



20-ՐԴ ԴԱՐԻ ՑԵՂԱՄՊԱՆՈՒԹՅՈՒՆՆԵՐԻ ՀԱՄԵՄԱՏԱԿԱՆ ԿԵՐԼՈՒԾՈՒԹՅՈՒՆ
COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF 20TH CENTURY GENOCIDES



Ճեղապանագետների
միջազգային
ընկերակցության
Երևանյան համաժողով
Հուլիսի 8-12, 2015

**International Association
of Genocide Scholars
Yerevan meeting
July 8-12, 2015**

WELCOME



Dr. Hayk Demoyan
Director
Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute

We are glad to welcome you in Yerevan to participate in the twelfth meeting of the IAGS from July 8 to 12.

The year of 2015 is very important for Armenians. This year we commemorate the centennial anniversary of the Armenian genocide. But this is not the only sad commemoration for this year. We also should remember the victims of the genocide in Rwanda, Holocaust victims and victims of all genocides and crimes against humanity.

Hence, there is a great challenge for us, for the community of the genocide scholars to review and bring new insights on the past genocides, and the ways to prevent the most dangerous evil in the history of humanity. We are very much honored to be selected as the hosting institution responsible for organizing our twelfth gathering.

For Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute (AGMI) this year is a very important one. In April 21, 2015 we inaugurated the new museum exhibition where the special focus will be on human experience, and on narration of genocide history and its visualization as a gross violation of human rights. After this, the activity of AGMI will be to research, exhibit and educate.

You are all more than welcome to visit Armenia to see our ancient land, to meet its people, and feel the culture.

WELCOME



Dr. Daniel Feierstein
President
IAGS

On behalf of the International Association of Genocide Scholars, we would like to welcome you to our Twelfth Conference that will take place in Yerevan between July 8 and 12, 2015. Our conference coincides with the centenary commemorations of the genocide ordered by the Ittihadist leaders against Armenians and other Christian groups, including Greeks and Assyrians, at the beginning of the last century.

The members of IAGS recognize the importance of research and education to the prevention of genocide. Our conferences, seminars and meetings provide a venue where genocide scholars meet and share scholarship; where we learn from each other with the hope that our research will contribute to a better understanding of the causes and ramifications of genocide, as well as to its prevention, redress, and commemoration.

The theme of our Twelfth Conference is entitled Comparative Analysis of 20th Century Genocides.

We would like to thank the AGMI for being part of the organization of this Conference and for hosting us in the city of Yerevan. When we meet in Yerevan, we will have finished electing the leadership of IAGS for the tenth time. Our organization is twenty-one years old now, and its membership keeps growing with new members from different parts of the world subscribing.

We have particularly encouraged younger scholars to join and lead the IAGS. And when we met in Buenos Aires we recognized the need to use new media to disseminate knowledge to our members and beyond. Following this recommendation, we have made the IAGS Journal available online, open and freely accessible to the people all over the world, including scholars and activists in the Global South. We have achieved all of these goals together, and we hope achievements of the last twenty-one years will help next IAGS Boards address new challenges.

The IAGS Executive Board wishes you a safe journey to Yerevan and a successful participation in the Twelfth Conference of the IAGS.

OVERVIEW

The International Association of Genocide Scholars (IAGS) holds its twelfth meeting in Yerevan on 8-12 July 2015, hosted by the Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute. Director of the AGMI Dr. Hayk Demoyan is Local Conference Chair. Dr. Suren Manukyan is the Director of Conference.

The conference theme is "Comparative Analysis of 20th Century Genocides".

2015 is an important year for all Armenians worldwide in terms of commemoration of the centennial of the beginning of the Armenian genocide. The Armenian genocide is sometimes considered as the first genocide of the 20th century and in many ways served as a template for subsequent genocidal crimes. 2015 is also the year of 70th anniversary of the end of WWII and the Holocaust. Therefore, it is a significant time to analyze both crimes and all genocides of the 20th century in global and comparative perspectives.

On April 21st 2015 the Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute opened after two years of renovation and new exhibition development. This is the first major re-opening since its inauguration in 1995. New exhibits enable all visitors to understand the deep roots, causes, and dynamics of development and consequences of the genocide, while also offering a platform for dialogue.

The urgent need for early warning systems to prevent genocide, and efforts to revisit the basic concepts of the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, are matters of pressing concern. Related questions also arise:

- How were ideologies and religion instrumentalized for mass destruction during the 20th century?
- What kind of interaction exists between genocidal intent and genocidal processes?
- Who are the victims, perpetrators, bystanders and witnesses and how do we classify the relevant actors in different cases?
- How might the comparative study of 20th century genocide help to prevent 21st century genocides and mass atrocities?
- How might the legal consequences of the pre-1948 UN Convention "crimes against humanity" be settled?



Director of the Conference - *Suren Manukyan*
Coordinator of the Conference - *Dianna Alexanyan*
Media Coordinator of the Conference - *Arevik Avetisyan*
Members of the Secretariat
Kristine Najaryan, Susanna Movsisyan, Robert Tatoyan, Gevorg Vardanyan
Designers - *Lousine Matevosyan, Arusyak Ohanyan*
Organising Committee
Donna - *Lee Frieze (Chair), Peter Balakyan, Hayk Demoyan, Daniel Feierstain, Suren Manukyan, Andrew Woolford*

Keynote speakers



Vigen Sargsyan, Head of the Presidential Administration, Chief Coordinator of the Centennial Events of the Armenian Genocide

Born in Yerevan in 1975. In 1996, he graduated from Saint Petersburg North-West Academy of Civil Service, in 1997 – from Yerevan State University, the faculty of International Relations, and in 2000, he received a Master’s Degree in Law and Diplomacy from Fletcher Diplomacy School of Tufts University (USA).

In 1995-1998, Vigen Sargsyan worked as the Assistant and Councilor to the Chairman of the National Assembly of Armenia. In 2000-2003, he served in Armenian Armed Forces as Assistant to Defense Minister. In 2003, he was appointed Assistant to the Armenian President.

On 27 January 2009, Armenian President Serzh Sargsyan signed a decree on appointing Vigen Sargsyan Deputy Head and on October 17, 2011 the Head of the President’s staff. Vigen Sargsyan is awarded with Medal “For Services to the Motherland” (2nd stage), “Moses Khorenatsi” medal, numerous international and foreign awards and decorations. Vigen Sargsyan is married and has three daughters.



Dr. Rouben P. Adalian, Director of the Armenian National Institute in Washington, DC.

He has taught at George Washington, Georgetown and Johns Hopkins Universities. In 1993 he completed a project to document the Armenian Genocide in the United States National Archives resulting in the publication of 37,000 pages of evidence.

Adalian has contributed to *Genocide in Our Time; Genocide in the Twentieth Century; Studies in Comparative Genocide; Genocide: Essays Toward Understanding, Early-Warning, and Prevention; Pioneers of Genocide Studies; America and the Armenian Genocide; Century of Genocide: Critical Essays and Eyewitness Accounts; Encyclopedia of Race and Racism;* and several other reference works. He also is the author of *From Humanism to Rationalism: Armenian Scholarship in the Nineteenth Century; Historical Dictionary of Armenia;* and associate editor of *Encyclopedia of Genocide.*

Dr. Adalian served on several centennial commemorative committees, as well as the advisory group of the Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute, and prepared a series of online exhibits viewable at www.armenian-genocide.org addressing overlooked facets of the Armenian Genocide based upon documented photographic evidence retrieved from the U.S. National Archives and other American repositories.



Dr. Marianne Hirsch, William Peterfield Trent Professor of English and Comparative Literature at Columbia University and Director of the Institute for Research on Women, Gender, and Sexuality.

Hirsch’s work combines feminist theory with memory studies, particularly the transmission of memories of violence across generations. Her recent books include *The Generation of Postmemory: Writing and Visual Culture After the Holocaust* (2012), *Ghosts of Home: The Afterlife of Czernowitz in Jewish Memory*, co-authored with Leo Spitzer (2010), *Rites of Return: Diaspora Poetics and the Politics of Memory*, co-edited with Nancy K. Miller (2011). With Diana Taylor she co-edited the Summer 2012 issue of *é-misferica* on “The Subject of Archives.” She is one of the founders of Columbia’s Center for the Study of Social Difference.

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**CONFERENCE
PROGRAM**



Wednesday July 8, 2015

10:30 am

**Excursions (optional)
Echmiadzin, Garni-Geghard or Yerevan City Tour**

5:00 pm

Bus departs from Armenia Marriot Hotel for American University of Armenia

6:00 pm

Opening Ceremony of the Twelfth Meeting of the International Association of Genocide Scholars

Venue: American University of Armenia

- **Address by the President of Republic of Armenia - Serzh Sargsyan (5 minutes)**
- **Welcome of Conference Chair – Dr.Hayk Demoyan (5 minutes)**
- **IAGS welcome of President of IAGS – Dr.Daniel Feierstein and Head of Organising Committee – Dr.Donna-Lee Frieze (15 minutes).**
- **Break (5 minutes)**
- **Announcement of the results of the IAGS vote for the new Executive Board (15 minutes)**
- **Speech of the new President of IAGS (10 minutes)**
- **Keynote speaker speech (20 minutes)
Vigen Sargsyan, (Head of Administration of President of Armenia) *Events Dedicated to the Centennial of the Armenian Genocide: Prevention, Memory, Gratitude and Revival*
Q & A (30 minutes)**
- **Information and technical clarifications about conference -
Conference Director – Dr.Suren Manukyan (5 minutes)**

Reception and informal communication

Thursday July 9, 2015

8:30 am, 8:50 am Buses depart from the Hotels

9:00 am Registration opens

9:30 – 11:00 am *Concurrent sessions*

ROOM 1

Predict to Prevent Genocide

Chair: FRIEZE, Donna (Deakin University, Australia)

VERDEJA, Ernesto (University of Notre Dame, USA) - *Predicting Genocide and Mass Atrocities: The State of Knowledge*

PORTER, Jack (Harvard University, USA) - *Can Mathematical Models Predict Genocide?*

O'BRIEN, Mel (University of Queensland, Australia) - *From Discrimination to Death: Genocidal Process through a Human Rights Lens*

ROOM 2

Ideology of Genocide

Chair: MANUKYAN, Suren (Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute, Armenia)

BREHM, Hollie (Ohio State University, USA) - *Community Determinants of Genocide*

ONYIA, Chukwuma (George Mason University, USA) - *Re-Conceptualizing the Preludes to the Events of 1967-1970 in Nigeria: Civil War or Genocide*

GA'FAR, Khadeega M (American University in Cairo, Egypt) - *Ideology that predicts Genocide: on Arendt's Origins of Totalitarianism*

ROOM 3

Technology of Genocide Killings

Chair: KHOSROEVA, Anahit (Institute of History, Armenia)

KHACHATRYAN, Shushan (Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute, Armenia) - *The Clash of Religions in Course of the Armenian Genocide*

BOULGOURDJIAN, Nelida (University of Tres de Febrero, Argentina) - *Ways of Aggression towards Children During Episodes of State Terrorism: the Cases of the Armenian Genocide and the Argentinian Military Dictatorship in Comparative Perspective*

OGATA, Tetsushi (University of California, Berkeley, USA) - *Self-perpetual Forms of Communist Mass Killings in the Soviet Union, China, and Cambodia*

ROOM 4

New Horizons in Perpetrator Research I: Genocidal institutions
Chair: JESSEE, Erin (University of Strathclyde in Glasgow, UK)

ÜNGÖR, Ugur Ümit (Utrecht University, Netherlands) -
*Understanding Paramilitaries: A Comparative Examination of their
Rationale and Logic*

ANDERSON, Kjell (Netherlands Institute for War, Holocaust, and
Genocide Studies (NIOD) - *Perpetrator Mobilization in Terrorism
and Genocide: A Comparative Analysis*

SALIAH, Kaziwa (Queen's University, Kingston, Canada) - *Facing
Change or Changing Face? The Face of Kurdish Female Fighters
during Genocide*

FERRARA, Antonio (National Agency for the Evaluation of
Universities and Research Institutes, Italy) - *Refugeedom and
Mass Violence in the Twentieth-century World*

11:00 – 11:30 am

Coffee break

11:30 am – 1:00 pm

Concurrent sessions

ROOM 1

Nationalism, Rhetoric and State Building during the Genocide
Chair: FEIERSTEIN, Daniel (Universidad Nacional de Tres de
Febrero, Argentina)

EGGERS, Joe (University of Minnesota, USA) - *Native Americans
and Armenians: Exploring nationalism in genocidal violence*

GALUSTYAN, Regina (Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute,
Armenia) - *The Idea of Homogenisation of Asia Minor as a Key
Element of Construction of Turkish Identity*

STRAUS, Scott (University of Wisconsin, Madison, USA) - *Making and
Unmaking Nations: War, Leadership, and Genocide in Modern Africa*

DEMOYAN, Hayk (Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute, Armenia)
- *Speaking on Kurds, Hinting on Armenians. The Kurdish Issue in
the Official Rhetoric of Turkish Political and Military Leadership*

ROOM 2

Gendered Genocide

Chair: O'BRIEN, Mel (University of Queensland, Australia)

DER GHOUGASSIAN, Khachik (Universidad de San Andrés and
Universidad Nacional de Lanus in Argentina) - *The (Other) Great
Silence: Gender and Genocide in the Armenian and Argentine Cases*

HAGAN, John (Northwestern University, USA), KAISER, Joshua
(Northwestern University, USA) - *Gendered Genocide: The Socially
Destructive Process of Genocidal Rape, Killing, and Displacement
in Darfur*

LINDERT, Jutta (University of Emden in Germany) -
*Transgenerational Transmission of Genocide? Evidence from a
Systematic Review*

ROOM 3

Genocide Prevention and Responsibility to Prevent
Chair: VERDEJA, Ernesto (University of Notre Dame, USA)

RINN, Michael (Université de Bretagne Occidentale, France) -
How Can Discourse Analysis Contribute to Genocide Prevention?

