



**INoGS 9th International Conference on Genocide:  
“Genocide and Survivor Communities: Agency, Resistance, Recognition”**

**Abstracts and Bios**

**Dr. Hanna Abakunova (Independent Scholar)**

**“Oral Testimonies of Roma and Jews about Their Extermination and Rescue in Occupied Ukraine in 1941-43: Challenges and New Knowledge Extraction”**

This paper will discuss Romani and Jewish Holocaust survivors’ oral testimonies from a comparative perspective. The Jewish testimonies became one of the most important sources of knowledge production about the Holocaust, and there are numerous discussions of how to approach this source type. Meanwhile, the oral testimonies of Roma are not used widely in the Holocaust scholarship. The Romani oral testimonies collected from the Roma survivors in Ukraine have their own specificity, and working with them requires advanced knowledge of Romani social structure and cultural identity. Focusing on challenges that scholars may have when working with oral testimonies of Roma, this research will highlight the impact of oral recollections on understanding the nuances of the Holocaust and extermination of Roma in Ukraine. Comparing Roma recollections with those of Jews, the paper will analyze what is common in those testimonies and how to approach oral recollections of Roma in order to find new details and expand our knowledge about the Holocaust in Ukraine, on the one hand and the life of Roma before and during the Holocaust, on the other. The research is based on several archives, including the USC Shoah Foundation Visual Archive, the Yad Vashem Archive, the Fortunoff Visual Archive, the Yahad in-Unum Visual Archive, and the author’s audio archive.

Dr. Hanna (Anna) Abakunova defended her PhD in Holocaust History at the University of Sheffield (UK) in 2019. Earlier, she received her MA in History and Psychology from Dnipro National University (Ukraine) in 2005 and completed a candidate of science in History degree program (Ukrainian PhD) at the same University in 2010. In 2021-23, she was a researcher in Romani Studies and lecturer at the Hugo Valentin Centre, which focuses on Holocaust and Genocide Studies, Uppsala University (Sweden). Previously, Dr. Abakunova was a recipient of several prestigious prizes and fellowships granted by the University of Sheffield (UK), Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute (USA), Yad Vashem (Israel), and the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research in New York (USA). She was a guest editor of a special issue of "Études Tsiganes: Ukraine" published in France in 2023. Her research was published in Ukraine, France, Germany, Poland, Romania, Russia, Sweden, and the USA. Abakunova’s research interests encompass the rescue and self-rescue of Jews and Roma in Ukraine during the

Holocaust, persecution of Roma and Jews in Transnistria Governorate, Jewish-Ukrainian-Roma relations before and during the WWII, and the memory about the persecution of Roma and the Holocaust in the Soviet Union and Ukraine.

**Mr. Dmitri Abrahams (University of Cape Town)**

“The Destruction of European Jewry in the South Africa Media April-November 1945”

Over the last seventy years South Africans have invoked the Holocaust in a multitude of ways. A recent study demonstrates how the Holocaust, Nazism, and Hitler have become ready reference points in South Africa today. Yet until recently little work has been done on the development of Holocaust memory in South Africa and to what extent thinking about the Holocaust has been ‘domesticated’ – refracted through a local lens – in this country. My paper adds to the debate on how countries with their own fraught racial past engage with the Nazi past. It also uncovers how black South Africans understood the Holocaust within the matrix of increasing repression.

To achieve this, I look at how a variety of newspapers – marketed at different segments of South Africa society – reported on the liberation of the concentration camps and growing evidence of the Final Solution. The liberal/centrist press filtered the news through local lens to reinforce the image of Germany as the enemy, the necessity of the war and to lambast the Nationalist for their support of Germany.

The black press inextricably connected it to racial discrimination in South Africa and the persecution black people endured in segregationist South Africa. It was also used to highlight the dangers that fascism posed to black people, both locally and abroad. The Afrikaans press intentionally obscured the news by dismissing it as propaganda. When faced with overwhelming evidence they blatantly ignored it and/or focused their readers attention on the suffering of the German people instead.

Dmitri Abrahams holds postgraduate degrees in history from the University of the Western Cape. He is currently a postgraduate student within the Historical Studies Department at the University of Cape Town. His current research looks at how different publics in South Africa have created, engaged and transmitted the memory of the Holocaust and the Nuremberg Trials. Especially how black South Africans have interacted and use this memory as a means through which to fight against racial discrimination in the country during apartheid. Dmitri has been awarded several scholarships through his academic career. These include the Andrew W. Mellon and HCI Foundation which sponsored his dissertation on the development of a racial identity on the apartheid bus. The Kaplan Centre for Jewish Studies award and the Isidore, Theresa & Ronald Cohen Charitable Trust are sponsoring his current research.

**Dr. Jacqueline Adams (University of Salamanca)**

“Jewish Refugees' Emotions and Experiences while Crossing the Pyrenees from France to Spain in order to Flee Persecution (1940-1944)”

This paper examines what Jews felt and experienced as they tried to flee Europe by choosing the Spanish escape route and were leaving France and crossing the Pyrenees into Franco's Spain. Its focus is gender differences in subjective experiences of flight. The primary sources analysed include oral history interviews, diaries, letters, memoirs, accounts, and Spanish and French government and military documents regarding clandestine Pyrenees crossings and surveillance at the border. The research findings will deepen our understanding of Jewish flight and of Jewish resistance, by showing what refugees feel and think at a pivotal moment in flight, and how these are gendered.

Jacqueline Adams is a fellow at the Department of Medieval, Modern and Contemporary History at the University of Salamanca. Her scholarship focuses on the ways in which people cope with persecution and undermine the government that oppresses them. She is conducting research on Jewish refugee flight from France to Franco's Spain in the 1940s, and on persons who helped the refugees in both countries. She has also worked on refugees from the Chilean dictatorship of General Pinochet, and on the resistance of impoverished and persecuted Chileans who stayed in the country. Her publications include *Surviving Dictatorship: A Work of Visual Sociology*, published by Routledge, and *Art against Dictatorship: Making and Exporting Arpilleras under Pinochet*, published by the University of Texas Press.

### **Professor Cyril Adonis (University of South Africa)**

“Conceptualising intergenerational humiliation in post-apartheid South Africa – A decolonial perspective”

Humiliation is widely regarded as a significant feature in the transgenerational transmission of trauma and revenge production. While the intergenerational transmission of trauma has been widely studied, there is a paucity of literature on intergenerational humiliation. My paper, therefore, examines the phenomenon of intergenerational humiliation in South Africa from a decolonial perspective. Drawing on critical decolonial theories, it seeks to conceptualize and understand the intricate dynamics of intergenerational humiliation against the backdrop of the country's history of colonization, apartheid, and ongoing legacies of systemic inequalities. By doing so, it challenges conventional approaches to intergenerational trauma and humiliation that tend to reduce the phenomena to individual psychological processes, detached from historical injustices. Rather, my paper seeks to overcome the limitations imposed by Eurocentric frameworks by insisting on situating intergenerational humiliation within the historical trauma of colonial oppression. A decolonial perspective recognizes that contemporary experiences of humiliation are often rooted in the historical violence and dehumanization inflicted during colonial periods. It further emphasizes the importance of understanding how systemic and structural inequalities are rooted in colonial histories and how power imbalances contribute to the continuation of humiliation within communities and societies. Consistent with the decolonial perspective, the paper concludes by advocating for collective and community-centered healing practices that challenge colonial structures, recognize the agency of communities in resisting ongoing humiliation, and allow them to reclaim their narratives.

I am an Associate Professor of Psychology at the University of South Africa (UNISA) in Pretoria, South Africa. My scholarly interests are interdisciplinary in nature and geared broadly towards the issue of transitional justice, and more specifically, notions of

transgenerational memory and trauma, social justice, humiliation, and its implications for post-conflict social transformation. I am also interested in the application of critical race theory as a framework for understanding shortcomings in South Africa's transitional justice framework and other transitional societies with a racist and classist history. In recent years, my research has also focused on non-statutory ex-combatants who fought in the struggle for liberation in South Africa. From 2021 to 2022 I was involved (as PI) in a project conducted in collaboration with the South African Department of Military Veterans (DMV), which entailed assisting ex-combatants to edit and publish their life-story manuscripts. My scholarship has generated numerous peer-reviewed publications in ISI and IBBS-accredited journals. Most of my publications have been sole-authored and I have disseminated my scholarship through my active participation in local and international conferences.

**Dr. Anna Aleksanyan (UCLA Promise Armenian Institute)**

**“The Victims of ‘Safety’: The Destiny of Armenian Women and Girls Who Were Not Deported from Trabzon”**

Like all the Armenians of the Ottoman Empire, Trabzon Armenians received an official order of deportation in June 1915. However, the Vali of Trabzon, Cemal Azmi, made an “exemption” for Armenian women in the later stages of pregnancy and for children “when the parents so desired.” Approximately three thousand children (girls up to 15 years old and boys up to 10) and several dozen women remained in the city. Those Armenians were placed in special institutions, subjected to neglect, starvation, murder, and institutionalized rape. Sexual violence was a tool to foster submission and terror, humiliation, self-hate, and stigmatization. After four years, all male children disappeared, and the girls who mainly survived did so in Turkish households, to which they were given as gifts or sold to serve as servants or sex slaves. In 1919, the Turkish Courts-Martial brought the perpetrators of the Trabzon Armenian Genocide to trial in Constantinople. The charges against them included organizing and implementing the massive annihilation of the Trabzon Armenians, the plunder of their property, the rape and murder of Armenian women and children, and the drowning of around 50 pregnant women in the Black Sea. There were twenty sessions of the Trabzon trial, held between 26 March and 20 May 1919, during which witnesses and victims testified. These trial documents and survivors’ testimonies show the anatomy of the Trabzon Armenian genocide and how sexual violence was one of the main components of it.

Anna Aleksanyan earned her Ph.D. at the Strassler Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies (History Department), Clark University. Her work explores gendered aspects of the Armenian Genocide in the experiences of its victimized females (1914-1918). Before starting her Ph.D., she worked at the Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute as a researcher for seven years. Aleksanyan received her BA and MA in History at Yerevan State University. From the fall of 2019 to the fall of 2022, she worked as an adjunct lecturer at the American University of Armenia. Aleksanyan is a postdoctoral fellow at the Armenian Genocide Research Program of the Promise Armenian Institute at UCLA.

**Dr. Elizabeth Anthony, U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum**

**“A Reluctant Homecoming: Viennese Jewish Women Return after the Holocaust”**

On panel "Taking Initiative: Holocaust Survivors, Agency, and Rebuilding Life in Postwar Europe"

*Panel Abstract:*

An estimated two million Jews survived the Shoah in Europe, just one-third of the prewar numbers. Some chose to emigrate onward to establish new lives in other countries, others lived in makeshift centers run by allied forces, still others returned to their hometowns and home countries to begin the hard work of rebuilding lives. In all cases, they took agency and initiative to move forward in ways available to them as they created new lives, homes, and families. This panel will present and analyze these survivors' efforts for resettlement and return, as well as their struggles for autonomy and personal rights, and all in the context of continued antisemitism, hatred, and distrust. The papers in this panel will examine how gender, innovation, resistance, and protests shaped the futures of European Jewish survivors.

*Paper Abstract:*

Some Viennese Jews returned to live in their hometown after the Holocaust, despite all they had lost and all that had been destroyed. They came for reasons of family, politics, and career - or combinations of the three - but most decisions to return from exile abroad were made by men. "My husband wanted to return," one survivor said. "That's the way it goes when you are married, plus [you're] a little bit foolish and you don't put up any resistance." Decades later, she was still clear that living again in Vienna had not been her choice and felt she would have accomplished more if she had remained in the UK, where she had spent the war years in exile. In an era in which men made most important household decisions, a wife was expected to follow. But a number of Viennese Jewish women who spent the war years in exile abroad had enjoyed a new independence in their adopted countries. They had encountered opportunities for education, training, and careers that would not have been open to them in their prewar lives. Without their husbands' influence - and in many cases, coercion - these women might never have returned. But return they did, and in doing so they gave up jobs, businesses, and careers as they disassembled the lives they had cobbled together abroad to relocate back to Vienna. This paper will explore the experiences of women who saw no alternative to an unwilling return to reestablish their homes and maintain their families.

Elizabeth Anthony is the director of Visiting Scholar Programs at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum's Mandel Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies. Her book, *The Compromise of Return: Viennese Jews after the Holocaust* (Wayne State University Press, 2021) was a commended finalist for the Wiener Holocaust Library's Ernst Fraenkel Book Prize. Anthony was co-editor of and a contributor to *Freilegungen: Spiegelungen der NS-Verfolgung und ihrer Konsequenzen, Jahrbuch des International Tracing Service* (2015) and has published chapters in *Lessons and Legacies Volume XII* (2017); *The Future of Holocaust Memorialization: Confronting Racism, Antisemitism, and Homophobia through Memory Work* (2015); and the *Nürnberger Institut für NS-Forschung und jüdische Geschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts Jahrbuch* 2010. Anthony received a PhD in history at Clark University and a Master of Social Work from the University of Maryland. Among numerous fellowship awards, Anthony was awarded a Fulbright research grant (Austria) and a Mandel Center research fellowship.

**Mr. Manuk Avedikyan (USC Institute of Armenian Studies)**

"Armenian Genocide oral history collection in North America during the 1970s"

On panel "Oral History collection among Armenian and Zaza/Kurdish survivor communities"

This paper explores the efforts, networks and scope of Armenian Genocide survivor oral history taking in United States during the 1970s. Based on Jirair Libaridian's recent survey of Armenian Genocide survivor oral history collections, there are approximately 5,000 interviews throughout the world, the overwhelming majority of them were conducted in the United States and Canada. The largest collection of oral histories comes from Richard Hovannisian whose UCLA students and others collected up to 1,100 interviews from 1972 to 2010. Inspired by the Oral History Association and motivated by the increasing deaths of the survivor generation, Hovannisian and many other scholars began finding platforms to work together on a coast-to-coast basis with the intention of expanding reach and leveraging resources. The Armenian Assembly of America (AAA) led by Dennis Papazian worked to conduct testimonies primarily in the mid- west and east coast but also in California.

By using publicly available materials like oral histories, memoirs and especially archival documents from Richard Hovannisian's paper archive stored at the USC Shoah Foundation, I will try to recreate how a bi- coastal effort among American-Armenians helped set the ground work for future oral history taking into the 1980s with the Zoryan Institute and others.

Manuk Avedikyan (he/him) is the project manager for the 'California History through Armenian Experiences' oral history project at the USC Dornsife Institute of Armenian Studies. He has a MA in Political Science and International Affairs from the American University of Armenia (AUA) in Yerevan, Armenia and a BA in History from California State University of Northridge (CSUN). Previously, he managed the Armenian Genocide Collections at the USC Shoah Foundation and working to integrate the Armenian Film Foundation's Documentary Film Archive and later the Richard G. Hovannisian Armenian Genocide oral history collection into the Visual History Archive. He has published work about the Yezidi minority in Armenia and the closed Turkish-Armenian border based on over 30 oral histories he conducted.

**Dr. Lucia Elena Arantes Ferreira Bastos (Independent Scholar)**

"Transitional Justice and Violations of Indigenous Rights during the Brazilian Dictatorship: the case of the Krenak Reformatory and the forced displacement of the Guarani Farm"

The recent history of the indigenous population in Brazil has been characterized by a silence: their suffering had not been included in the narrative of human rights violations perpetrated during the dictatorship (1964- 1985), and such void was only broken in 2014 with the National Truth Commission (NTC) Report. Since then, there are revelations demonstrating that the dictatorial regime handled the indigenous population by placing them in reserves (the Guarani Farm), fostering a decrease in the size of their original lands, and by imposing on them a kind of semi-prisoner status. In such jail (Krenak Reformatory) natives were imprisoned based on irrelevant grounds or with no administrative procedures at all, or were put into forced labor, tortured or exposed to ill-treatment. And inside such reformatory

indigenous people were forbidden to speak in their mother tongue and parents were prohibited to give indigenous names to their children, in an effort to promote their assimilation.

These cases were identified in the NTC Report as a policy of extermination and persecution of indigenous people, driven by the ideal of development and expansion of agriculture in the 1970s. This official narrative about the fate of indigenous people represents a historical advance, but there is still an unanswered question: how might it be possible to establish a framework for Transitional Justice focused on the specificities of these people? Such reconciliation should include the return of indigenous people to their ancestral homeland, but the claims of indigenous people were rarely achieved until now.

Lucia Elena Arantes Ferreira Bastos is a Lawyer. She has a Ph.D. in International Law from the Faculty of Law of the University of São Paulo (USP/Brazil). She held a Postdoctoral Researcher position in the Center for the Study of Violence in the University of São Paulo (NEV/USP) from 2007/2011. Her area of research comprises international human rights; transitional justice; amnesty laws and dictatorships in Latin America; and women's rights. Author of the books: "Transitional Justice in Brazil – Walking the Tightrope" (published by Intersentia in 2023) and "Anistia – As Leis Internacionais e o Caso Brasileiro" (published by Juruá in 2009). Co-author of the chapter "The Challenges of Symbolic Reparations for Gender Justice in Brazil" (published in the book "Gender, Transitional Justice and Memorial Arts" edited by Jelke Boesten and Helen Scanlon, Routledge in 2021).

#### **Mario Avila (Embry-Riddle Aeronautical University)**

Roundtable participant: "Teaching on US genocide perpetration, liberation, witness, and prevention from the US Military Veteran perspective"

This panel is a roundtable discussion with by four US military veterans from the US Navy, Marine Corps, and Army who have all been facilitating discussions on the US Military and Genocide through support from the NEH's Dialogues on the Experience of War initiative. They are undergraduate and graduate students facilitating discussions in three public sessions and in a course on the US Military and Genocide: Perpetration, Liberation, Witness, and Prevention hosted by Embry-Riddle Aeronautical University. The project has focused on Perpetration and genocide against the Native Americans with a focus on the Seminole Wars, Liberation with a focus on the Holocaust, Witness with a focus on ISIS genocide against the Yazidis, and Prevention with a focus on Afghanistan. The Veteran Facilitators have received training in the case studies and also in how to use a variety of humanities sources in their facilitation, including music, letters, poetry, art, photography, and oral history.

This roundtable will allow the veterans an opportunity to reflect on their experiences as peer-to-peer and peer-to- public facilitators and to speak on their experiences leading discussions on the history and future of the US Military's relationship with genocide. The project, and thus this panel, suggests new and dynamic approaches to pedagogical approaches in genocide studies capitalizing on Veteran experiences in conflict to give students depth.

#### **Dr. Jeff Bachman (American University School of International Service)**

“Opposites Attract: Writing the US and Russian Wars in Iraq and Ukraine” (coauthored with Esther Brito Ruiz)

Despite Vladimir Putin and George W. Bush both providing various justifications for their invasions of Ukraine and Iraq respectively, only the former has been hegemonically narrated as an unequivocal war of aggression, recognized for its obvious war crimes, and even qualified as a possible genocide. This is a striking difference, given the immediate parallels that can be drawn between these wars – both unilateral invasions, whose legitimacy was predicated on dubious narratives of imminent threat and human rights imperatives, and which precipitated substantial loss of life and other human suffering through acts contrary to international law. The disparate reactions of the international community to both conflicts – in both political and discursive framing, as well as punitive and legal response – warrant further analysis. To comparatively trace this divergence, we propose a “four corners” approach – covering political and media communication from the United States, Iraq, Russia, and Ukraine – to examine parallels and breaking points between the material realities of both invasions, and the associated political rhetoric, media framings, and legal processes prior, at the onset, and following the start of both conflicts.

Jeffrey S. Bachman is an associate professor at American University’s School of International Service. He is the author of *The Politics of Genocide: From the Genocide Convention to the Responsibility to Protect* (Rutgers University Press, 2022) and *The United States and Genocide: (Re)Defining the Relationship* (Routledge, 2017). He is also the editor of *Cultural Genocide: Law, Politics, and Global Manifestations* (Routledge, 2019) and the forthcoming volume *Genocide: The Path Ahead*. His research has also been published in *Third World Quarterly*, *Genocide Studies and Prevention*, *Journal of Genocide Research*, and *International Studies Perspectives*, among others.

Roundtable participant: “Genocide Studies: Pathways Ahead”

This panel includes authors who are contributors to the edited volume *Genocide Studies: Pathways Ahead*. Topics range from attritive means of genocide, famine, human-nonhuman relations, perpetrator reintegration, and permanent security.

**Atty. Josiah Patrick Bagayas (Mariano Marcos State University)**

“Memorializing the Holocaust through Filipino Eyes”

In 1934, 1,200 Jewish refugees who escaped the Nazi persecution in Germany arrived on Philippine shores at a time when no other country batted an eyelash. The Quezon administration provided a safe haven for the Jews during a dark chapter of their history. This act of benevolence became a touchstone for closer diplomatic ties that would later on emerge between the Philippines and Israel. The gratitude of the Jewish people to Filipinos manifested in extensive aid and development programs, providing employment to a 30,000-strong Filipino diaspora in Israel, and even giving the Philippines a place in Israel's Holocaust Museum.

In contemporary times, the Philippines has taken huge leaps at institutionalizing the remembrance of the Holocaust through the country's education department and various local



government units to ensure that the stories of survivors are passed on to future generations. Challenges remain, however, as ambivalence in public opinion concerning the ongoing Israel-Palestinian conflict and other related matters come into view.

As anti-Semitism is on the rise elsewhere in Asia, particularly in Muslim-majority countries such as Indonesia, Malaysia, Bangladesh, and Pakistan, what role does the Philippines play in preserving the historicity of the Holocaust and its irreversible impact not only to the Jewish people but to humanity as a whole? What steps can Filipinos take to arrest efforts at blackening the memory of the millions of Holocaust victims and silencing the voices of survivors and their families? Memorializing the Holocaust through Filipino eyes has a huge potential to become the indispensable nexus between the Jewish people's storied past and audiences in the wider Asia-Pacific region.

The author is an Associate Professor at the Mariano Marcos State University – College of Law, Batac City, Ilocos Norte, Philippines where he teaches constitutional law, philosophy of law, and contracts law. He is concurrently the university legal counsel for landholding concerns. He holds membership in the Asian Society of Labour Law. He is engaged in the private practice of law and also renders pro bono legal assistance particularly in collaboration with the Integrated Bar of the Philippines and Justice Without Borders, a Hong Kong-based non-government organization that assists migrant workers. He obtained his bachelor's degree in public administration (cum laude) and Juris Doctor degree from the University of the Philippines Diliman. He is currently pursuing a master's degree in political science specializing in comparative politics at the same university. His interests include theology and religion, culture, philosophy, and international affairs. His hobbies include running, cycling, lawn tennis, and wall climbing.

**Ms. Elena Beletckaia (Heidelberg University)**

“The notion of home in the Holocaust discourse; post-war migration in/to Eastern Europe, Israel, and the United States”

In my presentation I will observe the concept of home in the Holocaust survivor's narratives, using comparative, regional, and qualitative analysis as the primary research tools. The perception of home is analyzed from various ethical, ontological, sociocultural, and psychological perspectives. The comparative analysis spectrum is built on audiovisual testimonies of Holocaust survivors who migrated to North America, Israel, or returned to Eastern Europe during the post-war period. The research scrutinizes how the Holocaust survivors experienced the notion of home in these three regions and how their perception of home, displacement, and home obtaining is reflected in their audiovisual testimonies.

Elena Beletckaia, MA, is a dedicated PhD Candidate at Hochschule für Jüdische Studien in Heidelberg / Heidelberg University, Germany, specializing in Jewish History and Literature. She is currently working towards her Ph.D. with a focus on the Holocaust discourse and its profound impact on post-war migration in Eastern Europe, Israel, and the United States. Elena holds a Master's degree from Hochschule für Jüdische Studien, Heidelberg, where she also received a visiting fellowship from The International School for Holocaust Studies in Jerusalem in 2018.

Elena's academic journey began at St. Petersburg Institute of Jewish Studies, where she earned her Bachelor's degree in Jewish Studies and Philology. Her outstanding academic achievements have been recognized with numerous honors and awards, including the ISFIT 2023 Seminar Grantee, (JASS) Jewish Activism Summer School Grantee in 2022, and the prestigious University of Heidelberg Scholarship Award from 2019 to 2022.

Beyond her academic pursuits, Elena has extensive practical experience, having worked as a Program Coordinator for Lehrhaus, a Jewish Educational Group, and Moishe House Educational Events. She has also volunteered at Limmud Stockholm and held roles such as Project Coordinator at a Jewish Community Center and Archive Assistant at the Archival Jewish Center in St. Petersburg. Elena is not only passionate about her academic research but also actively engaged in community and educational initiatives. With her diverse linguistic abilities, including native Russian, near-native English, and proficiency in German, Hebrew, and Polish, she is well-equipped to contribute significantly to the field of Jewish Studies and Holocaust discourse.

### **Dicle Akar Bilgin (Berlin International School)**

“The Dersim 1937-38 Tertele Oral History Project”

On panel "Oral History collection among Armenian and Zaza/Kurdish survivor communities"

In 1937-38, thousands of people were massacred in the province of Dersim in central Turkey. A large portion of survivors were deported to the Western Anatolia, for the purpose of assimilation. The children were either given away for adoption to Turkish families or Turkified in boarding schools. Unfortunately, very little is known about the most comprehensive operation of annihilation and assimilation effort in the history of the Turkey which intended to wipe out Dersim's language, culture and social lifestyle. Despite growing research on the topic, most state documents about this event, remain hidden and inaccessible. Moreover, due to survivors' educational levels, and socio-political pressure, survivors who experienced this painful episode did not share their experiences in written form.

With this in mind, in 2009, a group of children and grandchildren of the victims of the massacre, initiated Dersim 1937-38 Oral History Project - the first, most comprehensive and longest-running academic oral history project related to this massacre. The project's committee had two institutions: academic infrastructure created by academic advisors and volunteers provided logistical and financial support. By 2010, 350 interviews were compiled.

In 2019, a pilot project began to translate interviews from Zazaki into Turkish, and then into English. Simultaneously, agreements were concluded with USC Shoah Foundation to integrate these testimonies into the organization's Visual History Archive.

Dicle Akar Bilgin (she/her) is the founding member and executive director of Dersim 1937-38 Oral History Project. Dicle received a BA in Economics from Gazi University (Ankara, Turkey) and a BA in Education from Trent University (Ontario, Canada). Since 2015, she's been teaching Economics and Business Administration in international schools in Germany. In 2009, she initiated and coordinated the 1937/38 Dersim Oral History Project in collaboration with Clark University and the European Federation of Dersim Associations. She

co- authored with Taner Akcam and Matthias Bjørnlund 'Genocide Survivors, Aleppo Rescue Home Orphans' (in Turkish, later English).

**Nabintu Birato Anne**

“Former Refugee Camp Sites in the Kivus: Transitions of Land and Local Memory” (coauthored with Christopher P. Davey)

On panel “Erasing Refugees: Camps as Killing Fields in the First Congo War and Visualising Digital Memory”

*Panel Abstract:*

This panel reports on an interdisciplinary project that collects and analyzes accounts of Rwandan refugees during the First Congo War, creating a new historical account of this violence which will be presented as a mapping of these experiences in a visual archive. The need addressed by this project is the absence of a historical account of Rwandan refugees in the Congo in the mid-1990s, and their representation in discourses of memory, peace, and justice. This project proposes two core aims: 1) promote the study of violence against Rwandan Hutu refugees, breaking a wall of silence; and 2) achieve broader public knowledge and regional reconciliation of this case. The key research questions include: How were refugees targeted and thus experienced violence? What are the relations within and around camps as spaces of refuge becoming spaces of violence?

*Paper Abstract:*

Tracing the locations of camps in South and North Kivu reveals the interconnection between land, ownership and memory. What role do former massacre sites play in local economic development, and how are these sites framed in contemporary understandings of this history and current conflict within Congo and its Rwandan neighbor. This paper uses field data from interviews with Congolese civilians who live on or around former 1996-1997 camps and massacre sites, as well as site data that identifies the locations previously less understood from this period.

Nabintu Birato Ann (Researcher with the Group for Studies on Conflict and Human Security (GEC-SH), Kivu University Research Center of the Higher Pedagogical Institute of Bukavu (ISP-Bukavu) she/her Currently, Nabintu Birato Ann is a Congolese researcher at GEC-SH/CERUKI/ISP-Bukavu (Group for Studies on Conflicts and Human Security). Having graduated from a pedagogical institute with a license level in English department, Nabintu Birato Ann had a year of teaching English at secondary school in Kalemie/Tanganyika province. As a new researcher she is specializing herself both in interethnic conflicts in schools and reintegration of children associated with armed groups, especially in conflict areas.

**Michelle Bloom (University of California, Riverside)**

“Denying or Legitimizing Victimhood: Reparations for Jewish Hidden Children and Gay Survivors of Nazi Persecution in France”

On panel “Agency from the Margins: Writing and Filming Genocide for Minority Recognition”

*Panel Abstract:*

This panel focuses on cinema and literature's crucial role in giving a voice to victimized minorities who often feel, and are, excluded from official political and historical discourses around genocide.

*Paper Abstract:*

UCLA professor Susan Slyomovics opens *How to Accept German Reparations* (2018) by recounting the contrast between her mother's refusal to accept "blood money" (3) "for Auschwitz," and her maternal grandmother's "implacable pursuit of reparations from Germany, Hungary, and the Ukraine... until her death in Israel in 1999" (19). I will focus on the acceptance and pursuit of reparations through two disparate individual cases representing two groups, Jewish survivors of the Shoah and homosexuals persecuted by the Nazis, while aiming to avoid "Opferkonkurrenz" or victim competition, consistent with Michael Rothberg's claim that it is not a zero-sum game. While the number of gays victimized by the Nazis renders the "homocaust" a myth, persecution under Paragraph 175 in Germany and German-annexed France accounted for tens of thousands of arrests for alleged same-sex acts or even desire, and 5,000 to 15,000 deportations. The struggle for recognition as legitimate victims of Nazi persecution, albeit not genocide, delayed reparations beyond the lifespan of all known gay survivors, as I will show through the case of the Alsatian survivor Pierre Seel and his 1995 memoir. As a Jewish hidden child survivor from France, my mother, Marguerite Bloom née Burlant, about whom I am making a documentary film, received small monetary sums from the French government and the Claims Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany in the early 2000s, but has benefited from a significant amount of Claims Conference support for an in-home aide, a service offered to Jewish survivors, since about 2020. Reparations for both homosexuals and Jews were long delayed and until recently, little to minimal: how many generations will other groups, such as African Americans, wait for reparations? Do they want them?

Michelle Bloom is Professor of comparative literature, film and French at the University of California, Riverside. She is the author of *Waxworks: A Cultural Obsession* (University of Minnesota, 2003) and of *Contemporary Sino-French Cinemas: Absent Fathers, Banned Books, and Red Balloons* (University of Hawaii Press, 2015).

**Dr. Camilla Boisen (New York University, Abu Dhabi)**

Roundtable participant: "War and Genocide Roundtable"

The topic of war and genocide is more relevant than ever. With several current conflicts – most visibly in Gaza and Ukraine – being debated for their genocidal elements, this panel will both discuss theoretical concerns and practical realities of the connection between war and genocide. For example, panelists will address the genocide concept and how it is used and misused in times of war, the connection between civil war and genocide, as well as new critical analysis of punitive war and its genocidal elements.

Camilla Boisen is a historian of political thought. She is a Senior Lecturer in the Writing Program and A&H Associate Dean of undergraduate studies at New York University, Abu Dhabi. Her main area of research is the intellectual history of empire and political theory in relation to the development of ideas of rights and trusteeship and their influence on contemporary problems such as postcolonial restitution and genocide. She is the co-author of *Merit, Justice and the Political Theory of Academic Knowledge Production* (Palgrave, 2024) and is the co-editor of *Finding a Fair Share: Distributive Justice Debates in Political and Social Thought* (Routledge, 2017). She is also the author of numerous articles in journals such as *The History of European Ideas*, *Settler Colonial Studies*, *Journal of International Political Theory*, *Grotiana*, and *Global Intellectual History*.

**Mr. William Boleman (Saginaw Chippewa Tribal College)**

“Combatting Silence by Necessitating Genocide Studies at Tribal Colleges and Universities”

Eighty-nine years after the passage of the Indian Reorganization Act, Indigenous students are still struggling to put their losses at the hands of Carlisle Model into the right words for academia. When available, this struggle can and should be placed at the hands of the General Education Curriculum in Tribal Colleges and Universities. TCU's are institutions which hold simultaneously the generational trauma of the Carlisle boarding school system, and a means of liberation through participation in scholarly conversations around the response to genocide and mass atrocity. The curriculum in my research writing course at the Saginaw Chippewa Tribal College aims to address this inequality for students, by transforming the required generalist research writing course into one that embraces a thematic inclusion of genocide and atrocity studies in the 21st century. Through various modes of assessment, students show competency in the composition of research writing through the study of; foundational terminology in the field of mass atrocity prevention; in-depth case studies that include survivor testimony and responses in human rights practice; varied responses to mass atrocity in the forms of memorialization and denial. Students who succeed leave the course with confidence in their ability to proceed into scholarly conversations that have historically centered their own communities as subjects, but which have yet to welcome them as advocates and scholars.

William Boleman holds the Academic Chair for Liberal Arts at the Saginaw Chippewa Tribal College, heading the English Department and overseeing all non-Native Studies work in Humanities, Fine Arts, and Teaching. Hailing from Oklahoma, he completed his graduate work in Children's Literature at the University of Roehampton in London, where his thesis “Homosocial Pairs in School Stories Across the Anglosphere” drew on extensive field work in United Kingdom, Singapore, and Hong Kong. His children's exhibition on auralty and immigration “Where To Go and What Now” debuted in London at the Battersea Arts Centre in 2017. He currently lives in Michigan, with his partner Alexander.

**Dr. Nélide Elena Boulgourdjian (University of Tres de Febrero)**

“Separaciones familiares forzadas de niños en contextos de violencia de Estado. El caso de niños robados y desaparecidos durante el Genocidio armenio, el franquismo y la dictadura militar argentina.”

La indagación en las modalidades de agresión hacia niños en tres casos relevantes del siglo XX, su robo y desaparición durante el genocidio armenio bajo el Imperio otomano, el franquismo en España y durante la dictadura militar argentina serán analizados en esta ponencia. Según Daniel Feierstein la fuerza hegemónica de un Estado se construye controlando y regulando su población con su poder de “hacer matar o dejar vivir”. (Feierstein, Genocidio, p. 53). De ese modo, el Estado se adueña de la vida de las personas y puede ejercer un “poder de muerte” o “poder de vida” sobre ellas.

Si bien no nos proponemos realizar una comparación sistemática por la distancia temporal y por la disparidad de fuentes documentales, los tres casos presentan elementos comunes que nos permitirán establecer algunas similitudes y diferencias en torno a las siguientes cuestiones: a) el disciplinamiento y/o eliminación de un grupo determinado por considerarlo peligroso y b) la violencia contra la descendencia por rapto, robo y/o cambio de identidad.

Para concretar este abordaje las fuentes utilizadas son diversas: publicaciones de los ideólogos del Genocidio armenio, discursos de los responsables del franquismo y de la dictadura militar en la Argentina, testimonios de sobrevivientes y fuentes secundarias diversas.

Bio:

Historiadora, egresada de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras de la Universidad de Buenos Aires. Magister (maestría) y Doctora en Historia y Civilización, de la École des Hautes Études en Sciences sociales (EHESS), de Paris (Francia).

Directora de la Cátedra Libre de Estudios Armenios de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras de la Universidad de Buenos Aires desde su fundación en 1994.

Compiló y escribió un capítulo en Artsaj (Nagorno Karabagh). Pasado y presente de un conflicto irresuelto. Buenos Aires, Editorial Ciccus. Así como Negacionismo del Genocidio armenio. Una visión desde el presente. Buenos Aires, UNTREF-PROMETEO, 2020, 473 p.

Es co-autora junto con Juan Carlos Toufeksian de Inmigración armenia en la Argentina.

Perfiles de una historia centenaria a partir de las Listas de Pasajeros (1889-1979), Buenos Aires, Fundación Memoria del Genocidio armenio, 2013.

### **Dr Natalie Brinham (University of Bristol, UK)**

“ID schemes, group destruction and group resistance in Myanmar’s genocide”

On panel “The Genocide of Myanmar’s Rohingyas in international and comparative perspective: Resistance and Agency”

#### *Panel Abstract:*

Myanmar’s genocide of Rohingya has become one of the cases which have landed before the International Court of Justice (ICJ) in the 70-years’ history of the application of The Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (The Gambia vs. Myanmar). However, juridical discussions and proceedings do not cover some of the most crucial issues – the victims’ agency and resistance, for instance - nor have they offered a meaningful space for Rohingya survivors to be heard. This panel brings together key scholars and activists on Myanmar’s Rohingya genocide, to put numerous forms of agency and resistance in an international and comparative perspective. The papers will draw on the examples of Myanmar’s genocide and other genocides to explore agency in preventing

genocide and seeking justice. They will also discuss the structural limitations to various resistance strategies and the implications internationally. The panel provides different perspectives including from the Rohingya survivor community (Nay San Lwin), from the Myanmar Buddhist perpetrator community (Dr Maung Zarni), and from international human rights community (Dr Katherine Southwick and Dr Natalie Brinham). All four panellists have scholarly expertise and activist/practitioner experience and will provide perspectives that are both theoretical and grounded in everyday realities.

*Paper Abstract:*

ID systems organise, categorise and ‘other’ people through hegemonic means. However, such processes are also contested by the documented and the undocumented. Identity documents do not only plot the state’s bureaucratic and administrative approaches to victim groups, they are also objects around which identities are organised, (re)produced, destroyed, resisted, contested, mediated and negotiated. For Rohingyas in Myanmar for example, state registration and enumeration became hugely important sites of resistance to group destruction including in the 2014 census and the roll out of an National Verification Cards (NVCs), an ID scheme introduced in 2015.

This paper explores the significance of ID systems in genocide and resistance. based on qualitative research involving more than 100 Rohingya genocide survivors. Myanmar’s ID systems were rarely spoken about in isolation from Myanmar’s historic genocidal and identity destruction processes, or separately from hopes for safe futures for Rohingya in Myanmar. Myanmar’s ID schemes resulted both in the strengthening of Rohingya as a resistance identity and were understood to have triggered state violence and physical destruction as the state authorities became increasingly frustrated by this form of civil disobedience. Biometric and digital national ID systems have become a growth area globally, involving partnerships between states, multinational tech companies and international organisations. As such, this paper also explores the international power dynamics and the implications for resistance movements in Myanmar and beyond.

Natalie Brinham (AKA Alice Cowley) is an ESRC Post Doctoral Researcher at Migration Mobilities Bristol, University of Bristol, UK. Her work focuses on statelessness, genocide and ID systems. She is co-author (with Maung Zarni) of “The Slow-Burning Genocide of Myanmar’s Rohingya” (The Washington International Law Journal or WILJ 2014) and "Reworking The Colonial-Era Indian Peril: Myanmar's State-directed Persecution of Rohingyas and Other Muslims" (Brown Journal of World Affairs, 2017). She has many years of experience as a practitioner working in the human rights and advocacy in Southeast Asia and the UK. She holds a PhD in Legal Studies from Queen Mary University of London. Her thesis was titled: “IDs for Rohingyas: Pathways to Citizenship or Instruments of Genocide?”

