

Uniting all illuminations in this series is the inclusion of the traditional blessing within Jewish liturgy known as the "Mourners Kaddish" within each manuscript. The ancient Aramaic prayer for the dead expresses the depth of compassion for the victims of mass atrocity in a collective prayer of remembrance and blessing, by the hand of the illuminator.

This penetrating and complex series is based on thorough research and the virtuosity of technical skill honed over 30 years of practice. This effort aspires to create a collective, introspective / retrospective interpretation of the hundreds of millions of untold stories of the victims of mass atrocity. Viewed in its trajectory, the series accomplishes recognition of the greatest accomplishments of humankind juxtaposed with our most violent crimes. The intention of the artist is to deliver a personal reflection for the viewer of our common legacy of genocide.

The sophistication of each individual composition, viewed within the collection of the organized series, delivers a compelling visual experience. The goal of the artist is to create a silent, sacred testimony which encourages the viewer to look deeper into the history and legacy of genocide.

Participants

Presenters/Moderators

| | | | |
|---|----------------|---|------------------------|
| Adam Muller (Panel 4) | 28 | Katherine Wilson (Panel 31)..... | 64 |
| Adedayo Adedoyin (Panel 5)..... | 29 | Khatchik DerGhougassian (Panel 13)..... | 40 |
| Ai Yamashita (Panel 18)..... | 45 | Kirsti Zitar (Panel 5)..... | 30 |
| Akio Kimura (Panel 9)..... | 35 | Kitty Millet (Panel 3, 13, 20, 25, 29)..... | 26, 40, 48, 55, 61 |
| Alex Hinton (Panel 6)..... | 32 | Krystyna Bleszynska (Panel 25)..... | 55 |
| Alex Alvarez (Panel 29)..... | 62 | Kyoko Cross (Panel 18)..... | 45 |
| Alexis Nesbitt (Panel 26)..... | 57 | Lauren Faulkner (Panel 29)..... | 62 |
| Aliza Luft (Panel 3)..... | 26 | Lawrence Baron (Panel 14)..... | 41 |
| Amy Fagin (Panel 25)..... | 56, 72 | Lidwien E. Kapteijns (Panel 2, 28)..... | 25, 61 |
| Anahit Gomtsian (Panel 8)..... | 33 | M. Therese Seibert (Panel 11)..... | 38 |
| Andrea Grieder (Panel 11)..... | 37 | Magdalena Lamarre (Panel 19)..... | 47 |
| Andrew Woolford (Panel 23)..... | 52 | Marianne Neerland Soleim (Panel 25)..... | 55 |
| Armen Marssobian (Panel 13)..... | 40 | Marjolein Cupido (Panel 38)..... | 70 |
| Avril Alba (Panel 27)..... | 60 | Martin Böhmer (Panel 13)..... | 40 |
| Birthe C. Reimers (Panel 11)..... | 38 | Mary Leacy (Panel 3)..... | 27 |
| Bruce Bramlett (Panel 7)..... | 32 | Masaki Sawa (Panel 18)..... | 46 |
| Carmelo Leotta (Panel 20)..... | 48 | Maureen Hiebert (Panel 20)..... | 48 |
| Caroline Fournet (Panel 1)..... | 24 | Mayumi Watabe (Panel 18)..... | 46 |
| Carroll P. Kakel (Panel 24)..... | 53 | Megan Schmidt (Panel 10)..... | 36 |
| Christopher Powell (Panel 21)..... | 49 | Melanie O' Brien (Panel 30)..... | 63 |
| Christopher Tuckwood (Panel 2)..... | 25 | Michael Becker (Panel 3)..... | 26 |
| Christopher P. Davey (Panel 12)..... | 38 | Michael Bayzler (Panel 17)..... | 44 |
| Cicek Chek (Panel 35)..... | 68 | Michael Salter (Panel 1)..... | 24 |
| Clotilde Pégrier (Panel 26)..... | 58 | Miguel S. Meira (Panel 8, 12)..... | 33, 39 |
| Collin Sullivan (Panel 2)..... | 25 | Mohamed Adhikari (Panel 37)..... | 71 |
| Dagmar Lieske (Panel 14, 19, 27, 33)..... | 41, 46, 59, 66 | Monika Ambrus (Panel 8)..... | 33 |