GUTIÉRREZ, Ricardo Javier Cárdenas (Museum of Memory and
Tolerance in Mexico City, Mexico) - *Changes and Continuities in
Mexican Multilateralism: From Non-Intervention to Responsibility
to Protect*

NIEWIŃSKI, Jakub (Academy of Special Education, Poland),
ROMANOWSKI, Michal (Middle School in Lisewo Malborskie,
Poland) - *Active Memory of Tomorrow”: How Nowadays to tell
Young Generation About Prevention the Crimes Against the
Humanity?*

ROOM 4

New Horizons in Perpetrator Research II: Individual Perpetrators
Chair: ANDERSON, Kjell (Netherlands Institute for War,
Holocaust, and Genocide Studies)

GRIGORYAN, Hasmik (Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography,
Armenia) - *The Ordinary Executors of the Armenian Genocide:
Functional Peculiarities of Perpetrator Children’s’ Participation*

JESSEE, Erin (University of Strathclyde in Glasgow, UK) -
*Approaching Perpetrators in Post-Genocide Rwanda: Victimhood
and Social Death in the Narratives of Convicted Génocidaires*

WILLIAMS, Tim (Marburg University, Germany) - *“Make the enemy
the number one fertiliser”: Why People Participated in the Khmer
Rouge Genocide*

GUDEHUS, Christian (Ruhr University Bochum, Germany) -
Behaviour in the Context of Collective Violence : A Case Study

1:00 – 2:20 pm

Lunch

2:20 – 3:50 pm

Concurrent sessions

ROOM 1

Ideology and Economics of Genocide
Chair: OGATA, Tetsushi (University of California, Berkeley, USA)

MANUKYAN, Suren (Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute,
Armenia) - *“They Reap the Fruits of Muslim Labors”: Genocide
Victims as “Exploiters” in Génocidaires’ Minds*

WAINTRATER, Regine (Paris Diderot University, France) -
*Segregation as a Prelude to Extermination. The Case of the Tutsi
in Rwanda*

LEACY, Mary (Wagner College, Staten Island, New York, USA)
- *The Economics of Genocide: Capital Market Segmentation,
Occupation Economics and the Financing of Genocide in Turkey
and Germany*

ROOM 2

Gender and Sexual Violence during the Genocide
Chair: JINKS, Rebecca (University of East Anglia, UK)

BROWN, Sara (Clark University, USA) - *Gender and Genocide: A Comparative Analysis*

VON JOEDEN-FORGEY, Elisa (Stockton University, USA) - *Gendering Lemkin: Unearthing Sexual Violence (and Other Gendered Atrocities) in Raphael Lemkin's Writings*

O'BRIEN, Mel (University of Queensland, Australia) - *Challenges to the Development of the Crimes of Forced Marriage and Sexual Slavery in International Criminal Law*

ROOM 3

Violent Conflicts and State Crimes
Chair: DER GHOUGASSIAN, Khachik (*Universidad de San Andrés and Universidad Nacional de Lanus in Argentina*)

JONES, Adam (University of British Columbia, Canada) - *The Armenian-Azerbaijani Conflict: A Comparative-Genocide Perspective*

MANIVANNAN, Ramu (University of Madras, Chennai, India) - *Genocide of Tamils in Sri Lanka*

ROOM 4

New Horizons in Perpetrator Research III: Macro-level and comparative approaches

Chairs: JESSEE, Erin (University of Strathclyde in Glasgow) and ANDERSON Kjell (Netherlands Institute for War, Holocaust, and Genocide Studies (NIOD))

MAYNARD, Jonathan (New College, University of Oxford, UK) - *Unlike Minds: Ideological Diversity in the Perpetration of Mass Atrocities and Political Violence*

CULPEPPER, Wila Rae (Kingston University, UK) - *Hell is Empty and All Your Devils are Here: The Role of Folklore in the Mobilization of Public Support in the Perpetration and Participation of Genocide*

WALLER, James (Keene State College, USA) - *A Revised Explanatory Model for Perpetrator Behavior*

HINTON, Alex (Rutgers University, Newark, USA) - *Duch, Eichmann, and a Critical Genocide Studies Perspective on Perpetration*

ROOM 5

Designing Truth: Visual Stories of Genocide and the Museum's Role
WORKSHOP

KAHN, Leora (PROOF: Media for Social Justice, USA)

MUTANGUHA, Freddy (Aegis Trust and Kigali Memorial Center in Kigali, Rwanda)

WAHLIN, Willhemina (Charles Stuart University, Australia)

3:50 – 4:00 pm

Coffee-break

- 4:00 – 4:10 pm **Presentation of Journal *Genocide Studies and Prevention***
- 4:10 – 5:30 pm **Keynote Lecture (Room 1)**
Dr.ADALIAN Rouben Paul (Director of the Armenian National Institute in Washington) *The Crossing Point: The Armenian Genocide Centenary*
- 6:00-9:00 pm **Visit to Tsitsernakaberd Memorial Complex dedicated to victims of Armenian Genocide. Tour in Armenian Genocide Museum**





Friday July 10, 2015

8:30 am, 8:50 am Buses depart from the Hotels

9:00 am Registration opens

9:30 am - 11:00 am *Concurrent sessions*

ROOM 1 **Media Coverage and Media Narratives of Genocide**
Chair: DARBINIYAN, Asya (Clark University)

SHERMAN, Marc (Institute on the Holocaust and Genocide, Jerusalem, Israel) - *The Armenian Genocide: The Building of a Descriptive Index to Major Newspaper Compilations, 1890-1920*

BRAKSTAD, Ingjerd (The Norwegian University of Science and Technology) - *Discourse as Denial: Media Narratives and Benevolent Genocide Denial*

LEVY, Guillermo (Tres de Febrero Universities, Argentina),
WOZNIAK, Jorge (Tres de Febrero Universities, Argentina)
- *Genocide, Collective Memory, Narrative and Public Commemorations*

ROOM 2 **Genocide Denial and Laws**
Chair: GZOYAN, Edita (Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute, Armenia)

GARIBIAN, Sévane (University of Geneva, Switzerland) - *The Perinçek v. Switzerland Case: Genocide Denial, Consensus, Historical Facts and Law*

VRIELINK, Jogchum (University of Leuven, Belgium), LEMMENS, Koen (University of Leuven, Belgium) and PARMENTIER, Stephan (University of Leuven, Belgium) - *The Legal Prohibition of Negationism in Belgium: An Impact Analysis*

AVAKIAN, Paul N (Journalist, USA) - *Genocide Denial in Guatemala*

ROOM 3 **Victimhood and Survival of Minorities**
Chair: HOFMANN, Tessa (Freie Universität Berlin, Germany)

VARDANYAN, Gevorg (Armenian Genocide Museum and Institute, Armenia) - *The Similarities and Structural Peculiarities of the Armenian and Other Ottoman Minorities' Genocides: Greeks, Assyrians and Yezidis*

KHOSROEVA, Anahit (Institute of History, Armenia) - *Official Genocidal Policy of the Young Turks' State: The Assyrian Case*

**STONEHOUSE, Jeff (University of British Columbia, Canada) -
*At the Mountains of Madness: Survival Strategies on Musa Dagh,
Bisesero, and Sinjar***

ROOM 4

Hidden Involvement, Perpetration and Empathy

**Chair: ZYLBERMAN, Lior (Universidad Nacional de Tres de
Febrero, Argentina)**

**VAN BAAR, Annika (Netherlands) - *An Integrated Theoretical
Framework for Corporate Involvement in International Crimes***

**WOOLFORD, Andrew (University of Manitoba, Canada) - *“This
Benevolent Experiment”*: Indigenous Boarding Schools and
Genocide in Canada and the United States**

**MANUKYAN, Lilit (Armenia) - *Ottoman Turkey’s International Legal
Obligations Towards its Armenian Population***

**JOSEM, Jayne (Jewish Holocaust Centre (JHC) in Melbourne,
Australia) - *Genocidal Resonance: Could an Australian Aborigine
Sense the Oncoming Holocaust in 1938?***

11:00 – 11:30 am *Coffee break*

**12:00 pm – 20:00 pm Excursions – Musa Dagh memorial or Yerevan City Tour or
Garni-Geghard (Optional)**



Saturday July 11, 2015

8:30 am, 8:50 am Buses depart from Hotels

9:00 am Registration opens

9:30 - 11:00 am *Concurrent sessions*

ROOM 1

Post-Conflict and Transitional Justice

Chair: WOOLFORD, Andrew (University of Manitoba, Canada)

RALEIGH, Alexandra (University of California, Irvine, USA) - *Collective Catharsis, Transitional Justice, and the Psychopolitics of Post-Conflict Transitions*

HEIN, Patrick (Meiji University Japan) - *From Conflict to Post-conflict Societies in Cambodia and Sri Lanka: Internal and External Factors that Explain the Onset of Radical State Violence and Prospects towards Reconciliation in Sri Lanka and Cambodia*

PARENT, Genevieve (Saint-Paul University in Ottawa, Canada) - *Reconciliation in Bosnia and Herzegovina? Between Denial and Acknowledgement*

ROOM 2

Transgenerational Effects of Genocide

Chair: HOVANNISIAN, Richard G., (Shoah Foundation and Professor Emeritus, UCLA)

FROSIG, Karen (The Vienna Project) - *Negotiating the Culture of Public Memory in Vienna*

BEC-NEUMANN, Janja (Faculty of European Legal and Political Studies, Novi Sad, Vojvodina, Serbia) - *"Legacy of Silence" (In Memory of Dan Bar-On 1938-2008): Double Wall of Silence. Working through after Trauma of Genocides. Reconciliation vs. TRT-To Reflect and Trust Groups after Holocaust and Genocides.*

PERROOMIAN, Rubina (University of California, Los Angeles, USA) - *From Generation to Generation: The Effects of the Traumatic Experience of the Genocide*

ROOM 3

From Memory to Commemoration

Chair: ABRAHAMYAN, Lusine (Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute, Armenia)

BLUSTEIN, Jeffrey (City University of New York, USA) - *Conceptions of Genocide and the Ethics of Memorialization*

OZBEK, Esen (Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada) - *The Coming-to-Memory of the Armenian Genocide: Public Commemorations in Turkey*

NDAYIRAGIJE, Ferdinand, NKURUNZIZA, Emmanuel (York University, Glendon College, Toronto, Canada) - *More than Remembrance: A Comparison of Genocide Commemorations by the Armenians and the Burundians*