**Ms. Esther Brito Ruiz (American University)**

“Opposites Attract: Writing the US and Russian Wars in Iraq and Ukraine”

Despite Vladimir Putin and George W. Bush both providing various justifications for their invasions of Ukraine and Iraq respectively, only the former has been hegemonically narrated as an unequivocal war of aggression, recognized for its obvious war crimes, and even

qualified as a possible genocide. This is a striking difference, given the immediate parallels that can be drawn between these wars – both unilateral invasions, whose legitimacy was predicated on dubious narratives of imminent threat and human rights imperatives, and which precipitated substantial loss of life and other human suffering through acts contrary to international law. The disparate reactions of the international community to both conflicts – in both political and discursive framing, as well as punitive and legal response – warrant further analysis. To comparatively trace this divergence, we propose a “four corners” approach – covering political and media communication from the United States, Iraq, Russia, and Ukraine – to examine parallels and breaking points between the material realities of both invasions, and the associated political rhetoric, media framings, and legal processes prior, at the onset, and following the start of both conflicts.

Esther Brito Ruiz is completing a PhD at American University’s School of International Service. Beyond this, she has a Master’s in Gender, Peace, and Security from the London School of Economics, specialising in genocide and women’s rights. She is a Senior Fellow in the War, Conflict & Global Migration think tank of the Global Research Network, and the author of the book *Cities and Governance: The Rise of Cities as Global Actors*. She serves as Editor-in-Chief of the IVolunteer International Writers Council, Education Director of ITSS Verona, and was previously a Global Shaper within The World Economic Forum.

Roundtable participant: “Genocide Studies: Pathways Ahead”

This roundtable includes authors who are contributors to the edited volume, *Genocide Studies: Pathways Ahead*. Topics range from attritive means of genocide, famine, human-nonhuman relations, perpetrator reintegration, and permanent security.

**Mr. Crispin Brooks (USC Shoah Foundation)**

“Begging as a Survival Strategy: Ukraine, 1941—1944”

In the context of genocides and mass atrocities, the experience of begging—“[t]he act of imploring other people for aid or assistance” (USC Shoah Foundation definition)—is of particular relevance. It is a victim’s active method of seeking help, often a last resort when other options have either been exhausted or are impossible. As such, the concept embodies not only desperation and vulnerability but also agency. Additionally, begging seeks immediate remedy, distinct from—although sometimes a part of—other forms of help that require longer-term planning, other people or organizations, and/or the financial means for rewarding those who help. As with studies of help and rescue, there are multiple contexts that need to be considered with regard to begging, such as the age, gender, religion, ethnicity, socio-economic status, circumstances, location, and social networks of the people involved. The emphasis in this paper is on the acts of the survivors—the asking for help and the interaction with the people asked—thereby exploring the decision-making factors and the strategies and behaviors involved. My analysis is based on approximately 500 USC Shoah Foundation testimonies, primarily of Jews and some Roma, who either survived Nazi mass shootings or were fleeing from the threat of them in Ukraine between 1941 and 1944. This geographic focus will enable comparisons between the historically distinct regions of western Ukraine (interwar eastern Poland) and eastern Ukraine as well as between survivors begging close to home versus in areas where they were refugees.



Crispin Brooks is the curator of the USC Shoah Foundation's Visual History Archive. He has been with the Shoah Foundation for 25 years, working on interviewing survivors and indexing their testimonies. He holds a M.Phil. in Russian Literature from the University College London School of Slavonic and East European Studies. His publications include *Beyond the Pale: The Holocaust in the North Caucasus* (co-edited with Kiril Feferman; Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2020), "Visual History Archive Interviews on the Holocaust in Ukraine" (in *The Holocaust in Ukraine: New Sources and Perspectives, Conference Presentations*, Washington, DC: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2013), and studies of Russian avant-garde poetry.

**Dr. Jennie Burnet (Georgia State University)**

**"The Moral Ambiguity of Rescue: The 1994 Rwandan Genocide of Tutsi"**

Why do people risk their lives to save others from great harm even death? This study considers people who risked their lives in the 1994 Rwandan genocide of Tutsi to try and save those targeted for killing. Adopting the perspective of actor-network theory, this study shifts away from these classic typologies of genocide studies to focus instead on the hundreds of thousands of discrete acts that unfold over time in genocide. It explores external factors, such as geography, local power dynamics, and genocide timelines, as well as the internal states of mind and motivations of those who effected rescues. Based on more than two hundred interviews conducted in eight communities between 2011 and 2014, this study demonstrates that Rwandans who risked their lives to save others during the genocide were average people who tried to do the right thing and then were courageous and persistent enough to follow through on that decision over and over again. From this perspective, rescue cannot be distilled to testable and predictable patterns required for scientific explanations of behavior. No single factor or set of factors can accurately predict who will become a rescuer. Instead, rescue emerges from ephemeral, contextual factors including the will to help, being asked, social logics, small gestures of support, ephemeral networks of assistance, and luck. This study shows that rescuers are not morally exceptional people. Instead, rescuers navigate genocide's moral gray zone to achieve good outcomes, facing decisions that are morally ambiguous or even cruel.

**"Rwandan Genocide Perpetrators & the Law: Genocide Denial, National Defense, and Pragmatic Confessions"**

On panel "The 'Limits of Law' and Transitional Justice in Cambodia, Canada (Indian Residential Schools), and Rwanda"

During the 1994 genocide of Tutsi in Rwanda, a cabal of Hutu extremists comprising retired and current military officers, politicians, and businessmen took over the reins of the state and issued orders to "defend the nation" and eliminate "RPF rebels," "RPF accomplices," and "enemies of the state." In the context of the ongoing civil war and stalled peace accords, this call to national defense framed genocidal violence against Tutsi civilians as legal. The power dynamics at play within Rwanda's authoritarian state, patronage networks, and the potential risks of refusing to participate in this so-called "national defense" pushed ordinary citizens to join in the killing. First, this paper examines the political, economic, legal, social, and cultural dynamics that shaped the actions and decisions of ordinary Rwandan citizens who joined in

genocidal violence during the 1994 genocide of Tutsi. Second, the paper explores the diametrically opposed rhetorical frameworks created by international versus national prosecutions of genocide crimes in Rwanda. After the genocide, high- and mid-level genocide perpetrators prosecuted at the International Criminal Tribunal continued to defend their actions as within the realm of legality as legitimate actions of self- defense or national defense. Ordinary Rwandan citizens prosecuted inside the country were incentivized to confess to their crimes in exchange for reduced sentences. In addition, they could not defend their actions as self or national defense because the post-genocide Rwandan government's rebuilding and reconciliation programs classified this speak as genocide denialism and a crime.

Jennie Burnet is Professor of Anthropology and Director of the Institute for Women's, Gender & Sexuality Studies at Georgia State University in Atlanta, USA. In 2019, she was a J.B. and Maurice C. Shapiro Fellow in the Jack, Joseph and Morton Mandel Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC. Her research explores the social, cultural, and psychological aspects of war, genocide, and racial violence and their long-term legacies. She is the award- winning author of *Genocide Lives in Us: Women, Memory and Silence in Rwanda*. Her second book, *To Save Heaven and Earth: Rescue during the Rwandan Genocide*, examines how and why some Rwandans risked their lives to save Tutsi from the carnage (Cornell University Press, 2023). Her research has appeared in *Politics & Gender*, *African Affairs*, *African Studies Review*, and *Women's Studies International Forum*.

**Ms. Tenzin Butsang (University of Toronto)**

“‘I'm going to live or this is going to kill me’: Indigenous motherhood in Canada's carceral landscape”

Fifty percent of all women in Canada's federal prisons are Indigenous. The majority of these women are mothers and the sole caregivers of their children. Maternal incarceration and the consequences of child removal are associated with detrimental health and social outcomes for both mother and child across the lifespan, underscoring the imperative to examine motherhood in the context of mass incarceration. Little work has been done to understand the health/social/material context and consequences of incarceration in the lives of Indigenous mothers, as told by them. I use critical narrative inquiry to explore how the physical, emotional, mental, and spiritual dimensions of their health and wellness are distinctly influenced by their experiences as Indigenous women, mothers, and formerly imprisoned people. Through multiple in-depth interviews with 10 Indigenous mothers, I examine the intricacies of gender, power, colonialism, and the carceral state in their lives, their wellbeing and their relationships with their children. Using a necropolitical and Indigenous feminist analysis of participant narratives, I describe how their wellness and relationships with their children were disrupted through the synergetic mechanisms of the criminal justice and child welfare systems and the ways in which they subvert, navigate, and resist these mechanisms. Their stories illuminate the cyclical nature of substance use and child removal, and the systemic facilitators of this cycle through criminal justice and child welfare system entanglement.

Tenzin Butsang is a doctoral candidate in Social and Behavioural Health Sciences at the University of Toronto. She is a Tibetan settler born on unceded Coast Salish territory. Her research examines settler colonial violence, surveillance, and the carceral state.

**Dr. Julia Calderón (University of Indiana, Bloomington)**

“Writing Evil: The Figure of the Guatemalan Genocide Perpetrator in Contemporary Fiction”

There is a growing corpus of fiction, within the realm of contemporary Central American cultural production, in which at least one main character is a perpetrator of the Guatemalan Genocide. This corpus has so far received little to no attention at all from scholars. In this presentation, I will delve in an introductory manner into some of these works: specifically, novels *El hombre de Montserrat* (1994) by Dante Liano, *El material humano* or *Human Matter* (2009) by Rodrigo Rey Rosa, and *The Tattooed Soldier* (1998) by Héctor Tobar, as well as short story “El señor de Xibalbá” (1999) by Marco Antonio Flores. These works problematize the question of evil and the given structures and motives that make “ordinary” men commit atrocious crimes. Besides, they tackle a crucial and unique aspect of the Guatemalan Genocide: the fact that very often perpetrators and victims belonged to the same ethnic group. Thus, authors question the possibility of establishing lines that differentiate well between perpetrators and victims, and their narrative suggests the urgent need to continue (re)thinking the past violence and carrying on historical memory labor that involves perpetrators in order to build a complete national history

Julia Calderón is an incoming Lecturer of Spanish at the Department of Spanish and Portuguese at the University of Indiana, Bloomington. She obtained a PhD in Hispanic Languages and Literatures from UCLA, and a Masters and B.A. in Spanish from the University of Seville. Her research focuses on contemporary Central American fiction and the topics of violence, memory, and neoliberalism.

**Dr. Elisenda Calvet-Martinez (University of Barcelona)**

“The need for a truth and reconciliation commission in Nagorno-Karabakh”  
On panel "Transitional Justice Issues in Nagorno-Karabakh"

*Panel Abstract:*

From December 2022 until September 2023, Azerbaijan blockaded the ethnic Armenian residents of Nagorno-Karabakh in the territory, closing the Lachin Corridor and preventing the delivery of essentials such as food, fuel and medical supplies. In June 2023, even the International Committee of the Red Cross was prevented from providing humanitarian assistance. In September 2023, Azerbaijan bombed Nagorno- Karabakh, resulting in almost its entire population fleeing into Armenia. This panel argues that the blockade amounted to the crime of genocide, and that the Azeris caused the ethnic cleansing of Nagorno-Karabakh. The papers discuss underexplored but crucial questions regarding transitional justice for the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict and atrocities. The panel papers will address issues relating to the role of the international community, accountability for international crimes, the need for a truth commission, and prospects for peace and reconciliation. As the situation is evolving, the content of this panel will depend on the current circumstances at the time.

### *Paper Abstract:*

This paper will address the need to create a truth and reconciliation commission for Nagorno-Karabakh which can significantly contribute to the official recognition of the harm suffered by the victims in the context of the two Nagorno-Karabakh wars and the Azerbaijan's military action in September 2023. One of the main arguments is that a truth commission goes beyond documentation of the facts and analyses why human rights violations occurred and what should be done to prevent recurrence of these atrocities in the future. To be effective and contribute to reconciliation, the truth commission should include all stakeholders of the armed conflict to avoid exacerbating the ideological divide between Armenians and Azerbaijanis.

After Azerbaijan's takeover of Karabakh in September 2023, around 100,000 Karabakh Armenians have fled their homes and sought refuge in Armenia. Azerbaijan has said that it will treat the remaining Armenians in Nagorno-Karabakh just like any other minority population, but fears of ethnic cleansing of ethnic Armenians in the region remains. As the tension in the region seems far from over, it is important to keep documenting the human rights violations not only for accountability purposes, but also to know the truth of what happened and help determine the type and form of reparations. The inclusion of transitional justice issues is important as it represents the commitment of the parties to the armed conflict to promptly address the atrocities that have occurred and places the victims and survivors at the centre.

Dr. Elisenda Calvet Martínez is assistant Professor of International Law, co-director of the Legal Clinic for the Fight against Impunity and deputy Vice Dean of Research and International Relations of the Faculty of Law at the University of Barcelona (Spain). She has worked for the Spanish Red Cross, the Inter-American Court of Human Rights, and the United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner. Her main lines of research are transitional justice, enforced disappearances and genocide. She is part of the Ukraine Peace Settlement Project of the Lauterpacht Centre for International Law of the University of Cambridge and has participated as an expert on the training for Spanish Judges and Prosecutors on transitional justice, human rights and enforced disappearances. She is a member of the Executive Board of the International Association of Genocide Scholars (IAGS); and member of the European Society of International Law (ESIL), among others.

### **Dr. Sabah Carrim (Texas State University)**

#### **“Neuroscience and Genocide: New Intersections”**

Recent findings in neuroscience can provide new perspectives in the understanding of genocidal harm to survivors and their families, through the study of brain anomalies occurring in the immediate as well as distant future because of trauma and injury. At the same time, in the context of perpetrators, since neuroscientific findings have been used in state and federal courts in raising defenses and mitigating sentences, they can be expected to be resorted to by those charged with genocide, war crimes, or crimes against humanity, as was recently done in the International Criminal Court case of Dominic Ongwen, a child soldier, who was once conscripted by the Lord's Resistance Army. This paper seeks to explore the possibilities,

limitations, as well as challenges that will have to be faced if, or rather, when findings from neuroscience will be resorted to in these two aforementioned instances.

Sabah Carrim has a PhD in Genocide Studies, with a focus on the Khmer Rouge perpetrators. She recently published a series of scholarly articles on new intersections between genocide studies and neuroscience. Sabah currently is a Charles E. Scheidt Faculty Fellow at the Institute of Genocide Studies and Mass Atrocity (I-GMAP) of Binghamton University, and lives in Austin, Texas.

**Dr. Talar Chahinian (University of California, Irvine)**

“Unresolved: Imagined and Real Narratives of Return for Armenian Genocide Survivors”  
On panel "Return Narratives: Documenting Destruction in the Homeland"

*Panel Abstract:*

In the aftermath of genocides, or other mass crimes, displaced survivors and their descendants sometimes return, or attempt to return, to their original homeland and home communities. These returns often take the shape of investigations into an erased past that confront victims and/or their descendants with unhospitable communities where, in their search for answers, they encounter other survivors, bystanders, or even in some cases perpetrators. Some of these experiences have been narrated and published as books, articles, or produced as films. These historical and memorial endeavors illustrate the need to document the past, the reliance on testimonies and oral history, and the impossibility to fully capture the extent of the destruction.

Taking a decisively comparative approach that encompasses return narratives from the Holocaust in Yiddish and in English, the Armenian Genocide, and the Tutsi genocide, this interdisciplinary panel composed of a historian and literary scholars proposes to interrogate the importance of these return narratives on how the knowledge of these crimes is produced, on questions of remembrance, and on the emergence of a topography of mass destruction. Among the questions we aim to address: how have these returns – travel narratives of sorts – been written? Between history and memory, how do these authors approach – and write – the past according to their disciplinary background and generation? What do they add to a historical record? Do they each become a new archival record of the events? What can we learn if we read these texts from a comparative genocides approach?

*Paper Abstract:*

Following the Armenian Genocide of 1915, the geopolitical reorganization of the region sealed the possibility of return for most survivors, causing various imagined narratives of return to emerge within survivor communities in the diaspora and to a certain extent, in Soviet Armenia. Cultivated and circulated mostly through literary works, editorials, and political speeches, these narratives of return produced a multiplicity of referents of homeland. Over the decades, these referents transitioned from, most immediately, the historically Armenian lands of the Ottoman Empire/Turkey as the originary place of expulsion; Soviet Armenia as a realistic rendition of a future homeland; the Western Armenian language as a symbolic home; and an imagined, unified Armenia as an ideal. In 1991, an Egypt-born US-based engineer

named Armen Aroyan began to organize “pilgrimages” to Eastern Turkey for descendants of genocide survivors who wished to visit their ancestral villages or towns. This paper comparatively examines some of the early wave imagined narratives of return and posits them against the oral histories collected by the Armen Aroyan Memory Project, an archive curated and housed at the USC Institute for Armenian Studies. It suggests that the earlier symbolic narratives of return, by cultivating an imagined unattainable ideal, perpetuated feelings of being in limbo and generated a stronger diasporic identity, while the actual return to the original spaces of expulsion created a sense of closure and generated stronger attachment to the descendant’s host state.

Talar Chahinian (she/her) holds a Ph.D. in Comparative Literature from UCLA and lectures in the Program for Armenian Studies at UC Irvine, where she is also Visiting Faculty in the Department of Comparative Literature. She is the author of *Stateless: The Politics of the Armenian Language in Exile* (Syracuse University Press, 2023) and co-editor, along with Tsolin Nalbantian and Sossie Kasbarian, of *The Armenian Diaspora and Stateless Power: Collective Identity in the Transnational 20th Century* (Bloomsbury Press, 2023). She co-edits *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies* and contributes regularly to the literary magazine *Pakin*.

### **Dr. Sajaudeen Nijamodeen Chapparban (Central University of Gujarat, India)**

“Legalizing Discrimination and Genocide: A Study of Citizenship Laws, Statelessness, and Minorities in South Asia with Special Reference to Bhutan, Myanmar, and Sri Lanka”

In the recent past countries in South Asia are going through the time of turmoil and transitions and witnessing the growing extreme religious nationalisms which attempt to shape and reshape the trajectories, directions, and imaginations of the idea of nation, nationality, citizenship and minorities in the sub- continent. The present paper aims to highlight how religious nationalism and state excludes religious minorities from social, cultural, and political citizenship by violating human rights, restricting their religious and cultural practices, language, food habits, population, erosion of their identities, physical and sexual abuse, and more recently legalizing discrimination by implementing unjust laws and policies. The article analyses, how growing currents of majoritarian religious nationalism in South Asia legally exclude minorities by exclusionary engineering of the recent citizenship laws in South Asia and led to the contemporary genocides with special focus on Rohingyas in Myanmar? How do these laws project national minorities as 'outsiders, "illegal" migrants, intruders, and “infiltrators” and disenfranchising minorities from citizenship which further led to the violence and making these minorities as stateless and refugees? The quantitative analysis of the amendment of citizenship laws will be discussed. Content analysis of news, reports, and speeches will also serve as the data of this study. The present paper also highlights how religion becomes a prerequisite and a major criterion in the process of migration and citizenship by applying historical, comparative, and mixed research methods for analysis.

Dr. Sajaudeen Nijamodeen Chapparban is an Assistant Professor at the Centre for Diaspora Studies, Central University of Gujarat, India. He has been a research Fellow at the Centre for South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies at the University of Illinois, USA (2022). He also held a Summer Institute fellowship for Israel Studies at Brandeis University (2022). Dr. Chapparban's scholarly pursuits span a wide array of topics, encompassing International

Migration, Diaspora, Refugee Studies, and South Asian Diaspora. His research delves into themes such as Citizenship, Nation, Nationalism, Transnationalism, and Comparative Diaspora Studies. He has authored three books, edited two special volumes of journals, and contributed around twenty research articles to the academic world. His achievements include prestigious fellowships and awards, such as the Prof. B. M. Khedkar Award, AP Urdu Academy Fellowship, The Maulana Azad National Fellowship, The Wenner-Gren Foundation and EASA fellowship, Schusterman Center's Summer Institute fellowship for Israel Studies, and The University of Illinois Library Research Award. In recognition of his contributions, he received the Young Alumnus of Honour by the Maulana Azad National Urdu University, Hyderabad, India (2023).

**Ms. Ivelina Cherevko (Seoul National University)**

**“Voices of the Jeju 4.3 Mass Killing”**

The Jeju 4.3 Incident that took place in South Korea between 1947 and 1954 remains a crucial, and yet controversial event for South Korean history. This Mass Killing has been predominantly analyzed from a macro perspective, often overlooking the experience and of ordinary participants. Drawing from the oral histories and testimonies, this research aims to amplify the voices of the victims, witnesses and particularly perpetrators, highlighting their micro-level experiences and decisions. The study places a special emphasis on the psychology of the ordinary perpetrators and attempts to analyze the interplay of their personal motivations, indoctrinations, and the socio-political and cultural landscape of Jeju Island following its liberation from Japanese colonial rule.

Central to this analysis is the concept of Necropolitics, as introduced by Mbembe. Yet, the study posits that while necropower is evident at the macro level, it is also perpetuated at the micro-level, influencing the actions of '(extra)ordinary' perpetrators. The research proposes to extend the concept of Necropolitics to include the direct agents of necropower - ordinary perpetrators - thus demonstrating that Jeju 4.3 Mass Killings were not just an outcome of faceless institutional decisions but also individual choices and actions. The study also emphasizes the significance of analyzing how the violence extends beyond the act of killing. It posits that the treatment of the dead bodies too played an important role in not only justifying and normalizing violence, but also in fostering silence and collective “amnesia” within Korean society.

Ivelina Cherevko is a Ph.D. Candidate in Korean Contemporary History at Seoul National University. With a foundation in History from Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, where she earned both her M.A. and B.A., Ivelina has developed a deep interest in areas such as genocide studies, state violence, mass killings, and psychohistory, with a special focus on events such as the Mass Killings in South Korea and the Korean War. The recent events in her motherland Ukraine have also shaped her research direction, leading her to present a paper at the Seoul Democracy Forum 2022 about "Ukraine's Fight for Democracy and the Russo-Ukrainian War."

Ivelina's commitment to academia was recognized when she received the Korean Government Scholarship in 2016. Her dedication further led her to serve as a Guest Commentator at the National Museum of Korean Contemporary History in 2018, and that same year, she was

honored as the International Students Peace Ambassador. In 2020, Ivelina participated in the UN-HABITAT Global Partnership Program, highlighting her contributions to global peace initiatives. Then, in 2021 she was recognized as a Peace Fellow by WFUNA Korea and joined the Korea Democracy Foundation's Peace and Public Diplomacy Corps program.

**Dr. Rebecca Clouser (Rose-Hulman Institute of Technology)**

“Mappings, memories, and violence: Examining Guatemalan maps of remembrance”

In the decades since the 1996-signing of the peace accords, which ostensibly ended the genocidal 36-year civil war in Guatemala, memory activists and survivors have tenaciously battled state-sponsored amnesia. Through counter-memorials and memory campaigns they have contested the silences at the core of dominant representations of the violence. One of the more recent phenomena which has emerged from these efforts is the practice of producing maps of remembrance in the country. These spatial representations of the violence offer unique ways to interrogate the intersections of map-making, violence, memory, and place. Drawing together scholarship from critical cartographies and memory studies, this paper explores three such mapping projects in Guatemala in order to highlight the ways in which map production and consumption function at multiple levels in relation to memory. This paper addresses the question of how maps and mapping compare to other forms of commemoration and examines the intricate entanglements of memory, place, and violence. Ultimately, this paper aims to broaden our understanding of the possibilities and constraints inherent in mapping memories of violence.

Rebecca Clouser is an Assistant Professor of Geography at the Rose-Hulman Institute of Technology. She previously taught in the Global Studies program at Washington University in St. Louis. She holds a Ph.D. in Geography from Indiana University. Her research is broadly focused on questions related to critical development geographies in Latin America, with a more specific interest in how emotions and memory intersect with the power dynamics of development programs and practices in post-conflict Guatemala.

**Dr. Daniel Conway (Texas A&M University)**

“Slouching Toward Genocide: Scenes of ‘First Contact’ in Science Fiction Films”

The urgent task of preventing the rise and spread of genocide requires a deeper understanding of how a practice that is widely denounced as unthinkable becomes possible for, and eventually tolerable to, civilized peoples and nations. To address this challenge, I propose to account for the forces of normalization that typically direct (and accelerate) the build-up to genocide. I am particularly concerned to explain how a civilized populace may be nudged toward an understanding of genocide as an acceptable course of action under conditions that are purported to be “exceptional.”

My current research addresses the normalization of genocide by marshaling the visual and philosophical resources available within the cinematic genre of science fiction. Drawing on representative films in the genre, I propose to demonstrate how unfamiliar others—e.g., aliens, avatars, and androids—are subjected to escalating degrees of suspicion, fear, disgust, intolerance, abjection, and hatred. As such, these unfamiliar others may be understood to



represent the vulnerable minority communities and indigenous populations that currently face the gathering threats posed by xenophobia, statelessness, homelessness, religious persecution, ethnic cleansing, genocide, and other mass atrocities.

As my working title confirms, I will focus my remarks on the cinematic trope of first contact. My aim in doing so is to reveal the extent to which the possibility of genocide is raised, and its eventuality adumbrated, in the initial encounters by civilized peoples with unfamiliar others. I am especially concerned to document those moments and scenes of first contact in which well-intentioned gestures of “humanitarian” assistance postpone (and eventually eclipse) the crucial moment in which unfamiliar others are granted the recognition that is their due.

Daniel Conway is Professor of Philosophy and Humanities, Affiliate Professor of Film Studies and Religious Studies, and Courtesy Professor in the School of Law and the Bush School of Government and Public Service at Texas A&M University. He has lectured and published widely on topics in post-Kantian European philosophy, American philosophy, political theory, aesthetics (especially film and literature), critical theory, ethics, religion, and genocide studies. His research in the field of genocide studies has been supported by grants from the Melburn G. Glasscock Center for Humanities Research, the USC Shoah Foundation Center for Advanced Genocide Research, and the US Fulbright Scholar Program. He is currently a Charles E. Scheidt Faculty Fellow in Atrocity Prevention, sponsored by Binghamton University’s Institute for Genocide and Mass Atrocity Prevention.

**Dr. Kierra Crago-Schneider (U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum)**

“Control Over Our Own Lives?: Jewish Displaced Persons’ Fight for Autonomy”  
On panel “Taking Initiative: Holocaust Survivors, Agency, and Rebuilding Life in Postwar Europe”

*Panel Abstract:*

An estimated two million Jews survived the Shoah in Europe, just one-third of the prewar numbers. Some chose to emigrate onward to establish new lives in other countries, others lived in makeshift centers run by allied forces, still others returned to their hometowns and home countries to begin the hard work of rebuilding lives. In all cases, they took agency and initiative to move forward in ways available to them as they created new lives, homes, and families. This panel will present and analyze these survivors’ efforts for resettlement and return, as well as their struggles for autonomy and personal rights, and all in the context of continued antisemitism, hatred, and distrust. The papers in this panel will examine how gender, innovation, resistance, and protests shaped the futures of European Jewish survivors.

*Paper Abstract:*

Jewish Displaced Persons worked as active agents deciding how their futures should look, but the options for emigration, work, and rebuilding their lives rarely developed as they had hoped. Murdered families, limited resettlement possibilities, age, illness, and physical and mental trauma prevented tens of thousands of Jews from achieving the lives they felt they deserved. Despite this they fought on and regularly took to the streets, the press, and

international aid organizations when changes over their control threatened their prospects. The proposed transfer of control over all remaining Displaced Persons from the Allies to the Federal Republic of Germany was one such event and was met with fierce resistance, public outcry, and demands by Shoah survivors for their immediate resettlement abroad. While the transfer of power eventually occurred, the survivors' efforts led to positive changes in the running of their centers, the redoubled efforts of Jewish aid organizations to see to more "hardcore" DPS resettled abroad, and to working with the Federal Republic of Germany on integration issues for the DPs who could not emigrate. This paper will analyze the DPs efforts to assert their agency over international changes affecting their futures and the recognition of their efforts in the form of noticeable change. It will also examine the consequences of the DPs efforts and the disappointment for many survivors who were, in their own words, trapped in postwar Germany.

Kierra Crago-Schneider is the Campus Outreach Program Officer in the Jack, Joseph and Morton Mandel Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Her current manuscript, *Waiting With Packed Suitcases: Jewish Displaced Persons in Postwar Germany*, focuses on Jewish Displaced Persons' interactions with their non-Jewish neighbors, international care-givers, and American troops in the American zone of occupied Germany from 1945-1957. Dr. Crago-Schneider's publications include, "Antisemitism or Competing Interests?" Spring 2010, *Yad Vashem Studies*, v1, 38 pages (167-194), her dissertation completed at UCLA, *Jewish "Shtetls" in Postwar Germany*, (2013), "A Community of Will," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 32, no 1 (Spring 2018) and her chapter, "Years of Survival: JDC in Post-War Germany, 1945-1957," co-authored with Avinoam Patt, (2017) in, *The Joint Distribution Committee: 100 Years of Jewish History*, edited by Atina Grossmann, Linda Levi, Maud Mandel, and Avinoam Patt, Wayne State University Press, 2019.

**Dr. Sarah Danielsson (CUNY Queensborough and Graduate Center)**

Roundtable participant: "War and Genocide Roundtable"

The topic of war and genocide is more relevant than ever. With several current conflicts – most visibly in Gaza and Ukraine – being debated for their genocidal elements, this panel will both discuss theoretical concerns and practical realities of the connection between war and genocide. For example, panelists will address the genocide concept and how it is used and misused in times of war, the connection between civil war and genocide, as well as new critical analysis of punitive war and its genocidal elements.

Sarah Danielsson is Professor of History, and the Executive Director of the CUNY Academy, at City University of New York, Queensborough and Graduate Center

**Dr. Christopher P. Davey (Binghamton University and Clark University)**

On panel "Erasing Refugees: Camps as Killing Fields in the First Congo War and Visualising Digital Memory"

*Panel Abstract:*

This panel reports on an interdisciplinary project that collects and analyzes accounts of Rwandan refugees during the First Congo War, creating a new historical account of this violence which will be presented as a mapping of these experiences in a visual archive. The need addressed by this project is the absence of a historical account of Rwandan refugees in the Congo in the mid-1990s, and their representation in discourses of memory, peace, and justice. This project proposes two core aims: 1) promote the study of violence against Rwandan Hutu refugees, breaking a wall of silence; and, 2) achieve broader public knowledge and regional reconciliation of this case. The key research questions include: How were refugees targeted and thus experienced violence? What are the relations within and around camps as spaces of refuge becoming spaces of violence?

*Paper Abstract:*

"A History of Flight, Massacre, and Diaspora"

This paper introduces the overall historical theme of the panel. During the First Congo War of 1996-1997, hundreds of thousands of Rwandan Hutu refugees were targeted in a violent clearing of refugee camps across the Congo. Most inhabitants of the camps were vulnerable civilian populations unable to flee. The UN documented these events without accounting for the patterns and impacts of violence in what the report describes as a possible case of genocide. Refugees fled Rwanda following the 1994 genocide establishing a network of Congolese refugee camps. As a result of the First Congo War attacks on the camps throughout hundreds of kilometers of Congo's forests, refugees have fled into various countries now living as a diaspora carrying the memory of this violence, subject to the politics of exclusion by the current Rwandan government.

*Paper Abstract:*

"Former Refugee Camp Sites in the Kivus: Transitions of Land and Local Memory"  
(coauthored with Nabintu Birato Anne)

Tracing the locations of camps in South and North Kivu reveals the interconnection between land, ownership and memory. What role do former massacre sites play in local economic development, and how are these sites framed in contemporary understandings of this history and current conflict within Congo and its Rwandan neighbor. This paper uses field data from interviews with Congolese civilians who live on or around former 1996-1997 camps and massacre sites, as well as site data that identifies the locations previously less understood from this period.

Christopher P. Davey is a Visiting Assistant Professor at Binghamton University's Institute of Genocide and Mass Atrocity Prevention. He was previously the Charles E. Scheidt Visiting Assistant Professor of Genocide Studies and Genocide Prevention at the Strassler Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies. He teaches Genocide and Civil War in the African Great Lakes Region, and Genocide Prevention and Conflict Transformation. His research explores the connections of genocide across DR Congo and Rwanda, and contemporary perspectives on genocide from identity to diaspora mobilizations of genocide, and climate related violence.

**Dr. Constance Pâris de Bollardière (The American University of Paris)**

“Early Return to Post-Holocaust Poland: Yankev Pat’s *Ash un fayer* (1946)”  
On panel "Return Narratives: Documenting Destruction in the Homeland"

*Panel Abstract:*

In the aftermath of genocides, or other mass crimes, displaced survivors and their descendants sometimes return, or attempt to return, to their original homeland and home communities. These returns often take the shape of investigations into an erased past that confront victims and/or their descendants with unhospitable communities where, in their search for answers, they encounter other survivors, bystanders, or even in some cases perpetrators. Some of these experiences have been narrated and published as books, articles, or produced as films. These historical and memorial endeavors illustrate the need to document the past, the reliance on testimonies and oral history, and the impossibility to fully capture the extent of the destruction.

Taking a decisively comparative approach that encompasses return narratives from the Holocaust in Yiddish and in English, the Armenian Genocide, and the Tutsi genocide, this interdisciplinary panel composed of a historian and literary scholars proposes to interrogate the importance of these return narratives on how the knowledge of these crimes is produced, on questions of remembrance, and on the emergence of a topography of mass destruction. Among the questions we aim to address: how have these returns – travel narratives of sorts – been written? Between history and memory, how do these authors approach – and write – the past according to their disciplinary background and generation? What do they add to a historical record? Do they each become a new archival record of the events? What can we learn if we read these texts from a comparative genocides approach?

*Paper Abstract:*

Yankev Pat was a Bundist, Yiddish cultural activist, writer and educator from Poland who settled in the United States in 1938. In early 1946, Pat traveled across his homeland (Warsaw, Lodz, Bialystok, Tarnow, Czestochowa, Krakow, Silesia, Polish roads, Auschwitz and Chelmn) to understand the fate and needs of Holocaust survivors, organize relief on their behalf, and document their wartime and postwar experiences. At the end of his stay, he started writing his travelogue, and finalized and published it a few months later in New York in Yiddish under the title *Ash un fayer: Iber di khurves fun Poyln* [Ash and Fire: Across the Ruins of Poland]. In this presentation, I will demonstrate how *Ash un fayer* presents different layers of early Holocaust documentation, from Pat's own work to the initiatives of others, which he introduces and quotes. I will especially analyze how he makes use of his various sources, from his own observations, impressions, experiences and feelings, to the archives and materials that he collected along the way, including his interviews with thousands of Jewish survivors and dozens of Poles and a few individuals of other nationalities. By giving extensively voice to Jewish adults and children, what is one of the first return narratives to post-Holocaust Poland is also a unique polyphonic documentation of the Holocaust in Poland and its aftermath before the massive and imminent dispersion of survivors to other countries.

Emilie Garrigou-Kempton (she/her) is a French Instructor at Pasadena City College in Pasadena, California. While her main area of research focuses on Medical Humanities and

especially the history of medicine since the XIXth century, she has developed a secondary research agenda focusing on the memory of the Holocaust. A former staff member at the USC Shoah Foundation, she is particularly interested in archives as sites of memory and has written about the Arolsen Archives.

**Dr. Maria Kicking Horse De Freece Lawrence (Rhode Island College)**

“Education Back: Decolonizing Learning for indigenous Peoples of Turtle Island”

The efforts to destroy traditional sovereign Indigenous intellectual and cultural autonomy has been critical to fostering genocidal colonizing. Indigenous communities persist to meet the challenges for reinventing the colonizers’ tools as resistance to ongoing cultural genocide and the ecocide of air, land, and water. Tribal colleges, and the emergence of tribal charter schools, community centers overlapping or taking on more of the stewardship of Indigenous education, raises significant opportunities to Native/Indigenous People/Communities to address the convergence of tools across cultures. How are/have the historic and contemporary trauma informing pedagogies leading to the recovery from cultural genocide and fostering inter and intra generational healing? Where and with whom do these tools reside, and how do they manifest themselves in the context of education within and by Native/Indigenous communities and members?

Cultural autonomy is holding sovereign intellectual rights to storied and performative knowledge. The role of cultural practices are knowledge transfers that un-silo colonizing notions of curricula and content, and examines knowledge structure and purpose beyond 21st-Century skills and content standards imposed by external government actors. The growth of Native/Indigenous Education means deciding how communities will use their knowledge within their traditional models of education.

Originally from New Jersey, Maria has been involved in local Rhode Island education for approximately 30 years. Her current activities include collaborative workshops in STEM with elementary school teachers. Her efforts to promote outdoor learning in natural settings is an essential aspect of Indigenous Pedagogy in Science (IPS). IPS requires educators to use the environmental factors -of which humans belong - to frame appropriate inquiries for instructional storylines; thus making the learning experience authentic, place-based and contextually meaningful to learners. Maria is the proud mother of her daughter Talking Waters, and proud grandmother of her two vibrant and extremely busy granddaughters.

Maria's favorite relaxation is weaving and spending time with her Costa Rican four-legged family members.

**Dr. JoAnn DiGeorgio-Lutz (Texas A&M University at Galveston)**

“Genocide Museums and Genocide Prevention: A Comparative Look at Guatemala and Cambodia” (coauthored with Dr. Martha C. Galvan-Mandujano)

“Never again” has acquired a preventive and educative function for nearly every genocide that should have been prevented since the Holocaust. However, “never again” has not prevented genocides despite the growth of genocide museums. For us, this begs the question of the

veracity of “never again” as a preventive and educative tool on the part of genocide museums that have appropriated the phrase as part of their mission to prevent genocides. This research examines visitor engagement at two genocide museums by examining visitor comments at the conclusion of the museum visit. We frame our study within the museum, memorial, and moral function of each museum and their respective educative missions. In Guatemala, we examine the Museo Comunitario de la Memoria Histórica in Rabinal, Baja Verapaz. This museum is dedicated exclusively to the historical memory of the Maya Achi and to educate its visitors about the acts of genocide committed by the State against them. In Cambodia, we evaluate visitor engagement at the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum (S-21) which functioned as a Khmer Rouge prison and killing center. We measure the efficacy of each museum’s educative role through a typology of the comments left by visitors to each museum recorded in their guest logs/visitor books. We then assess how and in what manner each museums’ typology of memory words reflects their educative mission and their museum, memorial, and moral function.

JoAnn DiGeorgio–Lutz is a Professor of Political Science and Department Head of Liberal Studies at Texas A&M University at Galveston. She is co-editor of *Women and Genocide: Gendered Experiences of Violence, Survival, and Resistance*. She was a J. William Fulbright Scholar to Jordan in 2008 and Cambodia in 2023. She was also a Jack and Anita Hess Faculty Fellow on the Holocaust and other Genocides with the United States Holocaust Museum and Memorial. Her research focuses on gender and genocide memorialization. She is the book review editor for *Genocide Studies and Prevention: An International Journal*.

### **Mr. Sebastian Döpp (Ruhr University Bochum)**

“The ‘Moral’ and the ‘National’ Conscience. Ernst Jäckh and the Obstruction of Armenian Genocide Awareness in Imperial Germany”

Ernst Jäckh was a German scholar, publicist, journalist and “broker” of Imperial German and Ottoman relations at the beginning of the 20th century and especially during WWI. Being one of the most influential German orientalist at the time, he was a behind-the-scenes key figure in brokering the so-called “Waffenbrüderschaft” (Brotherhood at arms), i.e. the German-Ottoman alliance.