| Dan McMillan (Panel 23)..... | 53 | Musa W. Olaka (Panel 22)..... | 52 |
| Dane Johnson (Panel 23, 30)..... | 52, 62 | Nancy Sardone (Panel 19)..... | 46 |
| Daniel Feierstein (Panel 6)..... | 31 | Natalie Skellon (Panel 8)..... | 34 |
| Daniel N. Huck (Panel 9)..... | 35 | Nicole Reiz (Panel 21)..... | 50 |
| David Deutsch (Panel 24)..... | 53 | Nigel Eltringham (Panel 27)..... | 59 |
| David Matas (Panel 30)..... | 63 | Nikki Bambauer (Panel 11)..... | 37 |
| Deborah Anna Brown (Panel 24, 28)..... | 53, 60 | Norbert Finzsch (Panel 37)..... | 70 |
| Dirte Marie Munch-Hansen (Panel 20)..... | 49 | Pam Maclean (Panel 27)..... | 59 |
| Donald Donham (Panel 28)..... | 61 | Paul R. Bartrop (Panel 29)..... | 61 |
| Donna-Lee Frieze (Panel 22, 27)..... | 52, 59 | Paul Slovic (Panel 2)..... | 25 |
| Douglas Irvin-Erickson (Panel 3)..... | 27 | Peter Balakian (Panel 13)..... | 40 |
| Edward Haley (Panel 5, 10)..... | 30, 36 | Philipp Ruch (Panel 31)..... | 62 |
| Eileen O'Kane (Panel 7)..... | 32 | Randall H. Kaufman (Panel 19)..... | 47 |
| Elies van Sliedregt (Panel 38)..... | 69 | Rhoda Howard-Hassmann (Panel 9)..... | 34 |
| Elinor Fry (Panel 38)..... | 69 | Richard Pilkington (Panel 10)..... | 36 |
| Elisa Novic (Panel 30)..... | 62 | Robert Hitchcock (Panel 37)..... | 71 |
| Élizabeth Anstett (Panel 1)..... | 24 | Roberta Devlin-Scherer (Panel 19)..... | 46 |
| Elizabetta Nelsen (Panel 35)..... | 68 | Sam Garkawe (Panel 17)..... | 44 |
| Elke Heckner (Panel 14)..... | 42 | Samson Ijaola (Panel 5)..... | 30 |
| Enis Omerović (Panel 26)..... | 58 | Sandra Fahy (Panel 9)..... | 34 |
| Ernesto Verdeja (Panel 6)..... | 31 | Sarah Curtis (Panel 21)..... | 49 |
| Gerhard Wolf (Panel 18, 24)..... | 45, 54 | Sarah Danielsson (Panel 21)..... | 50 |
| Gregory Kent (Panel 8, 21, 26)..... | 33, 49, 57 | Sargon Donabed (Panel 10)..... | 37 |
| Henry Maitles (Panel 22)..... | 51 | Shamiran Mako (Panel 12)..... | 39 |
| Herbert Hirsch (Panel 29)..... | 62 | Shannon Scully (Panel 25)..... | 55 |
| Hilary Earl (Panel 15, 34)..... | 41, 67 | Simone Schweber (Panel 14)..... | 41 |
| James Mayfield (Panel 24)..... | 54 | Steven Cooke (Panel 22)..... | 52 |
| Jane Gangi (Panel 19, 22)..... | 47, 50 | Susan Legere (Panel 22)..... | 50 |
| Jeff Benvenuto (Panel 33)..... | 66 | Tetsushi Ogata (Panel 12)..... | 39 |
| Jeremy Garsha (Panel 4, 7)..... | 29, 32 | Thea Halo (Panel 15)..... | 43 |
| Jerome Bowers (Panel 10)..... | 36 | Thomas Bryant (Panel 9, 15, 17, 34)..... | 34, 42, 44, 67 |
| Jessica Brandwein (Panel 2)..... | 26 | Tobias Hagmann (Panel 28)..... | 61 |
| Jessica Minturn (Panel 7)..... | 32 | Tomaz Jardim (Panel 34)..... | 67 |
| John Cox (Panel 26)..... | 57 | Tony Platt (Panel 33)..... | 66 |
| John Haghor (Panel 35)..... | 68 | Tricia Logan (Panel 33)..... | 66 |
| John Torpey (Keynote Lecture)..... | 23 | Valerie Hébert (Panel 34)..... | 67 |
| Jon Shute (Panel 1)..... | 24 | Victoria Bernal (Panel 28)..... | 60 |
| Jordon Mattox (Panel 4)..... | 29 | Volker Langbehn (Panel 4, 12, 31, 36)..... | 23, 28, 38, 56, 64, 68 |
| Joris Van Wijk (Panel 38)..... | 69 | Walter Richmond (Panel 35)..... | 68 |
| Joshua D. Goldstein (Panel 20)..... | 48 | Yehonatan Alsheh (Panel 5)..... | 30 |
| Jürgen Zimmerer (Panel 5, 6, 37)..... | 23, 29, 31, 70 | Yuji Ishida (Panel 18)..... | 45 |
| Kate O'Neill (Panel 31)..... | 64 | Yvonne Kyriakides (Panel 4)..... | 28 |