ROOM 4

Tools of Genocide Denial

Chair: PORTER, Jack (Harvard University, USA)

CHATTERJEE, Kasturi (Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi) - *Tools of Denial: Comparing the Strategies of Denial by Turkey and Pakistan in the Genocide of Armenians (1915- 1923) and Bangladeshis (1971)*

TATOYAN, Robert (Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute) - *The Statistical Information Collected from the Armenian Genocide Survivors and Refugees as a Source for the Armenian Population Number in Western Armenia on the Eve of the World War I*

ATTALLAH, Maral (Humboldt State University) - *Moving Towards Reconciliation: Addressing Genocide Denial*

11:00 – 11:30 am

Coffee break

11:30 am – 1:00 pm

Concurrent sessions

ROOM 1

Genocide Survivors and Identity

Chair: ANDERSON, Kjell (Netherlands Institute for War, Holocaust, and Genocide Studies (NIOD))

MANUKYAN, Robert - *Running Tears: The Story of One Armenian Family's Experience of the Armenian Genocide from 1915 to 2014*

MILLER, Abigail (Clark University, USA) - *Narratives of Loss: The Significance of Genocide Survivor Refugee Testimony*

KHANUMYAN, Gohar (Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute, Armenia) - *One Gold Coin for One Orphan: Rescue Operations during Armenian Genocide*

SEPPÄLÄ, Serafim (Finland) - *Genocide Descending: Existential Crises of the "Half-Jews" in Poland and "Half-Armenians" in Turkey*

ROOM 2

Genocide, Memorial Places, Discourse

Chair: TATOYAN, Robert (Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute, Armenia)

GISPERT, Jurgen (Germany) - *The Memorial Places of Buchenwald and Tsitsernakaberd: A Comparison*

MARSOOBIAN, Armen (Southern Connecticut State University, USA) - *Memory, Memorialization & Bearing Witness: Contested Memories of the Armenian Genocide in Turkey Today*

MACIOS, Dominika (Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University in Warsaw, Poland) - *Armenian Genocide and Katyń Crime: Review of Iconography of Denied Genocides*



ROOM 3

WEISS-WENDT, Anton (Center for the Study of the Holocaust and Religious Minorities in Oslo, Norway) - *The Soviet Discourse on Genocide and Socialist Armenia*

International Crime and International Justice

Chair: MASSIMINO, Irene (National University of Lomas de Zamora, Argentina, Universidad de Buenos Aires and Universidad Nacional de José C. Paz)

HOLA, Barбора (VU University Amsterdam, Netherlands), van WIJK, Joris - *"I Would Have Done the Same Again": Life After Punishment at International Criminal Tribunals and Rehabilitation of "Enemies of Mankind"*

LINGAAS, Carola (University of Oslo) - *Imagined Identities: Race as Protected Group of the Crime of Genocide*

BOUWKNEGT, Thijs (Netherlands Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies (NIOD)) - *Through the Prism of International Justice: Mass atrocity in Rwanda, DR Congo and Sierra Leone*

ROOM 4

Cultural Genocide

Chair: MULLER, Adam (University of Manitoba, Canada)

BACA, Maya (London School of Economics and Political Science) - *Cultural Genocide*

PINON, Erin (Southern Methodist University) - *Quarried, Carved and Commemorated: The Armenian Khatchk'ar as a Deposit of Genocidal Trauma*

PARSAMYAN, Seda (Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute) - *The Cultural Aspect of Genocide: The Armenian Case*

1:00 – 2:20 pm

Lunch and IAGS Business Meeting

2:20 – 2:25 pm

Presentation of International Journal of Armenian Genocide Studies

2:25 - 2:40 pm

Presentation: "Armenian genocide and Holocaust combined: "Auction of Souls" and unknown WWII footage tracked in the National Archives of Armenia"

2:40 - 4:00 pm

Keynote speaker

HIRSCH Marianne (Columbia University and Director of the Institute for Research on Women, Gender, and Sexuality) - *Forty Days and Move: Collective Histories*

4:00 – 5:30 pm

Concurrent sessions

ROOM 1

Genocide Denial Strategies

Chair: GARIBIAN, Sévane (University of Geneva)

HOVHANNISYAN, Anush (Institute of Oriental Studies, Armenia) - *The Peculiarities of the Armenian Genocide Denial in Modern Turkey*

HOVHANNISYAN, Mari (Armenia) - *Methods and Mechanisms of Centennial Denial of the Armenian Genocide 1915 – 2015*

BASSO, Andrew (University of Calgary, Canada) - *Denying Crimes: Canada's Settler Colonial Genocide and the Ottoman Genocide of Christian Minorities*

MEYER, Kristina (University of Michigan, USA) - *Courts and Armenian Genocide Denial: Denial's Implications for the Availability of Legal Remedies*

ROOM 2

Justice and Memory

Chair: THERIAULT, Henry (Worcester State University, USA)

MASSIMINO, Irene (National University of Lomas de Zamora, Argentina, Universidad de Buenos Aires and Universidad Nacional de José C. Paz) - *A Comparative Study and Overview of the Trials in Argentina, Chile, Guatemala, and Colombia*

BAUL, Tapas (Bangladesh) - *Memory, Justice and Media: Experiences from the International Crimes Tribunal of Bangladesh*

AMIR, Ruth (Yezreel Valley College, Israel) - *Article II (e) of the UNGC: Whether a Dormant Clause, Legal Anachronism, or Potent Provision?*

ROOM 3

Armenian Genocide Survivors and Diaspora

Chair: LOUREIRO, Heitor (São Paulo State University, Brazil (UNESP))

PAVERCHI, Silvia (Federal University of Sergipe, Brazil)- *Who are Armenians in South America?*

KECHICHIAN, Hagop (University of São Paulo, Brazil) - *The Armenian Genocide Survivors in Brazil*

DER GHOUGASSIAN, Khachik (Universidad de San Andrés and Universidad Nacional de Lanus in Argentina) - *The Southern Input: Genocide Knowledge-Building in South America and the Armenian Case*

ROOM 4

Arts, Imagination and Narration of Genocide

Chair: BALAKIAN, Peter (Colgate University, USA)

ARZOUMANIAN, Ana (FLACSO University Buenos Aires, Argentina) - *"Law's aesthetic dimension, the theatrical language as a cultural device in the conception of bodies video-art"*

AHMED, Osman (Kurdology Centre for Kurdish Studies, University of Sulaimani Kurdistan Regional Government), *Documenting the Anfal: The Kurdish Genocide (1988) Through Drawing*

ZYLBERMAN, Lior (Universidad Nacional de Tres de Febrero, Argentina) - *Cultural Memory of the Rwandan genocide. An approach from the cinema*



Sunday July 12, 2015

8:30 am, 8:50 am Buses departs from the Hotels

9:00 am Registration opens

9:30 - 11:00 am *Concurrent sessions*

ROOM 1

Outside Powers – Humanitarianism and Responce

Chair: GUDEHUS, Christian (Ruhr University Bochum, Germany)

MELKONIAN, Arda (UCLA, USA) - *Types of Intervention during the Armenian Genocide*

LOUREIRO, Heitor (São Paulo State University, Brazil (UNESP) - *Humanitarianism and Emerging Powers: The Brazilian and Canadian Responses to the Armenian Genocide*

DARBINIYAN, Asya (Clark University, USA) - *The Armenian Genocide and Russian Response*

VARNAVA, Andrekos (Flinders University, Belgium) - *Betrayed Promises: Entente Imperialism and Humanitarianism and the Legion d'Orient*

ROOM 2

Museums and Memorial places of Genocide

Chair: DEMOYAN, Hayk (Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute, Armenia)

MULLER, Adam (University of Manitoba, Canada), SINCLAIR, Struan (University of Manitoba, Canada) - *“Virtually’ Representing a Group’s Destruction: Reflections on Technology and Method”*

SAMPLE, Emily (Holocaust Museum Houston, USA) - *Teaching the Armenian Genocide in Holocaust Museums: Education as Genocide Prevention*

ROOM 3

Post-Genocide. Rescue and Reintegration

Chair: GA’FAR, Khadeega M (American University in Cairo, Egypt)

ABRAHAMYAN, Lousine (Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute, Armenia) - *Treating Post-Genocide Trauma, Strategy for Social Integration: Near East Relief and the Armenian Orphans*

JINKS, Rebecca (University of East Anglia, UK) - *“Marks Hard to Erase”: The Rescue and Repatriation of “Absorbed” Armenian Women Survivors, 1919-1927*

MELKONIAN, Doris (UCLA, USA) - *Tattooed: Boundaries of Inclusion and Exclusion*

- ROOM 4**
- Survivors and Memory Narratives**
Chair: PEROOMIAN, Rubina (UCLA, USA)
- OHANJANYAN, Anna (Yerevan State University, Armenia) - “Yergir” as the Paradigm of Lost Paradise: the Concept of “Heaven” among Armenian Genocide Survivors**
- SARIKAYA, Cafer (Boğaziçi University, Istanbul, Turkey) - Food Narratives in Fethiye Çetin’s My Grandmother**
- JARVIS, Helen (Cambodia) - Beyond Bones: The Continuing Presence of Victims of the Khmer Rouge Regime in Today’s Cambodia**
- 11:30 – 12:00 am** *Coffee break*
- 12:00 – 1:30 pm** *Concurrent sessions*
- ROOM 1**
- Post-Genocide Trauma Experiences**
Chair: VON JOEDEN-FORGEY, Elisa (Stockton University, USA)
- FEIERSTEIN, Daniel (Universidad Nacional de Tres de Febrero, Argentina) - Why is Genocide so Effective? Some Reflections on the Role of Terror in Constructing Memory Processes and Identity**
- ALSOP, Christiane (Lesley University, USA), COWAN, Sylvia (Lesley University, USA) - Children of Victims and Perpetrators: Comparing Experiences of Trauma after the Nazi Regime in Germany and the Khmer Rouge Regime in Cambodia**
- TEVOSYAN WILLOUGHBY, Hasmik, WILLOUGHBY, Roger (Newman University, Birmingham, UK) - Contemporary Identity, Culture and Trauma in the Wake of the Armenian Genocide**
- ROOM 2**
- Memory and Aftermath of Genocide**
Chair: SHERMAN, Marc (Institute on the Holocaust and Genocide, Jerusalem, Israel)
- MARUTYAN, Harutyun (Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography, Armenia) - The Memory of Armenian Genocide as a Factor in Armenian Revolution/Karabagh Movement (1988-1990)**
- DREYFUS, Jean-Marc (University of Manchester, UK) - Sainly Remains? The Transfer of Ashes after the Holocaust**
- GAYDOSH, Brenda (West Chester University of Pennsylvania, USA) - Forgiveness or Forbearance: Rwanda 20 Years Later**
- ROOM 3**
- Arts and Genocide**
Chair: HINTON, Alex (Rutgers University, Newark, USA)
- HOFMANN, Tessa (Freie Universität Berlin, Germany) - “Only Those Who Look Back, Move Forward”: Four Literary Responses to Genocidal Trauma in Greek and Transnational Prose**
- BALAKIAN, Peter (Colgate University, USA) - Elia Kazan’s America, America and the Armenian Massacres of the 1890s**



ROOM 4

CASTRO, Azucena (Stockholm University, Sweden) - *A literary analysis on the Representations of Perpetrators: Perpetrators' Role in Mass Violence in the XX Century context*

POMERANZ, Laura (UNAM, National Autonomous University of Mexico, Mexico) - *Split Between Truth and Depiction: Contemporary Art and Cambodian Genocide*

Armenian Genocide Reparation Issue
Chair:

GZOYAN, Edita (Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute, Armenia) - *Claiming Reparations for the Armenian Genocide: the European Court of Human Rights*

THERIAULT, Henry (Worcester State University, USA) - *The Armenian Genocide Reparations Study Group Final Report*

ANKESHIAN, Tamar (Australia) - *Punishing Genocidal Crimes: The issue of reparations and the limited capacity of international justice Limitations of International Justice – The Armenian Genocide*

1:30 and 2:00 pm *Lunch*

2:00 – 3:10 pm *Concurrent sessions*

ROOM 1

Genocide Education

Chair: WILLIAMS, Tim (Marburg University, Germany)