Due to his privileged position in German and Ottoman politics and military circles (especially within the Young Turks movement), he had access to a lot of eye-witness accounts when the Armenian Genocide occurred. Even though he condemned the what he called massacres and deportations privately, he tried to influence and obstruct early whistleblowers like Johannes Lepsius and Paul Rohrbach, who tried to make the Genocide known to the German and international public. Through Jäckh’s private correspondence with these persons, I will trace his thoughts and actions in this time period and illustrate how Jäckh switched between his “moral” conscience of privately condemning the Genocide and his “national” conscience of denying and covering up the Young Turk actions, to not jeopardize the German-Ottoman alliance.

This presentation would be part of my ongoing PhD project, in which I write a political biography about Ernst Jäckh.

I am a PhD Student at the Institute for Diaspora Research and Genocide Studies (IDG) at the Ruhr-University Bochum (Germany), supervised by Prof. Stefan Berger and Prof. Mihran Dabag. I hold an MA in Public History with a focus on Collective Violence and Genocide Research and a dual BA in English/American Studies and History, all from Ruhr-University Bochum. At the moment, I am also employed in a joint research collective “CoVio” (Collective Violence) administered by the IDG and the FernUniversity in Hagen, although that project will have expired at the end of the year. I also teach (without compensation) at the Ruhr-University classes on National Socialism, the Armenian Genocide, Nation-Building and related topics.

Outside academia, I volunteer a lot in political and historical education at local schools or clubs and am the founder of a local association that conducts these workshops and trainings that deal with Holocaust education within the Ruhr-Area in Western Germany.

**Dr. Paola Diaz Aravena (Universidad de Tarapaca)**

“Surviving extreme violence in Sonora-Mexico”

This presentation describes the situations and micro-practices of everyday life in order to survive the war that broke out in 2020 in Caborca-Sonora, in northern Mexico on the border with the United States. This war has left a large number of dead, disappeared and displaced, not yet properly calculated.

The armed confrontation in and around Caborca between organized crime and state groups intensified in 2020 to the point that the people and families I met in 2019 often said they were more afraid of bullets than of the virus, in reference to the COVID-19 pandemic that hit Mexico hard. Despite a few days of curfew, decreed by the local mafias and announced via social networks in 2019, the locals continued to lead a seemingly normal life: shopping, working, going to school, etc. Nevertheless, in 2022, I observed practices that were barely visible in 2019: move around as little as possible and always in daylight, don't go near windows, don't stay outside built-up areas, learn to recognize the noise of sicarios' vehicles, never ask questions about the missing or dead from this "war" and even less about the mafias, withdraw into privacy and silence with no hope of being protected by either the civil authorities or the forces of law and order. How do you survive a war in a democratic country in times of "peace"?

I am an anthropologist and sociologist. Faculty at the Universidad de Tarapaca in Chile. My doctoral thesis (at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales in Paris) dealt with forced disappearance in Chile and survivors of prison and torture exiled in France. I am currently working on violence in and from borders in Mexico and Chile. I work as a professional volunteer in search collectives for missing persons in Sonora and the academic and divulgation publications on this problem are the fruit of a mutual collaboration.

**Dr. Mark Drumbl (Washington & Lee University School of Law)**

Chairing “The Sights, Sounds, and Sensibilities of Genocide Prosecutions” panel

This panel offers a discussion of three of the contributions published in *Sights, Sounds, and Sensibilities of Atrocity Prosecutions* (Brill, 2024). These papers all focus on different instances of genocide to address what international criminal law and justice ‘look’, ‘sound’, ‘smell’, ‘taste’ and ‘feel’ like. Presenters unpack the dynamics of the five human senses in how genocide is perceived, remembered, and condemned. Chaired by the two editors of this volume, this panel will reimagine what genocidal atrocity means, reconsider what drives the manufacture of law, and reboot the role of courtrooms and other mechanisms in the pursuit of justice. It will unveil how law translates sensory experience into its procedures and institutions, and also how humanistic inputs shape perceptions of right and wrong.

Prof. Mark Drumbl, SJD, LLM, JD, MA, BA, is the Class of 1975 Alumni Professor at Washington & Lee University School of Law, where he serves as Director of the Transnational Law Institute. Prof. Drumbl’s books *Atrocity, Punishment, and International Law* (CUP, 2007) and *Reimagining Child Soldiers in International Law and Policy* (OUP, 2012) received critical acclaim and were extensively and enthusiastically reviewed. Prof. Drumbl has worked in criminal defence in Rwanda, lectures widely, and serves as an expert in US courts; his research has been cited by courts in Canada, the US and the UK.

Roundtable participant: “A typology of perpetrators of mass atrocities”

There are many different types of perpetrators involved in mass atrocities such as genocide. We can distinguish the Criminal Masterminds at the top of the chain of command, the Fanatics and Careerists as their close associates and the Devoted Warriors as their loyal, obedient main executions. Lower ranking perpetrators can be driven by a number of different motives: ideology such as the True Believers and Holy Warriors; by material gain such as the Criminals and Profiteers. They can be very normal and ordinary otherwise law-abiding citizens such as the Followers and Avengers or have mental deficiencies such as the Deranged and the Predators. Or they can be put under tremendous pressure such as the Compromised perpetrators. In this presentation, Alette Semulders will explain the various types and the way they influence each other and how together they form an atrocity producing triangle. The presentation is based on her book called *Perpetrators of mass atrocities: terribly and terrifyingly normal?* which was published in December 2023 by Routledge. Two distinguished scholars will then comment on the book.

### **Dr. Maria Elander**

“Reconstructing the crime: Memory, re-enactments, and space in atrocity investigations”  
On panel “The Sights, Sounds, and Sensibilities of Genocide Prosecutions”

#### *Panel Abstract:*

This panel offers a discussion of three of the contributions published in *Sights, Sounds, and Sensibilities of Atrocity Prosecutions* (Brill, 2024). These papers all focus on different instances of genocide to address what international criminal law and justice ‘look’, ‘sound’, ‘smell’, ‘taste’ and ‘feel’ like. Presenters unpack the dynamics of the five human senses in how genocide is perceived, remembered, and condemned. Chaired by the two editors of this volume, this panel will reimagine what genocidal atrocity means, reconsider what drives the manufacture of law, and reboot the role of courtrooms and other mechanisms in the pursuit of



justice. It will unveil how law translates sensory experience into its procedures and institutions, and also how humanistic inputs shape perceptions of right and wrong.

This chapter seeks to unpack how legal reconstructions in atrocity investigations work. Reconstructions in inquisitorial systems involves gathering the accused, witnesses and victims at the site of (an alleged) crime to reconstruct and re-enact (alleged) events. In 2008, such a reconstruction was conducted as part of the investigation at the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC) with Duch, former chairman of Khmer Rouge security centre S-21. In examining the reconstruction, I seek to draw attention to the work of (international) criminal law beyond the courtroom and beyond oral testimonies. I suggest that reconstructions operate as forms of testimony that take on a particular quality that is affected by the materiality of the trauma site and bodily memories. Reconstructions are events where the senses matter.

Dr. Maria Elander is a senior lecturer and the director of graduate research at La Trobe Law School, La Trobe University. Her research is in the fields of international criminal justice, law and humanities, and feminist legal theory. To date, much of her research has focused on the Khmer Rouge Tribunal in Cambodia and questions of victimhood, gender and the visual. Her monograph, *Figuring Victims in International Criminal Justice, the Case of the Khmer Rouge Tribunal* (Routledge, 2018) won the 2019 ECR Penny Pether Prize, awarded by the Law, Literature and Humanities Association of Australasia. She is currently working on projects relating to testimony, re-enactment and archives in the aftermath of atrocity.  
Preferred pronouns: she/her

**Ms. Devrim Eren (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin)**

“Environmental Casteism and Dalit Resistance – Politics of Discontent and Everyday Practices of Survival among female waste pickers in urban India”

With the Independence of India in 1947, the gruesome practice of untouchability as part of the Indian caste system and hence, one of the oldest institutions of social stratification, was de jure banned. However, this did not materialize in the abolition of it at all. On the contrary, in recent years, against the backdrop of rising Hindutva-BJP authoritarianism, a disproportionate increase of overt violence against Dalits has been witnessed. Dalit women remain the most vulnerable in this cycle of direct, structural and symbolic violence. Little attention, however, is paid to the environmental inequalities Dalit communities are being continuously exposed to in cities that can be described as ‘environmental casteism’ (Sharma, 2017) and ‘organized abandonment’ (Gilmore, 2022), leading to slow deaths as a form of mass violence. Given this background, this paper examines the intersection of environmental injustices, caste and gender in shaping social inequalities, everyday vulnerabilities and resilience through the practice of waste-picking as a feminized and caste-based labor, that has been traditionally assigned to Dalits (officially 4 Mio. workers). Drawing on 50+ interviews with female waste pickers and activists in Delhi’s and Mumbai’s informal settlements and landfills, it examines the waste pickers’ communities as microcosm, shaped by the caste system, colonialism and racial capitalism. Grounded in decolonial feminisms (Lugones, 2012) and critical pedagogy (Freire, 2005), it will focus on ‘Critical Dalit Pedagogy’ as a pedagogy of healing and survivorship, that addresses intergenerational trauma and is a step towards liberation and resistance against this centuries-old systematic violence.

Devrim Eren is a female third-year doctoral student in Global and Area Studies at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Department of Asian and African Studies. Her research bridges intersectionality, decoloniality and environmental injustices. Her work, based in the urban peripheries in India, focuses on how the entanglement of pre-colonial sociocultures, colonial vestiges and the neoliberal turn influence waste work as part of the informal urban economy and quotidian ways of workers' resistance. Her research interests include decolonial and postcolonial theory, feminism, environmental justice, labor and social movements. She holds a BA in Information Science and Asian and African studies, and a MA in Modern South and Southeast Asian Studies (both from Humboldt Universität zu Berlin). She has completed study and research stays in Delhi, Mumbai, Kochi, Hyderabad, Copenhagen, Guadalajara, Havana, Buenos Aires and Barcelona.

**Dr. Merih Erol (Özyeğin University)**

**“Armenian Refugees in Interwar Greece”**

On panel “Armenian Survivor Communities: Navigating and Recreating Place and Self”

In the aftermath of the Greek-Turkish War of 1919-1922, around 90,000 Anatolian Armenians (former Ottoman subjects) fled to Greece. As a result of this displacement, Armenians found themselves as refugees starting life from scratch in a new country with a different social and demographic makeup, political history, and different language and traditions. For an unusually long time, Armenians refugees lived in camps supported by international humanitarian organizations, such as the Near East Relief and others, including institutions of the Greek government. Gradually, they settled in the emerging slum neighborhoods of Athens and Thessaloniki, and left their marks on these places with their churches, schools, shops, etc. Among other issues, until the late 1920s, the rehabilitation and care of the Armenian orphans whose numbers amounted to ca. 8,000 constituted an important source of concern for the Armenian community in Greece. My paper will explore various aspects of this forced migration; the emergency relief offered to the Armenian orphans and refugees, the Armenian refugees' housing and settlement, their employment patterns, and citizenship issues. Based on archival materials and oral testimonies of the second- and third-generation Greek Armenians, the paper will combine a micro-historical approach and an analysis of broader national and international trends in dealing with the humanitarian crisis that emerged after WWI.

Merih Erol (she/her) Associate Professor of History at Özyeğin University, Istanbul, is a historian of the late Ottoman Empire, specializing in the study of nationalisms, ethnic and religious identities, and imaginings of the past through musical discourses. Her book, *Greek Orthodox Music in Ottoman Istanbul: Nation and Community in the Era of Reform* (Indiana University Press, 2015). Her research interests include musical identities in the Age of Nationalisms, the history of the Balkans (18th-20th Centuries), religious conversion and American Evangelism in the Ottoman Empire, and post-WWI forced displacements and humanitarianism in the Middle East and the Mediterranean. Her current project is on the Armenian refugees in Greece after 1922 and aspects of Greek-Armenian identity. Her publications include “Between Memories of Persecution and Refugee Experience: The Armenians in Greece in the Aftermath of the Greek-Turkish War”, in Konstantinos Travlos

(ed.), *Salvation and Catastrophe: The Greek-Turkish War, 1919-1922*, Lanham: Lexington Books, 2020, 341-368.

**Professor Marcia Esparza (John Jay College of Criminal Justice, City University of New York)**

**Keynote Speaker**

Marcia Esparza is an INoGS 2022 Impact Award winner. Her research experience includes work for the United Nations' sponsored Truth Commission in Guatemala (1997-1999). She is the Founder and Director of the Historical Memory Project, a forum for documenting and promoting the historical memory of state violence. For further information, visit the Project's website, [historicalmemoryproject.com](http://historicalmemoryproject.com). Dr. Esparza's monograph, *Silenced Communities: Legacies of and Resistance to Militarization and Militarism in a Rural Guatemalan Town* explores the long-term footprints of war and genocide upon rural Indigenous communities impacted by the conditions of internal colonialism, which the army exploited to build its mass-based support (Berghahn Books, 2017). Her second book, co-edited with historian Nina Schneider, is a critical examination of transitional justice in Latin America (Lexington Books). She is also the co-editor of *Remembering the Rescuers of Victims of Human Rights Crimes in Latin America*. (Lexington Books, 2016) and *State Violence and Genocide in Latin America: The Cold War Years* (Routledge, 2009).

**Dr. Amir Ahmed Farooqui (Federal Urdu University of Arts, Sciences and Technology)**

“Using rumors instrumentally for violence: A comparative study of sectarian, communal and political violence in Pakistan”

Rumors have long been recognized as a pervasive social phenomenon, yet a comparative analysis of their instrumental use in inciting sectarian, communal, and political violence remains largely unexplored. This study aims to bridge this academic gap by examining how rumors were strategically deployed to fuel violence in three historical events in Pakistan. Drawing upon the theory of instrumentalism, the research investigates whether the instrumentalization of rumors differs across sectarian, communal, and political violence, and if the variation exists in the underlying motivations, mechanisms, and consequences associated with the utilization of rumors for instigation of different types of violence. By shedding light on the utility of rumors, this research will contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of the intricate dynamics between information, politics, and society thereby enhancing our knowledge of the role of rumors in various contexts.

Dr. Amir Ahmed Farooqui is a lecturer at the Department of International Relations at FUUAST (Federal Urdu University of Arts, Science, and Technology). He joined the department in 2022. Previously he was serving as a visiting faculty member at the University of Karachi for eight years. Dr. Farooqui has a strong background in academia and has also held various administrative positions at Federal Urdu University too. Dr. Farooqui has contributed to the field of international relations through his research. He has published research articles in HEC-recognized journals, indicating the quality and relevance of his work. His research primarily focuses on the dynamics of political violence, electoral violence, and political theories of international relations. Dr. Farooqui holds a Ph.D. degree in

international relations from the University of Karachi, which further showcases his expertise in the field. With his academic background and research interests, he brings valuable insights and knowledge to the Department of International Relations at FUUAST.

**Dr. Audrey Fino**

“The Sound and Taste of Atrocities: From Cambodia in the 1970s to Bosnia and Herzegovina in the 1990s”

On panel “The Sights, Sounds, and Sensibilities of Genocide Prosecutions”

*Panel Abstract:*

This panel offers a discussion of three of the contributions published in *Sights, Sounds, and Sensibilities of Atrocity Prosecutions* (Brill, 2024). These papers all focus on different instances of genocide to address what international criminal law and justice ‘look’, ‘sound’, ‘smell’, ‘taste’ and ‘feel’ like. Presenters unpack the dynamics of the five human senses in how genocide is perceived, remembered, and condemned. Chaired by the two editors of this volume, this panel will reimagine what genocidal atrocity means, reconsider what drives the manufacture of law, and reboot the role of courtrooms and other mechanisms in the pursuit of justice. It will unveil how law translates sensory experience into its procedures and institutions, and also how humanistic inputs shape perceptions of right and wrong.

*Paper Abstract:*

This intervention addresses some success stories in international tribunals’ evaluation of evidence, experienced through two senses—sound and taste as described in viva voce witness testimonies before the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia and the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia. The speaker focuses on how these testimonies have been reduced to what ends up in a judgment: a snapshot of those sensory experiences found in the factual and legal findings, diluted by the passage of time, memory, language, and interpretation. The intervention highlights the overall positive role played by the auditory and the gustatory in successfully proving atrocity crimes, and in attributing individual criminal responsibility. The speaker concludes that engaging with sound and taste allows for the emotive and sensory, thus capturing the totality of experiences more accurately.

Audrey Fino LL.D., MSc, is Lecturer in international humanitarian, human rights and public international law at the University of Groningen. She is also a PhD Researcher on limitations to freedom of expression in international criminal and humanitarian law. Audrey formerly worked in Chambers at the Extraordinary Chambers for the Courts of Cambodia and the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, at the UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights and with REDRESS. She is also published and holds a number of professional certifications. Audrey is a member of the American Bar Association’s Expert Advisory Group on ‘International Criminal Law Standards for Practitioners,’ the Asser Institute’s International Humanitarian and Criminal Law Platform, the Netherlands Network for Human Rights Research, and a Founding Member of the Netherlands Universities’ Law Clinicians Network. She is admitted to the bar in Malta.

**Dr. Lorena Sekwan Fontaine (University of Manitoba)**

“Gendered Objects of Genocides in Museum Collections: an ‘integrated’ perspective”  
(coauthored with Dorota Glowacka)

Settler colonial genocides in North America and the Holocaust were both gendered processes that impacted women, men, and non-binary persons in multiple ways. We address the role of material objects collected in museums in telling the story of gender-based violence as a tool of genocide and cultural destruction. We look at examples of objects in the collections of United States Holocaust Museum and in National Museum of the American Indian, and we explore their testimonial value as metonymic, posthumous portraits of victims and survivors. We explore contemporary impacts of the history of gendered objects on survivors and descendants, and on their respective communities. We ask in what way these objects implore us to respond to the legacies of genocidal past, and to re-imagine and co-imagine that past. We argue for an agentic, function of these objects in transforming the concept of witnessing. We consider their provenance and show how they carry the history of not only individuals but also of entire communities, which makes them profoundly relational and implicated in multiple networks of remembrance. We explore their role in bringing untold stories into visibility, empowering victim groups and enabling healing from gender-based trauma. We draw attention to ways in which they resist heteronormative narratives of gender and intervene into institutionalized frameworks of reconciliation, memorialization, and nation-building. The presentation is dialogic, with the presenters highlighting their positionality as second-generation descendants of survivors of genocidal violence, Residential Schools in Canada and the Holocaust, respectively.

Lorena Sekwan Fontaine is Cree-Anishinaabe and a member of the Sagkeeng First Nation in Manitoba, Canada. She is Associate Professor and Chair of the Department of Indigenous Studies at the University of Manitoba. Her research includes Indigenous language rights, linguicide and the legacy of the residential schools. Since 2003, Dr. Fontaine has been an advocate for Indigenous Residential School Survivors as well as their descendants. She was a task force member and contributor to the Assembly of First Nations' Report on Canada's Dispute Resolution Plan to compensate for abuses in Indian Residential Schools. Dr. Fontaine also acted as a legal consultant to the Toronto law firm Thomson Rogers in a National Class Action on Indigenous Residential Schools.

**Professor Caroline Fournet**

Chairing “The Sights, Sounds, and Sensibilities of Genocide Prosecutions”

This panel offers a discussion of three of the contributions published in *Sights, Sounds, and Sensibilities of Atrocity Prosecutions* (Brill, 2024). These papers all focus on different instances of genocide to address what international criminal law and justice ‘look’, ‘sound’, ‘smell’, ‘taste’ and ‘feel’ like. Presenters unpack the dynamics of the five human senses in how genocide is perceived, remembered, and condemned. Chaired by the two editors of this volume, this panel will reimagine what genocidal atrocity means, reconsider what drives the manufacture of law, and reboot the role of courtrooms and other mechanisms in the pursuit of justice. It will unveil how law translates sensory experience into its procedures and institutions, and also how humanistic inputs shape perceptions of right and wrong.

Prof. Caroline Fournet, PhD, LLM, is Professor of Law at the University of Exeter. She is editor-in-chief of the *International Criminal Law Review* (Brill) and one of the coeditors of *Human Remains and Violence: An Interdisciplinary Journal* (MUP). In 2016, she was Visiting Professional position in Chambers at the International Criminal Court. In 2012–16, she was co-investigator on the ERC-funded multidisciplinary research programme ‘Corpses of Genocide and Mass Violence’. Her current research focuses the use of forensic evidence in the investigation and prosecution of atrocity crimes.

Preferred pronouns: she/her.

### **Dr. Shannon Fyfe (George Mason University)**

“Negative Aesthetic Experiences of Prosecuting the Barely Alive”

On panel “The Sights, Sounds, and Sensibilities of Genocide Prosecutions”

#### *Panel Abstract:*

This panel offers a discussion of three of the contributions published in *Sights, Sounds, and Sensibilities of Atrocity Prosecutions* (Brill, 2024). These papers all focus on different instances of genocide to address what international criminal law and justice ‘look’, ‘sound’, ‘smell’, ‘taste’ and ‘feel’ like. Presenters unpack the dynamics of the five human senses in how genocide is perceived, remembered, and condemned. Chaired by the two editors of this volume, this panel will reimagine what genocidal atrocity means, reconsider what drives the manufacture of law, and reboot the role of courtrooms and other mechanisms in the pursuit of justice. It will unveil how law translates sensory experience into its procedures and institutions, and also how humanistic inputs shape perceptions of right and wrong.

In recent years, we have seen a rise in criminal trials of elderly defendants for their participation in mass atrocities many years prior. Some of these defendants have been experiencing serious health issues, including evident pain, the inability to walk, and the inability to stay awake. Theories of negative aesthetics claim that some aesthetic qualities like disgust, ugliness, and repulsiveness are instrumentally valuable, and can be justified as a necessary means to producing what might be considered an ultimately positive aesthetic experience. We might wonder if the prosecution of suffering defendants, a negative aesthetic experience, could be justified by retributivism, expressivism, or the potential value of satisfying victims’ desire for justice or even revenge.

But as I argue, these putative benefits cannot be justified under a theory of punishment, because the trial itself is a legal proceeding aimed at determining whether punishment is appropriate. It is not supposed to be punishment, and thus the defendant’s public suffering during the trial cannot be justified as punishment. Rather, I argue that due to their vulnerability and the need to protect their dignity, individuals who have been accused of mass atrocity crimes but who are nearing the end of their lives should generally not be subjected to public trial. I further conclude that from the standpoint of victims and other trial-watchers, taking “pleasure” in watching a defendant suffer in the courtroom should not be seen as a positive moral experience.

Shannon Fyfe is an Assistant Professor of Philosophy at George Mason University, where she is also a Fellow in the Institute for Philosophy and Public Policy, and an Adjunct Professor at

the Antonin Scalia Law School. She holds both a Ph.D. in philosophy and a J.D. from Vanderbilt University. Her main research interests are in legal philosophy, ethics, and political philosophy, with a particular focus on international conflict and accountability. She published *International Criminal Tribunals: A Normative Defense* (with Larry May) with Cambridge University Press in 2017.

**Dr. Martha C. Galvan-Mandujano (California Polytechnic State University)**

“Genocide Museums and Genocide Prevention: A Comparative Look at Guatemala and Cambodia”

“Never again” has acquired a preventive and educative function for nearly every genocide that should have been prevented since the Holocaust. However, “never again” has not prevented genocides despite the growth of genocide museums. For us, this begs the question of the veracity of “never again” as a preventive and educative tool on the part of genocide museums that have appropriated the phrase as part of their mission to prevent genocides. This research examines visitor engagement at two genocide museums by examining visitor comments at the conclusion of the museum visit. We frame our study within the museum, memorial, and moral function of each museum and their respective educative missions. In Guatemala, we examine the Museo Comunitario de la Memoria Histórica in Rabinal, Baja Verapaz. This museum is dedicated exclusively to the historical memory of the Maya Achi and to educate its visitors about the acts of genocide committed by the State against them. In Cambodia, we evaluate visitor engagement at the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum (S-21) which functioned as a Khmer Rouge prison and killing center. We measure the efficacy of each museum’s educative role through a typology of the comments left by visitors to each museum recorded in their guest logs/visitor books. We then assess how and in what manner each museum’s typology of memory words reflects their educative mission and their museum, memorial, and moral function.

Martha Galván-Mandujano is an Assistant Professor of Spanish in the Department of World Languages and Cultures at California Polytechnic State University in San Luis Obispo. She has taught Medical and Spanish Journalism and Mexican Cultures at Cal Poly. Her research focuses on public memorialization in coordination with civil society organizations in Guatemala and the role of social media in the memorialization process. One of her publications is “Genocide in Central America: Testimonies of Survivors in Guatemala”

**Dr. Emilie Garrigou-Kempton (Pasadena City College)**

“Daniel Mendelsohn’s *The Lost* (2006) as an Odyssey”  
On panel “Return Narratives: Documenting Destruction in the Homeland”

*Panel Abstract:*

In the aftermath of genocides, or other mass crimes, displaced survivors and their descendants sometimes return, or attempt to return, to their original homeland and home communities. These returns often take the shape of investigations into an erased past that confront victims and/or their descendants with inhospitable communities where, in their search for answers, they encounter other survivors, bystanders, or even in some cases perpetrators. Some of these

experiences have been narrated and published as books, articles, or produced as films. These historical and memorial endeavors illustrate the need to document the past, the reliance on testimonies and oral history, and the impossibility to fully capture the extent of the destruction.

Taking a decisively comparative approach that encompasses return narratives from the Holocaust in Yiddish and in English, the Armenian Genocide, and the Tutsi genocide, this interdisciplinary panel composed of a historian and literary scholars proposes to interrogate the importance of these return narratives on how the knowledge of these crimes is produced, on questions of remembrance, and on the emergence of a topography of mass destruction. Among the questions we aim to address: how have these returns – travel narratives of sorts – been written? Between history and memory, how do these authors approach – and write – the past according to their disciplinary background and generation? What do they add to a historical record? Do they each become a new archival record of the events? What can we learn if we read these texts from a comparative genocides approach?

*Paper Abstract:*

In the late 1990s, the American critic and scholar Daniel Mendelsohn embarked on a decade long journey to uncover the story of six of his relatives, his paternal grand-father's brother, his wife, and four daughters, lost during the Holocaust and whose fate had been so far summarized with the elliptic, and decisive, "Killed by the Nazis." Mendelsohn's 2006 memoir *The Lost: A Search for Six in Six Millions* is the results of an investigation that spanned a decade and four continents. Mendelsohn's travels to both the original crime scene and all over the world in search of survivors and witnesses inaugurates third-generations narratives, a genre where grand-children of Holocaust victims, investigate their family's past in an effort to discover fates, document the destruction, and collect testimonies before it is too late. But Mendelsohn's text is also the story of a literal journey: one testimony leading to another, Mendelsohn is sent across the globe to find the last witnesses to his family's fate. As he roams from continent to continent in search of an elusive and eventually impossible knowledge, his travel is an illustration of the global scale of both the destruction and the survival. I propose to explore how Mendelsohn, a leading scholar of Homer's *Odyssey*, approaches his own journey to an inhospitable homeland, to analyze the role of testimonies and oral history in his knowledge production, and to uncover a global memory map of Bolechow.

Emilie Garrigou-Kempton (she/her) is a French Instructor at Pasadena City College in Pasadena, California. While her main area of research focuses on Medical Humanities and especially the history of medicine since the XIXth century, she has developed a secondary research agenda focusing on the memory of the Holocaust. A former staff member at the USC Shoah Foundation, she is particularly interested in archives as sites of memory and has written about the Arolsen Archives.

**Lolmay Garcia (Independent Scholar)**

“Testimonios Kaqchikeles del Genocidio: Racismo y Resistencia Cultural en Guatemala”

El presente estudio analiza testimonios de los maya-kaqchikeles sobrevivientes del genocidio en Guatemala. Se revisa la centralidad de las perspectivas de las víctimas en las comisiones de



la verdad y en procesos de la justicia transicional en el país. Se muestra así un análisis del “qué y el cómo” se cuentan testimonios incompletos centrado en cuestiones de poder y cultura. Se aborda así, qué se debe analizar además del cómo los/as sobrevivientes cuentan sus experiencias basado en el conocimiento atribuido a los idiomas y el habla de los kaqchikeles. El habla y el idioma se convierten en vehículos culturales que forman la memoria histórica en tiempos de crisis a lo largo de los siglos (Warren 1998; Sam 1999; Ajpacajá 2001). Argumentamos así, que las maneras de narrar conllevan aspectos epistemológicos culturales mayas desconocidos y a veces menospreciados por sus interlocutores. Se presentan datos del habla de los testigos, así como niveles fonológicos, morfológicos, sintácticos, y discursivos para mostrar los elementos culturales. Se concluye que hay una tensión sustantiva en procesos de documentar las experiencias de las víctimas del genocidio porque es un encuentro desigual entre los entrevistadores y los entrevistados (Baer 2005). En el caso del genocidio en Guatemala, la desigualdad es aún más acentuada debido al racismo y discriminación imperante que han vivido y continúan viviendo la gente de las comunidades mayas años después del conflicto armado (Velásquez Nimatuj 2014)

Lolmay Garcia es lingüista e investigador Maya-Kaqchikel y autor/coautor de 7 libros incluyendo *Adaptación de términos de otros orígenes a Idiomas Mayas* (2017) y *Rukemik ri kaqchikel chi’*: *Gramática kaqchikel* (1997). Era presidente de la comunidad lingüística maya-kaqchikel (2008-2012). Juntos están trabajando en un proyecto con financiamiento de National Endowment for the Humanities a transcribir y analizar testimonios Mayas en el VHA de USC Fundación Shoah.

### **Professor Hannah Garry (UCLA Law Promise Institute for Human Rights)**

“Transformational Justice & Taking Testimonies in Ukraine”

On panel "Ukraine and Bosnia through Oral History Collections, Past and Present"

#### *Panel Abstract:*

Taking two European wars that are 30 years apart as its case studies – a current war in Ukraine and the Bosnian war of the 1990s – this panel has two primary foci: addressing the testimony collection efforts in Bosnia and Ukraine, and revealing what existing Holocaust testimony collections related to these two countries have to offer about the Bosnian war and the current war in Ukraine, respectively.

#### *Paper Abstract:*

While increased pathways for international criminal accountability for atrocities such as those ongoing in Ukraine are laudable, the maximalist approach to testimony-taking from victims on the ground is out of step with a holistic understanding of transitional justice, which requires “the full range of processes and mechanisms associated with a society’s attempts to come to terms with a legacy of large-scale past abuses” (OHCHR.ORG) in order to achieve justice, truth, reparation and non-recurrence. Further, achieving transitional justice in a particular situation requires a bespoke, pluralist approach that is transformational-- informed from the ground up--that addresses the full range of rights violated, civil, political, social, economic and cultural. This is because actual realization of transitional justice depends on a myriad of complex factors including the nature of the conflict, the needs and interests of the

societies involved in the conflict, and the human and economic resources available, among others.

This paper proposes that where testimonies are taken in atrocity situations, there must be a comprehensive methodological approach that allows for interviewees to indicate which among the full range of transitional justice mechanisms they would like for the testimony to be employed—whether it be for a criminal trial, historical archive, compensation commission, restitution or all of the above. Further, such testimony taking must be informed by best practices for preservation of testimony for evidence purposes, while ensuring protection of the interviewee and avoiding duplication of efforts. Finally, relatedly, this approach must be trauma-informed to avoid re-traumatization and ensure most efficient use of the interview for future justice and accountability purposes.

Professor Hannah Garry, is Executive Director, UCLA Law Promise Institute for Human Rights. She is a scholar and professor of international criminal law and is on the faculty advisory committee of the USC Dornsife Center for Advanced Genocide Research. Prior to UCLA Law, she taught at USC Gould School of Law for 13 years. She has practiced as a senior legal adviser and *amicus curiae* in cases involving genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity for nearly 20 years, including before the International Criminal Court, the Yugoslav Tribunal, the Rwanda Tribunal, and the Cambodia Tribunal. In 2022, she was a U.S. Fulbright Scholar at the PluriCourts Centre, University of Oslo Law. Together with experts from the University of Oxford and University of Toronto, she filed a communique alleging crimes against humanity in Cameroon with the ICC's Office of the Prosecutor in 2022.

**Ms. Blaize Gervais (Hobart and William Smith Colleges)**

**“Horrors Beyond Comprehension: Hermeneutical Injustice in Genocidal Contexts”**

In her monograph *Epistemic Injustice* Miranda Fricker introduces two distinct instantiations of specifically epistemic injustice; testimonial and hermeneutic. Testimonial injustice (when prejudice causes a hearer to give a deflated level of credibility to a speaker's word) has already begun to be applied to genocide studies, especially in relation to questions of survivor and witness testimony. However, the heuristic value of hermeneutical injustice (when a gap in collective interpretive resources puts someone at an unfair disadvantage when it comes to making sense of their social experiences), has yet to be adequately appreciated.

In this paper I explore the conceptual resources which hermeneutical injustice can offer to genocide studies for articulating the uniquely horrific yet subtle atrocities that are perpetrated in and around genocidal contexts (before, during, and after the conflicts themselves). I argue that there are at least three ways in which hermeneutical injustice and its subsidiary components can prove useful in grappling with the harm of genocide and genocidal conflicts.

First, hermeneutical injustice can helpfully flesh out the way in which the cultural and linguistic manifestations of genocide work to perpetuate injustice and thus doubly harm survivors and inhibit their recovery and resilience. Second, it can help us think through and confront the reality that in cases of genocide and atrocity, there is often a stubborn though frequently unconscious commitment--on the part of everyone from perpetrators, to bystanders

to victims themselves--not to understand the evil. Third, it can shed important light on multiple challenges which arise for the descendants of genocidal conflicts.

Blaize Gervais is the Dr. Richard “Doc” Heaton and Dr. Edward Franks (‘72) Professor of Human Rights, Genocide, and Social Justice at Hobart and William Smith Colleges in Geneva, NY where she also serves as the inaugural director of their 25 year running Human Rights and Genocide Symposium. An ethicist by training, her research focuses on the problems associated with moral polarization and disagreement. In particular, her work explores how our existing models of reason and understanding can exacerbate the type of dehumanization which can make disagreement turn violent, and how innovations in epistemology might help us do better.

### **Inna Gogina (USC Shoah Foundation – The Institute for Visual History and Education)**

“1939-1941 Sovietization of Eastern Galicia and Volhynia in Eyewitness Testimony and Soviet Legacy in Current Conflict”

On panel "Ukraine and Bosnia through Oral History Collections, Past and Present"

#### *Panel Abstract:*

Taking two European wars that are 30 years apart as its case studies – a current war in Ukraine and the Bosnian war of the 1990s – this panel has two primary foci: addressing the testimony collection efforts in Bosnia and Ukraine, and revealing what existing Holocaust testimony collections related to these two countries have to offer about the Bosnian war and the current war in Ukraine, respectively.

#### *Paper Abstract:*

This article surveys audiovisual oral histories preserved in the USC Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive at the University of Southern California on the 1939-1941 Sovietization policies on the occupied territories of Eastern Poland comprising today’s Western Ukraine. It explores eyewitness accounts through the prism of legislation enacted by the Soviet government, resulting in discriminatory measures against both local population and refugees. Following historical background of geopolitical border changes shaping the boundaries of modern Ukraine, the article examines 1939-1941 Sovietization as it was experienced by the eyewitnesses living in the annexed provinces of the Second Polish Republic, Eastern Galicia and Volhynia. Interviewees describe the 1939 Soviet invasion of Poland, the 1939-1941 Soviet propaganda, integration attempts, forced passportization, school reform, property seizure, anti-religious measures, employment exclusions, arrests, executions and deportation of political opponents, and state-sponsored forced labor. Eyewitness testimonies, shown in parallel with the 1939-1941 Soviet legislation, demonstrate the devastating impact of the totalitarian regime’s expansion politics on the individuals, families, communities, and culture, and its role in the shaping of modern Ukraine.

The succession of Sovietization policies is analyzed through comparison to the contemporary political machinery employed by the Russian Federation during the 2014-2023 aggression in Ukraine, focusing on the 2022-2023 military escalation stage. Included in this analysis are the

aggressor state political warfare, citizenship enforcement, population displacement, and other violations of international humanitarian law and human rights standards in current conflict.

Inna Gogina has worked at USC Shoah Foundation – The Institute for Visual History and Education, University of Southern California, in a variety of capacities since 1999, including assistant production coordinator, historical content analyst, coordinator of international programs, international digital education associate, and, currently, an archivist. Gogina holds bachelor's and master's degrees in classical philology from Moscow State University, a master's degree in public administration from California State University, Northridge, and a MLIS degree from San José State University, with emphasis on information organization, digital services, and emerging technologies. Her research interests include the theories and practices related to development and management of oral history archives, the use of digital archives in education, scholarship and research, and digital partnerships between archives, libraries, museums, and educational institutions. Gogina coordinated production of *Spell Your Name* (USC Shoah Foundation, 2006), a documentary about the Holocaust in Ukraine, and contributed to *International Directory of National Archives* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2018) and *Documenting the Famine of 1932-33 in Ukraine: Archival Collections on the Holodomor Outside the Former Soviet Union* (Ukraina Moderna, 2021).

#### **Dr. Hasmik Grigoryan (Clark University)**

“The Mechanisms of Intergenerational Transmission of Memory: Remembering the Armenian Genocide through Oral Histories”

After the Armenian genocide, the Armenian people, or parts of it found themselves in different social environments and were impacted differently. The topic of this paper addresses to the mechanisms of intergenerational transmission of trauma among those who grew up in the Soviet Armenia. This research is based on the interviews with the second and third generation of the survivors. The analysis of oral histories shows that the transfer of knowledge about the Armenian Genocide among offspring of the Armenian Genocide survivors involves two complementary information channels: (a) social, through family and community by oral histories; and (b) institutional, through educational-cultural official discourse.

Despite the fact that the subject of the Armenian Genocide was banned during the Soviet era, survivors created an individual or family and community memory by storytelling. The main sources were kindergarten and camp songs, courtyard, home, rural odas. Over the years the memories are added by knowledge mainly taken from literature. It presents how the memory of Genocide affects family and social life of the second and third generations during the Soviet period, as well as shapes their worldview and identity.

Hasmik Grigoryan is a Ph.D. candidate at Clark University's Strassler Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies. In the fall of 2020, she began doctoral studies at Clark University with the plan to write her second dissertation, *The Socio-Political Situation in Van and Bitlis Provinces in 1912-1915, in the context of the Armenian Genocide*. She successfully passed the comprehensive exams and defended her dissertation prospectus on 27 January 2023 under the supervision of Professor Taner Akçam.

Hasmik Grigoryan came to the Strassler Center with MA degree from Yerevan State University and Ph.D. degree from the National Academy of Science. Her doctoral research project was the basis for her monograph *The Masses and Mass Violence: Participation of Muslim Population of the Ottoman Empire in the Armenian Genocide*, published by the Armenian National Academy of Sciences in 2017 within two years of earning her degree.