BENTROVATRO, Denise (Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research in Braunschweig, Germany) - *Teaching about Conflict and Genocide in Central Africa: A Comparative Analysis of Experiences and Lessons from Rwanda and Burundi*

MAITLES, Henry (University of the West of Scotland, UK) - *“That Given the Tiniest Reason People will Turn Against Each Other”:* *The Impact of an Innovative Approach to Teaching and Learning About Genocide in a Secondary (High) School in the West of Scotland.*

ROOM 2

Genocide Denial

Chair: MARSOOBIAN, Armen (Southern Connecticut State University)

KABATSI, Freda (Catholic University of Eastern Africa, Nairobi, Kenya) - *Drawing Parallels and Divergences: A Comparison between Laws against Genocide Denial Regarding the Armenian and Rwandan Genocides*

WAINTRATER, Meir (France) - *Genocide Denial as a Symbolic Re-enactment of Genocide Itself*

MERENICS, Éva (Hungary) - *Inner Logical Incoherence of Armenian Genocide Denial*

ROOM 3

**Understanding and Engagement through Art: Images and the Teaching of Genocide
WORKSHOP**

MULLER, Adam (University of Manitoba, Canada) and JONES, Adam (University of British Columbia, Canada)

3:10 and 4:00 pm *Closing Ceremony*

Cancellation of Stamp dedicated to Twelfth Meeting of the International Association of Genocide Scholars



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**CONFERENCE PAPERS
ABSTRACTS**

Thursday July 9, 2015

9:30 – 11:00 am

Concurrent sessions

ROOM 1

Predict to Prevent Genocide

Chair: FRIEZE, Donna (Deakin University, Australia)

VERDEJA, Ernesto (University of Notre Dame, USA) - *Predicting Genocide and Mass Atrocities: The State of Knowledge*

This paper examines several current risk assessment and early warning models to predict genocide and mass killing. Risk assessment (RA) concerns a country's long-term structural conditions (ethnic divisions, regime type, etc.) that determine overall risk for mass killing. Early warning (EW) focuses on short/midterm dynamics that can trigger violence. The paper evaluates contemporary RA and EW forecast modeling, and asks: How well can we predict mass killing and genocide? What are the strengths and limitations to current predictive modeling? Part I examines four quantitative (statistical) models and identifies three key advances in RA research and several challenges concerning data quality and model specification, as well as limitations for quantitative EW modeling. Part II investigates several qualitative (case study) and multimethod approaches, including the model outlined by the UN Office of the Special Adviser for the Prevention of Genocide and several nongovernmental human rights organizations. The paper discusses two contributions of these approaches to EW, but notes several serious obstacles. Part III makes three arguments on the limits of predictive modeling and sketches how to combine general modeling and 'expert knowledge' approaches. It counsels realistic expectations of the contributions of quantitative approaches that employ 'big data.'

PORTER, Jack (Harvard University, USA) - *Can Mathematical Models Predict Genocide?*

The short answer to this question is--yes, it can. Genocide is fairly easy to predict; it is intervention that is difficult. Based on my earlier work in my book "Genocide and Human Rights: A Global Anthology" (1982: 15-18), I expanded my initial seven variables of prediction to ten and found some interesting things: first, pervasive racist or biological ideologies or a strong powerful leader or even strong territorial ambitions were NOT powerful predictive factors; however, the following were: war or civil war; a powerful military, and an isolated location with little important oil, gas, mineral, or strategic importance. Multivariate and correlative analysis, a statistical method easily taught to students can be used to predict genocide. There is no need for fancy mathematical models or even large number of variables. However, some variables are subjective--for example, is Rwanda an example of a racist ideology even though both parties were African? Were Cambodia or Darfur examples of territorial ambition?

In any case, all these issues make for good classroom discussion and case study research.

O'BRIEN, Mel (University of Queensland, Australia) - *From Discrimination to Death: Genocidal Process through a Human Rights Lens*

It has been said that "The best way to take control over a people and control them utterly is to take a little of their freedom at a time, to erode rights by a thousand tiny and almost imperceptible reductions. In this way, the people will not see those rights and freedoms being removed until past the point at which these changes cannot be reversed." Through Nazi policies and actions in Germany and other states, Hitler demonstrated how devastatingly incisive this statement was.

This paper will assess the genocidal process through a human rights lens. Every aspect of the genocidal process results in human rights violations, for example from restrictions on freedom of expression (such

as through the burning of books), progressing through to widespread discrimination (such as by denial of employment for certain groups), before eventually resulting in violations of fundamental rights such as freedom from torture and of course the right to life.

Through an examination of this path taken in past genocides, a framework can be developed through which observations of human rights violations can be assessed in order to determine whether a current situation has the potential to lead to genocide. This paper will examine the genocidal path of human rights violations using examples from past genocides, demonstrating some of the human rights violations encountered on the path to genocide, with reference to policies and actions, and survivor experiences, exposing the success in the gradual manifestation of human rights violations leading to genocide..

ROOM 2

Ideology of Genocide

Chair: MANUKYAN, Suren (Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute, Armenia)

BREHM, Hollie (Ohio State University, USA) - *Community Determinants of Genocide*

In 1994, nearly one million people were killed in just several months in the small country of Rwanda. While social science has made large strides in understanding why genocides like this occur, we know much less about how genocides unfold at sub-national levels. In this article, I analyze community-level rates of genocidal violence during the 1994 genocide in Rwanda. Drawing upon data on these deaths and building on perspectives from criminology and the study of political and ethnic violence, my modeling specifies factors that influence community-level rates of genocidal crime. Findings reveal two fundamental attributes of place that have implications for violence generally and genocide in particular. First, community organization and cohesion are associated with lower rates of killing. Second, the spread of ideology through the education system and the radio influenced higher rates of killings. Taken together, this suggests that community organization and ideology are key factors for understanding the rate of genocidal violence when community members perpetrate the violence.

ONYIA, Chukwuma (George Mason University, USA) - *Re-Conceptualizing the Preludes to the Events of 1967-1970 in Nigeria: Civil War or Genocide*

A renewed interest in the events of 1967 -1970 in Nigeria (often referred to as 'the Nigeria –Biafra war'), among academia, particularly genocide scholars, has been growing. However, scholars of this nascent field seem to be polarized along two axes: those who argue for the merit of the events as a genocidal act, and those who opine otherwise. The confusion hinges on the establishing an intent of the Nigerian state/army to destroy the Biafran nation. Efforts to demonstrate the above, which hitherto focused on assessing the tactical and technical execution of the process by the Nigerian military, conditions of the Biafra civilians, especially children and women, during this period and the consequences of the event on the Biafrans, seems to be ineffective. This paper argues that the genocidal merit of the event lay in its cause. This is traceable to the frictions generated by the interplay of the efforts of the Hausa-Fulani ruling elites to sustain apparent cultural differences between their group and the Ibos, motivated by their desire to perpetuate their exploitation of the former. Situating this discourse within Lemkin's framework of genocide under the pretext of war, it posits that, the Hausa-Fulani elites' by design whipped up religious sentiments among their subjects, stigmatized the Ibos, created a public hysteria, and orchestrated systematic attacks on the Ibos from 1952 – 1967. Thus, these actions, thoughtfully planned and executed with British support, and through the gaze of the international community, amount to a cultural genocide.

GA'FAR, Khadeega M (American University in Cairo, Egypt) - *Ideology that predicts Genocide: on Arendt's Origins of Totalitarianism*

No philosopher has been influenced by the terror of Genocide more than the prominent political philosopher of the twentieth century, Hannah Arendt. In the years after the World War II, she had been thinking, analyzing and interpreting the Holocaust, digging into its deep origins and looking into its barely visible realities. The whole intellectual project of Hannah Arendt could be viewed as a reflection on the

Political horrific events in Europe after the rise of Nazi and also as consequence to it; especially her work, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. In my view, Arendt adopted a macroscopic perspective that might interpret Genocide. In her book, she positioned the phenomenon in its place in the European history; in addition, she positioned Nazism in the context of European ideologies and politics. As a result, the Holocaust turned to be an understandable result of Europe's history and politics rather than a non-understandable aberration to Europe's project of Enlightenment.

In my paper, I am investigating the argument of Arendt: How did she relate anti-Semitism, imperialism and totalitarianism in one interpretive paradigm? And how did she articulate a moral concept which is the "evil" to understand racism and Nazism. To what extent her concept of radical evil was interpretive to the policies of Nazism? Finally, I would illustrate how the Major Genocide of the twentieth century influenced its contemporary political philosophy and thought taking *The Origins of Totalitarianism* as an example.

ROOM 3

Technology of Genocide Killings

Chair: KHOSROEVA, Anahit (Institute of History, Armenia)

KHACHATRYAN, Shushan (Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute, Armenia) - The Clash of Religions in Course of the Armenian Genocide

This research deals with the factor and the forms of religious clashes in course of the Armenian Genocide. One of the most essential factors of organizing and committing genocides is the factor of religious diversity between the perpetrators and the victims. Although the religious beliefs do not necessarily raise mass killings and genocides, religions can be guiding principles and special tools for committing genocides.

We specifically intend to discuss some aspects of the clash between Turkish Islam and Armenian Christianity during the Armenian Genocide, paying special attention to the conversions to Islam. In the case of the Armenian Genocide certain number of Armenians survived by converting to Islam, mostly under the pressure of the persecutors. For obtaining more or less complete picture questions like the following and their answers will be presented:

- how can religion be used for political purposes,
- were the Armenians killed only because of their ethnicity and not because of their faith,
- what was the role of religion for the Young Turks within final decision-making process of slaughtering.

The answers of these questions can be found in the eyewitness accounts of missionaries and other evidences. The purpose of this study is not the criticism of any of religions, but a scholarly unbiased research of the issue that is overlooked very often.

BOULGOURDJIAN, Nelida (University of Tres de Febrero, Argentina) -

Ways of aggression towards children during episodes of state terrorism: the cases of the Armenian genocide and the Argentinian military dictatorship in comparative perspective

The 20th century was torn by violent acts, caused by some States who paradoxically, far from exercising the role of protecting its citizens and/or extending their rights, applied policies of extermination against a social segment, with tacit or effective complicity or through the silence of the population as a whole. In this way, these crimes are characterized by the clear intention to eliminate a particular group, due either to their cultural-ethnic origin or for belonging to a particular political or social group.

The State can build a hegemonic power which controls its population, it regulates it with its power of "have them killed or let them live" (Daniel Feierstein, *Genocidio*). That is, those who in certain contexts, take over people's lives, can not only exert a "power of death" over them but also a "power of life".

In this paper some advances of ongoing research are presented; the violence of State in two historical moments from a comparative perspective, in order to understand the events, times and contexts. A particular aspect of the Armenian genocide of 1915 and of the Argentinian military dictatorship in the 1970s: the treatment of children during those processes will be studied. The subject awakened my interest due to my closeness to them and for having realized that in both cases children of the

population chosen as the enemy were treated in a special way.

To achieve this approach the sources used are diverse: publications of ideologists of the Armenian Genocide, speeches of those responsible for the military dictatorship in Argentina, testimony of survivors and diverse secondary sources.

OGATA, Tetsushi (University of California, Berkeley, USA) - *Self-perpetual Forms of Communist Mass Killings in the Soviet Union, China, and Cambodia*

This paper discusses the processes of how threats are woven into the murderous societies under the community rule of the former Soviet Union, China, and Cambodia. Threat alone does not drive people to kill but some threats can dictate the entire social apparatus of the killing machinery. The threat analysis of the communist mass killing seeks a heuristically emergent view of 'threat as a process,' wherein the framing of what is threatening is relationally determined in an array of multiple social relations and therefore its meaning is constantly in flux with the passage of time. In the threat system, threat is what binds the past and the future, projecting the fear of the future generative needs of identity onto the present reality. The agents are predisposed to exercise threats in order to maintain the credibility of their control of the system, especially when they perceive looming prospects of further loss. However, threats that the parties perceive or exert are not static at different points in time, even if their means and objectives remain constant. When the threat system is in place, the relational dynamics would be negative-sum. The labeling of identity becomes ideational and therefore enemy identities are no longer ineliminable. The exercise of threats becomes self-perpetual and self-reinforcing as the system is increasingly averse to endogenous changes.