**Professor Atina Grossmann (The Cooper Union)**

Commentator on panel “Taking Initiative: Holocaust Survivors, Agency, and Rebuilding Life in Postwar Europe”

*Panel Abstract:*

An estimated two million Jews survived the Shoah in Europe, just one-third of the prewar numbers. Some chose to emigrate onward to establish new lives in other countries, others lived in makeshift centers run by allied forces, still others returned to their hometowns and home countries to begin the hard work of rebuilding lives. In all cases, they took agency and initiative to move forward in ways available to them as they created new lives, homes, and families. This panel will present and analyze these survivors’ efforts for resettlement and return, as well as their struggles for autonomy and personal rights, and all in the context of continued antisemitism, hatred, and distrust. The papers in this panel will examine how gender, innovation, resistance, and protests shaped the futures of European Jewish survivors.

Atina Grossmann is Professor of History in the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences at The Cooper Union in New York City. She received a Ph.D. from Rutgers University and a B.A. from The City University of New York. Her current research focuses on “Trauma: Privilege, Adventure in Transit: Jewish Refugees from National Socialism in Iran, India, and Central Asia in Transnational Context.” She has been recently appointed to the Editorial Board of the *American Historical Review* (journal of the American Historical Association, HA) and to the Editorial Advisory Board of *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* (journal of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum) and Member of the Scholars Advisory Board of the Museum of Jewish Heritage, Battery Park, NYC. Recent Publications include *Unser Mut/Our Courage: Juden in Europa/Jews in Europe 1945-1948* (2021) Catalogue for Exhibit at Jewish Museum Frankfurt August 31, 2021-January 15 2022.

**Ms. Sandra Grudic (Clark University)**

“Ethnic Disinterest: Neighborly Relations in a Bosnian Town Before the War”

The 1990s conflict in Bosnia was characterized by interethnic neighborhood violence. Evidence collected via court records shows that local actors were responsible for perpetrating most of the violent acts against their neighbors of different ethnicities. In their aim to explain the causes of this conflict, following the war, scholars emphasized persistent ambivalence of interethnic neighborly relations even during peaceful times, which then turned violent during times of social unrest. Overall, the literature makes little distinction between what political elites called for ‘in the name of their people’ and what Bosnian citizens felt or wanted.

Based on testimonies and interviews of individuals from Bosanski Novi obtained outside of court setting, this article will critically access the above-mentioned entrenched view, arguing that while neighborly relations were complex and dynamic before (and during) the war, consisting of friendly and unfriendly (as well as violent) encounters, evidence firmly shows that the relations between neighbors in years leading up to the war were not locally negotiated on an ethnic axis. Outside of the court setting, individuals consistently describe relations with their neighbors, even if problematic in some ways, as ethnically uninterested, regardless of whether their neighbors of other ethnicities were neutral, friendly, or violent towards them during the war. As such, these views correspond the results of various ethnic distance surveys conducted throughout Yugoslavia in the years leading up to its violent disintegration. Given that the agreement between participants is near unanimous, their perceptions appear to be realistic and accurate, rather than a rosy retrospection.

Sandra Grudić is a doctoral candidate at the Strassler Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies at Clark University. Her dissertation is a microstudy of neighborliness and neighborhood violence in Bosanski Novi, a small border town in northwestern Bosnia, during the Bosnian conflict, 1992-1995. This study examines interethnic relations before and during the episodes of neighborhood violence perpetrated by local Serbs against local Muslims and Croats. The project aims to uncover the various motivations of perpetrators, as well as how the interpersonal relations between neighbors of different ethnicities affected the escalation and de-escalation of neighborhood violence. Sandra has also researched sexual violence committed on Bosniak women during the Bosnian war and the role of gender in constructing the post-war narratives of perpetration and victimhood.

#### **Professor Wolf Gruner (University of Southern California)**

Wolf Gruner holds the Shapell-Guerin Chair in Jewish Studies, is Professor of History at the University of Southern California, Los Angeles since 2008 and the Founding Director of the USC Dornsife Center for Advanced Genocide Research since 2014. He is a specialist in the history of the Holocaust and in comparative genocide studies. He received his PhD in History from the Technical University Berlin in 1994 as well as his Habilitation in 2006. He was a postdoctoral fellow at Harvard University, Yad Vashem Jerusalem, the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Women's Christian University Tokyo, and the Center for Jewish Studies Berlin-Brandenburg, as well as the Desmond E. Lee Visiting Professor for Global Awareness at Webster University in St. Louis.

He is an appointed member of the Academic Committee of the US Holocaust Memorial Museum (since 2017), the executive committee of the Consortium of Higher Education Centers of Holocaust, Genocide and Human Rights Studies (since 2018), the International Academic Advisory board of the Center for the Research on the Holocaust in Germany at Yad Vashem's International Institute for Holocaust Research, Jerusalem (since 2012), and the International Advisory Board of the Journal of Genocide Research (since 2010).

He is the author of ten books on the Holocaust, among them *Jewish Forced Labor under the Nazis. Economic Needs and Nazi Racial Aims* with Cambridge University Press (2006). His 2016 prizewinning German book was published in 2019 as *The Holocaust in Bohemia and Moravia. Czech Initiatives, German Policies, Jewish Responses* with Berghahn in English, as well as in Czech, and is forthcoming in Hebrew. In addition, he published *Parias de la*

*Patria*“. *El mito de la liberación de los indígenas en la República de Bolivia 1825-1890* in Spanish with Plural Editores 2015. His new prizewinning book *Resisters. How Ordinary Jews fought Persecution in Hitler's Germany* (Yale University Press 2023) is written for a wider audience and features the life stories of five Jewish men and women who resisted in different ways against persecution in Nazi Germany. By discussing many additional courageous acts, the book demonstrates the wide range of Jewish resistance in Nazi Germany, challenges the myth of Jewish passivity and illuminates individual Jewish agency during the Holocaust.

**Mr. Hasan Hasanović (Srebrenica Memorial Center)**

“Collecting the Srebrenica Genocide Oral Histories”

On panel "Ukraine and Bosnia through Oral History Collections, Past and Present"

*Panel abstract:*

Taking two European wars that are 30 years apart as its case studies – a current war in Ukraine and the Bosnian war of the 1990s – this panel has two primary foci: addressing the testimony collection efforts in Bosnia and Ukraine, and revealing what existing Holocaust testimony collections related to these two countries have to offer about the Bosnian war and the current war in Ukraine, respectively.

*Paper Abstract:*

It is with Holocaust survivors that the current type of oral history preservation began. It was about 30 years after the Holocaust that attention started being paid to the need to begin preserving stories of not only survivors of the Holocaust but also of witnesses and others who were bearing witness to the hideous events perpetrated by the Nazis. Similarly, it took almost 30 years for the Srebrenica Oral History Project, initiated by the Srebrenica Memorial Center, to start. Up to this point, the Memorial has completed 520 oral histories. Initially, the first half were completed in cooperation with the Sarajevo War Childhood Museum and BIRN BiH. As the Memorial began to develop its own methodology, the second half were completed independently. This presentation will detail the development of the Srebrenica Oral History Project, including the challenges the team has been facing. In addition, it will elaborate on the significance of partnering with other collecting organizations and the impact of projects focused on Holocaust oral history collection and preservation on the work of the Memorial Center.

Hasan Hasanović is a Srebrenica genocide survivor, a Head of Oral History at the Srebrenica Memorial Center, and an Honorary Research Fellow at the De Montfort University, Leicester, UK. Hasanović is the author of *Surviving Srebrenica* (2016), which tells his personal story of survival, and he speaks frequently about his experience at academic and commemorative events worldwide. His co-edited book *Voices from Srebrenica: Survivor Narratives of the Bosnian Genocide*, was published in 2020, and it provides accounts of eyewitnesses of the Srebrenica genocide. Most recently, he headed on behalf of the Memorial Center a joint project by the Center and the War Childhood Museum in Sarajevo, focused on recording stories of children who survived the Srebrenica genocide, as well as the Memorial's project with BIRN focused on the collection of oral history testimonies of Srebrenica genocide survivors. He holds a degree in Criminal Sciences from the University of Sarajevo, and has

given numerous talks nationally and internationally about the Srebrenica genocide and his personal experience.

**Ms. Diana Hayrapetyan (Strassler Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies at Clark University)**

“Reconstructing Armenian Life in Turkey 1918-23; Objectives and Strategies”

On panel “Armenian Survivor Communities: Navigating and Recreating Place and Self”

The signing of the Mudros Armistice on October 20, 1918, officially ended World War I on the Caucasian front. Neither the clauses of the armistice foresaw a peace settlement, nor did the genocidal violence towards Armenian populations ceded completely. Yet, Armenian genocide survivors perceived the armistice aftermath as a historical opportunity to reach a well-deserved political solution after their subjugation by the Ottoman state. Armenians’ political elites deemed that they had sacrificed much for the Allies cause thus, they should be rewarded with a nation-state, with its attributes: sovereignty, land, population, and government.

This paper is an attempt to analyze how Armenian intellectuals and political leaders, envisioned the creation of the citizens of the soon to be established independent Armenian within the territories of the former Ottoman state. Through analyzing newspapers published in Constantinople and Cilicia, I uncover the main impediments Armenian society faced. Further, I analyze the ways to overcome them in the process of re-creating the nation. Simultaneously, the paper intends to show the complex patterns of exile and refuge by emphasizing the individual, as well as communal agendas of the survivors. The emphasis will lie on the strategies and propaganda adopted by the Armenian communal leaders, which would make it realistic to improve the well-being of Armenian population through disease prevention, education, disaster relief, access to healthcare, and sport as strategies of multi-faceted nation-building processes.

Diana Hayrapetyan (she/her) is PhD Candidate in History at Strassler Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies at Clark University, Worcester, Massachusetts. Diana earned her B.A and M.A. in Turkology at Yerevan State University (Armenia). She taught at Yerevan State University from 2009-16 at the Department of Turkic Studies.

Diana Hayrapetyan holds AGBU US graduate scholarship 2023-24, and Richard Melik Simonian Charitable Trust Scholarship 2023-24 and Calouste Gulbenkian: Armenian Studies Scholarship 2023-24. Hayrapetyan’s current research concentrates on post genocidal Turkey and the return of Armenian genocide survivors as a conflict resolution strategy in the process of Turkish nation-state formation. Her project uncovers the experiences of returnee and remainee Armenian population between 1918 and 1938 in the Republic of Turkey - a process related to the reestablishment and re-socialization of the Armenian community at both the individual and communal levels, and the role of ethnic and racial markers during the period of re-integration.

**Dr. Susanne Hillman (San Diego State University)**



**“Building a Case for Gendercide and Cultural Genocide: The Concerned Citizens Tribunal of Gujarat, 2002”**

What happened in Gujarat in the spring of 2002? In this paper, I examine the event that caused the death of about 2,000 Muslims and the displacement of another 150,000 in Northwest India. The violence did not occur in the context of war but was part of an ongoing campaign of ethnic cleansing fueled by extreme Hindu nationalism. My primary source material is the extensive documentation gathered by the Concerned Citizens Tribunal (CCT), a body including retired judges, academics, and activists. The CCT’s detailed published report, written in English and available online, highlights the gender crimes (gendercide) and the widespread destruction of Muslim structures (cultural genocide) as essential features of the violence. In the ongoing climate of denial and the lack of justice toward the victims, the CCT’s monumental effort constitutes one of the few attempts to document the atrocities in detail and with the extensive contribution of the survivors of the carnage. My paper highlights the significance of informal justice mechanisms such as community-led litigation in the absence of state-led legal intervention after genocide. Unlike the latter, citizens’ tribunals are not constrained by local or national law; instead, they are guided by international human rights instruments. Ultimately, the CCT may have had a restorative function by emphasizing the victim’s agency and by amassing essential records for a potential future reckoning.

Susanne Hillman obtained her Ph.D. in modern European history with an emphasis on (Jewish) Germany from the University of California, San Diego. After teaching at UC San Diego for several years, she moved to San Diego State University where she is currently a full-time lecturer in history. Her research has been published in a wide variety of scholarly journals including the *Journal of the History of Ideas*, *Journal of Women's History*, *German Studies Review*, *Holocaust Studies*, and others. Over the years, her interest in the Holocaust has broadened to include other lesser-known genocides.

**Professor Alex Hinton (Rutgers University)**

**“‘It Can Happen Here’ – ‘Snakes,’ ‘Poison,’ ‘Vermin,’ and the Rising Threat of White Genocide Hate Speech in the U.S.”**

White replacement fear is a fault line of U.S. politics, as illustrated by events ranging from the Capitol Insurrection and White power extremist shootings to the inflammatory rhetoric of far-right media and politicians. This fear dates to the beginnings of the U.S. and includes the fear of “merciless Indian savages,” apprehension about slave revolts, and nativist concerns about being overrun by “foreign swarms” of immigrants. Building on the author's 2021 NYU Press book *It Can Happen Here: White Power and the Rising Threat of Genocide in the U.S.*, this paper traces these connections between the past and present and thereby increases understanding of one of the most contentious and racialized discourses -- and one that is premised on a genocidal imaginary -- that informs politics and violence in the U.S. Indeed, 80 million people in the U.S. believe they are being replaced. This white genocide / replacement fear is likely to become even more salient as the 2024 U.S. election approaches given the surge of election denialism and former President Trump’s likely nomination. Indeed, Trump is already once again using white genocide / replacement tropes to characterize non-white others as “snakes,” “vermin,” and “poison.” These developments suggest that the U.S. will

remain at risk for political violence and democratic backsliding, with atrocity crimes and authoritarianism standing as distant possibilities.

“Anthropological Witness: ‘Brother Number Two,’ Transitional Justice, and the Limits of Law at the Khmer Rouge Tribunal”

On panel "The ‘Limits of Law’ and Transitional Justice in Cambodia, Canada (Indian Residential Schools), and Rwanda"

In March 2016, Alex Hinton served as an expert witness at the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia, an international tribunal established to try senior Khmer Rouge leaders for crimes committed during the 1975–79 Cambodian genocide. His testimony culminated in a direct exchange with Pol Pot's notorious right-hand man, Nuon Chea, who was engaged in genocide denial. Drawing on the book he wrote about this experience, *Anthropological Witness: Lessons from the Khmer Rouge Tribunal* (Cornell, 2022), Hinton considers Nuon Chea's testimony, which in ways threw into relief “the limits of law,” to use Arendt's famous phrasing. As Brother Number Two, Nuon Chea helped make the law during the Khmer Rouge regime. As the regime's foremost ideology, he rationalized and legitimated the violence. And as a defendant at the Khmer Rouge tribunal, he mobilized these same arguments in defense of himself and the genocidal actions of his regime.

Alex Hinton is Distinguished Professor of Anthropology, Director of the Center for the Study of Genocide and Human Rights, UNESCO Chair on Genocide Prevention, and author or editor of seventeen books, including *It Can Happen Here: White Power and the Rising Threat of Genocide in the US* (NYU, 2021), *The Justice Facade: Trials of Transition in Cambodia* (Oxford, 2018), and, most recently, *Anthropological Witness: Lessons from the Khmer Rouge Tribunal* (Cornell, 2022) and *Perpetrators: Encountering Humanity, A's Dark Side* (Stanford, 2023). In 2022, he received the American Anthropological Association, A's Anthropology in the Media Award.

**Dr. Heléna Huhák (Institute of History, Research Centre for the Humanities)**

“Beyond Auschwitz: Narrating Forced Labor in Holocaust Diaries”

This presentation examines the personal narratives of Nazi forced labor camps in Hungarian Jewish camp diaries. I aim to challenge the Auschwitz-centered historiography by nuancing the history of the deportees who survived the selection and became the last source of labor in the German war industry. I aim to broaden the interpretive framework that helps us to understand camp life from a victim's perspective. To do this I need to challenge the concept of “annihilation through labor” and “survive through labor”. The circumstances of diary writing were determined by (1) the final phase of the Holocaust; (2) the local implementation of Nazi policies and the social reactions to them; (3) the presence of women and families. The forced laborers' attitude to work was complex and contradictory, containing multiple layers of meaning within the narratives. 1. Work was the key to survival, 2. as a productive activity, it gave framework and sense to everyday suffering. However, at the same time, 3. work served the perpetrators' goals and can be considered as forced collaboration. What narrative patterns were followed and what social identities did the authors conform to? What were the identity-forming elements of forced labor? How was the gender aspect manifested in the context of

forced labor? I argue that diary writing was a social practice and a cultural- historical event, which has an understandable historical context that is worth learning more about.

Heléna Huhák (Ph.D.) is a research fellow at the Institute of History, Research Centre for the Humanities (Institute of Excellence of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences) from 2018. In her research, she is focusing on the personal sources of the Hungarian Holocaust, everyday life, and the social history of Hungarian deportees in concentration and forced labor camps. Over the last few years, Huhák researched several archives in Hungary, Germany, and Israel. In 2023, she was awarded the Advanced Holocaust Studies Fellowship from the USHMM for her research project on Hungarian Jewish Camp Diaries. Her recent publication: *The Taste of Freedom, the Smell of Captivity: Sensory Narratives of the Hungarian Camp of Bergen-Belsen*. *Journal of Contemporary History*, 58 (3).

**Mr. Luis Rubén González Márquez (University of California, Merced)**

“Pathways to Political Violence in Renewable Energy Extractivism under Authoritarian Development in the Global South”

How do large-scale renewable energy projects entangle with political violence? What are the specific trajectories of political violence of these projects in developing nations? This paper examines how extractivist projects of renewable energy under authoritarian developmentalist contexts foster pathways to political violence in the Global South. I define extractivism as a form of appropriation of nature that reduces ecosystems to raw materials (including renewable energy) that fuel the global treadmill of production, with various ecological and social consequences. I understand political violence as a form of collective violence in which the means of action of politically defined challengers and authorities escalate beyond disruption to the coercion and retribution of the opponent. For authoritarian development, I consider it a distinctive regime that through autocratic regulation of power defines and imposes a particular of developmentalist view, which after 1974 has usually meant policies of integration to the global economy. To analyze these processes of political violence, I employ a comparative-historical approach. Based in archive materials and interviews, I compare the “glocal” dynamics of contentious sequences related to the construction of the largest hydroelectric projects in El Salvador (Cerrón Grande) and Guatemala (Chixoy) in 1973-1983: their conditions, their contention/escalation pathways and consequences. I argue that the (a) transnational structural pressures for extractivist renewable energy projects are mediated by (b) national authoritarian strategies of economic development, which shapes the (c) local contentious interaction of affected communities and repressive forces. The result of the latter can be different forms of political violence.

Luis Rubén González Márquez is a PhD candidate in Sociology at the University of California, Merced. He earned a B.A. in History from the University of El Salvador and masters’ degrees in Sociology from the Latin American Faculty of Social Science in Ecuador and the University of California, Merced. He worked as researcher in the National Teachers Training Institute (INFOD) of El Salvador and teaching at the School of Sciences School of the University of El Salvador. Luis Rubén was awarded with a Fulbright-LASPAU scholarship for his graduate studies in 2019-2021. He also received a Dissertation Improvement Award Grant from the American Sociological Association and the National Science Foundation (ASA-DDRIG) and a Dissertation Fellowship from the Institute of Global

Conflict and Cooperation from the University of California (UC-IGCC), for 2023-2024. His dissertation examines the escalation of conflicts in the extraction of renewable energies, based in a comparative-historical analysis of hydroelectric dam large projects in Central America. Previously, Luis Rubén has conducted research on labor and popular mobilization in El Salvador.

**Dr. Jorge Ramón González Ponciano (Centro de Estudios Urbanos y Regionales, Universidad de San Carlos de Guatemala)**

“Women of Courage in Guatemalan insurgency”

Women’s participation in the insurgent resistance during the 60s, 70s and 80s has been forgotten despite its relevance for the political history of Guatemala’s XX century. This paper recovers oral stories and writings of women that were involved in the early stages of guerrilla’s organization that included the recruitment of combatants, militants and collaborators from working, middle, upper classes, and even from the oligarchic elite, that were aggrieved by the profound inequities and brutalities perpetrated by the Guatemalan State. Within the growing literature about the involvement of women in the armed conflict that lasted 36 years, there are very few references to elite and upper-class women, national and foreign who mostly remain anonymous but who risked their lives and, in some cases, suffered the same cruelties that hurt the rest of society. They were also stigmatized within their own families that considered them traitors to their social class. This paper aims to show the women’s experiences and motives behind their decision to join the popular resistance against Anticomunist genocide (Naimark), and to show the influence of their post war activism upon relatives and friends from new generations that are more seriously committed to the dismantling of Guatemala legacy of plantation economy, and the genocidal praxis of anti-Communist patriotism. Finally, I address the need to decriminalize the memory of insurgency and to identify those responsible for the disappearance and extra judicial killing of insurgents, whose families are still waiting for justice.

Guatemalan-Mexican anthropologist (MA, Stanford; PhD, University of Texas at Austin). Former Tinker Professor at the Center for Latin American Studies at Stanford University. I was Researcher Professor at the National Autonomous University of Mexico, the University of Sciences and Arts of Chiapas, the Autonomous University of Chiapas, and the University of California in Mexico City. During the 1980s, I worked as analyst for a Central American news agency in Mexico City, documenting human rights violations. Between 1989-1994, I conducted ethnographic research in the Mexico Guatemala border about the impact of the Guatemalan army’s counterinsurgent operations upon indigenous and mestizo settlers in Marqués de Comillas, Chiapas. My research has been focused on Indigenismo, racism, Whiteness, and Cold War anthropology in Guatemala. Currently I am working in the history of women and revolutionary nationalism, the de-criminalization of insurgency and the role of anti-plebeian racism in the normalization of the elite’s regressive modernization.

**Ms. Sophie Hayes (Clark University)**

“Methodology and Mapping Refugee Camps, Flight, and a Diaspora” (coauthored with Maseeng Masitha-Brossman)

## On panel “Erasing Refugees: Camps as Killing Fields in the First Congo War and Visualising Digital Memory”

### *Panel Abstract:*

This panel reports on an interdisciplinary project that collects and analyzes accounts of Rwandan refugees during the First Congo War, creating a new historical account of this violence which will be presented as a mapping of these experiences in a visual archive. The need addressed by this project is the absence of a historical account of Rwandan refugees in the Congo in the mid-1990s, and their representation in discourses of memory, peace, and justice. This project proposes two core aims: 1) promote the study of violence against Rwandan Hutu refugees, breaking a wall of silence; and, 2) achieve broader public knowledge and regional reconciliation of this case. The key research questions include: How were refugees targeted and thus experienced violence? What are the relations within and around camps as spaces of refuge becoming spaces of violence?

### *Paper Abstract:*

This interdisciplinary project collects and analyzes accounts of Rwandan refugees during the First Congo War, creating a new historical account of this violence which will be presented as a mapping of these experiences in a visual archive. We do not intend to “show” violence through visceral imagery and description but to tell it through the voices of those who experienced it and innovative visualization in our interactive mapping. This paper shows how we use GIS mapping to present the locations of refugee camps, massacres, and the global dispersal of refugees outside of Rwanda and Congo.

Sophia Hayes is a current MS GIS student in the Graduate School of Geography at Clark University, Worcester, MA. She works in GIS and remote sensing with a focus on extractivism, hydrology, and the intersections between land sovereignty, health, and environmental risk. Within this project, she is interested in mapping the relationship between movement and memory, with emphasis on the environmental processes that create memory and the places, both current and historic, that these memories are held. She received her BA in Environmental Science and Geography also from Clark University.

## **Ms. Jennifer Howe (King’s College London)**

### “Hidden Figures: Exploring women’s roles as members of the Khmer Rouge”

Eyewitness accounts and other historical documents illustrate that women contributed to the Cambodian genocide as members of the Khmer Rouge. These women have received almost no scholarly attention, which is a missed opportunity to learn more about the dynamics of mass violence.

The paper will draw on 57 interviews I carried out during my PhD fieldwork over June - September 2023. Most interviews were conducted with women survivors of the genocide, including women who were unit leaders under the Khmer Rouge. The paper will also incorporate archival data and quantitative analysis of women’s roles under the regime to explore their multifaceted involvement.

The paper will consider the types of activities women performed under the regime, their level of involvement in leadership, and the extent to which they engaged in violence. Genocide is often regarded as a process involving “whole layers of society” (Shaw, 2003: 155). As such, examining women’s involvement provides a window into how genocide unfolds at multiple levels of society.

The paper will situate its findings in the broader literature on women’s participation in political violence, perpetrator studies, and scholarship on the intersection of gender and genocide. In particular, it connects to the small body of available research on women participants of other genocides and mass atrocities, which has focused almost exclusively on the Holocaust and Rwanda. In comparing between these different contexts, it helps us understand the structural dynamics of genocidal societies and women’s positions within these.

Shaw, M (2003) *War and Genocide: Organised Killing in Modern Society*. Polity Press.

Jennifer Howe is a doctoral candidate at the Department of War Studies, King’s College London. She is primarily interested in motives for engaging in various forms of political violence and often adopts a gendered approach in her analysis. Her thesis explores women’s involvement in the Cambodian genocide. Prior to joining King’s, Jennifer was a Women, Peace and Security Fellow at the Pacific Forum, a US-based research institute focused on emerging security threats in the Indo-Pacific. She is currently a part-time researcher at the House of Lords in UK Parliament and at the Commonwealth Security Group. She is also Pacific Forum’s Preventing & Countering Violent Extremism Project Lead.

Jennifer has presented her research to the US State Department and at the ASEAN Regional Forum (organised by USIP & sponsored by the US, the EU, and Singapore). Her publications have examined armed conflict in Southeast Asia and the implementation of WPS in the Indo-Pacific. Her regional focus is Southeast Asia, but she has also researched the climate-conflict nexus in Sub-Saharan Africa and far-right ideologies in the US and Europe.

### **Ms. Sayantani Jana (University of Southern California)**

“Resilient Women, Defiant Homes: Resistance and Survival in the Great Calcutta Killings of 1946”

This paper examines the Great Calcutta Killings of 1946 in British India that caused approximately 4,000 deaths and 10,000 injuries. Despite its pivotal impact on Hindu-Muslim relations at the time, this event remains surprisingly under-researched in the context of the Indian Partition.

Partition scholars widely recognise this incident as the first “Partition Riot”, a term used to describe a specific type of communal violence and its underlying logic employed by perpetrators. These conflicts, characterised by Hindu-Muslim-Sikh clashes, erupted across British India between August 1946 and 1947, leading up to the Indian Partition. Historian Suranjan Das, who coined the term “Partition Riot” in relation to the Great Calcutta Killings, identified one prominent characteristic of such riots: the deliberate use of sexual violence against women belonging to the perceived rival group. Subsequent research on the Indian

Partition has similarly concluded that most instances of Partition violence were marked by gendered forms of violence, particularly of a sexual nature, primarily aimed at women.

This paper, derived from an ongoing dissertation project, focuses on women's experiences and responses to the violence that unfolded in Calcutta in August 1946. By utilising oral testimonies, written accounts, and archival sources, the paper illustrates how women in colonial Bengal, despite being often confined to specific areas of their homes (such as the antarmahal or inner quarters) and having limited agency in public spaces, strategically employed their assigned gender roles, restrictions, and associated societal perceptions to resist attacks on their homes, rescue individuals, and safeguard their families from the violence.

Sayantani Jana is a 7th year PhD candidate at the University of Southern California. She specialises in studying the international discourse surrounding pogroms and riots. Jana's dissertation project delves into the November Pogrom of 1938 in Berlin and the Great Calcutta Killings of 1946 in British India, aiming to unravel the complexities of these events and their broader implications for understanding mass violence across different contexts. Her research focuses on gendered forms of violence, responses to violence, participants involved, the urban landscape's relation to violence, and the impact of hermeneutics on understanding mass violence. Jana has received prestigious fellowships and grants from the German Historical Institute, the Central European Historical Society, the AAJR, the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, the Max Weber Institute, and the Borchard Foundation, among others. Her article titled "Decolonization and Genocide: Re-Examining Indian Partition, 1946-47" was recently published in the Winter 2022 issue of the Holocaust and Genocide Studies Journal.

### **Mr. Sean Jennings**

Roundtable participant: "Teaching on US genocide perpetration, liberation, witness, and prevention from the US Military Veteran perspective"

This panel is a roundtable discussion with by four US military veterans from the US Navy, Marine Corps, and Army who have all been facilitating discussions on the US Military and Genocide through support from the NEH's Dialogues on the Experience of War initiative. They are undergraduate and graduate students facilitating discussions in three public sessions and in a course on the US Military and Genocide: Perpetration, Liberation, Witness, and Prevention hosted by Embry-Riddle Aeronautical University. The project has focused on Perpetration and genocide against the Native Americans with a focus on the Seminole Wars, Liberation with a focus on the Holocaust, Witness with a focus on ISIS genocide against the Yazidis, and Prevention with a focus on Afghanistan. The Veteran Facilitators have received training in the case studies and also in how to use a variety of humanities sources in their facilitation, including music, letters, poetry, art, photography, and oral history.

This roundtable will allow the veterans an opportunity to reflect on their experiences as peer-to-peer and peer-to- public facilitators and to speak on their experiences leading discussions on the history and future of the US Military's relationship with genocide. The project, and thus this panel, suggests new and dynamic approaches to pedagogical approaches in genocide studies capitalizing on Veteran experiences in conflict to give students depth.

**Dr. Annika Jones (University of Exeter)**

**“Demographics and Victim Participation at the International Criminal Court”**

The incorporation of victim participation into the legal framework of the International Criminal Court (ICC) brought hope, to some, that the voices of victims would be elevated and heard more clearly in the ICC’s proceedings than they had been at previous international criminal tribunals, where they could participate only as witnesses. While research has emphasised the significant distinction to be drawn between the wide pool of victims of international crime and the far more restricted pool of ‘juridified victims’ who are able to participate in international criminal proceedings, less attention has been drawn to the demographics of the juridified victim and the extent to which access to justice for victims of international crime is shaped by factors such as age, gender and disability. Against this background, this paper highlights the importance of the inclusivity of victim participation at the ICC for the realisation of several of the Court’s underlying goals, most notably its fact-finding, expressive and restorative capacity. It reflects on current limits of international criminal proceedings and ways in which they can be addressed to improve the inclusivity of international criminal justice and the ICC’s ability to represent, support and provide agency to the communities that are most deeply affected by international crime.

Dr Annika Jones is an Associate Professor in Law at the University of Exeter, where she researches and teaches international criminal law and acts as the Law School’s equality, diversity and inclusion lead on the departmental leadership team. Her research addresses aspects of international criminal procedure, including the representation of different voices in the international criminal justice process, the impact of efficiency-building on the nature and function of international criminal courts and tribunals, and interactions between different judicial institutions in the adjudication of international crimes. Annika has worked in the Appeals and Trial Chambers of the International Criminal court. Her previous roles also include contribution to the development of the National Implementing Legislation Database, one of the International Criminal Court’s digital legal tools.

**Dr. Wanda Nyx June (Mount Royal University)**

**“Social Death with Nature: Cultural-Ecological Destruction in the Cambodian Genocide”**

This paper re-examines the impact of the rice production policies of the Communist Party of Kampuchea (CPK) as a form of cultural-ecological destruction in the Cambodian genocide. I propose the term social death with nature to describe the multiple fronts upon which genocide assaults the life of the group, including through disruptions to ecological relations. Claudia Card argues that social vitality—all the social ties that engender cultural and collective identity—define a group’s existence. Social death—the loss of the group’s social vitality—therefore, is the central defining feature of genocide. Social death more aptly describes the multiple techniques of destruction employed in genocide including, but not restricted to, mass physical annihilation; social death may also include the destruction of heritage sites, forcibly transferring children from one group to another, and rape. In this paper, I build on Card’s use of social death to argue that all human groups are connected to the natural world in some way and that these relationships are also at stake in genocide, as a form of social death with nature. Drawing on archival survivor testimonies and oral



histories, I argue that Cambodian collective identity is deeply embedded in familial, spiritual and cultural traditions of rice agriculture. The CPK's reformulation of rice agriculture in forced labour camps both inflicted mass physical destruction through starvation, overwork and executions, as well as culturalecological destruction through the loss of traditional rice farming practices and the restriction of familial, spiritual and cultural traditions associated with rice and farming.

Dr. Wanda Nyx June is an assistant professor at Mount Royal University in the Department of Economics, Justice, and Policy Studies. She has (co)authored several peer-reviewed journal articles and book chapters that examine state crime, cultural destruction, and environmental violence against Indigenous Peoples on Turtle Island (what we now call North America) as well as notions of cultural-ecological destruction in the Rwandan, Armenian, and Cambodian genocides.

Roundtable participant: "Genocide Studies: Pathways Ahead"

This roundtable includes authors who are contributors to the edited volume, *Genocide Studies: Pathways Ahead*. Topics range from attritive means of genocide, famine, human-nonhuman relations, perpetrator reintegration, and permanent security.

**Mr. Namatullah Kadrie (Australian National University)**

"Subversive history production after genocides: The case of Fayz Muhammad Katib and the Hazaras"

The early-20th century court historian, Fayz Muhammad Katib, was charged with one of the most important government duties. The king of Afghanistan, Amir Habib Allah Khan (r. 1901-1919), commissioned the Hazara historian to compose more or less a "great men" history of the country's past and present monarchs. Upon Habib Allah's assassination, his son, Aman Allah Khan (r. 1919-1929), reemployed Katib to complete the unfinished work. What Katib eventually produced was a four-volume tome titled "Siraj al-Tawarikh." However, contrary to the mandated assignment, a hagiography of the kings is not all that meets the eyes. Tactfully embedded within the selfsame official historical text is the subversive documentation of atrocities and genocide by successive kings against the Hazaras—an ethnic group to which the historian belonged to. This paper argues that subversive knowledge production was central not only to the aspiration of Katib to secure the post of official state historian in Habib Allah's anti-Hazara government, but—as a witness to the genocide—also proved pivotal for his perilous counter-history production project that rendered the persecution and annihilation of the Hazaras a major theme in the official history. Despite Habib Allah placing editorial expurgators to keep Katib's work in check, it is asserted that a litany of subversive techniques, including coded language, antithesis, intentional self-contradiction, emotive and figurative language, were employed by the historian to bypass the curtailment imposed on him. Today, Katib's published and unpublished works remain the most authoritative and comprehensive indigenous source on the Hazara genocide and the text's value is enhanced all the more when read against the grain.

Namatullah Kadrie is a second-year PhD candidate at the Australian National University. His doctoral research critically examines the genocide of the Hazaras at the end of 19th and early 20th century. He has a bachelor's degree in journalism.

**Ms. Aurelia Kalisky (Vienna Wiesenthal Institute)**

“Forensic Landscapes of Return”

On panel "Return Narratives: Documenting Destruction in the Homeland"

*Panel Abstract:*

In the aftermath of genocides, or other mass crimes, displaced survivors and their descendants sometimes return, or attempt to return, to their original homeland and home communities. These returns often take the shape of investigations into an erased past that confront victims and/or their descendants with unhospitable communities where, in their search for answers, they encounter other survivors, bystanders, or even in some cases perpetrators. Some of these experiences have been narrated and published as books, articles, or produced as films. These historical and memorial endeavors illustrate the need to document the past, the reliance on testimonies and oral history, and the impossibility to fully capture the extent of the destruction.

Taking a decisively comparative approach that encompasses return narratives from the Holocaust in Yiddish and in English, the Armenian Genocide, and the Tutsi genocide, this interdisciplinary panel composed of a historian and literary scholars proposes to interrogate the importance of these return narratives on how the knowledge of these crimes is produced, on questions of remembrance, and on the emergence of a topography of mass destruction. Among the questions we aim to address: how have these returns – travel narratives of sorts – been written? Between history and memory, how do these authors approach – and write – the past according to their disciplinary background and generation? What do they add to a historical record? Do they each become a new archival record of the events? What can we learn if we read these texts from a comparative genocides approach?

*Paper Abstract:*

In my paper, I propose to consider cases where a return to the homeland is inseparable from an investigation of the place of birth as "forensic landscapes". It is the uncovering of memories, the observation of natural elements and the questioning of "participant observers" (E. Janicka) or "entangled bystanders" (A. Wylegała) who are still in the place that make the landscape speak and reveal other aspects of the truth. In Paweł Łoziński's documentary *Miejsce urodzenia* (Birthplace, 1992), the Polish Jewish writer Henryk Grynberg returns to his native village in Poland to investigate the murder of his father by Polish neighbours during the Holocaust and to find the location of his body; in the documentary *By the Shortcut* (ly'ubusamo, 2008) and the subsequent book *Rwanda, un deuil impossible. Effacement et traces* (Rwanda, an impossible grief. Erasure and traces, 2021), Dady de Maximo Mwicira-Mitali, a Tutsi genocide survivor, investigates the massacres committed in the region of his home village, along the Nyabarongo River to Lake Victoria. In tracing the topography of one of the most important aspects of the genocide, he revisits both the genealogy of genocidal violence against the Tutsi and his family and personal history. On the basis of these three

works, I propose to reflect on the possibilities of investigating "forensic landscapes", where the living and the dead, the past of the massacre and the present of the impossible mourning now mix, becoming the stage for an investigation inseparable from the search for the meaning of violence and survival.

Aurelia Kalisky (she/her) is a literary scholar whose research focuses on Genocide and Holocaust studies, and more widely on forms of testimony and collective memory of political and war-related violence. She is currently a fellow at the Vienna Wiesenthal Institute to finish a book on early Holocaust research entitled *How to write our History? The Writings of Jewish survivor scholars in the wake of the Shoah*. She is the editor of the German translation of the manuscript of Auschwitz Sonderkommando member Zalmen Gradowski (*Die Zertrennung. Aufzeichnungen eines Mitglieds des Sonderkommandos*, 2019) and, with Elisabeth Gallas and Nicolas Berg, of an issue of *Studies in Contemporary History* on "Jewish Critique of Language after the Holocaust" (forthcoming in 2023). She also published many articles on testimony, testimonial literature, memory politics and historiography of the Shoah, the Armenian genocide and the genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda.

### **Dr. Shushan Karapetian (USC Dornsife Institute of Armenian Studies)**

#### **"No Longer Post-Genocide: Claiming Armenian as Act of Resistance"**

The 44 Day Nagorno-Karabakh/Artsakh War in 2020 and the ethnic cleansing of the entire population of Armenians in Artsakh in September 2023 witnessed unprecedented transnational mobilization of the global Armenian diaspora, channeling narratives of existential angst and pan-Armenian activism. The specter of genocidal intent, rhetoric, and action manifested in both intergenerational and recycled trauma, connecting the Armenian Genocide of WWI to the contemporary atrocities, both for the victims in Artsakh/Armenia and the global diaspora. This recent period witnessed disparate and extraordinary endeavors, both individual and collective, including material assistance (remittances, medical and professional aid, fund-raising, investment in reconstruction), political advocacy (lobbying, diplomacy, protesting in local communities), and global conflict infopolitics (transnational competition for the production of knowledge about the conflict via social media platforms). Mobilization witnessed surprising rates of participation by all sectors of the diaspora, including the striking involvement of the previously unengaged or "assimilated people whose names end in ian/yan." In response to experiences of trauma, impotence, and survivor's guilt in the context of war and ethnic cleansing framed as continuation or completion of genocide, many in the diaspora asserted agency through claiming their heritage language and the desire to (re)learn it. This has manifested in numerous institutions and organizations being bombarded with requests for language classes and resources and the appearance and proliferation of all kinds of digital language platforms in/for Armenian. This presentation will explore how claiming Armenian as a heritage language by diasporans functions as a mode of resistance in the context of collective transnational trauma and existential angst.

Shushan Karapetian is director of the USC Dornsife Institute of Armenian Studies. She researches, teaches, and writes about the Armenian experience, particularly focusing on competing ideologies at the intersection of language and the construction of transnational identity. She received a PhD in Near Eastern Languages and Cultures from UCLA in 2014, where she taught Armenian Studies courses for over ten years. Her doctoral dissertation,

which is the foundation of her forthcoming book, tackled the intersection of language and diasporic identity and the challenges of transmitting the Armenian language from one generation to the next. In addition to receiving the Society for Armenian Studies Distinguished Dissertation Award, she is also the recipient of the Russ Campbell Young Scholar Award in recognition of outstanding scholarship in heritage language research.

**Ms. Katie Kasperian (University of Michigan)**

**“There Are No Innocent Landscapes: Representing War Crimes and Ethnic Cleansing in Post-Yugoslav Documentary”**

Extensive, catastrophic, and horrific war crimes occurred throughout the Yugoslav Wars in the 1990s, yet that violence has received almost no commemoration or recognition because of the widespread and pervasive denialism plaguing the post-YU states. To combat this denialism, an influx of Balkan documentaries employing landscape imagery to investigate the war crimes, trauma, and violent afterlives of the ethnic cleansing that occurred 90s have hit film festival circuits. This trend was first noticed by Pavle Levi, who terms this style of documentary “cinema of cleansed (as in: ethnically cleansed) landscapes.” In this wave of documentary, there is a pronounced absence of people, as the geographic scenery is the predominant, if not sole, visual register. To understand how and why the landscape has come to stand in as a metonymic substitute for genocide and ethnic cleansing, this paper analyzes three documentaries that predominantly utilize landscape imagery in their exploration of mass graves and the war crimes that created them: *Depth Two* (Ognjen Glavonić, 2016), *Those Shocking Shaking Days* (Selma Doborac, 2016), and *Disturbed Earth* (Guillermo Carreras-Candi and Kumjana Novakova, 2021). To open up an interpretive space that shows there is no innocent landscape in the Yugoslav successor states, these films rely on a disconnect between the seemingly bucolic landscapes and the audial or textual elements that reveal the mass violence intentionally hidden beneath the land’s surface. In doing so, these films fight for recognition of the missing, the nestali.

Katie Kasperian is a PhD candidate at the University of Michigan studying film, memory, and museums in the post-Yugoslav and post-Soviet space. She focuses on how filmic and museological images can reckon with difficult or traumatic histories, challenge nationalist memories, and be used for reconciliatory purposes in the face of genocide and ethnic cleansing. This interest in memory conflict has driven her to the Museum Studies program at UMich, where she is currently a certificate student.

**Ms. Lauren Kelly (University of Southern California)**

**"Water and Power in Manzanar"**

This paper examines Manzanar incarceration camp through the lens of the longer history of water struggles and settler colonialism in Payahuunadü (also known as the Owens Valley). While the camp only existed for three years (from 1942-1945), it left a lasting legacy. Most studies of Manzanar examine it within the context of the World War II incarceration camps as a whole, but I analyze it as part of a place-based history of Payahuunadü focused on land and water. This federal camp encapsulated the settler colonial drive to remove and contain racialized bodies – echoing the violent enclosure of the Nüümü (Owens Valley Paiute) onto

reservations in 1939. This paper will examine the water infrastructure that sustained the camp, and how the camp fit into the broader water networks of the valley. It will also look into the ways in which Japanese Americans used water itself as a method of empowerment, through the creation of koi ponds, gardens, and orchards. It will explore how the Nüümü in the valley responded to Manzanar and interacted with Japanese American incarcerated. Finally, it will delve into how Japanese American memorialization of Manzanar has contributed to the many competing claims to the lands and waters of Payahuunadü.

Lauren Kelly is a fifth-year PhD candidate in the Van Hunnick Department of History at USC. Her research reframes a seminal event in water history of the U.S. West: the story of how Los Angeles seized water from Payahuunadü<sup>o</sup> (the Owens Valley). By providing a diverse and multi-generational study of one of the most famous water transfers in the U.S. West, Lauren demonstrates how resource extraction creates long-term, transformative relationships that are comprehensible only over an extended time scale. In addition to research, Lauren is dedicated to serving her department and broader historical community. She served as the President of USC's History Graduate Student Association for two years, where she created an array of new initiatives to develop a greater community among graduate students. Currently, she is a Graduate Student Representative for the Western Association of Women Historians.

**Mr. Arman Khachatryan (Ben-Gurion University)**

“Armenian Genocide Memorialization by the Patriarchate of Jerusalem as Diasporic Identity Policy”

On panel “Armenian Survivor Communities: Navigating and Recreating Place and Self”

During World War One, the Armenian Legion under the French armed forces fought against Ottoman troops on the Palestine Front in 1918, forcing the Ottomans to retreat. During these battles, 21 Armenian legionnaires fell and were buried on the Arara hill near Rafat, the sight was known as ‘Arara’s heroes’. Following the war, the British-mandate authorities of Palestine created the War Cemetery on Mount Scopus in Jerusalem, which served as the primary burial site for 2,515 fallen soldiers of different nationalities, not including Armenians. This cemetery became a place where not only the memory of fallen soldiers was honored, but also became symbols of national identity and unity for groups living in Palestine.

The Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem acted as the official representative of the Armenian community, assuming responsibility to emphasize the contribution of Armenians to the war. With this purpose, the Patriarchate moved the remains of twenty-one fallen legionnaires of Arara and reburied them in the Armenian cemetery of Jerusalem, where a memorial was erected. This monument became the major memorial for the Armenian community of Palestine to pay tribute to the memory of the Armenian Genocide, reshaping the notion of victimhood into resilience and survival.

This presentation analyzes the commemoration policies of the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem during the 1920s British Mandate Palestine for the Armenian Genocide and the Armenian fallen soldiers. It also explores the diasporic identity policy of the Patriarchate, considering the ethno-political and social-cultural milieu of the time.

Arman Khachatryan (he/him) is a PhD candidate at Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Israel. He is currently a researcher at the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography of the National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Armenia. His PhD dissertation focuses on the activities of the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem from 1909 to 1948. His research interests include genocide studies, diaspora studies, nationalism, ethnicity, and religious studies.

**Dr. Nanar Khamo (Pepperdine University)**

“Transnational Memory and Identity in Véronique Tadjo’s *The Shadow of Imana* and Khal Torabully’s *Mes Afriques, mes ivoires*”

The question of narrative point of view with regards to victimhood and representation drives my interrogation of Mauritian poet Khal Torabully's *Mes Afriques, mes ivoires* (2004) and Ivorian author Véronique Tadjo's *The Shadow of Imana* (2000). Both texts, as responses to the Genocide Against the Tutsi (1994), reveal the authors’ anxieties about civil war in Côte d'Ivoire (2001-2002) and its risks of descending into genocide. In comparing the two texts, I analyze how each genre—one, a hybrid travel diary, and the other, a collection of poetry—do not recycle genocide tropes or narrative structures, but rather offer innovative literary structures. How do authors evoke the memory of this genocide in particular as both an African catastrophe and as one that concerns the global community? My argument runs along two main axes. In the first, I consider the uses of the concept of “genocide” in literature and suggest that the fear of genocide occurring again in another country is bound to a fear of cultural genocide linked to colonial histories and legacies that turn ethnic groups living in the same territory against one another—e.g. Hutu against Tutsi, North Ivoirian against South Ivoirian. In my second axis, I consider literature as a source of collective memory through which authors bend genre to represent the past and consider the possibilities of the future using traditional African orality to create a hybrid text. My presentation overall concerns the urgency of considering the importance of the cultural in discussions of genocide.

Nanar Khamo is Visiting Assistant Professor of French Studies at Pepperdine University. She has published an article with *French Forum* entitled “The Holocaust, Memory, and Race in Natacha Appanah’s *Le Dernier Frère*.” She has also published various book reviews with *The French Review* and *Genocide Studies and Prevention*, as well as a short story and a piece of creative nonfiction.

**Dr. Rachel Killean (Sydney Law School)**

Commentator on “The Sights, Sounds, and Sensibilities of Genocide Prosecutions”

This panel offers a discussion of three of the contributions published in *Sights, Sounds, and Sensibilities of Atrocity Prosecutions* (Brill, 2024). These papers all focus on different instances of genocide to address what international criminal law and justice ‘look’, ‘sound’, ‘smell’, ‘taste’ and ‘feel’ like. Presenters unpack the dynamics of the five human senses in how genocide is perceived, remembered, and condemned. Chaired by the two editors of this volume, this panel will reimagine what genocidal atrocity means, reconsider what drives the manufacture of law, and reboot the role of courtrooms and other mechanisms in the pursuit of

justice. It will unveil how law translates sensory experience into its procedures and institutions, and also how humanistic inputs shape perceptions of right and wrong.

Dr Rachel Killean, Senior Lecturer at Sydney Law School and a member of the Sydney Institute of Criminology, the Sydney Southeast Asia Centre, and the Sydney Environment Institute. Prior to joining Sydney Law School, she was a Senior Lecturer at the Queen's University Belfast School of Law. Dr Killean's research centres responses to violence, with a focus on transitional justice, victims' rights, sexual and gender-based violence, and harms perpetrated against the natural world.

### **Mr. Anthony Kornarens**

"The Uncanny: Inexplicable Detours from Doom detailed by Holocaust and Cambodian Survivors" (Cultural Event)

Two Artists Channel Mysterious Stories:  
Sculptures by Peg LeVine & Music by Anthony Kornarens

Is serendipity random? Are uncanny encounters context determined? Does intuition arise from inside the self, only? How does Cambodia's Animist-Buddhist landscape foreshadow ancestral dream visitations?

Peg LeVine delved into such uncanny phenomena in her decade-long study. As anthropologist, trauma-torture psychologist, genocide scholar, and sculptor, she mapped and illustrated respondents' experiences across place, time, context, and sequence of encounters. LeVine found that an increase in metaphysical experiences was proportional to the decrease in life-enhancing infrastructure (destruction of family, homes, sacred lands, traditional rituals, temples, livelihoods, sensuality, and imagination). Gradually, mysterious encounters became trustworthy touchstones for victims of the Nazi and Khmer Rouge regimes. Interestingly, survivors rarely gave an interpretation or religious explanation -- unless ancestral or animist messengers appeared in a dream.

Among dozens of filmed interviews in Cambodia (1998-2008), LeVine gathered images of premonitions stirred by wind, trees, streams, shadows, dream visits, and Neak Ta (spirits). Years later as the inaugural fellow at the Centre for Advanced Genocide Studies, she began exploring Holocaust survivors' accounts where the 'uncanny' surfaced again and again (direct interviews or via archives at the Shoah Foundation and Melbourne Holocaust Museum). Somewhat surprisingly, the Holocaust and Cambodian accounts overlap. The central cultural difference is that Holocaust survivors took longer to trust the validity of their mysterious encounters.

LeVine identified reliable dynamic patterns. For instance, as traditional ritual objects, places and practice sequences were systematically destroyed (rituicide) by the Khmer Rouge and Nazis, fear was gradually overcome by a person's defiance void of arrogance. Survivors trusted their nudging guides, independent of logic or the opinions of others.

Given the paucity of exact terms for phenomena under study, LeVine gives sculptural form to phantastic safeguarding messengers, such as a mysterious white horse emerging out of snow

to guide a girl to safety, forceful winds from nowhere that drove a family away from a mass murder site, a bird's darting nudge, or tree's alarming scream. To portray such uncanniness, LeVine collaborates with Anthony Kornarens (composer, musician and more) to rouse an atmosphere for these remarkable tales.

Anthony Kornarens is a composer, gifted musician, and an attorney at law (with a practice in LA and Long Beach, California). He has been a legal specialist in the Cambodian Buddhist temple community. Anthony founded and designed a music education and performance centre in Long Beach.

### **Ms. Alexandra Kramen (Clark University)**

“‘The Shed Blood of Our Martyred Millions Demands Justice’: Yiddish Press as an Instrument of Holocaust Justice in Displaced Persons Camp Föhrenwald”

On panel “Taking Initiative: Holocaust Survivors, Agency, and Rebuilding Life in Postwar Europe”

#### *Panel Abstract:*

An estimated two million Jews survived the Shoah in Europe, just one-third of the prewar numbers. Some chose to emigrate onward to establish new lives in other countries, others lived in makeshift centers run by allied forces, still others returned to their hometowns and home countries to begin the hard work of rebuilding lives. In all cases, they took agency and initiative to move forward in ways available to them as they created new lives, homes, and families. This panel will present and analyze these survivors' efforts for resettlement and return, as well as their struggles for autonomy and personal rights, and all in the context of continued antisemitism, hatred, and distrust. The papers in this panel will examine how gender, innovation, resistance, and protests shaped the futures of European Jewish survivors.

#### *Paper Abstract:*

Jewish DPs organized early to take control of their lives and futures in the DP camps of American-occupied Europe. DP leadership in the camps, in the form of Jewish Committees, established departments to advocate for the needs of the She'erit Hapletah across every facet of life. In DP Camp Föhrenwald, one of the largest camps in postwar Germany and the last to close, the Jewish Committee established an editorial office which quickly began publishing a Yiddish periodical titled Bamidbar. Its editors, DPs hailing primarily from Lodz and Warsaw in Poland, reclaimed their agency through their contributions. They also used their platform as a means of defining and demanding justice for the Holocaust. This paper begins with an examination of arguments about the nature of the defects of the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg, revealing unexpected ways in which Allied decisions about various elements of the trial failed to satisfy DPs' justice needs. It will also demonstrate how contributors addressed issues of Holocaust justice beyond the courtroom, including the failure to identify and prosecute perpetrators; incidents of, and potential remedies for, unaddressed Holocaust harms and losses; instances of symbolic revenge experienced in everyday life; and the measures and policies necessary to guarantee the promise “Never Again.” Finally, the paper will reveal how the contributors of Bamidbar, particularly its editor-in-chief Menachem Sztajer, wielded the press as an instrument of justice to forcefully demonstrate why the



establishment of a Jewish state was, in the editors' minds, an indispensable component of Holocaust justice.

Alexandra Kramen is a PhD candidate at Clark University. She is currently co-editing a primary source volume, along with Atina Grossmann, Avinoam Patt, and Tamar Lewinsky, titled *Jewish Displaced Persons after the Holocaust: Document Collection*. *Encyclopedia of Jewish Cultures* (Leipzig: Simon Dubnow Institute); she also published an article in *AJS Perspectives: The Justice Issue* (Fall 2022), "Justice versus Revenge, or Justice as Revenge? A Case Study of Holocaust Testimony." She received her J.D. from Temple University Beasley School of Law and her M.A. in Holocaust and Genocide Studies from West Chester University of Pennsylvania. Her dissertation research has been supported by numerous fellowships, including a Dr. Sophie Bookhalter Graduate Research Fellowship at the Center for Jewish History (New York), and, most recently, the 2023-2024 William J. Lowenberg Memorial Fellowship on America, the Holocaust and the Jews at the Mandel Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies at the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum.

**Dr. Claudine Kuradusenge-McLeod (American University)**

"Unheard or Ignored: The Rwandan Diaspora's Stories of Memories and Genocide"  
On panel "Erasing Refugees: Camps as Killing Fields in the First Congo War and Visualising Digital Memory"

*Panel Abstract:*

This panel reports on an interdisciplinary project that collects and analyzes accounts of Rwandan refugees during the First Congo War, creating a new historical account of this violence which will be presented as a mapping of these experiences in a visual archive. The need addressed by this project is the absence of a historical account of Rwandan refugees in the Congo in the mid-1990s, and their representation in discourses of memory, peace, and justice. This project proposes two core aims: 1) promote the study of violence against Rwandan Hutu refugees, breaking a wall of silence; and, 2) achieve broader public knowledge and regional reconciliation of this case. The key research questions include: How were refugees targeted and thus experienced violence? What are the relations within and around camps as spaces of refuge becoming spaces of violence?

*Paper Abstract:*

Being part of a Diaspora community is knowing that trauma and memory of violence are ever-present and transgenerational. Although each generation experiences them differently, stories created and promoted within shape how members understand and experience their diasporic consciousness. Existing research with Congolese and Rwandan diasporas shows that the 1990 conflicts in the Great Lake Region contributed to the current transgenerational sharing of trauma and the making of narratives of identities influenced by the stories promoted in the post-1994 Rwandan genocide. For most, justice is found through acknowledging their trauma and narrating past violence for future generations. This paper presents the stories shared within various Diaspora communities in Europe and the U.S. and explores the impact of both self and imposed silencing on the making and promotion of 'otherness'.

Originally from Rwanda, Dr. Claudine Kuradusenge-McLeod is the Chair of the Ethics, Peace, and Human Rights MA Program at American University. She is also a Human Rights activist and scholar specializing in genocide studies, and in the intersection of Diaspora consciousness and social mobilization. She is the author of *Narratives of Victimhood and Perpetration: The Struggle of Bosnian and Rwandan Diaspora Communities in the United States* as well as articles published in *Genocide Studies and Prevention: An International Journal*, the *International Journal of Transitional Justice*, and the *International Studies Review*. Dr. Kuradusenge-McLeod received her M.S. and Ph.D. in Conflict Analysis and Resolution from George Mason University.

**Dr. Adam Levin (University of the Witwatersrand)**

“Exploring Resonances of Holocaust Memory in Post-Apartheid South Africa”

In this paper, I will reflect on my experiences as a South African university educator, teaching on a transnational interdisciplinary course which connects Holocaust memory to histories of antisemitism, colonialism, and gender oppression. In creating a space in which these differing and sometimes contesting histories can be brought into conversation with one another, the course offers a new approach through which to engage with the concerns of genocide studies. Significantly, the course brings together educators and students from a range of European backgrounds, the UK, US, and South Africa. Within a virtual space, these educators and students engage in a reciprocal dialogue. Through this dialogue, each group demonstrates how the range of topics covered in the course speak to the historical and collective traumas which define their own specific national contexts. Using this dialogue as a point of departure, I will reflect particularly on South African students’ experience of the course. I will highlight how the students’ engagement with the course’s concerns have offered them new perspectives on the issues of racism and xenophobia which remain ever-present in post-apartheid South African society.

Adam Levin is a postdoctoral research fellow in the department of English Literature at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, South Africa. He currently serves as the vice-executive security of INoGS. His research focuses particularly on the impact of memory and historical trauma in shaping contemporary experiences of othering, particularly within post-apartheid South Africa. His work has been featured in *Holocaust Studies: A Journal of Culture and History*, *English Studies in Africa*, *Journal of Commonwealth Literature and Safundi*.

**Dr. Peg LeVine (University of Melbourne)**

"The Uncanny: Inexplicable Detours from Doom detailed by Holocaust and Cambodian Survivors" (Cultural Event)

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As an Australian and American citizen, Peg has worked in many countries as a medical anthropologist (PhD) and trauma-torture psychologist (EdD). She is an Associate Professor adjunct at Monash University where she supervises PhD students. As a figurative sculptor of stone, bronze, ceramic and metal, her work holds the tension between the sensual and macabre. Criteria for ritualicide emerged from LeVine's decade film ethnography in Cambodia, which culminated in her book, *Love and Dread in Cambodia* (Routledge, 2010). Relatedly, she gave expert witness at the Cambodian Khmer Rouge Tribunal (ECCC, October 2016). As founder-director of Morita Therapy-International (Classic Morita Therapy: Trauma and Justice, Routledge Press, 2018), her therapeutic focus is on "imagination restoration" and eco-determining health care -- free of human cruelty.

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Special Appreciation (decade-long research): Dr Lina Huot (psychiatrist and Khmer Rouge survivor, Phnom Penh); Om and Teal (geo-stirred recollections on former Khmer Rouge sites, combined with animist protectors across Kampong Speau, Cambodia); Ita Gordon (Yiddish translations) and Crispin Brooks (The Shoah Foundation); Sayon Syprasoeuth (American-Cambodian child refugee, artist in Long Beach, California); Julia Reichstein, Manager-Librarian (Melbourne Holocaust Museum); Sarah Williams (Holocaust Centre of New Zealand), Alain Guillemot (videographer in Cambodia & France), George Weiss (1933-1920) whose sculptures educated post-Holocaust insights. And deep gratitude to Dr. Martha Stroud (Associate Director) and Professor Wolf Gruner (Founding Director) at the Center for Advanced Genocide Studies.

#### **Dr. Tricia Logan (University of British Columbia)**

"Survivor Testimonies of Settler Colonial Genocide: their use, power and manipulation"

Survivors of genocide and settler colonial genocides have recorded their stories individually and collectively as a record of violence and as resistance against ongoing or future violence. Survivor testimonies continually 'challenge our understandings of cases of genocides and their impacts' and in settler colonial contexts, represent activist voices and decolonize dominant historical narratives. Settler colonial genocides contextualize violence in terms of decades and centuries of atrocity and are inherently tied to Indigenous ways of knowing.

This paper will examine the use and potential re-use of Survivor recordings through emerging eras of genocide responses and "reconciliation". Ownership, control and access to Survivor records and their own statement recordings still rely on just negotiations of power between Indigenous nations and government, churches or non-governmental agencies. That balance of power often lands unevenly, and colonial institutions from all levels of government, churches and corporation retain the 'dominant' bulk of the records and information. Throughout phases of genocide denial and ongoing hate speech, mis-use of genocide records or histories perpetuates both violence and colonial control. This paper will discuss the access to Survivor recordings, Indigenous data sovereignty and control over Indigenous peoples' records and using Survivor statements and activism to combat denial and to face transformative change after atrocity. This will include discussion on uses of Survivor statements on unmarked burials and missing children as Indigenous nations advocate for increased accountability and justice for the missing.

Tricia Logan is a Métis scholar with more than 20 years of experience working with Indigenous communities in Canada. Currently, Tricia is an Assistant Professor in First Nations and Indigenous Studies at UBC and is cross-appointed as Interim Academic Director

at the Indian Residential School History and Dialogue Centre. She has held roles at the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation, Canadian Museum for Human Rights, the Aboriginal Healing Foundation and the Legacy of Hope Foundation. She has a Master of Arts in Native Studies from the University of Manitoba, and completed her PhD in History at Royal Holloway, University of London. Her PhD is entitled Indian Residential Schools, Settler Colonialism and Their Narratives in Canadian History. Originally from Kakabeka Falls, Ontario, Tricia has worked with Survivors of residential schools, completed research on the Métis experience in residential schools, and worked with Métis communities on a Michif language revitalization project.

## **Nay San Lwin**

“Beyond Victimhood: Agency and resistance strategies for Rohingya survivor communities”  
On panel “The Genocide of Myanmar’s Rohingyas in international and comparative perspective: Resistance and Agency”

### *Panel Abstract:*

Myanmar’s genocide of Rohingya has become one of the cases which have landed before the International Court of Justice (ICJ) in the 70-years’ history of the application of The Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (The Gambia vs. Myanmar). However, juridical discussions and proceedings do not cover some of the most crucial issues – the victims’ agency and resistance, for instance - nor have they offered a meaningful space for Rohingya survivors to be heard. This panel brings together key scholars and activists on Myanmar’s Rohingya genocide, to put numerous forms of agency and resistance in an international and comparative perspective. The papers will draw on the examples of Myanmar’s genocide and other genocides to explore agency in preventing genocide and seeking justice. They will also discuss the structural limitations to various resistance strategies and the implications internationally. The panel provides different perspectives including from the Rohingya survivor community (Nay San Lwin), from the Myanmar Buddhist perpetrator community (Dr Maung Zarni), and from international human rights community (Dr Katherine Southwick and Dr Natalie Brinham). All four panelists have scholarly expertise and activist/practitioner experience and will provide perspectives that are both theoretical and grounded in everyday realities.

### *Paper Abstract:*

This paper offers a deeply personal reflection on the slow genocidal process to which the national minority community of Rohingyas has been subjected to, both by the perpetrating state and the Buddhist majoritarian society in Myanmar. Specifically, the paper challenges the typical narrative about the Rohingya people as “voiceless” victims of genocide unable to resist and organise. It will consider the spaces that have been carved out for Rohingyas within the international sphere and within Myanmar society, and also cover the restrictions and barriers to achieving justice and safe return to the Rohingya homelands. The author’s experience enables him to provide perspectives from multiple locations including: Rohingya villages in Northern Rakhine and IDP camps or “open air prisons”; refugee camps in Bangladesh where 1 million genocide survivors are denied the recognition as refugees; and the diasporic communities. It will provide insights from the author’s countless conversations,

meetings, and discussions on the specific topics of resistance against the on-going anti-Rohingya dehumanization efforts in Myanmar's state and societal spaces, mechanisms for survival, new ideas for revival, the campaign to restore of rights and full citizenship, recognition of Rohingya group identity, history and rightful belonging in the Rohingya ancestral homeland of Rakhine and finally reparations for the vast Rohingya agricultural land, fishing and other systems of livelihoods, post- voluntary repatriation to Myanmar.

Nay San Lwin is a prominent Rohingya activist promoting the rights of the Rohingya survivor community. He is co-founder of the Free Rohingya Coalition and has been advocating for human rights and raising awareness about the genocidal campaign against the Rohingya people in Arakan (Rakhine State) by the Myanmar military and government for the past two decades. Despite receiving several serious threats, Nay San Lwin has continued to speak out and provide timely and accurate information, fact-checking, and verification, as well as updates and analyses on the situation. He has spoken at various international conferences in Asia and Europe and several European countries' parliaments. He is a prolific commentator in global mainstream media, television, radio, and grassroots media. Following the military coup in Myanmar in early 2021, he has worked to build a strong relationship between the Rohingya and the wider Myanmar community, showing his solidarity with the people of Myanmar.

### **Mr. Daniel MacCabe**

Roundtable participant: "Teaching on US genocide perpetration, liberation, witness, and prevention from the US Military Veteran perspective"

This panel is a roundtable discussion with by four US military veterans from the US Navy, Marine Corps, and Army who have all been facilitating discussions on the US Military and Genocide through support from the NEH's Dialogues on the Experience of War initiative. They are undergraduate and graduate students facilitating discussions in three public sessions and in a course on the US Military and Genocide: Perpetration, Liberation, Witness, and Prevention hosted by Embry-Riddle Aeronautical University. The project has focused on Perpetration and genocide against the Native Americans with a focus on the Seminole Wars, Liberation with a focus on the Holocaust, Witness with a focus on ISIS genocide against the Yazidis, and Prevention with a focus on Afghanistan. The Veteran Facilitators have received training in the case studies and also in how to use a variety of humanities sources in their facilitation, including music, letters, poetry, art, photography, and oral history.

This roundtable will allow the veterans an opportunity to reflect on their experiences as peer-to-peer and peer-to- public facilitators and to speak on their experiences leading discussions on the history and future of the US Military's relationship with genocide. The project, and thus this panel, suggests new and dynamic approaches to pedagogical approaches in genocide studies capitalizing on Veteran experiences in conflict to give students depth.

### **Ms. Maseeng Masitha-Brossman (Clark University)**

"Methodology and Mapping Refugee Camps, Flight, and a Diaspora" (coauthored with Sophie Hayes)

On panel "Erasing Refugees: Camps as Killing Fields in the First Congo War and Visualising Digital Memory"

*Panel Abstract:*

This panel reports on an interdisciplinary project that collects and analyzes accounts of Rwandan refugees during the First Congo War, creating a new historical account of this violence which will be presented as a mapping of these experiences in a visual archive. The need addressed by this project is the absence of a historical account of Rwandan refugees in the Congo in the mid-1990s, and their representation in discourses of memory, peace, and justice. This project proposes two core aims: 1) promote the study of violence against Rwandan Hutu refugees, breaking a wall of silence; and, 2) achieve broader public knowledge and regional reconciliation of this case. The key research questions include: How were refugees targeted and thus experienced violence? What are the relations within and around camps as spaces of refuge becoming spaces of violence?

*Paper Abstract:*

This interdisciplinary project collects and analyzes accounts of Rwandan refugees during the First Congo War, creating a new historical account of this violence which will be presented as a mapping of these experiences in a visual archive. We do not intend to “show” violence through visceral imagery and description but to tell it through the voices of those who experienced it and innovative visualization in our interactive mapping. This paper shows how we use GIS mapping to present the locations of refugee camps, massacres, and the global dispersal of refugees outside of Rwanda and Congo.

Maseeng Masitha-Brossman (MSc in GIS for Development and Environment, Clark University) she/her Maseeng Masitha-Brossman is a Geographic Information Science (GIS) Professional with a master's degree in GIS focussing on application of geospatial technologies to address challenges of sustainable development. She is experienced in environmental consulting, science education, and research support for academic pursuit and as a contractor for the government of Lesotho (Ministry of Tourism, Environment and Culture) in 2019, and currently for the state of New York (NYSERDA). She is also partnered with Clark University as a recipient of the Guggenheim Distinguished Scholar Award to document the narratives of the African diaspora scarred by the 1994-1997 genocide in the DRC.

**Dr. Lukas Meissel (Hebrew University Jerusalem / Fondation pour la Mémoire de la Shoah)**

**“Photographic Testimonies. An Integrated Visual History of Survival and Resistance”**

My paper deals with visual sources created or collected during the Holocaust or its immediate aftermath by survivors. These materials comprise photographs, photo series, photo albums, sketches and collages, among which are stolen SS photos, photos taken in secret or during the days of liberation and reenactments of atrocities, as well as other unique motifs, that are frequently put together in albums. These collections are usually stored privately or in archives as estates.

My project is separated into two parts. The first presents new sources for how survivors visually documented and narrated crimes done to them, and decipher the meanings attached to

these images. The second investigates the transmission of visual narratives behind images by focusing on their implementation and adaptation in various formats. I am interested in how the images were used and whether the messages conveyed changed the originally intended meaning that survivors attributed to them.

My paper is designed as an ‘integrated visual history’, a methodological framework that I defined in my PhD thesis as a tool for a critical and multi-step photo analysis as well as a theoretical approach in studying photographs. My aim is to contribute not only to historical research but due to my main focus on visibility, also cultural studies, art history, visual culture and the broad interdisciplinary fields of Holocaust studies, culture, education and memory, that are very much influenced by visualizations, not least due to new forms of Holocaust representation in the digital age.

Lukas Meissel is a historian and PhD candidate in Holocaust Studies at the University of Haifa, Israel. In fall 2023, he will start as a postdoc researcher at the Hebrew University Jerusalem with a grant from the Fondation pour la Mémoire de la Shoah (Paris). Lukas earned BA and MA degrees in history and contemporary history at the University of Vienna, Austria. His MA thesis about photographs from the Mauthausen concentration camp was published as a monograph: *Mauthausen im Bild. Fotografien der Lager-SS. Entstehung - Motive - Deutungen* (Vienna: edition Mauthausen, 2019). Prior to his studies in Israel, Lukas worked as an archivist in the Jewish Community of Vienna and in various Holocaust Studies and Education projects. Lukas received fellowships and grants in Israel, the USA, Germany, Austria and France, as well as the Herbert-Steiner-Anerkennungspreis 2015 and the Theodor-Körner-Preis 2021 awards. His research, lectures and teaching focus on Holocaust Studies and Education, Visual History, and antisemitism, on which he has published in international peer-reviewed journals.

#### **Dr. Ehlimana Memisevic (University of Sarajevo Law School)**

“Activism, Feminism, and Resistance: The Role of Rape Survivors in the Prosecuting Perpetrators of Mass Rape and Sexual Violence in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1992-1995”

Rape and sexual violence were deliberately and methodically used as a weapon of war and genocide in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1992-1995. As the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in the territory of the former Yugoslavia noted in 1992, rape was used in “particularly sadistic ways” and “intended to humiliate, shame, degrade and terrify the entire ethnic group.” It is estimated that between 20,000 and 50,000 predominantly Muslim girls and women were raped and sexually assaulted. Many were detained in “rape camps, “systematically raped and often forcibly impregnated and intentionally held until it was too late to legally or safely procure an abortion. Some towns, like Višegrad or Foča, were turned into rape centers. Besides testifying at the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) and the domestic courts, which ensured that rape was prosecuted as a war crime and crime against humanity, rape survivors also hunted war criminals, collected testimonies and evidence, and sent them to the ICTY, facilitating the prosecution of the war criminals. In this research, I will analyze the international courts’ judgments with a particular focus on the contribution of women who survived wartime rape to prosecuting the perpetrators and bringing them to justice. Then, it will examine the current narratives in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia, focusing on the forms of genocide and war crimes



denial, including crimes of rape and sexual violence, which have detrimental effects on the healing and reconciliation processes.

Ehlimana Memisevic, PhD, is an Assistant Professor at the Department of Legal History and Comparative Law at the Faculty of Law, University of Sarajevo. She holds her BA and MA in Law, and PhD in Legal History and Comparative Law. Her major research fields include legal history and genocide studies.

**Dr. Beth E. Meyerowitz (University of Southern California)**

“When Scholars Engage with Testimony of Mass Violence: Recognizing Vicarious Traumatic Stress and Growth”

As audiovisual testimonies by survivors of genocide, mass atrocities, and current conflicts proliferate around the world, more scholars are engaging with recorded testimonies as part of their research. The presenters will describe their mixed methods research project in which they interviewed scholars and others about the experiences and effects of engaging with genocide survivor testimony. They will highlight central themes that emerged regarding satisfactions that scholars described, challenges associated with this work, and the coping strategies employed. Using research on vicarious traumatic stress and growth to conceptualize their findings, the presenters offer a potentially useful frame for scholars in the field of genocide studies. Attendees will be invited to share their responses, reflections, and experiences

Beth E. Meyerowitz, Ph.D. is a Professor Emerita of Psychology at the University of Southern California in Los Angeles, California. Her research and teaching have focused on the psychological well-being of individuals who face highly stressful situations. She has taught undergraduate courses on psychological adjustment among survivors of genocide and graduate seminars on the causes and treatment of post-traumatic stress. Her research has included the investigations of post-traumatic stress and resilience among survivors of the 1994 Rwandan genocide against the Tutsi. She also conducts professional development workshops on recognizing and addressing any areas of vicarious trauma that might emerge for individuals working in the field.

**Mr. Mihran Minassian (Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute and Mesrop Mashtots Institute of Ancient Manuscripts (Matenadaran))**

"Armenian Genocide Survivors in Syria: Oral Histories" (in Armenian)

Armenian Genocide survivor oral histories have not played a prominent role in scholarship in the past and the vast majority of those oral histories publicly known in scholarship are those conducted in the United States. The Armenian diaspora in the Middle East, where survivors built the earliest communities from living in refugee camps have not been recorded anywhere near those in prosperous North America. Syria was the most prominent region as it had the most relevance in terms of the deportation and concentration camp infrastructure during the genocide.

As I saw the generation of survivors who built the community in Aleppo that I grew up in, slowly withering away, I decided to use my photography studio to record their stories. My intention was not only to capture their faces but also to gather ethnographic information of Ottoman-Armenian life and especially their experiences during the genocide and beginning a new life in Syria. Interviews take place miles away from concentration camps where interviewee subjects had escaped from 70 years before. After decades, I was able to conduct over 400 oral history interviews with Armenian Genocide survivors from throughout Armenian communities in Syria – making it the third largest. I will present the process, themes addressed, challenges and geographic and linguistic scope of the collection process.

Mihran Minassian (he/him) is born in Aleppo, Syria and is currently a researcher at the Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute and Mesrop Mashtots Institute of Ancient Manuscripts (Matenadaran) since 2012. He is the author and editor of nine published books in both Armenian and Arabic on topics related to Armenian history and literature, Armenian Genocide, and Syrian-Ottoman history. His most recent publication is previously unpublished Garnik Poturyan's 'A deportee's memoir, 1915-17' in 2022 (in Armenian) which is annotated and provided a foreword. He has published dozens of articles on Armenian manuscripts, press and the Armenian Genocide in the *Haigazian Armenological Review*, *Journal of Genocide Studies*, and others. He has also written in multiple Armenian media and literary platforms from the Middle East, Europe and Armenia. He has also laboriously built an oral history collection of nearly 500 Armenian Genocide survivors in Syria, mostly consisting of interviews as well as ethnomusicological recordings.

**Ms. Julia Missbrandt (University of Bonn)**

“Challenging the (Post-)Colonial Museum: Representations of the Pueblo Revolt in Tribal and Non-Tribal Institutions”

Events such as the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, which was a successful act of resistance against Spanish colonial forces, are represented in significantly different ways depending on the institution. By examining the New Mexico History Museum (NMHM) in Santa Fe and the Indian Pueblo Cultural Center (IPCC) in Albuquerque, I argue that the IPCC achieves a representation of the revolt in a decolonial, healing setting which is enabled through Indigenous methodologies. Specifically through critical discourse analysis, my goal is to show that for the context of Indigenous museum representation, ‘the postcolonial’ needs to be challenged and reflected, in order to acknowledge Indigenous methodologies and experiences. I argue that the NMHM’s representations of the revolt are not sufficient and that they deny the acknowledgment of colonization and its ongoing impact until today. Their representations of Indigenous/Pueblo lives remain located in the past and are narrated through Western illustrations of ‘Nativity’. Pueblo peoples are characterized as ‘traditional’, which denies them their strength and resilience throughout the museum context. On the other hand, the IPCC deconstructs these narratives. They create a context of healing, community, and resilience for Pueblo/Indigenous peoples, by presenting the revolt in a dynamic way and reframing the histories of colonialism from an Indigenous perspective. This framing is enabled through Indigenous methodologies and curation practices. In this paper, I emphasize that Indigenous agencies and representations create a discourse that centers Indigenous knowledge and epistemologies.

Julia Missbrandt is pursuing her master's degree in North American Studies at the University of Bonn in Germany. Her research interests are Critical Indigenous Studies, Heritage Studies and Museum Studies, with a regional focus on the US, specifically the Southwest. She is currently working on projects dealing with a critique of the idea of the 'postcolonial' museum and how Indigenous histories are represented in tribal and non-tribal institutions and museums in the Southwest of the USA.

**Kimberly Morales Johnson (Gabrieleno/Tongva San Gabriel Band of Mission Indians, University of California, Davis)**

Keynote Speaker

Kimberly Morales Johnson is the current Tribal Secretary, Gabrieleno/Tongva San Gabriel Band of Mission Indians and Los Angeles City/County Native American Indian Commissioner. She has been active in Native American politics and culture, maintaining her family traditions all of her life. Her father served as tribal chairman and was one of the first to serve as a Native American Monitor for the State of California. She and her family have been featured in documentaries and several books, regarding the Native people of the Los Angeles Basin. In 2010, Ms. Morales Johnson earned her Master's in Public Health and taught with Riverside San Bernardino County Indian Health. She is currently completing her PhD in Native American Studies at UC Davis.

**Dr. Dirk Moses (City University of New York, City College)**

Roundtable participant: "War and Genocide Roundtable"

The topic of war and genocide is more relevant than ever. With several current conflicts – most visibly in Gaza and Ukraine – being debated for their genocidal elements, this panel will both discuss theoretical concerns and practical realities of the connection between war and genocide. For example, panelists will address the genocide concept and how it is used and misused in times of war, the connection between civil war and genocide, as well as new critical analysis of punitive war and its genocidal elements.

Dirk Moses is Professor of International Relations, City University of New York, City College. He edits the *Journal of Genocide Research*.