ROOM 4

**New Horizons in Perpetrator Research I: Genocidal institutions
Chair: JESSEE, Erin (University of Strathclyde in Glasgow, UK)**

ÜNGÖR, Ugur Ümit (Utrecht University, Netherlands) - *Understanding Paramilitaries: A Comparative Examination of their Rationale and Logic*

Paramilitarism refers to clandestine, irregular armed organizations that carry out acts of violence against clearly defined civilian individuals or groups. It has immense importance for understanding the processes of violence that are played out during ethnic conflicts, which often see the formation of paramilitary units that conduct counter-insurgency operations, scorched earth campaigns, and violence against civilians including genocide.

Indeed, many studies of genocide have convincingly demonstrated the central role of paramilitary organizations in the perpetration of genocide. But so far we lack a conceptual understanding of how these units can contribute to large-scale violence, and how they influence state-society relations. Whereas their actions in various Latin American countries have been relatively well researched, paramilitary units also appeared in several European ethnic conflicts in the 1990s and committed widespread violations of human rights, for example in Yugoslavia, Chechnya, and Turkey. Preliminary investigation of these paramilitary units revealed two puzzling patterns: they maintained close links with political elites including heads of state, and they were largely drawn from the social milieu of organized crime. This paper examines the perpetration of mass violence by paramilitary groups in these conflicts by addressing the following questions: How can we conceptualize the relationship between the state and the paramilitaries? How did the perpetrators function and imagine their roles in the conflict?

ANDERSON, Kjell (Netherlands Institute for War, Holocaust, and Genocide Studies (NIOD) - *Perpetrator Mobilization in Terrorism and Genocide: A Comparative Analysis*

There is no such thing as a typical perpetrator of genocide. This variability is a product of the mobilization of genocide through state power – the state has wide-ranging legal and normative power to coax and compel participation in genocide. Terrorism, in contrast, is often committed by non-state actors who do not possess this same ability to demand compliance. In this paper I will examine the differences and

similarities between genocide and terrorism in terms of perpetrator mobilization. More specifically, I propose to examine pathways to joining and the moral frameworks of perpetrators. How do individuals come to be involved in acts of terrorism and genocide? I will compare Rwanda, as a case of genocide, Al Qaeda, as a terrorist group, and ISIS, as a 'hybrid' case. My comparative framework will draw from my field research with perpetrators in Rwanda, as well as the early stages of my research into ISIS foreign fighters. Consequently, I will discuss the phenomenon of foreign fighters and draw comparisons between foreign volunteers in the SS and ISIS and argue that such foreign fighters tend to be more entrepreneurial with personalized motivations rather than the 'structural participation' of typical participants in genocide. Through analyzing the similarities and differences between participation in terrorism and participation in genocide I hope to draw some general conclusions about the nature of genocide and terrorism as social and criminal phenomena.

SALIAH, Kaziwa (Queen's University, Kingston, Canada) - *Facing Change or Changing Face? The Face of Kurdish Female Fighters during Genocide*

Genocide and the media both underestimate and victimize women, in different ways. The structures contain an identical substance, with different means to meet their ends. Advertisements of women's figures started during the world wars. Images of women and children became the connective link between national security and security at home, duty to country and duty to family. Wartime propaganda always strove to make people adapt to the irregular conditions of war and adapt their priorities and moral standards to fulfill the needs of wartime. During peacetime, the media misrepresents women as well. Female characters' portrayal in the media focuses on physical appearance, sexual appeal, and romantic success; women appear most often as housewives, mothers, or objects of desire. Can the Kurdish female fighters' struggle against ISIL transform the representation of women in war and the media?

This paper aims to identify the objectification of women in both. Firstly, it highlights the representation of woman in wartime mainly as a passive body, a defenseless victim of rape, requiring brave men to defend and protect her; examples are Ezidi and Armenian women. Secondly, it explores the way in which war has encouraged underrepresentation of women in the media and altered their depiction, primarily to emphasize their sexual appeal. Consequently, many of the images of the sexes the media perpetuate stereotypes and limited perceptions. This theme does not only describe how the media represents genders but also how war puts a gendered lens to the genocide process and normalizes violence against women during genocide and war.

Finally, this paper outlines the role of Kurdish female freedom fighters against ISIL in transforming the identity of women in war and the media by modifying them from their sympathetic, passive traits to an active voice with extraordinary physical and mental abilities.

FERRARA, Antonio (National Agency for the Evaluation of Universities and Research Institutes, Italy) - *Refugeedom and mass violence in the twentieth-century world*

Refugees are usually – and rightly so – considered as quintessential victims of mass violence, and sometimes treated by policymakers, relief workers and later scholars as if deprived of any kind of agency by their own condition. Recent, welcome efforts to change that image of agentless 'objects', rather than subjects, of history have, however, overlooked the darker aspects of this agency – that is, the role that incoming refugees have played in displacing others, and/or as actors of violence (sometimes on a mass scale) in the places of arrival. Yet, in the twentieth century refugees have been not only victims but also beneficiaries and sometimes even perpetrators of mass violence: in some cases, as they have embarked on a violent search for restitution and reversal of fortune; in others, as their plight has served to justify policies involving the dispossession and/or displacement of other populations.

The latter instance has been by far the more common one, with forced migrants taking over – sometimes reluctantly – houses, business and other assets belonging to populations previously displaced or dispossessed for other reasons. However, in the Ottoman and post-Ottoman space as well as in post-Partition South Asia, refugees themselves have become actors of violence, as they have joined staffed

– sometimes in leading positions – institutions and organizations deeply involved in the enactment of mass violence, like the Ottoman ‘Special Organization’ or the Sikh *jathas* active in Punjab during and immediately after the Partition of 1947.

11:30 am – 1:00 pm *Concurrent sessions*

ROOM 1

Nationalism, Rhetoric and State Building during the Genocide

Chair: FEIERSTEIN, Daniel (Universidad Nacional de Tres de Febrero, Argentina)

EGGERS, Joe (University of Minnesota, USA) - *Native Americans and Armenians: Exploring nationalism in genocidal violence*

April 24th marks the 100th anniversary of the Armenian Genocide, widely considered to be one of the first modern genocides. However, this was not the first time a state had committed a mass atrocity against a domestic minority group. Less than generation before, the United States embarked on a systematic plan to destroy its own people. Within a century of its founding, the United States had eliminated more than 90% of its pre-independence indigenous population. On the surface, there are some similarities between the Armenian and Native American genocides. Both the Armenian and Native American populations were social and cultural minorities seeking independence from a mostly homogenous state. Similarly, both genocides were part of a larger sweeping nationalism that took hold in the Ottoman, and later, Turkish state and the United States. The combination of a desire for independence coupled with their minority statuses made the Armenian and American Indian populations easy targets for elimination by their respective states. From this, an important question is raised: can we understand the role of nationalism in perpetrating the Native American genocide by looking at nationalism in Turkey during the 1900’s?

The purpose of this paper is to better understand the how nationalism in nineteenth century American history led to genocide by comparing it to early twentieth century Turkey. Specifically I will be examining the Young Turk movement and the Jacksonian Democrats.

**GALUSTYAN, Regina (Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute, Armenia)
- *The Idea of Homogenisation of Asia Minor as a Key Element of Construction of Turkish Identity***

The development of Turkish nationalism began with the tremendous shock after the defeat in the Balkan Wars (1912-13). There was an opinion, that “The Turks, who weren’t able to say ‘I exist’ before the Balkan Wars, now could say these words and even craft a plan for nationalization”. At the same time the CUP elite was struggling for control over the government and began to use a new weapon— Turkish nationalism.

The consequence of The Balkan was the loss of “Rumelia”. The continuous military defeats that the Ottoman Empire experienced throughout the nineteenth century have created deep despair among the governing elite. Moreover the Armenian question had become an international issue once again in the wake of the wars. The Unionist leaders sensed that the debate on reforms for the Armenian provinces would affect the political future of the last territories remaining under the Ottoman control. Fear of reforms as a prelude for creation of Armenian state was critical factor in the genocide decision-making process. Asia Minor especially the western part of it, had become the focus of nationalist interests, because it was considered to be the heart of a new Turkish state.

So the paper will study the process of emerging the idea of extermination of indigenous Christian people of Asia Minor for creation of the new Turkish homeland and develop on it the Turkish identity free from non-Turkish elements.

STRAUS, Scott (University of Wisconsin, Madison, USA) - *Making and Unmaking Nations: War, Leadership, and Genocide in Modern Africa*

This paper summarizes a decade of research on why genocide happens in some cases but not in others. Based on a forthcoming book, the paper privileges the study of non-genocides--cases that have the ingredients of genocide but that do not result in large-scale, mass violence. The paper presents a theoretical argument that emphasizes the importance of both ideological and strategic drivers of genocide (and non-genocide). The empirical analysis is based on a comparative study of two genocide cases (Rwanda and Darfur) and three non-genocide cases (Mali, Senegal, and Côte d'Ivoire). The paper should contribute to one of the conference themes, namely on the future of the comparative study of genocide, as I make an argument for studying negative cases as well as for more focused historical and geographic comparative analysis than is often the case in other comparative studies of genocide.

DEMOYAN, Hayk (Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute, Armenia) - *Speaking on Kurds, hinting on Armenians. The Kurdish issue in the official rhetoric of Turkish political and military leadership*

The presentation will be accompanied by slides containing quotations from the speeches and open remarks made by the leaders of the Republican Turkey on crystallization of nationalistic rhetoric of Turkish officials on the Kurdish issue. Until recently Turkish presidents, ministers and military leaders have clearly and publicly rejected the existence of Kurdish identity and of separate ethnic community in the country from the very beginning of the establishment of the Republican Turkey in late 1923. One of the main mottos for the building such a nationalistic paradigm was the well-known expression of the father-founder of modern Turkey – Kemal Ataturk, who said: “What a happiness to be a Turk.” The latter was a mandatory tantric quotation to be repeated for all school-children in Turkey, including minorities.

ROOM 2

Gendered Genocide

Chair: O'BRIEN, Mel (University of Queensland, Australia)

DER GHOUGASSIAN, Khachik (Universidad de San Andrés and Universidad Nacional de Lanus in Argentina) - *The (Other) Great Silence: Gender and Genocide in the Armenian and Argentine Cases*

The Armenian play writer Berdj Zeitountsians coined the concept of the Great Silence in the title of one of his plays about the Armenian Genocide. It referred to the silencing of the crime committed against the Armenian people. The global mobilization of the Armenian diaspora since 1965 aimed at breaking this silence. Fifty years after, the historical fact of the Armenian Genocide has gained widespread recognition despite the ongoing Turkish politics of denial and its followers. The other silence, the silence about the fate of the Armenian women during the Genocide and, especially, the fate of the rescued ones, of those who returned to their community from their captivity and of those who revealed their identity to their great children, has remained a taboo until Rupina Peroomian, Susan Khardalian and Fethiye Cetin started to break it. This paper puts the silence about the fate of the Armenian women during the Genocide in the wider conceptual context of gender and genocide, not only to review and discuss the efforts of breaking the taboo but also to address the deeper cause of the persisting reluctance this taboo. It also highlights the double victimization of the female members of the Argentine resistance against the 1976-1983 dictatorship during their detention by the military and after their release in the process of their social reintegration, to compare it with the Armenian case.

HAGAN, John (Northwestern University, USA), KAISER, Joshua (Northwestern University, USA) - *Gendered Genocide: The Socially Destructive Process of Genocidal Rape, Killing, and Displacement in Darfur*

Accounts of mass atrocities habitually focus on one kind of violence and its archetypal victim, inviting uncritical, ungendered misconceptions: e.g., rape only impacts women; genocide is only about dead,

battle-aged men. We approach collective violence as multiple, intersecting forms of victimization, targeted and experienced through differential social identities, and translated throughout communities. Through mixed-method analyses of Darfuri refugees' testimonies, we show (a) gendered causes and collective effects of selective killing, sexual violence, and anti-livelihood crimes, (b) how they cause displacement, (c) that they can be genocidal and empirically distinct from non-genocidal forms, (d) how the process of genocidal social destruction can work, and (e) how it does work in Darfur. Darfuris are victimized through gender roles, yielding a gendered meaning-making process that communicates socially destructive messages through crimes that selectively target other genders. The collective result is displacement and destruction of Darfuris' ways of life: genocide.