**Adv. Mpakwana Mthembu (Department of Mercantile Law, University of South Africa)**

"Apartheid Studies and the outstanding question of reparations for crimes against humanity committed in South Africa" (coauthored with Dr. Beauty Vambe)

Apartheid studies has now been formally institutionalised as a legitimate area of intellectual inquiry. This move is big because it protects researchers from being accused of opening old wounds. In addition, Apartheid studies enables academics to summon apartheid into the dock, to make disappeared crimes available and interrogate how the apartheid system has innovated, metamorphosed, and adapted in the present as it hides in plain sight. The General Assembly, Apartheid Convention, Security Council, and the Roman statutes identified Apartheid as a crime against humanity. Yet, there is no court established to try apartheid crimes. How might

it be possible under the South African Constitution (1996) to guarantee reparations to black and white victims and survivors of the Apartheid state aggression to citizens inside South Africa, and possibly to some frontline states that bore the brunt of the crimes of apartheid's military incursions? In this current qualitative study based on legal documents we raise these questions to reflect on how survivors of victims can benefit from reparations in some ways to relieve suffering, retroactively. Using Nyasha Mboti's idea of Apartheid Studies as threshold model that presumes existence of crimes, we reflect on how the South African Constitution can ensure that justice in its different, but mainly material forms might be considered as redress to survivors of apartheid.

Mpakwana Annastacia Mthembu is the Chair of Department for the Department of Mercantile Law, College of Law at the University of South Africa (UNISA). Mpakwana has served at the UBF representing the employer. She has taught Cooperate Law, Contract Law, Social Welfare Law and Origins and foundations of South African Law respectively. She has presented and published both nationally and internationally on Labour Law, Cyber Law, Cooperate Law, Banking Law and Human rights Law. She is a former holder of the NRF Thuthuka grant, SANPAD grant MDSP grant as well as the Attorney's Fidelity Fund bursary. She is a co-guest editor in the African Journal of Rhetoric special issue (2023) focusing on the African Continental Free Trade Area. Her latest publication, "Challenges of enforcing anti-cyber bullying laws on teen sexting in South Africa," published in the journal Commonwealth Youth and Development Vol. 20. No. 1 (2022).

#### **Mr. Gegham Mughnetsyan (USC Dornsife Institute of Armenian Studies)**

"Armenian Displaced Persons: From Displacement to a Diaspora Community"

Displaced Person (DP) was a classification given to those forcefully displaced during the Second World War. As part of the Displaced Persons Documentation Project, an oral history project of the USC Dornsife Institute of Armenian Studies, I have conducted interviews with Soviet Armenians who had been displaced persons in Germany. By 1946 there were up to 5000 Armenians stranded in Germany and Austria, unable to return to the Soviet Union. They were housed in DP camps. These were rehabilitation centers where the displaced could return to a normalized life. All those who have been interviewed recall their years at the camp as some of the best years of their lives because after the war it was a period of peace, and cultural and communal awakening. The Armenian DPs eventually settled in the US, mainly in East Los Angeles, where only two decades after being stranded in post-war Europe, they went on to establish a community which included one of the first Armenian daily schools in the country, the largest monument in the United States dedicated to the victims of the Armenian Genocide and one of the largest Armenian church complexes. From shared close quarters in Germany to living down the street from each other in Los Angeles, this experience had resulted in some eighty years shared communal life which converged and produced a collective story of displacement, of survival, and of a journey, celebrated and retold at every gathering and reunion, that turned a people into a community.

Gegham Mughnetsyan is the Chitjian Researcher Archivist of the USC Dornsife Institute of Armenian Studies where he oversees the Institute's collection of Armenian diaspora archives and leads the Institute's Displaced Persons Oral History and Documentation Project. He received his MA from American University, in Washington DC, where he studied

International Affairs and his BA from UC Berkeley in Peace and Conflict studies where his focus was on Nagorno Karabakh.

**Dr. Esther Utjiua Muinjanguue (Ovaherero and Ovambanderu Genocide Foundation)**

“Gender and Genocide with specific reference to the Ovaherero Genocide”

In the words of general Lothar von Trotha “..... any Herero found inside the German frontier, with or without a gun or cattle, will be executed. I shall spare neither women nor children. I shall give the order to drive them away and fire on them. Such are my words to the Herero people.” As per the above Extermination Order of the German General, Lothar von Trotha, Ovaherero women and children were exposed to atrocities and gross human rights violations. Although the Ovaherero genocide has received some attention in scholarship, the gendered experiences of Ovaherero women before, during and after the genocide have not received much thoughtfulness. Madley, 2004 postulate that in 1903 there were 712 European women compared to 3,970 European men. The next logical thing for the remaining 3258 European men to do would be to rape indigenous native women. The rape of local women became so common that the German colonial settlers invented special terms such as *Verkauffung* ('going native') and *Schmutzwirtschaft* ('dirty trade'), (Rohrbach 1907). Ovaherero young girls and women were forced to pose nude, exposing their bodies to the gratification and enjoyment of German officers. What a humiliation - only a Herero man is supposed to see his wife's body!!! This abstract attempts to discuss gender and genocide, with specific reference to the experience of the Ovaherero women before, during and after genocide.

My name Esther Utjiua Muinjanguue, the first and currently the only female to lead a political party in Namibia, the National Unity Democratic Organisation (NUDO) since 2019. Esther is a Member of Parliament and serves as Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Health and Social Services since 2020, making me the only member from the opposition serving the Namibian Government. Before I joined politics, I was lecturing social work at the University of Namibia. In my free time, I have been an active community activist in the areas of human rights and social justice, underpinned by my social work profession which value human rights. I have been leading the Ovaherero and Ovambanderu Genocide Foundation as its chairperson, since 2005 until 2020 when I became Deputy Minister. However, I'm still involved in the Foundation activities in my free time. I presented papers at various conferences and platforms nationally and internationally on the Ovaherero genocide, including INoGS conference, 4 – 7 December, 2014 in Cape Town, South Africa.

**Ms. Dimitrie Sissi Mukanyiligira**

“Resilience and Transgenerational Trauma”

After the traumatic experiences like the Genocide, it is said that Survivors can easily transmit their stress and traumas to their progeniture and hence, the next generation is affected and can show the signals of such mental health disorders including Post Traumatic Stress Disorders (PTSD). In Rwanda, after 30 years, it is possible to have such cases within our young adults who constitute the immediate second generation of Genocide Survivors.

On the other side, Survivors are also characterized by a strong level of resilience to make their living possible, be able to tell the story, be able to rebuild what was destroyed both physically and emotionally, rebuild the destroyed families by reforming new families, having the children and be able to raise them in a more peaceful and reconciliation way. Therefore, for me, as much as we can transmit traumatic baggage, we are also at the same time giving them the needed level of resilience to carry-on.

I base my presentation on my story and current situation. I have myself five children and I always see both sides in them being resilience and trauma and I think this can be an interesting topic for discussions. How do we make sure, positive values such as resilience and forgiveness, courage and kindness take over the negative sides we tend to transmit to our children such as fear, anxiety, grudge, lack of compassion? How is this done practically? From the theories to the realities, we live on every day basis.

My names are Dimitrie Sissi Mukanyiligira. Call me Sissi. I am Rwandese living in Kigali-Rwanda, East Central Africa. I am married and mother of five children, four daughters and one son. I am a Genocide Survivor, a Motivational Speaker and a Published Author of “Do Not Accept To Die”. I was 22 years old during the Genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda in 1994 and I miraculously survived it loosing a big part of my family. I hold a Master of Social Sciences in Gender and Development with my thesis on the role of women perpetrators of the genocide in the reconciliation process, completed in August 2014 from the University of Rwanda. I also hold a Master of Business Administration (MBA) in Project Management from the Oklahoma Christian University. I am a full time World Bank Staff in Kigali office, but I spend most of the free time working with local organizations dealing with genocide survivors mostly and women empowerment organizations. I love singing, dancing, reading, and doing sports as often as possible. I very much like socializing, networking, and making friends. I enjoy traveling and discovering new things around the world. Challenging myself for learning is very important for me.

**Dr. Elisabeth Hope Murray (Embry-Riddle Aeronautical University)**

Roundtable participant: “Teaching on US genocide perpetration, liberation, witness, and prevention from the US Military Veteran perspective”

This panel is a roundtable discussion with by four US military veterans from the US Navy, Marine Corps, and Army who have all been facilitating discussions on the US Military and Genocide through support from the NEH's Dialogues on the Experience of War initiative. They are undergraduate and graduate students facilitating discussions in three public sessions and in a course on the US Military and Genocide: Perpetration, Liberation, Witness, and Prevention hosted by Embry-Riddle Aeronautical University. The project has focused on Perpetration and genocide against the Native Americans with a focus on the Seminole Wars, Liberation with a focus on the Holocaust, Witness with a focus on ISIS genocide against the Yazidis, and Prevention with a focus on Afghanistan. The Veteran Facilitators have received training in the case studies and also in how to use a variety of humanities sources in their facilitation, including music, letters, poetry, art, photography, and oral history.

This roundtable will allow the veterans an opportunity to reflect on their experiences as peer-to-peer and peer-to- public facilitators and to speak on their experiences leading discussions on the history and future of the US Military's relationship with genocide. The project, and thus this panel, suggests new and dynamic approaches to pedagogical approaches in genocide studies capitalizing on Veteran experiences in conflict to give students depth.

Elisabeth Hope Murray is currently an Associate Professor of Security Studies and International Affairs in Daytona Beach, FL, USA. As an historical sociologist with degrees in Political Science (PhD, University of Edinburgh), Nationalism Studies (MSc, University of Edinburgh), and International Relations (BA, Samford University, USA) her interests lie predominantly in comparative genocidal ideology studies and famine as a tool of genocide. Her current research focuses on British policy in response to atrocity and genocide in the Ottoman Empire, genocide and climate change, and ideological radicalization. Elisabeth is a long-time member of INoGS serving previously as the Executive Secretary (2015-2019) and Vice-Executive Secretary (2012-2015). Although she is an American citizen, she has lived in Australia, New Zealand, Venezuela, Scotland, and Germany.

**Mr. Omar Ndizeye (State University of New York, Oneonta)**

"Tracing Shadows: Intersectional experiences of women survivors during the 1994 Genocide Against Tutsi in Rwanda"

On panel "Return Narratives: Documenting Destruction in the Homeland"

*Panel Abstract:*

In the aftermath of genocides, or other mass crimes, displaced survivors and their descendants sometimes return, or attempt to return, to their original homeland and home communities. These returns often take the shape of investigations into an erased past that confront victims and/or their descendants with unhospitable communities where, in their search for answers, they encounter other survivors, bystanders, or even in some cases perpetrators. Some of these experiences have been narrated and published as books, articles, or produced as films. These historical and memorial endeavors illustrate the need to document the past, the reliance on testimonies and oral history, and the impossibility to fully capture the extent of the destruction.

Taking a decisively comparative approach that encompasses return narratives from the Holocaust in Yiddish and in English, the Armenian Genocide, and the Tutsi genocide, this interdisciplinary panel composed of a historian and literary scholars proposes to interrogate the importance of these return narratives on how the knowledge of these crimes is produced, on questions of remembrance, and on the emergence of a topography of mass destruction. Among the questions we aim to address: how have these returns – travel narratives of sorts – been written? Between history and memory, how do these authors approach – and write – the past according to their disciplinary background and generation? What do they add to a historical record? Do they each become a new archival record of the events? What can we learn if we read these texts from a comparative genocides approach?

*Paper Abstract:*

As part of the research project titled "Journey Through Rwandan Memorials," spanning from June 2016 to October 2019, Professor Stephanie Wolfe, Dr. Anna-Marie De Beer, and I embarked on visits to approximately 124 memorial museums and other sites of memory associated with the 1994 Genocide Against Tutsi dispersed across all 30 districts of Rwanda. Through this extensive journey, I was struck by the fragmented nature of some women survivors stories and, in some instances, the complete silence surrounding their experience during the Genocide in Rwanda. Despite the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda's acknowledgment of "Rape" as a genocidal crime during the trial of Jean Paul Akayesu in September 1998, the role of women in resistance, culturally dictated responsibilities during the genocide, and their traumatic memories of mass rape and sexual slavery often remain marginalized in the prevailing narrative of the Genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda. Reflecting on encounters with survivors in locations such as Gashirabwoba and Mushubati in the western province, as well as Mwirire and Rutonde in the Eastern province, this presentation aims to delve into the cultural potency and intersectional experiences of women victims during the Genocide. Furthermore, I seek to examine how these experiences have influenced post-Genocide knowledge production and the representation of women's suffering within Genocide memorials and memory discourse.

Omar Ndizeye is an author with a Masters in Genocide and Mass Atrocities Prevention from Binghamton University. His publications include "Life and Death in Nyamata: Memoir of a Boy in Rwanda's Darkest Church" and a GIS interactive map "Atlas of Genocide Against Tutsi" featuring 269 Genocide killing sites. Currently, he serves as an adjunct lecturer in African Studies at SUNY Oneonta. He is also co-writing a paper "Memorial Museums and , Burial Sites Unfinished Memory Work," and two books: "Among the Amasaka," focusing on children, and a research-based book titled "Journey Through Rwandan Memorials," exploring around 265 Genocide memorials and the memorialization of the 1994 Genocide Against Tutsi in Rwanda.

**Professor Catherine Nesci (University of California, Santa Barbara)**

"Collecting Voices, Facing Reconciliation: Remembrance and Co-Living in the Aftermath of the Rwanda Genocide and the Srebrenica Massacre"

On panel "Agency from the Margins: Writing and Filming Genocide for Minority Recognition"

*Panel Abstract:*

This panel focuses on cinema and literature's crucial role in giving a voice to victimized minorities who often feel, and are, excluded from official political and historical discourses around genocide.

*Paper Abstract:*

To what extent can literature and film become tools for transmitting the lived experience of genocide? What roles and features do the two figures of the witness (who can be a perpetrator, a victim, or a bystander) and of the survivor play in the narratives of genocidal events? Referring to Claude Lanzmann's filmed work on collected testimonials and the montage of voices and faces in *Shoah* and later works such as *Sobibor*, I will examine different narrative



embodiments of two genocidal histories of the 1990s: the mass killings of Tutsis in Rwanda, in 1994, and the Srebrenica massacre of Muslim men in July 1995 (in Bosnia-Herzegovina). Delving into the works of French journalist and writer Jean Hatzfeld and his "book of voices" published in the early twenty-first century (in particular *The Antelope's Strategy. Living in Rwanda after the Genocide*, 2007, translated into English in 2009) and the 2020 film by Jasmila Žbanić, *Quo Vadis Aida* (Bosnia-Herzegovina, France, Germany; in French, *La Voix d'Aida*, e.g. *Aida's Voice*), I will focus on different figures of witness and of survivor in the text and film, the role of the voice, and the issue of translation in accessing and recognizing past violence. Time and again, Tutsi survivors and victims who spoke with Hatzfeld acknowledge their inability to narrate the genocide as it was taking place and speak for those who died; they also express their suffering in facing a state-imposed reconciliation, which also silences them. Žbanić's movie also stages the survivor's dilemma and the silencing of crimes that will never be penalized nor expiated. I will discuss the multiple forms of remembrance and ethical care as well as the impossible forgiveness both works implement and ponder in their staging of perpetrators, victims, and bystanders. Which positions does such remembrance offer readers and viewers within or beyond paradigms of traumatic violence, national and cross-ethnic reconciliation, and the moral claims of survivors.

Catherine Nesci is Professor of modern French and Francophone literary studies, and of Comparative and World Literature, at the University of California, Santa Barbara. She is also an affiliate in Feminist Studies and in Germanic & Slavic Studies. She is the author of *Le Flâneur et les flâneuses. Les femmes et la ville à l'époque romantique* (Ellug, 2007) and the co-editor of *American Mysterymania: from underworld fiction to film noir and Steampunk* (with Devin Fromm, 2018) and of *Écriture, performance et théâtralité dans l'œuvre de George Sand* (with Olivier Bara; ELLUG, 2014; 2nd edition, UGA Éditions, 2019).

#### **Ms. Gdalit Neuman (York University)**

“From Victimized to Victorious: Yehudit Arnon’s Zionist Dances in Post-Holocaust Hungary”

Following the brisk, yet brutal Holocaust in Hungary, then 19-year-old Auschwitz survivor, Yehudit Arnon, the future founding artistic director of Israel’s Kibbutz Contemporary Dance Company, made her way to Budapest. There she became dance captain for Hashomer Hatzair [the young guard] Zionist youth movement, working with hundreds of Hungarian child Holocaust survivors on choreographies of protest and empowerment. This paper, which is a culmination of three years of fieldwork in the framework of my doctoral dissertation, in three countries, on three continents, consisting of oral history interviews with over 50 former Hashomer Hatzair scouts and extensive archival work, traces Arnon’s little-known politically-themed repertoire during the immediate years following liberation, and just prior to her immigration to Israel in 1948. Arnon’s choreographies challenged practices of violence and war by presenting Hungarian Jewish youth with then-progressive, alternative worldviews of Marxism and Labour Zionism. Her utopian choreographies, as an embodied component of Hashomer Hatzair’s educational programming, introduced Hungarian Jewish youth to meaningful ideologies, identities and intentions to call their own, all the while serving as a vehicle for their induction into the local, and later global, Zionist community. In addition to showcasing Arnon’s subversive knowledge production, transfer, and exchange after genocide, as well as her innovative cultural creation tailored for these Hungarian child Holocaust

survivors, my presentation will put a special focus on the individual experiences of the scouts she instructed, and the positive effects her dances had on them as survivors of genocide.

Gdalit Neuman is a PhD candidate in Dance Studies at York University in Toronto, Canada. She has taught dance and dance pedagogy at Canada's National Ballet School and York University's Department of Dance. Ms. Neuman has written about Israeli folk dance history and created content about Israeli folk dance for an online dance course at York University. She has been published in the *Dance Current* (magazine), *Dance International Magazine*, *Performance Matters* journal and in Hebrew, in *Dance Today* -Israel's dance magazine. A chapter on her PhD research is included *The Oxford Handbook of Jewishness and Dance*.

**Ms. Qian Qian Ng (University of Michigan)**

“Seeing Counterinsurgency: The Limits of Witness in the Philippine Drug War” (coauthored and copresented with Patrick Peralta)

President Rodrigo Duterte's drug war is one of the most violent episodes in Philippine history, marked by tortured corpses strewn across Manila's slums and a death toll of around 30,000. Accounts of the brutality have been amply recorded by the country's press, particularly by photojournalists whose work sought to humanize the aftermath. Yet despite their global circulation, such images failed to impress a collective sense of horror among Filipinos, much less furnish a civic space from which political resistance could grow. This essay seeks to reconcile the humanitarian potential of violent images with the often repressive reality of their reception. What is the relationship between witnessing and in/action? How is that relationship formed, negotiated, mediated, and challenged? We link Filipinos' acceptance of the drug war's images to the Philippines' history with affective counterinsurgency, a “hearts and minds” approach against enemies of the state expressed through sensory mediums. By showing how the drug war drew on entrenched logics of social death that stem from the colonial period and persist into the present, we argue that Duterte not only constrained the capacity to witness, but reiterated the state's power through images of “criminal” dead. The essay concludes by considering, with mixed results, other documentary art forms that emerged alongside the photographs to contest the state's affective regime.

Qian Qian Ng is a Ph.D. student in the Department of Political Science at the University of Michigan. She specializes in political theory, particularly in feminist and postcolonial theories. She read her Masters in Political Science at the National University of Singapore, where she also received her B.A. (Hons)/Ph.B. (Hons) in Political Science, with a minor in Philosophy, jointly from the Australian National University.

**Dr. Tawheed Reza Noor (Independent Scholar)**

“The United Nations in preventing genocide: In the light of Bangladesh case”

The United Nations (the UN) was established in 1945 as a body devoted to safeguarding postwar peace throughout the world after World War II came to an end. Paradoxically, the establishment of the UN coincided with the commencement of a tumultuous postwar period characterized predominantly by severe acts of violence and strife throughout many regions worldwide. In 1971, the UN had a rather quiet stance in response to the occurrence of

genocide in Bangladesh perpetrated by the Pakistan Army and its allies. Essentially, the UN body wasted time determining whether the case should be termed genocide and remained inactive, allowing the perpetrators to continue their barbarities that killed three million people (as officially claimed). This study utilizes a qualitative research approach, specifically document and material analysis, to examine the involvement of the United Nations (UN) in addressing the atrocious crimes that took place in Bangladesh during 1971. The range of documents and resources encompasses many forms, such as preserved records, books, journals, reports, newspapers, and selected websites. This paper critically examines the United Nations lack of action during the atrocities that took place in Bangladesh in 1971, considering the context of the Cold War and geopolitical factors. This paper further sheds light on the obligation of the UN to officially recognize the Bangladesh case as genocide.

Tawheed Reza Noor  
Genocide Scholar

Author of the book *Deadly Denial: How Denial Extends to the Bangladesh Genocide*  
(Upcoming)

(Affiliation with State University of New York at Binghamton, USA as a Visiting Scholar has ended very recently; I am now finishing the manuscript of the aforementioned book.)

- Accomplished PhD degree in development economics from Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi
- Taught Development Economics at Dhaka School of Economics (DScE), a constituent institute of the University of Dhaka
- Member, International Association for Genocide Scholars (IAGS)
- Former Member, Advisory Committee, Post Graduate Certificate Course on the Liberation War of Bangladesh, run by 1971: Genocide-Torture Archive and Museum
- Founding General Secretary, Projonmo '71 (a platform for the children of martyrs of the 1971 liberation war)
- Member, Executive Committee, Forum for Secular Bangladesh and Trial of 1971 War Criminals
- Joint Coordinator, South Asia Network of Human Development and Capability Association (HDCA)

### **Dr. Delphin Rukumbuzi Ntanyoma (University of Leeds)**

“Unravelling the Mystery around Attritional Genocide and the Hidden Role of State’s Actors in Eastern Congo”

Since 2017 to the present, in southern South Kivu Plateaux of eastern Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), a coalition of militias has been fighting armed (self-defence) groups affiliated to the Banyamulenge community. The latter are a minority community related to the Tutsi of the African Great Lakes Region. Members of this community have historically been subjected to discrimination and persecution. Recently, self-styled “indigenous” militias, known as Mai-Mai who have coalesced with Burundian rebels have targeted Banyamulenge in systematic and coordinated attacks harming the community on several levels. Firstly, militias have destroyed hundreds of Banyamulenge villages and killed hundreds of people. Secondly, they have looted or killed most of their cattle, destroying their main source of income and livelihood, and culture as a pastoralist community. Thirdly, persistent attacks on internally

displaced Banyamulenge have besieged and prevented the latter from receiving humanitarian aid. Furthermore, this violence is fuelled by hate speech including incitements to the Banyamulenge's extermination. Attacks against the Banyamulenge is widely conceptualized from the perspective of intercommunity violence overlooking the Banyamulenge's vulnerability linked to their historical and contested status. Moreover, the unwrapped role of state's actors in targeting the Banyamulenge tends to strengthen the view that this form of violence is entirely intercommunal. Based on participants' interviews and their firsthand local experience, this paper aims to uncover the hidden role of the Congolese national army (FARDC). This paper claims that attritional and slow genocide are processes that requires close look to disentangle specifics from the complexity.

Delphin Rukumbuzi Ntanyoma holds a PhD degree in Economics of Peace and Conflict from the Institute of Social Studies-Erasmus Rotterdam University (The Netherlands). Building on mixed methodologies, his research focuses specifically on understanding individuals, and communities' motivations to engage and disengage in violent conflicts in the Eastern Congo (North Kivu and South Kivu provinces). Delving into former' combatants and civilians' life histories, the research stands unique for it analyses motives and choices to (dis)engage in violence vis-a-vis individuals socio-economic and political characteristics. His current research and interest revolve around historical discrimination and violence targeting ethno-linguistic minorities in the Eastern Congo in the digital era. In this line, Delphin is the author of "Behind the Scenes of 'Banyamulenge Military': Momentum, Myth, and Extinction", co-author of "Expressive violence and the slow genocide of the Banyamulenge of South Kivu" and others online articles. As a main contributor and editor, Delphin runs an online Blog (The Eastern Congo Tribune: [www.easterncongotribune.com](http://www.easterncongotribune.com)) which mostly debates about the African Great Lakes region socio-political questions.

### **Mr. Frederic Nzeyimana (Collective of Survivors and Victims of the 1972 Burundi Hutu Genocide)**

"Breaking Silence on the 1972 Hutu Genocide in Burundi: Third genocide recorded in the twentieth century and the first committed with impunity and silence East Africa region before Rwanda's"

Fifty years later, it is now demonstrated, without any doubt, that what the Tutsi-Hima dominated Burundi Government committed with the killings, bloodbath, disappearances and treatments of its citizens in 1972, before and after, was not just a dark and brutal repression after an attack of Hutu rebels, but in fact, constituted a "genocide" as defined by the 1948 UN-CPRCG, and the first East Africa's before Rwanda, planned years way before the night of April 29, 1972. The Micombero regime agreed to sacrifice some Tutsi members to trigger a Hutu genocide and make sure strangers don't discover the truth.

Genocide cannot be kept hidden forever. When presenting its 2021 progress report before the Parliament on the 20th of December, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (CVR), a Burundi government commission set up to investigate killings that have scarred the Burundi country, solemnly declared that the genocide crime was committed in Burundi in 1972-73's as planned ahead by the Tutsi-Hima dominated Government of Burundi.

Truth is now that from 1965 until the elections of 1993, Burundi was controlled by a series of

military dictators belonging to the BAHIMA community who ruled over a significant Hutu majority population with widespread of violence, and ethnic cleansing occurring in 1965, 1972, 1988, and 1993-2003, 2015. A holocaust-Style systematic murder combined with a South-Africa's apartheid-Style, both with the Canadian colonial cultural genocide against Indigenous Peoples with its destruction of identity.

Prof. Frederic Nzeyimana, CIR  
Burundi Anthropology Specialist  
Founder Leader

Collective of Survivors and Victims of the 1972 Burundi Hutu Genocide, before and after  
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Currently lecturer of Anthropology at the College Universel (Gatineau campus, Canada), I am the founder leader of the Collective of Survivors and Victims of the 1972 Hutu genocide in Burundi and an expert in Burundi's ethnic anthropology.

Both my dad and my wife's dad were killed in 1972 by the Tutsi-Hima dominated Burundi Government. My education and training include a master's degree in Anthropology from the University of Montreal (1996) where I completed another three years' studies towards a PhD in Philosophy. Along with training on using a Kellogg Logical Model guide to bring together planning, evaluation, and action, I have completed over 10 years' experience of consultation, facilitation, researching, advising analyzing complex social programs. In addition, as a consultant and researcher, I have been retained by various agencies to make presentations and develop tools that will assist in policy or program development.

#### **Dr. Hollie Nyseth Nzitatira (The Ohio State University)**

##### **“Reentry and Reintegration After Committing Genocide: Gendered Pathways in Rwanda”**

This study traces what happens when Rwandans complete their sentences for crimes of genocide, with an emphasis on identities and interactions during reentry and reintegration. Specifically, it relies upon in-depth interviews conducted with 165 Rwandans prior to their release, as well as interviews with most of these individuals approximately 4 months and 1 year after their returns to their communities. Interviews reveal that many respondents seek to shed labels tied to crimes of genocide and articulate a narrative of redemption that presents their current selves as good. The study theorizes the link between the presence of such narratives and interactions with family and community members “respectively termed return rituals and gestures of openness” that signal people are willing to engage with the formerly incarcerated individuals. However, findings also illustrate stark gendered differences in reentry and reintegration experiences. For instance, women respondents received fewer visits from neighbors, and they were less likely to discuss positive personality changes. They also were much less likely to have spouses and fared worse on measures of psychosocial wellbeing and economic reintegration. This study draws upon the interviews and case knowledge to theorize the determinants of these gendered differences, and it also relies upon supplemental interviews with 100 community members to better understand their views of women reentering Rwandan communities.

Dr. Hollie Nyseth Nzitaira is an Associate Professor of Sociology at The Ohio State University. She studies the causes and consequences of genocide and has conducted over 500 interviews with people who committed genocide, rescued, or bore the brunt of violence in Rwanda. Her current book project, funded by the U.S. National Science Foundation and the U.S. National Endowment for Humanities, examines the reentry and reintegration of people who committed genocide. She engages in atrocity forecasting for government task forces and is the 2023 recipient of the International Association of Genocide Scholars Engaged Scholar Award.

Roundtable participant: “Genocide Studies: Pathways Ahead”

This roundtable includes authors who are contributors to the edited volume, *Genocide Studies: Pathways Ahead*. Topics range from attritive means of genocide, famine, human-nonhuman relations, perpetrator reintegration, and permanent security.

Roundtable participant: “A typology of perpetrators of mass atrocities”

There are many different types of perpetrators involved in mass atrocities such as genocide. We can distinguish the Criminal Masterminds at the top of the chain of command, the Fanatics and Careerists as their close associates and the Devoted Warriors as their loyal, obedient main executions. Lower ranking perpetrators can be driven by a number of different motives: ideology such as the True Believers and Holy Warriors; by material gain such as the Criminals and Profiteers. They can be very normal and ordinary otherwise law-abiding citizens such as the Followers and Avengers or have mental deficiencies such as the Deranged and the Predators. Or they can be put under tremendous pressure such as the Compromised perpetrators. In this presentation, Alette Smeulders will explain the various types and the way they influence each other and how together they form an atrocity producing triangle. The presentation is based on her book called *Perpetrators of mass atrocities: terribly and terrifyingly normal?* which Routledge published in December 2023. Two distinguished scholars will then comment on the book.

**Dr. Jeanine Ntikirageza (Northeastern Illinois University)**

“Ubuntu, Moral and Ethical Agency and Genocide: Cases of Burundi and Rwanda”

With the popularization of the ubuntu human values, many scholars agree that at the core of this SubSahara African philosophy is humanness (Metz 2014, 2015, 2017). In Kirundi and Kinyarwanda, the expression, umuntu n’uwundi ‘a person is completed/defined by another’ is related to other ubuntu sayings in Bantu languages. “Yarataye ubuntu” ‘s/he has lost humanness’ or “Si umuntu, yarabaye igikoko” ‘It is not a person, s/he has become an animal’, is often said of an individual who attacks or destroys another human. In the ubuntu philosophy, one is human based on the humanity of others. According to Desmond Tutu, “A person with ubuntu ...is diminished when others are humiliated or diminished, when others are tortured or oppressed, or treated as if they were less than who they are.”

This paper focuses on the juncture between collective responsibility and ethical agency in the context of genocide and other mass atrocities in Sub-Saharan Africa. I investigate the tensions between the two elements when group membership and expectations take priority. The

questions of moral boundaries, accountability, authority, honesty, justice and fairness in the context of genocide are integral to the paper. Ubuntu morality presents such values as intricately interdependent to and within the community. Yet, individual moral responsibility of group members for the acts of the groups to which they belong seems to be vital to ethical agency. Through hero testimonies and using ubuntu lenses, I examine the intersections of ethical and moral agency in this case study.

Jeanine Ntahirageza is the Founding Director of the Center for Genocide and Human Rights Research in Africa and the Diaspora at Northeastern Illinois University where she is professor. She received her PhD from the University of Chicago. Since 2013, Dr. Ntahirageza has served as Chair of the Genocide and Human Rights Research Group at NEIU, an interdisciplinary research team which has been organizing annual conferences on this topic. In addition to a number of refereed journal articles and book chapters, her publications include a co-edited and co-authored book, *Critical Perspectives on African Genocide: Memory, Silence, and Anti-Black Political Violence* (Rowan and Littlefield International, 2021), a chapter entitled *Repenser pour Mieux Panser: A Survivor's Account of the 1972 Burundi genocide* and another entitled *Education and Epistemicide in Africa: Towards an Ubuntu-Based Comprehensive Model of Education* (2022, co-authored). Dr. Ntahirageza has presented on genocide and mass atrocities both domestically and internationally

**Dr. Melanie O'Brien (Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies, University of Minnesota, and International Association of Genocide Scholars (IAGS))**

"International Criminal Accountability for crimes in Nagorno-Karabakh"  
On panel "Transitional Justice Issues in Nagorno-Karabakh"

*Panel Abstract:*

From December 2022 until September 2023, Azerbaijan blockaded the ethnic Armenian residents of Nagorno-Karabakh in the territory, closing the Lachin Corridor and preventing the delivery of essentials such as food, fuel and medical supplies. In June 2023, even the International Committee of the Red Cross was prevented from providing humanitarian assistance. In September 2023, Azerbaijan bombed Nagorno- Karabakh, resulting in almost its entire population fleeing into Armenia.

This panel argues that the blockade amounted to the crime of genocide, and that the Azeris caused the ethnic cleansing of Nagorno-Karabakh. The papers discuss underexplored but crucial questions regarding transitional justice for the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict and atrocities. The panel papers will address issues relating to the role of the international community, accountability for international crimes, the need for a truth commission, and prospects for peace and reconciliation.

As the situation is evolving, the content of this panel will depend on the current circumstances at the time.

*Paper Abstract:*

Conflict in the Nagorno-Karabakh region has resulted in allegations of a range of crimes, including use of indiscriminate weapons, torture and execution of prisoners of war, desecration of cultural sites, rape, and imposing conditions of life designed to bring about the physical destruction of the region's ethnic Armenians.

This paper discusses some of the alleged international crimes committed in the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, exploring whether the crimes amount to war crimes, crimes against humanity and/or genocide. It further explores options for accountability for such crimes, noting that the international community has had little interest in ensuring accountability for crimes committed during this conflict, despite 'justice' being one of the main concepts of transitional justice. The paper will address the International Criminal Court's jurisdiction in this particular situation, and offer critique as to potential jurisdictional fora and legal solutions, with some suggestions for specific options for accountability and justice for any international crimes committed during the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict.

Dr Melanie O'Brien is Visiting Professor at the Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies, University of Minnesota, and President of the International Association of Genocide Scholars (IAGS). Her work on forced marriage has been cited by the International Criminal Court, she has appeared before the ICC as an *amici curiae* and been an expert consultant for several UN bodies. She received a 10-year service medal for volunteering with the Australian Red Cross, and was awarded the Filon Ktenidis Award for her work on justice and recognition for victims of genocide. Dr O'Brien has conducted research across six continents, and was recently Research Fellow at the Sydney Jewish Museum and Visiting Fellow at the University of Loughborough. Dr O'Brien's usual role is Associate Professor of International Law at the University of Western Australia. Dr O'Brien's most recent book is *From Discrimination to Death: Genocide Process through a Human Rights Lens*.

#### **Dr. Tetsushi Ogata (Soka University of America)**

"Functional forgetting in post-atrocity memory: Going beyond the structural void of Japan's wartime memory"

Remembrance is a perennial struggle for post-atrocity societies including Japan. Contention over the past memories (e.g., the Nanjing massacre, the comfort women issue) is spilling into a present paralysis in Japan and its neighboring relations. With ensuing political impasse, there is no resolution in sight. Against this backdrop, what Zerubavel (2006) calls a "conspiracy of silence" seeps in, wherein a normalized public silence of historical knowledge leads people to disregard truths and forget to remember them entirely. A void in public memory is thus created, crippling public reckoning about the past and entrenching public loss of memory into social structures. The denial at work in Japan is not an act of commission, but that of omission. The Japanese case of remembrance is in-between Germany's thorough reckoning of the Holocaust and Turkey's wholesale denial of the Armenian genocide (Kasahara 2007). Two vexing challenges remain. First, while historical knowledge about the wartime atrocity crimes has been irrefutably substantiated in academic domains, denialist narratives pervade in public domains. Second, while tensions in historical memories still remain, the Japanese, Chinese, and Korean peoples have actually more favorable views toward each other according to data.



He is Managing Director of the Soka Institute for Global Solutions and Visiting Assistant Professor of Peace and Conflict Studies at Soka University of America. He is also the Convener of the Genocide Prevention Advisory Network and a Steering Group member of the Global Action Against Mass Atrocity Crimes. He has served the Executive Board of the International Association of Genocide Scholars and the Editorial Board of the *Genocide Studies and Prevention: An International Journal*. His articles include *Emerging National and Regional Strategies for Prevention* (2018) and a co-edited special journal issue, *Towards the Prevention of Genocide* (2016). He has previously taught peace & conflict studies, human rights, and genocide prevention at UC Berkeley. He received his B.A. from Soka University of America and his M.S. and Ph.D. from George Mason University.

**Dr. Nina Paulovicova (Athabasca University)**

“‘I heard a Russian voice: They promised us girls. There are no bloody girls here.’ Remembering Liberator’s sexual violence by Holocaust survivors in Slovakia.”

In much of historiography, the liberation of European countries from Nazi Germany continues to be approached as a “rapturous moment in time,” (Jeges, 2020) when the evil of fascism was instantly eradicated with the appearance of the Red Army. By centering on sexual violence and rape, this paper challenges the 1945 liberation narrative as a solely “joyful moment” for the Holocaust survivors. Using egodocuments such as diaries, memoirs, testimonies, and interviews of the Holocaust survivors in Slovakia this chapter traces the narratives of liberation and interaction with the Red Army soldiers with a special focus on the victims’ memory of sexual violence. The author will tackle voids, “a conceptual oubliette” (Glowacka, 2022) of sexual violence in the process of remembering, the ways sexual violence was remembered as well as contexts that facilitated sharing or silencing such experiences. By doing so, the author underscores the importance of victims’ right to memory in the mnemonic space and the importance of these memories in complicating the dominant 1945 Red Army liberation narrative.

Nina Paulovicova, PhD, is an Associate Professor at the Centre for Humanities at Athabasca University in Edmonton, Canada. Her area of expertise is the history and memory of the Holocaust in Central Europe. She published a monograph in Slovak whose English translation is *Jewish Community in the history of Hlohovec (1938 - 1945): The Story Through Darkness* and co-edited yearbook with Tomasz Stepniewski titled *Central and Eastern Europe: Geopolitics and Security Issues* (Lublin: Instytut Europy Środkowej, 2020). Some of her other projects focus on power politics of authoritarian regimes, occupation, rescue, resistance, gender, ethnicity, politics, and collective memory in Central Europe. Her recent work targeted the emergence, normalization, and mobilization of the radical right in Slovakia.

**Sheila Paylan**

“Prospects for Peace and Reconciliation in Nagorno-Karabakh”  
On panel "Transitional Justice Issues in Nagorno-Karabakh"

*Panel Abstract:*

From December 2022 until September 2023, Azerbaijan blockaded the ethnic Armenian residents of Nagorno-Karabakh in the territory, closing the Lachin Corridor and preventing the delivery of essentials such as food, fuel and medical supplies. In June 2023, even the International Committee of the Red Cross was prevented from providing humanitarian assistance. In September 2023, Azerbaijan bombed Nagorno- Karabakh, resulting in almost its entire population fleeing into Armenia.

This panel argues that the blockade amounted to the crime of genocide, and that the Azeris caused the ethnic cleansing of Nagorno-Karabakh. The papers discuss underexplored but crucial questions regarding transitional justice for the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict and atrocities. The panel papers will address issues relating to the role of the international community, accountability for international crimes, the need for a truth commission, and prospects for peace and reconciliation.

As the situation is evolving, the content of this panel will depend on the current circumstances at the time.