LINDERT, Jutta (University of Emden in Germany) - Transgenerational Transmission of Genocide? Evidence from a Systematic Review

The concept of transgenerational or multigenerational impact of genocide on health (mental, physical and social health) investigates the long-term consequences of genocide on health. This study aimed at 1) assessing data from studies on inter- and/or multigenerational impact of the Armenian genocide, the Holocaust and the genocide in Bosnia on mental- (e.g. posttraumatic stress disorder, disorders of extreme stress not otherwise specified, externalizing symptoms) and social health (relationships and attachment behaviors) of survivors and perpetrators and at 2) analyzing its differential long-term impact on men and women. Methods: We conducted a systematic literature review genocide and health with the key words "genocide", "Holocaust", "mental", depression, "anxiety", loneliness, posttraumatic stress disorder in the databases PUBMED, Psychinfo and EMBASE. We used the following inclusion-, and exclusion criteria: empirical studies with more than 100 participants; use of a validated instrument for assessing mental- and social health outcomes; non-clinical samples and time of assessment: at least 10 years after the genocide. Results: A large amount of studies investigated long term effects of genocides on mental and social health. Levels of posttraumatic stress disorder, disorders of extreme stress not otherwise specified, and externalizing symptoms varied between groups and altered relationships were reported. Exact data, including attributable risk (AR) for genocide and psychopathology and changes in relationships will be provided in the talk. Discussion: The results suggest that further studies are necessary to determine whether mental health symptoms, relationships- and attachment behaviors are relevant to the assessment the transgenerational or multigenerational impact effects of genocides.

ROOM 3

Genocide Prevention and Responsibility to Prevent

Chair: VERDEJA, Ernesto (University of Notre Dame, USA)

RINN, Michael (Université de Bretagne Occidentale, France) - How Can Discourse Analysis Contribute to Genocide Prevention?

The fight against racist and hate activists on the Internet requires strong determination from legislators as well as the definition of transcontinental legal standards implemented by service providers. But most of all, it needs education and awareness-raising of and by citizens with regard to what is at stake on websites dedicated to the apology of genocide: what should be the private and public places dedicated to the memory of genocides, what usage should be given to the diffusion of knowledge on the Internet, and how social sciences can contribute to prevent genocide? Our assumption is that contemporary protocols used against hate and racist propaganda fail because they don't take into account the communicative complexity of the new media. Our comparative study of the Holocaust denial, as well as the denial of the genocide of the Tutsi in Rwanda 94 shows how Internet communication plays a key role in destabilizing the processes for diffusing historical knowledge. Furthermore, the implementation of communication networks was inefficient in avoiding in Rwanda, Srebrenica and the Darfur genocide. Last, new media technologies especially used by the social sciences widely lack appropriate methodology to understand the *meaning-making practices* of revisionist websites. In this paper, I will discuss a new method for Multimodal Rhetorical Analysis to show how genocide denial

precisely seeks to manipulate the online community by using multiple modes of communication. By the interaction of discourses, images, colors and sounds, they try to make tolerable the intolerable reality of genocide and to make the irrational outcome of past and contemporary genocide politics seem rational.

GUTIÉRREZ, Ricardo Javier Cárdenas (Museum of Memory and Tolerance in Mexico City, Mexico) - *Changes and Continuities in Mexican Multilateralism: From Non-Intervention to Responsibility to Protect*

During almost all XX century Mexican foreign policy was constructed and based over the strict interpretation of non-intervention. This policy responded to many factors, one of them was the constant intervention of US in internal affairs. But in nineties, with the end of cold war and the gradual opening of the economy and political structure, Mexico had a change in internal and foreign affairs. One of them was in the interpretation between the relation of the State and the international regime of human rights.

As a result, Mexican multilateralism approached to United Nations' debates related with the Responsibility to Project (R2P), which tries to prevent the commitment of mass murders and stop massive crimes like genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity. During these debates, Mexico had an important participation during the formulation and attempts to codification of R2P in UN's General Assembly and UN Security Council. Which factors explains that Mexican foreign policy had a change from a strict defense of non-intervention to have a positive and constructive position towards Responsibility to Protect? What can a middle-power like Mexico do to strengthen human rights' international regime and specially the mechanism of collective action to prevent mass atrocities in a world dominated by interest and great powers politics?

NIEWIŃSKI, Jakub (Academy of Special Education, Poland), ROMANOWSKI, Michal (Middle School in Lisewo Malborskie, Poland) – *“Active Memory of Tomorrow”*: How Nowadays to tell Young Generation about Prevention the Crimes against the Humanity?

Memory is this particular reality, where we are all equal, it is egalitarian, does not divide people into good and bad. This is one of the basic functions of our mind. How to teach about the memory and not to trivialize it, to interested young man in the twenty-first century?

Active Memory will be possible only if it becomes passionate advocate of life, advocate of young people open to new challenges convinced that memory of the past is a part of their own identity that must be cared. For many years we have been teaching about the Holocaust and we've been trying to break stereotypes related Jews and their history. With students we have been implementing lots of educational projects based on Holocaust Education and Human Rights issues. We are going to share with our experiences. During our presentation we will show educators/teachers how we can connect together teaching about crimes against humanity with anti-discrimination education using creative methods to increase among students tolerance and the empathy for others. We will ask very important questions: How can we most effectively teach about prevention of crimes against humanity in our present-day context? For example we would like to reflect how to use the historical context of Shoah and the Roma Genocide. We will show some photos, parts of movies and testimonies (prepared by the Institute for the Visual History and Education UCS Shoah Foundation) as tools for teaching. We will reflect also on the difference between terms: the Holocaust, Shoah, crimes against humanity and genocide (compare “Rome Statute 1998”, “Human Rights Declaration” and “Prague Declaration”).

ROOM 4

**New Horizons in Perpetrator Research II: Individual Perpetrators
Chair - ANDERSON, Kjell (Netherlands Institute for War, Holocaust, and Genocide Studies)**

GRIGORYAN, Hasmik (Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography, Armenia) - *The Ordinary Executors of the Armenian Genocide: Functional Peculiarities of Perpetrator Children's' Participation*

In order to understand mass violence, massacres and genocides, as well as to prevent their organization and implementation it is necessary to conduct a research of conviction of different social groups, the concerns they have, their goals and motives for participation in mass violence. During the massacres and genocide committed against the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire the classification and analysis of functional peculiarities of perpetrator children's participation gives an opportunity to reveal the main reasons and objectives that led to their implementation. In particular, the analysis of different sources regarding the participation of Muslim children in the massacres and genocide against Armenians at the end of the 19th – beginning of the 20th century shows that children have often appeared to be immediate participants, teens pursued the same age Armenians (intergroup conflicts between Armenian and Muslim children), and children violated corpses while imitating adults.

JESSEE, Erin (University of Strathclyde in Glasgow, UK) - *Approaching Perpetrators in Post-Genocide Rwanda: Victimhood and Social Death in the Narratives of Convicted Génocidaires*

This paper emerges from a workshop held at the Liu Institute for Global Issues at the University of British Columbia in 2014 on "Approaching Perpetrators: Ethnographic Insights on Ethics, Methods, and Theory." I apply the ethical, methodological and theoretical advances discussed in the workshop papers to my research with convicted génocidaires: Rwandan men and women who for various reasons committed crimes during the 1994 genocide ranging from the mass murder of members of the nation's Tutsi minority population to looting their victims' properties. I approach post-genocide Rwanda as a highly politicized research setting in which the government seeks to control how people speak about the 1994 genocide and its perpetrators, posing a particular challenge for researchers. Within this context, I then frame the convicted génocidaires I interviewed as complex political actors who typically composed their life histories in a manner that emphasized their status as victims, rather than perpetrators. Of particular importance, génocidaires argued that they too had suffered immeasurable losses surrounding the genocide, yet were being punished disproportionately for their crimes. In the process of being convicted, they then endured the additional loss of their families, and erasure of their national, ethnic, and political identities, rendering them socially dead. Faced with these politically contentious narratives, I conclude by considering the ethical implications of empowering génocidaires by disseminating their narratives of victimhood to the public, and highlighting them as worthy of study alongside the experiences of other Rwandans.

WILLIAMS, Tim (Marburg University, Germany) - *"Make the enemy the number one fertiliser": Why People Participated in the Khmer Rouge Genocide*

This paper provides a first empirical test of my model of genocide perpetration and is thus a motivational analysis of why people participated in the genocide instigated by the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia from 1975-1979. As presented at the IAGS conference in Winnipeg, I have developed a conceptual model on the question of why individuals participate in genocide. The model attempts to explain motivations for and pathways into individual perpetration and synthesizes ideas garnered from the social-psychological, sociological, anthropological and criminological literature as well as from previous studies on the Holocaust and Rwanda. The model identifies a range of ingroup-focused, outgroup-focused and intrinsic motivations which play a key role in motivating people to participate in genocide. This paper builds on the conceptual model and explores various dimensions of perpetrator motivations during the Cambodian genocide of 1975-1979. Based on fieldwork conducted in Cambodia between July 2014 and January 2015 with former cadres of the Khmer Rouge regime, the paper first examines empirical results in testing the plausibility and validity of the model in a case from which it was not developed, gauging to a degree how generalisable the model is. Second, the paper delineates the idiosyncrasies of the Cambodian case and provides a context-sensitive analysis of how the dynamics described in the model actually play out in a specific case. In this context, the paper explores which motivations are particularly salient for different perpetrators and attempts to create 'perpetrator profiles' of different motivations which cluster together.

GUDEHUS, Christian (Ruhr University Bochum, Germany) - *Behaviour in the Context of Collective Violence : A Case Study*

Behaviour respectively conduct in contexts of collective violence is still behaviour/conduct. Therefore, it might be worthwhile exploring it with tools already available. Especially socio-theoretical approaches from sociology and cultural psychology deliver a rich arsenal of explanatory models helping to understand individual and collective action. Among these approaches are concepts that address the fact that individual behaviour may only fully be understood by examining the preformatted social world that surrounds each acting person. Such concepts of sedimented experiences are for example figuration, mentality, habitus, mental models, but also institutions. Reconstructing these frames is, however, only half of the work. The other half of the work is exactly what is over the past two decades at the very heart of Social Science – and the Humanities in general – namely to focus also in the research on violence on the detailed reconstruction of the action in question. Consequently the paper will discuss some theoretical models and empirical examples such as everyday history and especially praxis theory. The discussion, however, will not be theoretical but carried out by presenting a case of pogrom-like violence in Algeria in 2001. By doing so the paper should also address the concern that such a combination of theories, concepts and methodological approaches must be handled with care. One difficulty of interdisciplinary approaches is taking the epistemological differences of the concepts in use properly into account; in other words: the way in which questions are asked and subjects are prepared. This concerns especially the reach of a specific explanation model or empirical model.

2:20 – 3:50 pm

Concurrent sessions

ROOM 1

Ideology and Economics of Genocide

Chair: OGATA, Tetsushi (University of California, Berkeley, USA)

**MANUKYAN, Suren (Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute, Armenia) -
“They Reap the Fruits of Muslim Labors”: Genocide Victims as “Exploiters”
in *Génocidaires` Minds***

The Armenian Genocide had a carefully developed project of socialization of the people into genocidal roles. Social indoctrination created an image of the Armenians as “inner enemies” and drove the Muslim population of the Empire into becoming vicious murderers of the Armenians.

In a society with an overwhelming rate of illiteracy and existing racial hatred against Christians, several stereotypes and among them image of Armenians as “Exploiters” emerged.

In the pre-Genocide period, the Turkish elite frequently stressed the economic weight of the Armenian population. Being a suppressed minority, Armenians had a strong influence in some sectors of the Ottoman economy. During the nineteenth century when Ottoman trade expanded very rapidly, an entrepreneurial middle class of Christians of the Empire developed. As a result of the increased wealth and self-confidence of the Christian middle class, a network of institutions - schools, gentlemen’s clubs, cafés, charitable organizations and sports clubs - was created. By the 1910s the economic success of the Armenians made them the objects of envy and hostility.