*Paper Abstract:*

This paper will examine the prospects for peace and reconciliation between Armenians and Azerbaijanis, as well as the possibility for the Armenians of Nagorno-Karabakh to return to their land and homes. It will explore two R2P pillars in this context, pillars two and three, which cover respectively the obligation on the international community to encourage and assist states in meeting their responsibility to protect its populations from atrocity crimes and to take appropriate collective action.

The paper will further explore potential processes of reintegration by experienced, neutral third parties to help rebuild mutual trust, such as along the lines of UNHCR's "Imagine Coexistence" program for returnees to Bosnia. It will also discuss possibilities of an international presence to guarantee the rights and securities of Armenians who remain or wish to return and to remain for the foreseeable future to defuse probable flare-ups before it could be contemplated to phase out.

Sheila Paylan is an expert in international criminal law, human rights and gender, and former legal advisor to the United Nations across countries and regions. She spent more than 15 years advising judges and senior officials of various UN-backed international criminal tribunals, including for Rwanda, the former Yugoslavia, and the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia. From 2019 to 2021, she was appointed by the UN Office of High Commissioner for Human Rights as the Legal Advisor and Sexual and Gender-Based Violence Specialist to a Team of International Experts mandated to assist the judicial and military authorities of the Democratic Republic of Congo with investigating and prosecuting war crimes, crimes against humanity, and gross human rights violations.

Now based in Yerevan, she regularly consults for a variety of international organizations, NGOs, think tanks and governments, and has published extensively on the subjects of international justice, self-determination, and the responsibility to protect.

**Mr. Patrick Peralta (University of Michigan)**

“Seeing Counterinsurgency: The Limits of Witness in the Philippine Drug War” (coauthored and copresented with Qian Qian Ng)

President Rodrigo Duterte’s drug war is one of the most violent episodes in Philippine history, marked by tortured corpses strewn across Manila’s slums and a death toll of around 30,000. Accounts of the brutality have been amply recorded by the country’s press, particularly by photojournalists whose work sought to humanize the aftermath. Yet despite their global circulation, such images failed to impress a collective sense of horror among Filipinos, much less furnish a civic space from which political resistance could grow. This essay seeks to reconcile the humanitarian potential of violent images with the often repressive reality of their reception. What is the relationship between witnessing and in/action? How is that relationship formed, negotiated, mediated, and challenged? We link Filipinos’ acceptance of the drug war’s images to the Philippines’ history with affective counterinsurgency, a “hearts and minds” approach against enemies of the state expressed through sensory mediums. By showing how the drug war drew on entrenched logics of social death that stem from the colonial period and persist into the present, we argue that Duterte not only constrained the capacity to witness, but reiterated the state’s power through images of “criminal” dead. The essay concludes by considering, with mixed results, other documentary art forms that emerged alongside the photographs to contest the state’s affective regime.

Patrick Peralta is a Ph.D. student in the Department of Political Science and a Rackham Merit Fellow at the University of Michigan. His research examines the aftermath of mass violence in the Philippines and across Southeast Asia through the lenses of historical narrative, social memory, and collective action. His work has been published in *The Yale Review of International Studies*, *The Tufts Hemispheres Journal of International Affairs*, and *Foreign Policy in Focus*. Previously, Patrick was a Legislative Assistant and an Asian Pacific American Institute for Congressional Studies Fellow in the Office of U.S. Representative Gregorio Kilili Camacho Sablan (MP-00) and a Foreign Affairs Intern at the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, D.C. He graduated from the University of Maryland with a B.A. in Government and Politics (with High Honors) and a minor in Asian American Studies.

**Dr. Pilar Perez (CONICET, National University of Rio Negro, Argentina)**

“From memory to the archive and vice versa: entangled stories of violence and agency during and after the genocide against indigenous peoples in Argentina (1880-1930)”

This article deals with the relations between memory and archive in the long-standing silenced genocide against indigenous peoples in Argentina. The elders’ memories -performed in particular social and political contexts- exposed painful experiences that were difficult to understand. The few geographical references and events described by them led to a series of methodological decisions to work within official archives. Following these bonds, the article traces the reconstruction of the existence of concentration camps that were acknowledged in the social memory -for over a century- and identified in official documents of the period. At the same time, the ethnographic reconstruction of the archives led to understanding the variety of ways in which the silencing of violence took place as part of the genocidal process.

At the same time, those archives contained (apparently) forgotten political strategies to resist the new settler colonial expansion over the territory and the displacement of the survivors in rural areas. Within different types of files repeated handwritings, signatures, expressions, pictures and seals the indigenous agency could be reassembled by putting together many shattered pieces in the archives. Unarchiving these documents and putting them together brought new material for research. Therefore, these material traces/documents were taken back to the field to learn about agency, organizations and resistance.

Pilar Perez is a Professor and PhD in History, graduated at the National University of Buenos Aires, Argentina. She works as Professor in History at the National University of Río Negro (Patagonia). She is also a Researcher for the National Council of Scientific and Technical Research at the IIDYPCa, Bariloche. Her main lines of work deal with the past and present of the Mapuche people; the privatization of public land in Río Negro; the history of armed and police forces in Patagonia; and the relation between archive, hegemonic history and memory. Currently, she directs the project "Archives and narratives of northern Patagonia", an interdisciplinary project that analyzes the production and circulation of hegemonic and subaltern stories. As well as the project "Indigenous agencies in North Patagonia: resistance, articulations and political organizations (1900-1983)" that deals with post-genocidal communities and territorial disputes. She was selected as a Research Fellow at the USC Dornsife Center for Advanced Genocide Research for the 2023-24 academic year

#### **Dr. Clemence Pinaud (Indiana University, Bloomington)**

"Understanding South Sudan's largest ethnic massacre by the state: the Juba massacre of December 2013"

This paper revisits South Sudan's largest ethnic massacre by the state. The massacre started at dawn on the 16 December 2013 and targeted the Nuer, the second ethnic group after the Dinka, killing thousands - 15,000 to 20,000 according to Nuer elders. It lasted for a week, involving various Dinka troops. Nuer army generals reacted by mounting a rebellion against Dinka President Salva Kiir, who had incited violence. The Juba massacre is the origin of the country's last decade of war. As such, it remains an extremely sensitive topic and is rarely discussed publicly. The massacre is also understudied, and most academic works who mention it cite the three main sources on the massacre (the UN, the African Union, and Human Rights Watch).

This paper, based on new interviews with survivors of the massacre, seeks to present new historical elements to better understand the massacre and challenge what is publicly known about it. The paper starts with the months preceding the massacre to examine early signs of state planning and incitement. It then delves into the day-by-day geography of the massacre and presents new elements regarding civilian participation to the killings. It offers new analysis regarding the types of victims, the meaning of different acts of violence, and the behavior of perpetrators during the massacre. Finally, it explores various attempts by the state to hide and destroy evidence during the massacre, and to use the same cogs of incitement since then.

Clémence Pinaud is an Associate Professor at the Department of International Studies of Indiana University, Bloomington. She has published articles on South Sudan's military

history, including predatory behaviors and marital practices, and on genocide in South Sudan with references to Sudan. Her book *War and Genocide in South Sudan* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press) came out in 2021.

**Dr. Simone Rodrigues Pinto (Universidade de Brasília)**

“Negligence or Genocide? The humanitarian crisis in the Yanomani Indigenous Land in Brazil”

30 years ago, 12 Yanomami indigenous people were murdered by miners in the village of Haximu, on the border between Brazil and Venezuela. For the first time in the country, the five responsible for the massacre were convicted of the crime of genocide. In 2023, the term has been used again by experts and by the Brazilian government to classify a humanitarian crisis in the Yanomani Indigenous Land that killed at least 100 children from starvation in the year 2022 and caused diseases considered preventable in over 12,000 indigenous people, many of them elderly. Among the main causes of the crisis are the policies to encourage illegal mining in the region, implemented by the government of former President Jair Bolsonaro, who acted deliberately to weaken inspection bodies in the region. The garimpeiros are accused of contamination of rivers by mercury, devastation of the forest, rape of indigenous children, irresponsible spread of diseases, including Covid-19, in addition to creating security problems in the region with threats to health agents who work with indigenous people and preventing the tribes from having access to medicines and food. Documents, reports and official records indicate a deliberate project by the Brazilian government to exterminate indigenous peoples, say some human rights organizations. This paper is the result of research that analyzes these documents in order to assess whether there is evidence that characterizes the humanitarian crisis in Yanomami land as genocide.

Political scientist and lawyer, associate professor at the University of Brasília and coordinator of the International Research Network on Forced Disappearance. For 20 years I have been investigating the various aspects of racial violence and genocides in countries like Rwanda, Haiti, South Africa, Dominican Republic, and Brazil, all those studies from an interdisciplinary and comparative studies perspective. As a result of these researches, I have published dozens articles and more than ten books, such as *Memória, verdade e responsabilização: uma perspectiva restaurativa da justiça transicional* and *Gestão da Morte e Modos de Produção de Memória na Pandemia do Novo Coronavírus*.

**Dr. Badema Pitic (University of California, Los Angeles)**

“Blended Narratives: The Sarajevo Siege in Holocaust Testimonies of Bosnian Jewish Survivors”

On panel "Ukraine and Bosnia through Oral History Collections, Past and Present"

*Panel abstract:*

Taking two European wars that are 30 years apart as its case studies – a current war in Ukraine and the Bosnian war of the 1990s – this panel has two primary foci: addressing the testimony collection efforts in Bosnia and Ukraine, and revealing what existing Holocaust testimony collections related to these two countries have to offer about the Bosnian war and the current war in Ukraine, respectively.

### *Paper Abstract:*

When USC Shoah Foundation – The Institute for Visual History and Education embarked on its mission in 1994 to collect 50,000 oral history testimonies of the survivors and witnesses of the Holocaust, the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina was already raging for two years. The war has made an impact on the Institute's efforts to collect the testimonies of Holocaust survivors in the region at the time, both in logistical terms and in terms of the content that made its way into these testimonies because of the circumstances in which they were taken. As a result, many Bosnian Jewish survivors discussed their experiences of the Holocaust in their testimonies recorded in 1996 and 1997, while at the same time being refugees and/or witnesses of the war in Bosnia that has only just ended. Because of the context in which they were recorded, these testimonies offer a unique window into the blending of narratives about two European wars that were fifty years apart, yet became entangled in interviewees' stories of survival and perseverance. In this paper, I look into the testimonies of Bosnian Jewish survivors to analyze the blending of these two narratives, both through their stories and the testimony footage. I offer an analysis of these narratives, contending that these testimonies provide not only a more nuanced understanding of the Jewish experience on the ground in the 1990s, but also of the overall circumstances in the city of Sarajevo during the war.

Dr. Badema Pitic is the Assistant Director of the Center for Near Eastern Studies at UCLA's International Institute. Her research focuses on the intersections of music, memory, and politics in the aftermath of war and genocide in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which has been published in several academic journals and edited collections, most recently in the Routledge Handbook of Religion, Mass Atrocity and Genocide, and the journal of Memory Studies. Her other research interests include transitional justice, oral history, and the Holocaust in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Badema has been involved with the Srebrenica genocide survivor community for more than a decade, conducting ethnographic research among the Srebrenica survivors living across Bosnia-Herzegovina and in the United States.

### **Dr. Mehmet Polatel (Hrant Dink Foundation)**

#### **“Losing Everything: Plunder and Looting during the Armenian Genocide”**

As many in other instances of mass violence, plunder, looting, and property transfer were integral components of the Armenian Genocide. In this presentation, I examine these processes, focusing on the experiences and narratives of Armenian survivors, and argue that such forceful exchanges of material possessions entailed much more than a transfer of property. These processes, I argue, involved symbolic and bodily dimensions that are marginalized in studies focusing on their socioeconomic material aspects (such as the total of sums, acreage of lands etc.).

Through the Armenian Genocide testimony and oral history collections held at the Visual History Archive of the USC Shoah Foundation along with published testimonies and memoirs of survivors, I scrutinize the ways in which survivors themselves narrated the instances of looting and plunder. I will focus on three issues which indicate that there was much more to these processes of property transfer than it is generally assumed. These are the significance and impact of losing properties and possessions on survivor's perception of self and violence, the extent to which survivors were subjected to violence through being forced into

participating in this transfer process (such as dissecting the corpses of fellow Armenians for searching swallowed jewelry), and bodily experiences of dispossession and violation of dignity. On the basis of this examination, I suggest that the property transfer process during the Armenian Genocide entailed an enormous level of violence and was lived as a traumatizing and violent experience by many survivors.

Mehmet Polatel received his Ph.D. degree from Bogazici University in Istanbul with his dissertation on the emergence and transformation of the Armenian land question in the Ottoman Empire. Prior to receiving his Ph.D., he earned a BS in International Relations from the University of Middle East Technical University in 2007, and an MA in Comparative Studies in History and Society from Koç University, Istanbul in 2009. After receiving his Ph.D., he was awarded a postdoctoral fellowship in Armenian Studies from the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. He was a junior postdoctoral fellow at the USC Shoah Foundation Center for Advanced Genocide Research in 2019-2020. He is now working as an academy coordinator for the Minority Rights Academy Project at the Hrant Dink Foundation based in Istanbul.

His research interests are state-society relations, minority rights, property politics, Armenian Genocide, and dispossession of Armenians. He co-authored a book with Uğur Ü. Üngör entitled *Confiscation and Destruction: Young Turk Seizure of Armenian Properties* (Bloomsbury, 2011) and published several articles and book chapters on the Hamidian massacres, land question, and the Armenian Genocide.

#### **Mr. Mohammad Sajjadur Rahman (Clark University)**

“The trial of Governor Malik and the politics of postwar justice in Bangladesh”

This paper examines the postwar justice in Bangladesh, focusing on how Bangladesh addressed the issue of wartime "collaborators" after the liberation war of 1971. I analyze the trials' challenges and dilemmas through a specific case. In November 1972, Dr. Malik, the last Governor of East Pakistan, was sentenced to life imprisonment for his alleged collaboration with Pakistani forces during Bangladesh's 1971 liberation war. Subsequently, in December 1973, he was exonerated under a general amnesty, which also extended to his cabinet colleagues. The incident exemplifies the quandary faced by Bangladesh in prosecuting wartime local collaborators. This paper investigates the rationale behind Bangladesh's amnesty proclamation just two years post the enactment of the Collaborators Act. Drawing from British Foreign and Commonwealth Office records and other regional archives and local memoirs, this research posits that the amnesty was not solely a gesture of leadership largesse or an oversight of legitimate local discontent. Instead, it emerged from intricate political and diplomatic maneuvering. The work is closely related to transitional justice, memory studies and public history in which complex ideas like collaboration and amnesty are scrutinized in the context of Bangladesh.

Mohammad Sajjadur Rahman is a doctoral candidate (ABD) at the Strassler Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies, Clark University. Mr. Rahman has taught International Relations at the University of Chittagong for more than eight years. He graduated in International Relations from the University of Dhaka. In 2009, Mr. Rahman completed his second master's degree under the Fulbright Scholarship program in International Policy

Studies from the Monterey Institute of International Studies (MIIS), California. He is the co-editor of the Routledge Handbook of Contemporary Bangladesh (Routledge, 2016); Neoliberal Development in Bangladesh: People on the Margins (UPL, 2020) and The Politics of Terrorism and Counterterrorism in Bangladesh (Routledge, 2023).

**Ms. Joelle Rosenberg (UCLA Department of Sociology)**

“Challenging Autocracy: How State Organization Impacts Sexual Violence in Authoritarian Regimes”

Although its government was highly autocratic and centralized, Chile under the Pinochet dictatorship of 1973-1990 experienced high levels of variation in terms of sexual violence committed by its state agents against civilians. In particular, some groups engaged in high levels of indiscriminate sexual violence, whereas others were more selective in their victims and had lower levels of sexually targeted violence. This article examines how sexual violence varies in relation to the organization of the state agencies carrying it out. Previous research in the field of conflict-related sexual violence has often named ideology, recruitment, gender dynamics, or opportunism as causal factors of variation, however these explanations typically explain variation in cross-conflict, insurgent settings rather than variation within one-armed group or the state. Through coding two Truth and Reconciliation reports and triangulating multiple sources of archival data, I found that sexual violence, unlike general patterns of torture, varied in quantity, form, perpetrator group, and victim group across the three different state organizations--the army, the police, and the national intelligence unit. I hypothesize that pre-existing state organizations acted as constraints and saw more routine violence, and that novel organizations enacted more severe forms and quantities of violence as a result of lack of oversight and embeddedness in the state. This approach suggests that the chosen organizational infrastructures of authoritarian state agencies are likely to impact their use of sexual violence during war, and urges a deeper look into the relationship between wartime organizations and their chosen violent repertoires.

Joelle Rosenberg is a 3rd-year PhD student in the department of Sociology at UCLA. She is broadly interested in political violence & war, organizations, and comparative-historical sociology. In particular, she studies how the use of sexual violence against civilians varies across state organizations under authoritarian rulers. Her research emphasizes the causes and consequences of violence, and focuses on how states make decisions on how to carry it out.

**Dr. Daniel Rothenberg (Arizona State University)**

“‘The Darkest and Most Frightening of My Life’: Understanding ISIS Rule and Mass Violence Through Oral Histories of Its Syrian Members”

ISIS is one of the most poorly-understood political movements of the early 21st century. It arose within the context of the chaos and destruction of the Syrian civil war and came to control a population of 8 to 10 million and territory the size of Britain. The group’s rapid rise, its battlefield successes in Syria and Iraq, its systematic use of brutal violence, and its proclamation of a “Caliphate” have been the subject of much journalistic and scholarly attention. However, most of this work has relied on second- and third-hand sources. Moreover, studies of ISIS tend to focus on foreign recruits, especially those from Western



Europe. Yet by and large ISIS was a local phenomenon, with ordinary Syrians and Iraqis comprising the bulk of its membership: an estimated 350,000 Syrians joined the group, with around 100,000 as combatants and about 250,000 involved in various aspects of governance. This paper addresses this issue by analyzing oral histories of Syrian members of ISIS, as combatants and civilian supporters, providing an unprecedented look at how they understood their decision to join ISIS, how they made sense of its rule, and how they interpreted its ultimate demise. The paper argues that the testimonies of Syrian ISIS members challenge our ideas about the movement, demonstrating the importance of learning about violence and its impact from oral history. The research acknowledges and explores how individuals tell stories to rationalize their behavior, while embracing the importance of individual experience for better understanding mass violence.

Daniel Rothenberg is Professor of Practice in the School of Politics and Global Studies at Arizona State University and Co-Director of the Future Security Initiative as well as a Senior Fellow at New America, a DC-based think tank. He works on genocide, human rights, armed conflict, and transitional justice and has designed and managed rule of law projects in Afghanistan, Iraq, East Africa and throughout Latin America His books include *With These Hands*, *Memory of Silence: The Guatemalan Truth Commission Report*, *Drone Wars: Transforming Conflict, Law, and Policy*, and *Understanding the New Proxy Wars*.

**Dr. Junaedi Saibih (University of Indonesia)**

“Narrative Analysis on Victims Testimony about Tanjung Priok Atrocities in Indonesia”

Narratives methods for some legal scholar is quite unfamiliar, even though for some legal practitioner this method is widely used in producing any legal documents or legal practice product. This article is trying to familiarize the narratives methods and analysis among legal scholar and also the importance of using narrative methods and analysis for settlement of past severe violations of human rights in Indonesia. Using the only past severe violation of human rights case in Indonesia, Tanjung Priok Case is the only case that happened in New Era Government or the era of government under (late) President Soeharto, this case was acknowledged as severe violation of human rights and has impacted to established the Ad-Hoc Human Rights Court for Tanjung Priok 1984. This article is trying to present how important using personal story and experiences in settling the case, gathering the information from the victims and also using the narration of observation report as a part of truth seeking in addition to make an analysis to produce the policy in the settlement of past severe violation of human rights.

My name is Junaedi Saibih and I'm a full time lecturer at UI and hold a role as Head of Department of Procedural Laws. Besides teaching a law student, I'm also teaching medical students who specialize in Psychiatry, my teaching subject is Psychiatry and Law (Psychiatry Forensic). I hold bachelor degree in law from UI, my Bachelor Thesis was about Human Rights Court in Indonesia (2002); Master of Science in European Studies (2005) from Universitas Indonesia concerning on European Laws and My Magister Thesis was about Good Administrative Behaviors and The European Ombudsman; Master of Laws from Canberra University (Australia, 2008); PhD Candidate from University of Canberra and my Phd Thesis was about The Aspiration of Justice from The Victims of Past Severe Violation of Human Rights in Indonesia (2020, the analysis using Narrative Methods that taken from

Victims, perpetrators and government officials). Doctor in Law from University of Andalás (2023). you could find my publication on this link

<https://scholar.google.com/citations?user=aGWRFW8AAAAJ&hl=en&oi=ao>

My research interest are Human rights, European Laws, narrative and law, judicial settlement, Restorative Justice and a comparative laws perspective.

**Ms. Cecilia Graciela Samanes (Centro de Estudios de Genocidio. UNTREF)**

“Uruguay, prisión prolongada y exilio las formas represivas de la dictadura militar. 1973-1985”

A 50 años de la instauración de la dictadura militar en Uruguay, entre 1973 y 1985, continúa vigente la disputa de sentido sobre este proceso represivo. Discernir los patrones, estrategias y tácticas de violencia del Estado abre la posibilidad para identificar la manera de implementación de la tecnología de poder que fueron específicos y diferenciales con respecto a las dictaduras del Cono Sur. La prisión prolongada y el exilio fueron la singularidad de los dispositivos represivos utilizados en Uruguay, entonces ¿es posible nominar como práctica social genocida que no está determinada por el número de víctimas fatales sino por el sentido reorganizador del lazo social dado a su ejecución? Desde una perspectiva de lucha de clases entre fuerzas sociales con intereses antagónicos se analiza la irrupción de los diferentes actores en disputa, donde el poder dominante ejerció un control exhaustivo sobre los sujetos destruyendo los lazos de solidaridad y clausurando toda articulación social contestataria. Explorar los diversos documentos de investigación elaborados por organismos académicos, de derechos humanos y organizaciones sociales de Uruguay provee una fuente secundaria contundente para analizar la justificación del proceso dictatorial y la, casi nula, justicia reparadora es un reclamo permanente de las víctimas y que aun el Estado debe responder.

Integra el Centro de Estudios de Genocidio (UNTREF) dirigido por el Dr. Daniel Feierstein. Es maestranda en DDHH y Políticas Públicas en la Universidad Nacional de Lanús (2022). En la UBA Profesora de enseñanza media en Sociología (2012) y Licenciada en Sociología (2010) y Analista Programadora (1986).

Como docente se desempeña en diversos ámbitos y contextos: en el Instituto Universitario de la Policía Federal Argentina; en el Bachillerato Popular de Jóvenes y Adultos de Rodrigo Bueno; en Escuela de Maestros en la Ciudad Autónoma; y de 2012 a 2018 en la Facultad de Ciencias Sociales, Universidad de Buenos Aires.

Ha participado en varios proyectos de investigación UBA y UNTREF. Ha publicado artículos y coordinado mesas en Jornadas y Congresos de sociología. Temas de interés investigativa: crímenes de Estado. Genocidio. Educación popular. Criminología. Políticas públicas. Seguridad.

**Ms. Anneliese Schenk-Day (The Ohio State University)**

“Rescuers Muted: the Silencing of Rescuers During Commemoration Events of the Rwandan Genocide and their Gendered Components”

In the thirty-year period since the Rwandan Genocide the country has grappled with how to unify its citizens, prevent reprisal waves of violence, and promote forgiveness. One of the solutions Rwanda has created to help solve these complex problems is to develop a unique national collective memory of the genocide. A major component of Rwanda's collective memory comes from annual commemoration ceremonies in which communities come together to hear governmentally sanctioned accounts of the genocide from survivors and rescuers. Prior research has shown that survivors accounts at commemorations and memorials center around cohesive narratives that fit neatly within the governments account of the genocide. This often leads to the omission of narratives containing sexual violence and those of women. However, it is unknown if rescuers narratives are also being constrained. Over the course of 175 in-depth qualitative interviews (Male=113, Female=62) conducted from 2018 to 2020 with individuals who rescued during the Rwandan Genocide, fifty individuals expressed having never shared their experiences of the genocide at commemoration. Over half of those individuals were women (N=27). Common reasoning given by women in our sample for having not shared their story included their husbands always being asked to testify instead of them, having never been asked to testify, and heightened emotional states surrounding the commemoration. These findings point towards the unintentional silencing of women's narratives, resulting in their exclusion from Rwanda's collective memory of the genocide.

Anneliese Schenk-Day's research surrounds mass violence, particularly the prevention, prediction, and aftermath of hate crimes on both a national and global scale. Within the context of the United States, she studies hate crimes that target racial and sexual minorities and how climate change and political rhetoric factor into their proliferation. Globally, her research interests focus on collective memory and gender dynamics after mass atrocities, particularly in Rwanda and Bosnia. She attained her Masters in Sociology in the spring of 2024 from the Ohio State University, and will additionally complete her PhD in Sociology in 2028.

**Dr. Nathalie Ségeral (The University of Sydney/University of Hawaii at Manoa)**

“(Non-)Motherhood, Survival, and Reparation in Francophone Narratives of the Rwandan Genocide”

On panel “Agency from the Margins: Writing and Filming Genocide for Minority Recognition”

*Panel Abstract:*

This panel focuses on cinema and literature's crucial role in giving a voice to victimized minorities who often feel, and are, excluded from official political and historical discourses around genocide.

*Paper Abstract:*

Motherhood is feminism's last taboo, and motherhood studies remain a blind spot of cultural and genocide studies. While feminist and maternal studies have gained traction in genocide studies across the English-speaking world, this is not yet the case in the Francophone area. This paper examines the ways in which motherhood and non-motherhood are staged in narratives about the psychological and transgenerational effects of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsis. It focuses on two Francophone Rwandan women writers: Beata Umubyeyi

Mairesse and Dominique Celis. Mairesse's *Tous tes Enfants dispersés* [All your Scattered Children] (2019) is a novel staging three generations of women experiencing the disruption of the mother-daughter relationship in the wake of the genocidal trauma. Mairesse's second novel, *Consolée* [Comforted] (2022), focuses on a little-known aspect of Rwanda's colonial past: the removal of mixed-race children from their birth mother's home and their forcible placement in orphanages. Celis's *Ainsi pleurent nos hommes* [The way our men cry] (2022) is a novel set in contemporary Rwanda recounting the devastating effects of the genocide on the female protagonist's sexual and romantic relationships. These texts will be analyzed through their representation of genocide trauma on the transcultural mother-daughter relationships, contending that motherhood serves a cathartic function. It will then argue for the creolization of language (Lionnet 2015) generated by the influence of Kinyarwanda, the authors' mother tongue, on French, engaging with translation as reparation. Finally, it will engage with the representation of torn identity and conflicting feelings of grief and gratefulness experienced by the female narrators.

Nathalie Ségeral is an Associate Professor of French and Francophone studies at the University of Hawaii at Mānoa, currently lecturing at the University of Sydney (Australia). She is the co-editor of *Trauma and Motherhood in Contemporary Literature and Culture* (Palgrave, 2021) and of *Francophone Oceania Today: Literature, Visual Arts, Music and Cinema* (forthcoming with Liverpool University Press, February 2024). She is also the French translator of David Chappell's *Le Réveil kanak: la montée du nationalisme en Nouvelle-Calédonie* (Presses universitaires de Nouméa, 2017).

**Professor Martin Shaw (Institut Barcelona d'Estudis Internacionals (IBEI) / University of Sussex)**

Roundtable participant: "War and Genocide Roundtable"

The topic of war and genocide is more relevant than ever. With several current conflicts – most visibly in Gaza and Ukraine – being debated for their genocidal elements, this panel will both discuss theoretical concerns and practical realities of the connection between war and genocide. For example, panelists will address the genocide concept and how it is used and misused in times of war, the connection between civil war and genocide, as well as new critical analysis of punitive war and its genocidal elements.

Martin Shaw is Research Professor in Barcelona, Emeritus Professor at Sussex, and the author of *War and Genocide* (2003), *What is Genocide?* (2008) and *Genocide and International Relations* (2013).

**Mr. Cody Shepard**

Roundtable participant: "Teaching on US genocide perpetration, liberation, witness, and prevention from the US Military Veteran perspective"

This panel is a roundtable discussion with by four US military veterans from the US Navy, Marine Corps, and Army who have all been facilitating discussions on the US Military and Genocide through support from the NEH's Dialogues on the Experience of War initiative. They are undergraduate and graduate students facilitating discussions in three public sessions

and in a course on the US Military and Genocide: Perpetration, Liberation, Witness, and Prevention hosted by Embry-Riddle Aeronautical University. The project has focused on Perpetration and genocide against the Native Americans with a focus on the Seminole Wars, Liberation with a focus on the Holocaust, Witness with a focus on ISIS genocide against the Yazidis, and Prevention with a focus on Afghanistan. The Veteran Facilitators have received training in the case studies and also in how to use a variety of humanities sources in their facilitation, including music, letters, poetry, art, photography, and oral history.

This roundtable will allow the veterans an opportunity to reflect on their experiences as peer-to-peer and peer-to-public facilitators and to speak on their experiences leading discussions on the history and future of the US Military's relationship with genocide. The project, and thus this panel, suggests new and dynamic approaches to pedagogical approaches in genocide studies capitalizing on Veteran experiences in conflict to give students depth.

### **Dr. Vilho Shigwedha (University of Namibia)**

#### **“The Genocide of the Herero - Nama People and the Politics of Denial in Namibia”**

Namibia has a lengthy history of colonial rule that spanned over a century - colonized by Germany (1884 - 1915) and then by apartheid South Africa (1918 -1990). During Germany occupation of Namibia, indigenous communities experienced institutional racism and brutal violence. These included racialized killing of black people, indecent and illegal disinterring of African corpses from their graves by European “grave robbers” who unethically transported them to Germany. The largest trafficking in stolen human remains from GSWA to Europe occurred between 1904 and 1908. This is within the context of the genocide that imperial Germany committed against tens of thousands of targeted Herero and Nama communities. In 1990, the Namibian parliament tabled a motion calling for the return of hundreds of Namibian human remains in Germany. Whereas the affected communities are craving for direct dialogues with Germany to recognize and redress past injustices, German officials who visit Namibia, from time to time, had been refusing to meet with the Herero and Nama representatives, except with the Namibian government’s appointed special envoys. In this light, this paper seeks to examine various denial strategies, such as the state-to-state appropriation of genocide dialogues. That is, ongoing negotiations over Namibia genocide are characterized by alarming exclusions of the descendants of the victims of the first genocide of the 20th century. This is done, it appears, to absolve the German government from dealing with the Namibian genocide issues in a manner consistent with the norms of international behavior regarding mass slaughter of people.

Vilho Amukwaya Shigwedha is a Namibian scholar and author. His areas of interest in research include genocide and heritage studies, the history of the liberation struggle in Southern Africa, with a special focus on Namibia, Angola and South Africa. His publications include, among others, *The Aftermath of the Cassinga Massacre: Survivors, Deniers and Injustice* (2017), “The return of Herero and Nama bones from Germany: the victims' struggle for recognition and recurring genocide memories in Namibia”, in *Human remains in Society*, Manchester University Press (2018), “The missing are not dead yet: Efraim Kapolo and the Impossibility of Disappearing Without a Trace”, *Kronos* (2018), and “The homecoming of Ovaherero and Nama Skulls: Overriding Politics and Injustices”, *Human remains and violence: An interdisciplinary Journal*, Manchester University Press (2018).

**Dr. Lisa M. Simeone (Center for Genocide and Human Rights in the Diaspora)**

**“Genocide by Neglect? The Necropolitics of International Migration”**

The COVID-19 pandemic has coincided with a dramatic increase in migrant mortality. In 2022, an estimated 6,876 international migrants died in transit (IOM 2023). 3,714 drowned in the Mediterranean and 1,457 perished on their way to the US border, where tens of thousands are living in makeshift camps. Tens of thousands of migrants have died in the Gulf States since 2020 (Vital Signs 2022). In July 2023, at least 600 people sank while the Greek Coast Guard kept its distance. Migrants are dying everywhere as they take the leap to capital-rich countries that are tightening their borders, even as they are starved for labor. This paper engages with conceptual debates in anthropology and critical genocide studies to argue that a global trend towards increasingly punitive strategies of deterrence reflects an authoritarian response to compounding systemic crisis. A growing indifference to migrant lives - in policy, practice, and public discourse - indicates a global politics of death, what Achille Mbembe has called “necropolitics” which targets irregular migrants, particularly migrants of color, as a group that must be eliminated in order to preserve social cohesion. Based on ethnographic research among African migrants, it further argues that the intentions driving human mobility are no more clear cut than the intentions driving state actors to dismiss the value of migrant lives. Thus, the intensifying global migration crisis cuts to the core of a critical question for genocide scholars: are bystanders complicit in an emerging genocide by neglect?

Lisa Simeone is currently a research fellow at the Center for Genocide and Human Rights in Africa and the Diaspora at Northeastern Illinois University. She received her PhD in Anthropology from the University of Chicago in 2021. Her dissertation *Making Do in the Promised Land: Ethics of Ambivalence among Chicago’s New Africans*, investigated the political, economic and legal dimensions of migration between francophone Africa and the United States, with a focus on collective strategies for addressing past trauma and immediate hardship in the wake of the 2008 Recession. Since the 1990s, Dr. Simeone has been an educator, organizer, and policy specialist in the fields of migration, racial justice and human rights. Her research and advocacy have taken her to West and Central Africa, Latin America and Europe, the United States and Canada. Her current work investigates the impact of global finance, material infrastructure and the politics of systemic crisis on human mobility and potentially genocidal exclusion.

**Dr. Alette Smeulders (University of Groningen)**

**“A typology of perpetrators of mass atrocities”**

There are many different types of perpetrators involved in mass atrocities such as genocide. We can distinguish the Criminal Masterminds at the top of the chain of command, the Fanatics and Careerists as their close associates and the Devoted Warriors as their loyal, obedient main executions. Lower ranking perpetrators can be driven by a number of different motives: ideology such as the True Believers and Holy Warriors; by material gain such as the Criminals and Profiteers. They can be very normal and ordinary otherwise law-abiding citizens such as the Followers and Avengers or have mental deficiencies such as the Deranged and the Predators. Or they can be put under tremendous pressure such as the Compromised

perpetrators. In this presentation, Alette Smeulers will explain the various types and the way they influence each other and how together they form an atrocity producing triangle. The presentation is based on her book called *Perpetrators of mass atrocities: terribly and terrifyingly normal?* which Routledge published in December 2023. Two distinguished scholars will then comment on the book.

Alette Smeulers is chair in International Crimes at the University of Groningen. She conducts research on perpetrators of mass atrocities, causes of mass atrocities and the international criminal justice system. Her newest book is called 'Perpetrators of mass atrocities: terribly and terrifyingly normal?' (Routledge 2023) and this is also the title of a podcast series she has launched together with Nicola Quaedvlieg.

### **Dr Katherine Southwick (International Legal Scholar)**

“Statelessness in the Context of Mass Atrocities: Why the Right to Nationality Matters for Atrocity Prevention”

On panel “The Genocide of Myanmar’s Rohingyas in international and comparative perspective: Resistance and Agency”

#### *Panel Abstract:*

Myanmar’s genocide of Rohingya has become one of the cases which have landed before the International Court of Justice (ICJ) in the 70-years’ history of the application of The Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (The Gambia vs. Myanmar). However, juridical discussions and proceedings do not cover some of the most crucial issues – the victims’ agency and resistance, for instance - nor have they offered a meaningful space for Rohingya survivors to be heard. This panel brings together key scholars and activists on Myanmar’s Rohingya genocide, to put numerous forms of agency and resistance in an international and comparative perspective. The papers will draw on the examples of Myanmar’s genocide and other genocides to explore agency in preventing genocide and seeking justice. They will also discuss the structural limitations to various resistance strategies and the implications internationally. The panel provides different perspectives including from the Rohingya survivor community (Nay San Lwin), from the Myanmar Buddhist perpetrator community (Dr Maung Zarni), and from international human rights community (Dr Katherine Southwick and Dr Natalie Brinham). All four panellists have scholarly expertise and activist/practitioner experience and will provide perspectives that are both theoretical and grounded in everyday realities.

#### *Paper Abstract:*

This paper considers links between statelessness and mass atrocities, and the implications for law and policy. The paper aims to demonstrate how more explicit recognition of the connections and interdependence between these two fields can strengthen efforts to reduce statelessness and prevent mass atrocities. The paper is divided into three parts. The first part identifies key ways in which the phenomena of statelessness and mass atrocities intersect. This part reviews how a significant number of statelessness cases affecting identity groups such as religious and ethnic minorities have coincided with mass atrocities, with statelessness as either a precursor, constituent part, or consequence of mass atrocities or state violence.

Among other examples, the paper highlights the Holocaust, the breakup of the former Yugoslavia, conflict between Ethiopia and Eritrea, and the experience of the Rohingya minority of Myanmar. The second part evaluates how and to what extent international law and policy reflect these linkages between statelessness and mass atrocities. Based on a review of international treaties; case law; atrocity assessment frameworks; and of how law and policy relating to statelessness and mass atrocity prevention have manifested in key examples such as the Holocaust, Ethiopia, and Myanmar, this part demonstrates that connections between nationality rights and atrocity prevention have emerged unevenly and without explicit consideration of their interdependence. The third and final part of the paper suggests ways in which to close these gaps, and thus improve recognition of and response to the true costs and consequences of statelessness and mass atrocities.

Dr. Katherine Southwick is an international legal scholar and consultant on rule of law, human rights, and atrocity prevention. She has served in government and in nongovernmental organizations based in the United States, Africa and Asia. She was the key researcher and co-author for the US Holocaust Memorial Museum's resources on Criminal Justice Approaches for Preventing Mass Atrocities. For the American Bar Association Rule of Law Initiative, she implemented programs relating to judicial reform, anti-trafficking in persons, and the ASEAN human rights system. She has also worked as a federal judicial clerk, in the Office of the Prosecutor at the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, the U.S. State Department's Office of the Legal Adviser. Her commentary on the Rohingya crisis has appeared in media and scholarly outlets. Katherine holds a B.A. and a J.D. from Yale, as well as a PhD from the National University of Singapore.

**Ms. Nicole Steinberg (University of Maryland, College Park)**

**“Artistic Considerations to Bearing Witness: Staged Performance of Holocaust Trauma”**

The artistically mediated transfer of Holocaust trauma has increasingly been a part of the events' cultural historical reconciliation. In her 2012 book *Performing Pain*, Maria Cizmiciu writes “...music can metaphorically perform the psychological effects of trauma – both the disruptive features and those that occur during recovery.” Cizmiciu's statement is that much more applicable in the intensely embodied medium of live operatic performance, in which the transference of trauma is no longer “metaphorical,” but both psychological and physical, having the potential to generate dangerous environments for both artists and audiences alike if not addressed responsibly. This paper will explore the issue through a case study of Polish-Soviet composer Mieczysław Weinberg's 1968 Holocaust opera *The Passenger*, which has had a popular performance history in the last decade. Adapted from the Polish novel *Pasażerka* (1962) written by journalist, WWII resistance fighter, and Auschwitz survivor Zofia Posmysz, the opera represents Weinberg's reflection on the Holocaust as one of the “cruellest tests of morality in history.” This paper will synthesize insight from those who have directed and performed in the opera, drawing on trauma theories of witness bearing and moral responsibility in order to consider tools for effective artistic support in the preparation for and performance of traumatic repertoire.