Like Jews in Germany, Christians were constructed in Turkish minds to be economic parasites, ransacking Ottoman land and wealth. The image created by the propaganda portrayed Armenians as exploiters of Muslims. The mutesarif of Adana, Ahmed Bey, is supposed to have expressed the common sentiment of the Turkish elite by mentioning after the deportation of prominent landlords, the Kenderjian brothers, Minas and Hovsep, “two hundred Muslims can work, while a Christian reaps the fruits of their labors.”

This attitude provided people with a convincing rationale for killing and plunder. The invitation for grabbing economic gains was very inviting for mass participation in Genocide.

WAINTRATER, Regine (Paris Diderot University, France) - *Segregation as a Prelude to Extermination. The Case of the Tutsi in Rwanda*

Social, racial or spatial segregation is a prelude to every genocide. The creation of ghettos and the forced gathering on spotted places are critical and significant steps in a process of designation, selection and exclusion which takes place a long time before the crime is perpetrated. This segregative planification is typical of the genocidal project, in contrast to spontaneous mass murder: in the case of genocide, we always have a specific group designated as different and then isolated, essentialised and described as dangerous to the main stream, in order to justify its annihilation.

We intend to describe such a process in the case of the Tutsi in Rwanda, where a racist ideology, imported by the colonizer, constitutes the background of several segregative measures which, during 40 years, paved the way for the elaboration and implementation of the genocidal project.

LEACY, Mary (Wagner College, Staten Island, New York, USA) - *The Economics of Genocide: Capital Market Segmentation, Occupation Economics and the Financing of Genocide in Turkey and Germany*

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

Occupied territories financed not only their own occupation but also the expansionary war effort. The origins of genocide have their roots in applied economics and its practitioners but also had parallel origins in the structure of the interwar and prewar currency and economic structure. There has been an avalanche of discussion and discovery of legitimate businesses, both in Nazi Germany and outside, such as IBM, Allianz, and Ford that profited from the Holocaust. All of these, worked within a particular international and domestic financial structure. It was this financial structure, with its connections plus a bankrupt ideology that set the pattern. At the core of my research agenda are six assumptions: (1) the Nazi/Turkish economy was an extension of Weimar/Ottoman economic policy minus labor sector divisions; (2) the process of economic discrimination preceding genocide produced short run economic profits for all classes as well as dulled their sense of injustice and decency; (3) Active not passive economic profits were made in the very act of genocide by individuals, corporations, banks and governmental structures; (4) there was a high level of international complicity in the world business community; (5) The economic structure that permitted and benefited from genocide existed prior to War 1.

This paper will focus on an economic comparison between The Holocaust and Armenian Genocide.

ROOM 2

**Gender and Sexual Violence during the Genocide
Chair: JINKS, Rebecca (University of East Anglia, UK)**

BROWN, Sara (Clark University, USA) - *Gender and Genocide: A Comparative Analysis*

During instances of genocide, socially prescribed and perpetuated norms of gendered behavior are often suspended, modified, or dissolved alongside the rule of law and state institutions. This presentation will compare and contrast the role of women perpetrators during the Holocaust and the 1994 genocide in Rwanda. Despite nearly 50 years separating them, Nazi Germany and Rwanda's genocidal Guverinoma y'Abatabazi share certain similarities including pre-genocide patriarchal systems that restricted women and notably relaxed social structures during the genocide. The Nazi party promised reforms that would liberate women from the societal constraints and gender norms that had previously repressed them. Similarly, in pre-genocide Rwanda, women were heavily restricted and did not enjoy the same access to economic opportunities, political representation, and education as men. During the Holocaust and the genocide in Rwanda, women experienced a

“relaxing” of gendered norms and behaviors that facilitated their participation in the perpetration of genocide. Examining the diverging and converging experiences of women during the Holocaust and the Rwandan genocide, this presentation will correct the prevalent masculinized interpretation of genocide that denies women a role in the violence (aside from that of victim or bystander) and contribute to a broader understanding of gender and genocide.

VON JOEDEN-FORGEY, Elisa (Stockton University, USA) - *Gendering Lemkin: Unearthing Sexual Violence (and Other Gendered Atrocities) in Raphael Lemkin’s Writings*

In the past twenty years, as a consequence of international feminist activism and path-breaking scholarship, we have come to recognize that genocide is a highly gendered crime. It is usually assumed, however, that this insight is a product of the second half of the twentieth century and that Raphael Lemkin, as well as the UN Genocide Convention that he spearheaded, ignored genocide’s starkly gendered patterns. When we make arguments for the genocidal character of sexualized violence or forced maternity, for example, we do so within a social and political context that asserts that the Genocide Convention was not conceived of and drafted with such atrocities in mind. This paper will complicate the story of gender and the Genocide Convention by examining Lemkin’s writings and his approach to what we now call ‘gender.’ I will show that Raphael Lemkin recognized and struggled with the gender patterns evident in genocidal processes and will discuss the implications of this interpretation for current approaches to the definition and prevention of genocide.

O’BRIEN, Mel (University of Queensland, Australia) - *Challenges to the Development of the Crimes of Forced Marriage and Sexual Slavery in International Criminal Law*

There is a long history of the use of sexual violence as a weapon of war, and during mass atrocities such as crimes against humanity and genocide, particularly against women. Sexual slavery and forced marriage are two crimes that have been, and continue to be, widespread during armed conflict, mass atrocities and genocide, including in Sierra Leone, the former Yugoslavia and Cambodia. Yet these crimes have been drastically under-prosecuted, and the jurisdiction is under-developed and muddled.

There are no explicit provisions proscribing forced marriage in any statute of and international criminal court or tribunal. Prosecuting this crime has been difficult and the jurisprudence on the crime has become convoluted with that of sexual slavery. The Special Court for Sierra Leone has been the only international criminal court to address forced marriage, producing contradictory findings on the definition of the crime, including debating whether it should be categorized as sexual slavery or an inhumane act. The Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia are poised to potentially contribute significantly towards the clarification of definitions in Cases 002 and 004.

This paper offers an au courant exploration of past and ongoing development in international criminal justice of these crimes, comparing differences between the crimes, assessing any definitional overlap, and addressing challenges. Included in these challenges is the contextual history of a lack of willingness by and inability of international courts and tribunals to address gender-based sexual offences, and the difficulties faced by international criminal courts and tribunals in prosecuting a crime not found in the statute.

ROOM 3

Violent Conflicts and State Crimes

Chair: DER GHOUGASSIAN, Khachik (*Universidad de San Andrés and Universidad Nacional de Lanus in Argentina*)

JONES, Adam (University of British Columbia, Canada) - *The Armenian-Azerbaijani Conflict: A Comparative-Genocide Perspective*

The 1987-94 conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh and other territories disputed by Azerbaijan and Armenia has so far received almost no attention in genocide studies, beyond accusations of genocide leveled by advocates of both sides. The presentation will explore the viability of a genocide lens for analyzing this severe outbreak of mass violence and atrocity, in which

tens of thousands of people were killed. Who were the principal agents and victims of the atrocities? Does the violence fit easily with prevailing models of genocide? How are the events remembered and represented by both sides and in Armenia, with particular reference to the precedent and legacy of the 1915 genocide? The presentation will conclude by analyzing the present historical juncture, which is arguably more fragile and unstable than at any time since the 1994 ceasefire. It asks how genocide scholars and activists should respond, and whether the conflict is amenable to a resolution that would include restitution for refugees, notably the estimated 230,000 Armenians and 800,000 Azerbaijanis displaced by the violence.

MANIVANNAN, Ramu (University of Madras, Chennai, India) - *Genocide of Tamils in Sri Lanka*

The genocide of Tamils in Sri Lanka has taken place over a period of time involving several premeditated steps and concealed strategies. This includes organised attack and destruction of essential foundations of human life common to all civilized human societies. How to determine whether an action is genocidal? The author believes the ethnic genocide of Tamils has been politically constructed for over six decades and executed with the military rationale of a war against historical enemy (i.e., Tamils for the majority Sinhala) and within the global agenda of war against terror. In recognition of the war crimes and crimes against humanity committed by the Sri Lankan government and its authorities, we need to ask whether there is a unique case or a distinct crime here. The answer is, YES!, the genocide of Tamils in Sri Lanka has taken place over a period of time involving several steps and strategies. This includes continuous dismantling and destruction of the essential foundations of human life, of the Tamils in Sri Lanka. To be precise, the Sri Lankan government has employed the 'doctrine of double effect', the brutal military resolution of the ethnic conflict combined with the long-term strategy of ethnic cleansing. This 'doctrine of double effect' has been the most unmistakable exhibition of the genocidal intent of the State and its Sinhala nationalism. This paper explores the issues, approaches and strategies adopted by the successive Sri Lankan governments since 1948 both in undertaking and executing the State sponsored project of Genocide of Tamils in Sri Lanka.

ROOM 4

New Horizons in Perpetrator Research III: Macro-level and comparative approaches

Chairs: JESSEE, Erin (University of Strathclyde in Glasgow) and ANDERSON, Kjell (Netherlands Institute for War, Holocaust, and Genocide Studies (NIOD))

MAYNARD, Jonathan (New College, University of Oxford, UK) - *Unlike Minds: Ideological Diversity in the Perpetration of Mass Atrocities and Political Violence*

Scholars of political violence are increasingly concerned with motives, beliefs and mindsets. This reflects shifts in the central objects of research in the social sciences. In particular, expanding literatures on genocide, mass killing, terrorism, and religious and ethnic conflict have frequently emphasised an important role for 'ideology'. But existing work – whether affirming or dismissing the importance of ideology – is often held back by latent notions of a single sort of 'ideological actor', a single sort of 'extremist' ideology, or a single sort of way that such an ideology might encourage violence. Empirical research provides abundant evidence, by contrast, that perpetrators of violence are in fact highly ideologically diverse – in the content, significance, and causal role of their ideologies. Moreover, this diversity not only exists between groups but also between group members. Theoretically engaging with such ideological diversity is amongst our foremost challenges in the study of genocide, mass atrocities and political violence. I seek to advance present thinking through three main contributions in this paper. First, I draw a series of distinctions between the causal pathways linking ideology and violence, emphasising equifinality amongst them. Second, I draw on these distinctions to provide a typology of different sorts of ideological actor, both individual and collective, with empirical examples – particularly emphasising how many who are not

'true believers' in an ideology can still be crucially influenced by it in perpetrating violence. Finally, I discuss how both the distinctions and typology should influence our broader theories of genocide and mass atrocities.

CULPEPPER, Wila Rae (Kingston University, UK) - *Hell is Empty and All Your Devils are Here: The Role of Folklore in the Mobilization of Public Support in the Perpetration and Participation of Genocide*

Despite featuring in many accounts of societies in which genocide and mass violence are committed and in studies of social and cultural norms of the periods in which they occur- folklore is often dismissed or overlooked for its fanciful and supernatural nature. However, this paper argues that it is this very nature that makes it occupy such a pervasive and sometimes insidious role in conflicts; replicating and immortalizing prejudices and stereotypes through retellings in both private and public spaces and in creating a link between folk knowledge and its exploitation by genocidal regimes through propaganda and other assertions of cultural superiority preceding systematic extermination. The transmission of myths and legends to a shared system of folk knowledge and belief has been demonstrably used to dehumanize and demonize the 'other' in the collective imagination of communities in which genocide takes place- which this paper argues is especially evident in the case studies of Poland in the Second World War and Holocaust, and the Balkans during the conflicts of the late 20th Century. Despite the irrationality of such tales- for example, the ritual sacrifice of Christian children by Jews during Passover and other acts of 'blood libel'- they continue to pervade through private (folktales) and public (war memorials, classic poetry and other nationalist symbols) spheres of knowledge and provide a valuable key to understanding conflicts and post-conflict community-based discourse and rebuilding.

WALLER, James (Keene State College, USA) - *A Revised Explanatory Model for Perpetrator Behavior*

This panel presentation will update my explanatory model of how ordinary people commit genocide and mass atrocity. Since the 2007 publication of the second edition of *Becoming Evil*, I have collected dozens of interviews with alleged and convicted perpetrators of genocide in central Africa, the former Yugoslavia, and in Latin America. Buttressed by survivor and bystander testimonies as well, these materials have helped refine and extend my explanatory model. Of particular focus in the presentation will be the application of this model for efforts of genocide prevention, specifically in my work with government diplomats and officials through the Raphael Lemkin Seminars for Genocide Prevention under the auspices of the Auschwitz Institute for Peace and Reconciliation.