Nicole Steinberg is a Ph.D. candidate in musicology at the University of Maryland, College Park, and former Director of Operations and Media of Opera Baltimore. Her current research examines Mieczysław Weinberg's 1968 Holocaust opera *The Passenger* within trauma



studies, moral responsibility and memorialization frameworks. Steinberg has presented her research at meetings of the Society for Ethnomusicology, the National WWII Museum Jenny Craig Institute for the Study of War and Democracy, the European Studies Conference, the Capital Chapter of the American Musicological Society and the MidAtlantic Chapter of the Society for Ethnomusicology. Steinberg has also published a Holocaust education lesson plan with Towson University's Albert S. Cook Library in conjunction with the Jewish Museum of Maryland and given lectures at various Maryland organizations surrounding opera and Holocaust commemoration.

**Dr. Martha Stroud (Associate Director and Senior Research Officer, USC Dornsife Center for Advanced Genocide Research)**

“When Scholars Engage with Testimony of Mass Violence: Recognizing Vicarious Traumatic Stress and Growth”

As audiovisual testimonies by survivors of genocide, mass atrocities, and current conflicts proliferate around the world, more scholars are engaging with recorded testimonies as part of their research. The presenters will describe their mixed methods research project in which they interviewed scholars and others about the experiences and effects of engaging with genocide survivor testimony. They will highlight central themes that emerged regarding satisfactions that scholars described, challenges associated with this work, and the coping strategies employed. Using research on vicarious traumatic stress and growth to conceptualize their findings, the presenters offer a potentially useful frame for scholars in the field of genocide studies. Attendees will be invited to share their responses, reflections, and experiences

Martha Stroud is the Associate Director and Senior Research Officer at the USC Dornsife Center for Advanced Genocide Research at the University of Southern California. An anthropologist with special interests in the anthropology of genocide, psychological anthropology, and Indonesia, Martha earned her PhD in medical anthropology from UC Berkeley in 2015. Martha's research focuses on the Indonesian mass killings and detentions of 1965-1966 and their aftermath. In her doctoral research, which entailed over two years of fieldwork in Java, Martha explored the ways in which the events of 1965-1966 continue to emerge in daily life in Indonesia today, 50 years after the killings first began.

**Dr. Xiaoxue (Wendy) Sun (Grinnell College)**

Respondent on panel “Agency from the Margins: Writing and Filming Genocide for Minority Recognition”

*Panel Abstract:*

This panel focuses on cinema and literature's crucial role in giving a voice to victimized minorities who often feel, and are, excluded from official political and historical discourses around genocide. Drawing on personal experience and historical evidence, Michelle Bloom's paper focuses on the long fight to obtain recognition and reparation for two minority groups in the wake of the Holocaust: Jewish hidden children and gay survivors of Nazi persecution in France. Catherine Nesci's paper engages with issues of witnessing and translation in films as

tools for remembrance, in the context of the Rwandan Genocide and the Srebrenica Massacre. Nathalie Ségeral's paper looks at issues of reparation and catharsis through the lens of maternal studies in three recent narratives of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsis by women survivors.

Xiaoxue (Wendy) Sun is an Assistant Professor of German at Grinnell College. She completed her PhD in Comparative Literature and German Studies from UC-Santa Barbara in 2022. Her academic journey has been defined by diverse interests and expertise, primarily centered around Asian-German Studies, Memory Studies, Gender and Sexuality Studies, and World Literature and Translation Studies. Dr. Sun's first project, titled "Stateless in Shanghai: Memory and Transnational Narratives of the Hongkou Jewish Ghetto," examines the representation of the Holocaust in the context of Shanghai's Jewish Exile during World War II, utilizing memory and social communication theory as vital frameworks. Her second book project, "Poppies and Memory: Darkness Spoken between Ingeborg Bachmann and Paul Celan," delves into the representation of the Holocaust in the post-war world.

### **Dr. Vahé Tachjian (Houshamdyan)**

"The Triumph of Uniformity: Breaking with the Ottoman Heritage in Beirut's Armenian Community in the 1920s-1930s"

On panel "Armenian Survivor Communities: Navigating and Recreating Place and Self"

The early 1920s were pivotal years for the emerging post-genocide Armenian diaspora. After the destruction of Armenian collective existence in the Ottoman Empire (except in Istanbul), tens of thousands of refugees were forced to start new lives in the Middle East, Europe, and the Americas, and face many challenges in reconstructing communal life and identity. A dominating theme in Armenian society during the post-genocide/Ottoman times was Armenians' rupture with the Ottoman-Turkish world. At a glance, in the Armenian diaspora press between the two world wars reveals a gap concerning the communal elite's desire to transform the mass of refugees into a "trans- nation," a homogeneous society committed to national characteristics, and the heterogeneous, contradiction-filled daily life of most of the Armenian refugees.

My paper will focus on the example of one community, the one of Beirut in the 1920s and 1930s. Without the support of state institutions and working in a diasporic environment, how the Armenian elite inaugurated a process of reconstructing Ottoman Armenian identity and aimed to create a culturally restructured community? This process was depicted at that time as a clash between what the communal elite viewed as Armenian, national, homogeneous, modern, and liberated and what was Ottoman, Turkish, Oriental, and/or heterogeneous - qualities judged as backward. In this dichotomized environment, the elite targeted several vectors of the intangible Ottoman-Armenian heritage viewed as belonging to the Turkish-Ottoman heritage: Turkish language, dialects, some musical instruments, sharki and alla Turca songs, various customs, church architecture, theatrical performances considered non-Armenian, etc.

Vahé Tachjian, (he/him) received his doctorate at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (EHESS) in Paris. His articles and books examine French colonialism, Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, and refugee issues in the Middle East. He is the project director and the

chief editor of the Berlin-based Houshamdyan website, which aims to reconstruct Ottoman Armenians' local history and life stories. Among his main publications : *La France en Cilicie et en Haute-Mésopotamie* (2004), *Daily Life in the Abyss: Genocide Diaries, 1915- 1918* (2017). He is now working on a book project on Armenians in Lebanon in the 1920s and 1930s.

**Mr. Olatunde Taiwo (Department of History University of Ghana)**

“The British-Army Imaginary and Biafrans’ Evidence of Genocide By the Nigerian Military, 1967-2022”

Drawing upon primary documents retrieved at Swarthmore College Peace Collection (USA) in 2019, this study explores accounts of genocide by survivors of Nigerian Biafra War. I analyse their perceptions of British military strategies and Indian training, used by Nigeria’s federal forces, in the War, particularly in terms of the War’s genocide underbelly. Concurrently, this paper challenges prevailing understanding of a spasmodic discord between Nigeria and British armies during the war. This is guided by Wendy Chmielewski’s reference to the underutilization of the rich refugee experience within the Peace Collection . Consequently, this study foregrounds the underlying factors related to the genocide question within the Nigerian Civil/Biafra War. To achieve these, the study cross-references materials from Swarthmore with interviews of survivors of the Biafra war/genocide, records at the National Archives in Ibadan, Nigeria, and manuscripts at University of Ibadan library. By applying the thematic and inductive analytic frameworks to this data, the study hypothesizes that the lived perceptions of Biafran War survivors regarding the British Army's role in the Biafran genocide have played a central role in the resurgence of Biafra-related agitations since 2000. This includes Professor Uju Anya's heavily criticized comment on the late Queen Elizabeth, who, until her demise, held the position of Commander-in-Chief of the British Army. The study contends that the Biafra/Nigerian Civil War was as much a genocide as it was a site of tensions between post-war refugee rehabilitation, refugee relief, mental-health, and the irregular fraternalization between the Nigerian federal forces and British army.

The study contends that the Biafra/Nigerian Civil War was as much a genocide as it was a site of tensions between post-war refugee rehabilitation, refugee relief, mental-health, and the irregular fraternalization between the Nigerian federal forces and British army.

Olatunde is presently a Lisa Maskel PhD Fellow at the Department of History, University of Ghana. His primary research area is Deportations involving Nigeria, 1800-2020. Olatunde is also currently a junior Faculty at the Department of History and Diplomatic Studies, OOU, Nigeria. Olatunde Taiwo’s latest short article features in the ensuing: Olatunde Taiwo(2023), “Tropes Of Asylum And Refuge: Deportations Across Nigerian Lands, 1800-1852”, *Age of Revolutions* : <https://ageofrevolutions.com/2023/06/26/tropes-ofasylum-and-refuge-deportations-across-nigerian-lands-1800-1852/>. Another of Taiwo’s article-Knights of A Global Countryside-appears in *Nigeria Studies series* (2020), authored by the combination of Professor Chima Korie and Goldline and Jacobs Publishing, USA.

**Professor Shibley Telhami (Anwar Sadat Professor for Peace and Development, University of Maryland)**

## Keynote Speaker

### “The One-State Reality in Israel/Palestine in the Shadow of the War in Gaza”

Shibley Telhami is the author and editor of several books, his most recent is a co-edited with contributions volume, *"The One State Reality: What is Israel/Palestine?"* which was published in March 2023 with Cornell University Press. Dr. Telhami served as a senior advisor to the U.S. Department of State, advisor to the U.S. Mission to the United Nations, advisor to Congressman Lee Hamilton, and as a member of the Iraq Study Group. As an expert of Arab politics and U.S. policy in the Middle East, his many publications include *"The World Through Arab Eyes: Arab Public Opinion and the Reshaping of the Middle East"* (Basic Books, 2013), *"The Peace Puzzle: America's Quest for Arab-Israeli Peace 1989-2011"* (Cornell University Press, 2013), and the best-selling *"The Stakes: America in the Middle East"* (Basic Books, 2003), selected by *Foreign Affairs* as one of the top five books for that year.

## Dr. Henry C. Theriault (Worcester State University)

### “Genocide Repetition and the Vulnerability of Targeted Groups

Mainstream approaches misrepresent genocides as discrete unitary destructive events or trajectories. Mass violence is then parsed into individual genocide cases, each of which includes a period of active destruction preceded by a causal process and followed by an aftermath of impacts. Even long-duration genocides are viewed through this framework. Shifting the framework to broader historical processes and global structures reveals something quite different. What are perceived as individual genocides are rarely discrete processes, but instead parts of more comprehensive wholes of different types: (1) “oscillating genocidal processes,” in which the same perpetrator structure targets the same victim group(s) repeatedly over time, (2) “serial genocidal processes,” in which a perpetrator structure commits genocides against different target groups across time, (3) “transperpetrational genocidal processes,” in which a single victim group or set is/are targeted by different perpetrator structures over time and/or across place, and (4) “genocidal flows,” in which contextual factors, such as colonialism, geopolitical power dynamics, ideological trends, etc., foster sets of apparently individual cases with distinct perpetrators and targets that are causally linked across time and place. This presentation focuses on ways in which apparently individual genocides increase the vulnerability of targets, especially to oscillating and transperpetrational processes. These factors include demographic reduction, land dispossession, identity and group network cohesion weakening, resource expropriation, and more. They also include the ways in which, contrary to inaccurate mainstream beliefs, genocide renders victim groups more readily seen as fit targets of renewed violence, not less.

Henry C. Theriault is Associate Vice President for Academic Affairs at Worcester State University (USA), after teaching in its Philosophy Department 1998-2017, which he chaired from 2011-2017. He coordinated WSU's Human Rights Center 1999-2007. With specializations in Continental Philosophy and Social and Political Philosophy, Theriault researches genocide denial, genocide prevention, post-genocide victimperpetrator relations, reparations, and mass violence against women and girls. He has lectured around the world and published numerous journal articles and chapters. He is lead author of the Armenian Genocide Reparations Study Group's 2015 final report, *Resolution with Justice*, and, with Samuel

Totten, co-authored *The United Nations Genocide Convention: An Introduction* (University of Toronto Press, 2019). Theriault's work has been published in English, Spanish, Armenian, Turkish, Russian, French, and Polish. In addition to various boards and committees in the field of genocide studies, Theriault served two terms as President of the International Association of Genocide Scholars (IAGS), 2017-2019 and 2019-2021. He is founding coeditor of *Genocide Studies International* and co-edited *IAGS' Genocide Studies and Prevention 2007-2012*.

Respondent on the panel "Transitional Justice Issues in Nagorno-Karabakh"

*Panel Abstract:*

From December 2022 until September 2023, Azerbaijan blockaded the ethnic Armenian residents of Nagorno-Karabakh in the territory, closing the Lachin Corridor and preventing the delivery of essentials such as food, fuel and medical supplies. In June 2023, even the International Committee of the Red Cross was prevented from providing humanitarian assistance. In September 2023, Azerbaijan bombed Nagorno- Karabakh, resulting in almost its entire population fleeing into Armenia.

This panel argues that the blockade amounted to the crime of genocide, and that the Azeris caused the ethnic cleansing of Nagorno-Karabakh. The papers discuss underexplored but crucial questions regarding transitional justice for the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict and atrocities. The panel papers will address issues relating to the role of the international community, accountability for international crimes, the need for a truth commission, and prospects for peace and reconciliation.

As the situation is evolving, the content of this panel will depend on the current circumstances at the time.

**Ms. Nicole Eileen Tinjacá E. (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México)**

"Urabá Bananero – 1988: «El poder a la vuelta de la esquina» Resistencias, Guerra y Genocidio en Colombia"

La cuestión de la guerra en Colombia ha sido un problema de investigación ampliamente tratado a lo largo de las décadas de conflicto social y armado en el país. Sin embargo, pocos son los estudios que se han dedicado a reconocer y abordar las complejidades de una guerra civil que, en su larga extensión, ha desembocado en una práctica social genocida la cual perdura aún hoy día. En ese sentido, existe un largo camino por revisar la historia pasada y presente, pero esta vez mediante la conceptualización de las prácticas de violencia política como un largo proceso de genocidio que se expresa en el asesinato selectivo, la desaparición y el desplazamiento sistemático de al menos 2.000.000 de civiles en medio de la guerra, de acuerdo con el informe de la Comisión de la Verdad en Colombia. Ante este vacío, la presente propuesta se sumerge en el análisis territorial del Urabá Bananero –una región ubicada al noroccidente del país– con el objetivo de reconstruir la lógica que configuró la violencia y el aniquilamiento de la oposición política en la región. Mediante este estudio de caso se develan una serie de condiciones las cuales permiten pensar la interacción entre guerra y genocidio

bajo un escenario de resistencia social y política, tal como se presentó en el Urabá – Colombia en la cruenta década de los años ochenta.

Socióloga e Historiadora por la Universidad Nacional de Colombia, actualmente a la espera de graduación de la maestría en Estudios Latinoamericanos de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México. Como investigadora independiente y activista social, los intereses de análisis navegan en un intento por vislumbrar la lógica tras las prácticas de violencia estatal, el genocidio y la guerra en Colombia mediante una perspectiva de diálogo relacional con la historia política de América Latina.

**Ms. Umoh Adetola Elizabth**

“In limbo of War legacy: Transition Camps and Reception centers of internationally displaced Biafria children”

In barely 30 months, the Biafra War claimed the lives of at least 1-2 million people, many of them children. Children were affected by the Biafria civil war (1967- 1970), which made the global news, most notably for the massive famine and internal displacement that prompted humanitarianism. Considering that the Nigerian Military Government used children as spies and hunger as a weapon of war, precipitating the worst famine disaster of the twentieth century in Africa and negatively affecting children. The paper unpacks the politics of humanitarian response and how it facilitated or hindered negotiations about the evacuation of children in the limbo of the Biafra war. It examined the evacuation, rehabilitation, and repatriation process of children refugees to neighboring African countries (Reception Centres/Transition Camps and reception centers). Also discussed is the contention between the host nations and the humanitarian organizations in terms of disagreements over how to categorize and protect displaced children—the most vulnerable victims of the conflict—who were influenced by state goals and the politics of international humanitarian interventionism.

Data was generated from film archives, photograph archives, oral history and documentaries. The paper argues that famine was ingrained to the war's operational unfolding, and accusations of genocide which was essential to the Biafran propaganda campaign, provoking an international debate about the application of the term-genocide

Adetola Elizabth Umoh is a PhD Scholar. She holds Masters in Education Educational Management (University of Lagos, Nigeria) and teaching certificate in History /Social studies. She is a Remote Research Fellow, University of Religions and Denominations (URD) Iran.

**Dr. Svetlana Ushakova (USC Shoah Foundation)**

“Comparative Analysis of Survivor Testimonies in Interactive and Traditional Formats”

In 2014, the University of Southern California Shoah Foundation, renowned for housing one of the largest oral history archives of the Holocaust and other genocides, introduced a new project known as Dimensions in Testimony. Although this initiative has a relatively short history, it has garnered substantial attention from researchers in various fields, including genocide studies, memory and museum studies, and education. From the project's inception, a central point of criticism and reflection has been the accuracy of Dimensions in Testimony in

preserving survivors' voices and their agency in telling their stories, a concern that persists especially with the emergence of generative AI.

The methodology behind Dimensions in Testimony interviews adheres to the fundamental principles of oral history and aims to preserve survivors' voices. However, these interviews are designed for use in educational and museum settings and have distinct features shaped by their interactive format. This format encourages shorter, more specific responses, with the option to revisit and revise answers as needed. After an interview is filmed, the content team identifies each answer as a separate video clip that is played in response to a visitor's question, based on sample questions used to train an interactive system. At this stage, interviews potentially may be curated and edited; however, the team follows a methodology to ensure that survivors' voices remain intact.

As a member of the Dimensions in Testimony team since 2019, the author draws upon her firsthand observations to explore how the methodology designed to preserve survivors' voices is implemented in practice, what challenges are encountered, and how the team works to overcome them.

Svetlana Ushakova received her doctorate in Russian History from Novosibirsk State University, Russia. She has several publications on Soviet ideological campaigns, special settlements, and social mobilization, including her book *Идеолого-пропагандистские кампании в практике функционирования сталинского режима* (2013) and participation in the volumes on the history of peasant exile and special settlements and Shakhty Trial in the series *Kremlin Archives*. Her last paper written together with Sanna Stegmaier "The Production of German and Russian-Language Interactive Biographies: (Trans)National Holocaust Memory between the Broadcast and Hyperconnective Ages" is published in 2021 as a chapter of the volume *Digital Holocaust Memory, Education and Research*. Currently, she works at University of Southern California Shoah Foundation.

### **Dr. Beauty Vambe (University of South Africa)**

"Apartheid Studies and the outstanding question of reparations for crimes against humanity committed in South Africa" (coauthored with Mpakwana Mthembu)

Apartheid studies has now been formally institutionalised as a legitimate area of intellectual inquiry. This move is big because it protects researchers from being accused of opening old wounds. In addition, Apartheid studies enables academics to summon apartheid into the dock, to make disappeared crimes available and interrogate how the apartheid system has innovated, metamorphosed, and adapted in the present as it hides in plain sight. The General Assembly, Apartheid Convention, Security Council, and the Roman statutes identified Apartheid as a crime against humanity. Yet, there is no court established to try apartheid crimes. How might it be possible under the South African Constitution (1996) to guarantee reparations to black and white victims and survivors of the Apartheid state aggression to citizens inside South Africa, and possibly to some frontline states that bore the brunt of the crimes of apartheid's military incursions? In this current qualitative study based on legal documents we raise these questions to reflect on how survivors of victims can benefit from reparations in some ways to relieve suffering, retroactively. Using Nyasha Mboti's idea of Apartheid Studies as threshold model that presumes existence of crimes, we reflect on how the South African Constitution

can ensure that justice in its different, but mainly material forms might be considered as redress to survivors of apartheid.

Beauty Vambe holds an LLD from the University of South Africa. She is a senior lecturer in the department of mercantile law. She has published extensively in Africa based and internationally accredited journals on the Southern African Community Development Protocol on Trade and the legal and institutional framework of the recently established Agreement on the Africa Continental Free Trade Area. Her academic interests converge around international trade law and Economic law, dispute resolution, electoral law, and tax law. Her recent article, 'Zimbabwe is open for business': a legal perspective on the post-2017 use of Statutory Instruments'(2023), <https://doi.org/10.1080/23802014.2023.2192045> was published online in the prestigious journal, Third World Thematics. Her published book is Termination and International Sales Law (2016) and Southern African Development Community Protocol on Trade: Challenges and Opportunities since COVID-19 is forthcoming in 2024. Currently, Dr Vambe is guest editing The Comparative and International Law Journal of Southern Africa (2023).

**Professor Maurice Taonezvi Vambe (Department of English Studies, University of South Africa)**

"Subalternity, and Gukurahundi Genocide in Ndebele Literature in English"

Robert Mugabe unleashed his Fifth Brigade in Matabeleland and parts of Midlands Provinces of Zimbabwe between 1983-1987 to weed out what he described as Ndebele dissidents. 20 000 Ndebele people lost their lives with many more disappeared and still missing. Under Mugabe, writing, talking, and exhibiting art on the Ndebele genocide was considered a taboo. In Emmerson Mnangagwa's Second Republic that started with a military coup on 16 November 2017 against Mugabe, the Gukurahundi genocide is declared a closed chapter. Even though Ndebele people have been marginalised in Zimbabwe's development discourses, their imaginative authors and cultural workers have been writing about the consequential effects of the Gukurahundi genocide. In this current paper, I address the pertinent question regarding the extent to which some Ndebele novelists writing in the English language have questioned what it means to be a citizen of Zimbabwe for Ndebele people in the context of having suffered the most under a Mugabe-led Gukurahundi genocide in the 1980s, and then further impoverished in the phony new dispensation of Emmerson Mnangagwa after 16 November 2017? A qualitative and interpretive approach is most appropriate for use to debate how marginality and political vulnerability have been used in Novuyo Rosa Tshuma's House of Stone (2018), Siphiwe Gloria Ndlovu's The Theory of Flight (2021) and NoViolet's Glory (2022) to combat officially enforced amnesia on Ndebele people about the atrocities of the Gukurahundi genocide. The paper then evaluates the imagined political horizons envisioning an alternative democratic society in Zimbabwe for the Ndebele people.

Professor Maurice Taonezvi Vambe is African literary scholar, cultural theorist, and teaches in the English Studies at the University of South Africa (UNISA). He has guest edited Imbizo: International Journal of African Literary and Comparative Studies and the Journal of Literary Studies. Vambe published more than 70 peer-reviewed scholarly articles and contributed book chapters to The Encyclopedia of African Literature and The Oxford Companion to African Literature. His African Oral Story Telling Tradition in the Zimbabwean Novel in English



came out in (2004). Vambe co-authored *Close to the Sources: Essays on Contemporary African Culture, Politics and Academy* (Routledge 2011) with Abebe Zegeye. Vambe co-edited *Zimbabwe: The Mighty Fall of a type of Nation State* (2019) with Gadzikwa, and then co-edited *Mozambique is Burning: Islamic Insurgency in Cabo Delgado* (2022) with Saurombe and Ruhanya. Professor Vambe's *Genocide in African Literature* is in print with Africa World Press (2024).

**Mr. Joseph Weinger (University of California, Los Angeles, Department of Sociology)**

**“Splintered Sovereignty and Colonial Genocide: Modulations in Perpetration”**

This paper narrows in on one axis upon which a key definitional difference between colonial and nation-states hinges: the monopolization of legitimate violence. Key cases of disjunction between colonial state institutions and settlers are raised in an effort to depict how colonial state formation--particularly the process of territorial expansion--differs in fundamental ways from nation-state formation. Whereas nation-states are said to seize the legitimate exercise of violence as they form, colonial states continuously undergo a splintering and delegation of legitimate violence. The paper then explores how this dynamic shapes the perpetration of colonial frontier genocide. Drawing on political sociology and the sociology of violence, it explores the patterns of settler or state perpetration; fluctuations between alliance, reinforcement, and discordance in the perpetration of frontier genocide; and historical changes given the gradated bureaucratization of violence. The paper reviews numerous empirical examples, including in North America and Oceania. It ultimately seeks to explain the variations in outcomes--that is, why some cases of colonial settlement result in the “liquidation” of indigenes while others do not. Its aim is to contribute to a deeper understanding of the contingencies and patterns at play in the formation of colonial states, of settler and state decision making, and of their far-reaching consequences on indigenous communities.

Joseph Kaplan Weinger is a fourth-year doctoral student in the Department of Sociology at the University of California, Los Angeles. His work centers on the political and historical sociologies of colonial settlement, violence, and genocide. He holds a B.A. and M.A. in sociology from New York University and UCLA, respectively.

**Mr. Maximilian Wegener (Zeppelin University)**

**“Averting conflagration in Kenya: Multi-level pathways of de-escalation and implications for atrocity prevention”**

There appears to be a fundamental mismatch in contemporary genocide studies when it comes to analyzing factors of escalation vis-à-vis de-escalation in contexts of mass violence. While most studies focus on causes and drivers of genocidal atrocities, they tend to overlook potential pathways of de-escalation, hallmarks of resilience, and sources of restraint. The paper seeks to address this prevailing imbalance by taking up Scott Straus' incisive (yet hitherto largely neglected) stimulus: “why does genocide not happen when it could”? The principal aim is to determine why and how high-risk countries manage to retreat from the brink of genocidal violence. First, a comprehensive literature review aims to assess the theoretical status quo on both genocidal escalation and de-escalation. Second, resultant

insights are brought face to face with in-depth field research on Kenya's atrocity prevention campaign following the eruption of mass violence in 2007/2008. By employing an interpretivist process tracing approach, five pathways of de-escalation are identified in the Kenyan case: political negotiation, international mediation, societal involvement, institutional reform, and discursive restraint. The findings suggest that scholars of mass atrocity must overcome the enduring dichotomies of prevention that seem to be cast in stone. These include the juxtaposition of prevention and response, structural and operational action, as well as international and domestic measures. The analysis of multi-level de-escalation pathways in Kenya rather demonstrates that halting mass violence is a much more complex endeavor that needs to be sustainably grounded in a perpetual and self-reflexive approach to both atrocity prevention and concomitant scholarship.

Maximilian Wegener is a research associate and doctoral researcher at the Chair of International Security Policy at Zeppelin University, Lake Constance, Germany. In both research and teaching, he deals with questions of international security, interstate and intrastate armed conflicts, as well as mass violence against civilian populations. In his doctoral project, he particularly focuses on processes of escalation and de-escalation in contexts of genocide and other anti-civilian atrocities. By examining the Kenyan case, he seeks to uncover the existence and interplay of restraining factors and sources of resilience that enable short-term de-escalation as well as long-term prevention in an environment at risk of mass categorical violence.

**Dr. Andrew Woolford (University of Manitoba)**

"Matters of Law and Transition: The Necessary Materiality of Symbolic Redress in Settler Colonial Canada's Post-Genocide Justice"

On panel "The 'Limits of Law' and Transitional Justice in Cambodia, Canada (Indian Residential Schools), and Rwanda"

This presentation explores the shortcomings of reparations as they are often conceived and implemented through transitional justice mechanisms. In particular, the assumed division between "symbolic" and "material" reparations is critiqued to illustrate the necessary entanglement of these two forms of redress. In short, it is suggested that the material aspects of life that we define as physical and biological are enmeshed with the symbolic frames provided by our cultures, just as these cultures are co-constituted by our relations with our material world. This argument is illustrated through an examination of the 2007 Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement, which ended residential school class-action lawsuits against the Canadian government and the Christian Churches that ran the schools. Focusing on elements of this agreement that seek to recognize Indigenous nations and their histories, as well as provide modest compensation for harms experienced, I show how these forms of symbolic acknowledgment operated to disentangle material/symbolic connections between land, language, family, community, and life for Indigenous peoples. Rather than distilling "ideal types" that allow for clearer analysis of post-genocide reparations, such efforts to divide the symbolic from the material reproduce a European ontology that is itself a component of the violence experienced by Indigenous nations under settler colonization.

Andrew Woolford is professor of sociology and criminology at the University of Manitoba, an emeritus member of the Royal Society of Canada College, and former president of the

International Association of Genocide Scholars. He is author of 'This Benevolent Experiment': Indigenous Boarding Schools, Genocide and Redress in the United States and Canada (2015) and co-author of The Politics of Restorative Justice (2019) and Informal Reckonings: Conflict Resolution in Mediation, Restorative Justice, and Reparations (2005). He is co-editor of Did You See Us? Reunion, Remembrance, and Reclamation at an Urban Indian Residential School (2021) Canada and Colonial Genocide (2017), The Idea of a Human Rights Museum (2015), and Colonial Genocide in Indigenous North America (2014). He has worked on two community-based research projects with residential school Survivors: 1) Embodying Empathy, which designed, built, and tested a virtual Indian Residential School that will serve as a site of knowledge mobilization and empathy formation; and 2) Remembering Assiniboia, which focused on commemoration of the Assiniboia Residential School.

Roundtable participant: "Genocide Studies: Pathways Ahead"

This roundtable includes authors who are contributors to the edited volume, *Genocide Studies: Pathways Ahead*. Topics range from attritive means of genocide, famine, human-nonhuman relations, perpetrator reintegration, and permanent security.

**Mr. Hrag Yacoubian (University of British Columbia and Memorial University of Newfoundland and Labrador)**

"Exploring the Near East Relief's Humanitarian Response during the Armenian Genocide in the South Caucasus"

The early 20th century unfurled a tapestry of humanitarian crises in the South Caucasus, notably the Armenian Genocide, a catastrophic event that witnessed the systematic extermination of 1.5 million ethnic Armenians by the Ottoman Empire from 1915-1923. Amidst this dire backdrop, the American humanitarian initiative, the Near East Relief (NER), erected an inspirational pillar of compassion and aid, establishing relief stations in numerous locales including Yerevan, Alexandropol, Kars, Nakhichevan, Echmiadzin, Karaklis, Tiflis, and Baku. The crucial work of NER and its stations primarily involved providing life-sustaining support, such as food, shelter, and medical assistance, to Armenian refugees and orphans in the throes of genocide and displacement. American humanitarian workers, functioning as both eyewitnesses to the atrocities and active facilitators of relief, helped navigate the treacherous waters of assistance amidst an ongoing conflict. Their endeavors were particularly significant in the context of the larger geopolitical dynamics and U.S. presence in the region. This paper seeks to unravel the multifaceted layers of NER's operations in the aforementioned stations, exploring the complexities, challenges, and impacts of executing humanitarian work amidst a genocide. Through an in-depth examination of primary sources, the aim is to holistically comprehend the altruism of NER and American humanitarian workers during one of history's darkest epochs. Consequently, the discourse will illuminate the imperatives of humanitarian interventions, forging reflections on historical lessons applicable to contemporary global crises.

Hrag Yacoubian is an Assistant Professor at the Memorial University of Newfoundland and Labrador and a PhD candidate at the University of British Columbia. Yacoubian has nursing and healthcare backgrounds. He studies the history of North American humanitarian

organizations involved in relief efforts during and in the aftermath of the Armenian Genocide. His research and studies are supported and funded by the University of British Columbia, the British Columbia Graduate Scholarship Fund, the Armenian General Benevolent Union, the Canadian Association of the History of Nursing, and the American Association for the History of Nursing. Yacoubian serves on the antiracism advisory council of the Canadian Nurses Association and is an active member of several academic and professional associations.

**Mr. Orhun Yalcin (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München (LMU))**

“Armenian Genocide: Armenians of Kavar and Armenian Revolutionary Federation in the Ottoman Empire”

This presentation examines the policies of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF) through the articles published by the Azadamard newspaper, the publishing organ of the ARF, between March 1911 and September 1912. The ARF was the “new Armenian knight,” and it pinned its hopes on the 1908 constitution by becoming allies with the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) when the chronic problems that the state had refused to solve during the Tanzimat and Hamidian eras persisted. Security of life, honor and property, military service, decentralization, elimination of non-Muslims, socialists and peasants in the system, and land usurpation were the main issues that the ARF frequently discussed in the Azadamard in 1911 and 1912. This presentation will argue that the trajectory of ARF from the Ottoman provinces to the Ottoman capital underwent a significant change. While its starting point in the provinces was protecting Armenians, ARF’s engagement in the capital was a different one. I believe this policy shift is a significant turning point in understanding the politics of the ARF and its relationship with the state. The ARF’s understanding of socialism before the 1908 constitution encouraged revolutionary armed struggle under the influence of the Russian Narodniks, which was intertwined with nationalist ideas. Nevertheless, ARF’s policy could be called Socialist Ottomanism after the proclamation of the 1908 constitution. In short, this presentation will demonstrate the Ottoman modernization process through the political trajectory of ARF from the 19th century to the 20th, a particular period that laid the foundations of nationstate Turkey and the process of the Armenian Genocide.

Orhun Yalcin studied the internal relations of Armenians and their relations with the state during the modernization period of the Ottoman Empire at the History Department of Bogazici University between 2014 and 2019. He continued his master's studies there and graduated in 2022, where his thesis dealt with later Ottoman politics as reflected in the articles of the Armenian newspaper Azadamard. His article entitled "The Perspective of the Armenian Revolutionary Party on the Kurds and the Land: A Dream of Socialist Ottomanism" was published in Turkish on Toplumsal Tarih in August 2022. In addition to teaching history at Bogazici, Yalcin has also worked with the Hrant Dink Foundation as co-editor of a book on the socio-economic conditions of Armenians in Van in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. He is currently pursuing his Ph.D. in Geschichte und Kultur des Nahen und Mittleren Ostens at the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München (LMU).

**Dr. Maung Zarni**

“Resistance and Its Limits in Post-WWII Genocides in Asia: Cambodia, Myanmar, Sri Lanka and India”

On panel “The Genocide of Myanmar’s Rohingyas in international and comparative perspective: Resistance and Agency”

*Panel Abstract:*

Myanmar’s genocide of Rohingya has become one of the cases which have landed before the International Court of Justice (ICJ) in the 70-years’ history of the application of The Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (The Gambia vs. Myanmar). However, juridical discussions and proceedings do not cover some of the most crucial issues – the victims’ agency and resistance, for instance - nor have they offered a meaningful space for Rohingya survivors to be heard. This panel brings together key scholars and activists on Myanmar’s Rohingya genocide, to put numerous forms of agency and resistance in an international and comparative perspective. The papers will draw on the examples of Myanmar’s genocide and other genocides to explore agency in preventing genocide and seeking justice. They will also discuss the structural limitations to various resistance strategies and the implications internationally. The panel provides different perspectives including from the Rohingya survivor community (Nay San Lwin), from the Myanmar Buddhist perpetrator community (Dr Maung Zarni), and from international human rights community (Dr Katherine Southwick and Dr Natalie Brinham). All four panellists have scholarly expertise and activist/practitioner experience and will provide perspectives that are both theoretical and grounded in everyday realities.

*Paper Abstract:*

As Raphael Lemkin clearly conceptualized, genocide is a process, not “merely” one-off acts of mass killings of marked populations with distinct identity. This process intended for the eventual destruction of a target population (s), in whole or in part, involves both various organs of the perpetrating state and societal institutions – dubbed “civil society”. Precisely because genocide is a process of (group) discrimination, exclusion, expulsion, and destruction, it triggers, “naturally”, a reactive process of resistance, adaptations, survival and escape, both at the individual and communal levels. This paper seeks to map common and thematic forms of resistance that victim communities and individuals in the 3 cases of well-documented genocides in South and Southeast Asia, and, presently, Hindu India’s genocide in the making. Specifically, the paper takes a close look at strategies and adaptative behaviours which the victimized populations in Sri Lanka (Eelam Tamils, that is, Tamils who sought autonomy and independence from Sri Lanka’s Buddhist Sinhalese-controlled state), Rohingyas and Muslims (in the Buddhist Bama majoritarian state), Cambodia (Khmer, Buddhist monks, Cham Muslims and Vietnamese under the Marxist Khmer Rouge) and in India today (Muslim and Christian communities in BJP-controlled Indian State). Methodologically, the study draws on the archival research, comparative perspectives on genocides – from the Nazi genocide to Bosnian genocide, to the genocides in Asia – and in-depth interviews and conversations with survivors and escapees of the aforementioned genocides of the past, and Indian activists, both in diaspora and at home, who are resisting the genocidal Hindutva state and its ideology.

A Burmese exile and renowned rights activist, Dr. Maung Zarni is a fellow at the (Genocide) Documentation Center – Cambodia and a judge in the Permanent Peoples Tribunal on Sri Lanka ('s) genocidal crimes against Eelam Tamil (2013). He is the co-author (with Alice Cowley aka Natalie Brinham) of "The Slow- Burning Genocide of Myanmar's Rohingyas" (The Washington International Law Journal or WILJ 2014) and "Reworking The Colonial-Era Indian Peril: Myanmar's State-directed Persecution of Rohingyas and Other Muslims" (Brown Journal of World Affairs, 2017). Since 1999, Zarni has held teaching, research and visiting fellowships at National-Louis University (Chicago), Oxford, Harvard, University College London, and LSE. He earned his PhD from the University of Wisconsin at Madison in 1998 under the joint supervision of the pioneering historian of Nazi SS and Himmler Robert L. Koehl and leading educational sociologist Michael W. Apple.

**Ms. Yayu (Jessie) Zhou (Nanjing University School of Business)**

“Memory Reconstruction of Nanjing Massacre and Postwar Life: Persistence of Symptomology and Resilience in Child Survivors”

Memory reconstruction goes beyond memory to a metamemory process where collective memory emerges from life historical experience. The collective metamemory process of testimony provides rich biographical data for analysis of genocidal violence, including its metaphorical and social power representations and unconscious individual Post-Traumatic Stress (PTSD) symptoms. Using the USC Shoah Foundation archived testimonies of 5 Nanjing Massacre child survivors that had a prior assessment of PTSD (PCL-5) and an fMRI brain scan in a Nanjing Medical University trauma study, the German biographical method was applied to investigate collective traumatic memories of violence. The data of PTSD symptoms and related brain region changes indicated that traumatic memories persisted for 80 years. The testimony data documented the development of unique identity defined by a trajectory of violence suffering. This identity included the exercise of an effective coping strategy and action scheme of resilience. A cultural-specific neurosociology perspective informed the interpretation of these biomedical and psychosocial data sources. The inner meaning of genocide-induced loss of a parent is represented by permanent changes in specific regions of the brain. A psychosocial process of a two- sided parentification inside families allowed for the replacement of a lost parent that provided a foundation for an action scheme leading to resilience. The specific traditional protective factors of the values of mutual aid and the norms of self-reliance characteristic of the peasantry class shaped, along with the emergence of the modern value of public testimonies of the cultural revolution, contributed to a collective memory narrative facilitating individual resilience.

Yayu (Jessie) Zhou is a social worker and Ph.D. student at the Nanjing University School of Business. Her current doctoral studies are centered on conspicuous consumption. Her writings have appeared in several journals including *Frontiers in Psychology*. Prior to matriculating at Nanjing University, Yayu completed her MSW degree from University of Southern California (USC) Suzanne Dworak Peck School of Social Work. Her practice in various Los Angeles Chinese American community-based organizations with the elderly instilled a strong interest in child Nanjing Massacre survivors and the transgenerational transfer of genocide trauma. She joined the USC and the Nanjing Medical University on-going seminar on PTSD symptomology and its long-term effects on the brain of the survivors. She continues to contribute to the seminar providing a neurosociology perspective focused on relationships

among environmental factors, historical values, and internal states. The seminar members include Charles Kaplan, Suh Chen Hsiao, Jun Yao and Dan Tan.