HINTON, Alex (Rutgers University, Newark, USA) - *Duch, Eichmann, and a Critical Genocide Studies Perspective on Perpetration*

In 2012, fifty years after the final decision in the trial of Adolf Eichmann, the first trial in the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC), a UN-sponsored hybrid tribunal established in 2006, concluded (February 2, 2012). The defendant, Duch (Kaing Guek Eav), served as the commandant of S-21, the secret interrogation and torture center of the Khmer Rouge regime (April 17, 1975 to January 6, 1979) in Cambodia. Over 12,283 people perished at S-21, which was at the epicenter of a campaign of mass murder and repression that resulted in the death of perhaps 1.7 million of Cambodia's 8 million inhabitants. Like Eichmann, Duch acknowledged that he was enmeshed in a system of terror and death in which numerous people perished. He even offered an apology to the victims. Like Eichmann, Duch also claimed that he was just following orders and fulfilling his duty to the regime. This paper reflects on the fifty-year mark of the Eichmann trial and our

understanding of perpetration through a consideration of resonances with the Duch trial. First, the paper considers the ways in which the Eichmann trial set precedents that are manifest in the Duch trial. The empowerment of civil parties at the Khmer Rouge Tribunal provides one example, resonating in many ways with the way in which victims gained voice during the Eichmann trial (and in contrast to the Nuremberg trials). And second and primarily, the paper revisits the issue of perpetrator motivation and the obedience to authority explanation through a comparison of Eichmann and Duch, the arguments put

forth by the defense and prosecution (and civil party lawyers in the case of Cambodia), and the decision of the judges. In doing so, the paper considers how Duch's trial, inflected through a critical genocide studies perspective and a comparison with the Eichmann trial, might help us rethink perpetration.

ROOM 5

Designing Truth: Visual Stories of Genocide and the Museum's Role WORKSHOP

KAHN, Leora (PROOF: Media for Social Justice, USA)

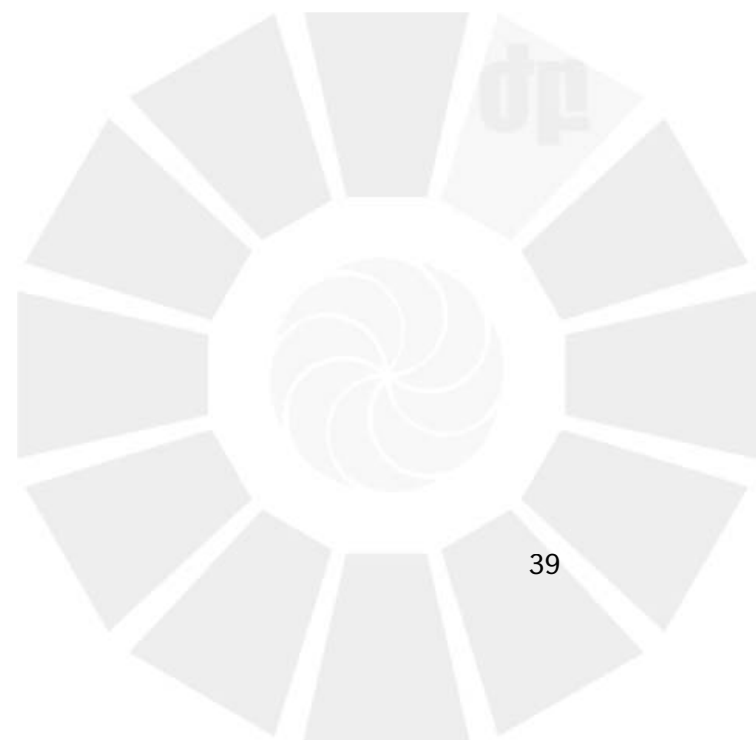
**MUTANGUHA, Freddy (Aegis Trust and Kigali Memorial Center in Kigali,
Rwanda)**

WAHLIN, Willhemina (Charles Stuart University, Australia)

This panel will explore how visual stories of comparative genocides (Bosnia, Rwanda, Armenia, Cambodia) represented in museums and public exhibitions provide an educational platform for genocide education and prevention.

The panelists will discuss the importance of design, photography, and testimonies in determining how each is interwoven to tell a story. All three elements are important when designing an exhibition that tells a difficult story, especially in countries that have experienced genocide. We will talk about the different roles that designers and curators play in creating the exhibitions.

We will examine the design process for exhibitions, and look at the role of testimony-as-exhibited-object, particularly as it relates to typographic design, and how the framework of design impacts audiences. The curators will discuss how the use of testimonies influences how audiences react to difficult subjects, especially in post-genocide countries.



Friday July 10, 2015

9:30 am - 11:00 am *Concurrent sessions*

ROOM 1

Media Coverage and Media Narratives of Genocide
Chair: DARBINIYAN, Asya (Clark University)

SHERMAN, Marc (Institute on the Holocaust and Genocide, Jerusalem, Israel) - *The Armenian Genocide: The Building of a Descriptive Index to Major Newspaper Compilations, 1890-1920*

The Armenian Genocide: Prelude and Aftermath in the New York Times 1890-1922, compiled and edited by Rev. Vahan Ohanian and Ara Ketibian is a ground breaking publication to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the Armenian Genocide. The entire project when completed will consist of several compilations of similar key newspapers such as the *Boston Globe*, *Washington Post*, *Chicago Tribune*, *Los Angeles Times* and the *Christian Science Monitor*. Although newspaper accounts of the Armenian Genocide have previously appeared, most notably with the pioneering work of the late Richard Kloian, a major factor that differentiates this project with others is the depth and detail of which the material has been covered. As indexer for this project, my role was to develop a descriptive index as well as a glossary to the index terms. This creates a user-friendly index enabling easy access to researchers, students and even the interested general public to individual articles within the volumes. Its structure is unique and designed to be used throughout the volumes.

The descriptive index allows the user to read through specific entries to find newspaper articles that are of interest to them while the glossary provides clear explanations of index terms. By providing these two references, this project becomes a unique, comprehensive information tool when studying the Armenian Genocide. This is an index that is not simply a compilation of page numbers, but is carefully constructed to enrich the reader's experience and understanding of the subjects of the volumes. In my presentation, I will show how I developed the descriptive index and why this is the most efficient method of accessing information in large compilations of newspaper articles.

BRAKSTAD, Ingjerd (The Norwegian University of Science and Technology)
- *Discourse as Denial: Media Narratives and Benevolent Genocide Denial*

We often think of genocide denial as explicit and expressed by individuals, groups or governments with a political agenda. This form of denial is easily identifiable and expressed with a specific purpose. It is also broadly rejected by anyone who doesn't share the deniers' political views.

This paper will examine a different form of denial, the subtle denial of discourse as expressed in contemporary media narratives on the genocides in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Rwanda, as well as on the Holocaust. This iteration of denial was implicit and normally expressed sympathy with the victims and condemnation of the violence.

These accounts often condemn the violence occurring while also redefining it as tribal war (in the case of Rwanda), stunted historical development (Bosnia), or simply too outrageous to be true (the Holocaust). Through analysing such discourses we may identify factors which contribute to making genocide denial more palatable and persuasive to mainstream, non-expert audiences.

The paper suggests that this 'benevolent' form of denial, by making genocide denial more difficult to identify, in fact poses a bigger challenge than explicit genocide denial.

LEVY, Guillermo (Tres de Febrero Universities, Argentina), WOZNIAK, Jorge (Tres de Febrero Universities, Argentina) - *Genocide, Collective Memory, Narrative and Public Commemorations*

The memory about the Nazi extermination to the European Jewish population during the second world war, has been built on several pillars. One of them is based on the ignorance that existed in the western democratic countries of the systematic murders against European Jews. The basis of this ignorance was used many times to justify the silence not only of the countries involved but also of the democratic states as of them; even if Argentina was neutral during the war it was experienced with high intensity. On one side there was a very active action on both sides, starting with the European immigrants that are most of our population. On the specific side of our subject the presence of one of the most important Jewish communities of the world and extremely active in all the social areas of the country even at that time.

Our paper will consist in a research of the presence of the Argentinian press starting with his two of the most important journals at that time in reference to the Jewish extermination in the years 1941 until the fall of Nazism. We will divide the work in two stages. From Nazi invasion to the Soviet Union in June 1941 until the coup of military state in Argentina of June 4th, 1943, and from that time until the surrender of Germany. The division in two stages has to do with the new military government, with a strong backing of the local pro-fascists, and in this sense we want to show the impact that such a change could cause on the information of the Jewish extermination.

ROOM 2

Genocide Denial and Laws

Chair: GZOYAN, Edita (Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute, Armenia)

GARIBIAN, Sévane (University of Geneva, Switzerland) - *The Perinçek v. Switzerland Case: Genocide Denial, Consensus, Historical Facts and Law*

The 100th anniversary of the Armenian genocide is also the year of the revision by the Grand Chamber of the Doğu Perinçek v. Switzerland judgment rendered by the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) on December 17, 2013. This controversial judgment gives the Grand Chamber the chance to rule on the denial of the Armenian genocide facing human rights law, a step awaited by many. I will focus on one of the arguments set forth by the ECHR in 2013, which disfavors the Swiss criminal jurisdictions in this case: the argument of the absence of a “general consensus” on the 1915 genocide. The presentation will shed light on the paradoxes and consequences of such an argument that calls, notably, for a historical perspective – and demands, in particular, that we look back on the history of international criminal law. It will also show how the 2013 judgment of the ECHR echoes the 28 February 2012 decision of the Constitutional council of the French Republic to censor the 2011 Boyer law. Both decisions are in “dialogue”, on the one hand, through the use of mirror arguments (absence of a “general consensus” / impunity), disputable on many accounts. They are also in “dialogue”, on the other hand, with respect to their effects: from a juridical standpoint, both decisions create an inequality of treatment for the victims of genocide and crimes against humanity before the law; from a political standpoint, they favor actors of official and para-official Turkish denial.

VRIELINK, Jogchum (University of Leuven, Belgium), LEMMENS, Koen (University of Leuven, Belgium) and PARMENTIER, Stephan (University of Leuven, Belgium) - *The Legal Prohibition of Negationism in Belgium: An Impact Analysis*

The denial of genocide (‘denialism’) constitutes the last stage of the eight-stage genocide model by Gregory Stanton, and it is considered a crucial one: destroying evidence to conceal the facts and orchestrated campaigns to deny them altogether are part and parcel of a genocide and its masterminds. In the last decades several countries have adopted legislative instruments and their courts are rendering judicial decisions that prohibit the denial of genocides in order to keep the memory of the events alive, provide symbolic reparations to victims and prevent similar atrocities for the future. In this paper we focus on the so-called ‘negationist’ laws in Belgium, where the denial of, as well as the gross

minimization and any attempt to justify, the Jewish Holocaust is prohibited. We present an impact analysis of the legislative framework, by looking at the objectives of the legislator, the interpretations by courts and the assessment by non-state actors. We also pay attention to the self-perception of, and the impact of the legislation on prosecuted or convicted 'negationists' who have been interviewed to this effect. By combining legal and socio-legal approaches we aim at providing a deeper understanding of the legal and social effects of denial laws, as well as their strengths and weaknesses.

AVAKIAN, Paul N (Journalist, USA) - Genocide Denial in Guatemala

Denials are statements that reject the occurrence of genocide as in Charny's and other's classifications, but denials are also acts that reject a remedy to genocide. Acts by a government that hinder or manipulate genocide proceedings, that destroy or withhold evidence, or that pardon war crime offenders, are denials also. Acts that seek to control judges or prosecutors, that intimidate witnesses or fail to provide for their protection, or that punish those who participate in genocide trials, are acts that deny genocide because ultimately they block truth, accountability, punishment, victim relief, and reconciliation' and this is the essence of denialism. The 2013 trial of former Guatemalan de-facto president José Efraín Ríos Montt, charged with genocide and crimes against humanity in the 1982-83 massacres of Guatemalan civilians, provides a new platform for understanding why and how individuals and governments reject the charge of genocide. Denials made before, during and after the trial resemble rejections of more-recognized genocides, particularly with regard to statement denials. Here we see the same retorts and rebuttals, and the same efforts to re-characterize and avoid responsibility. But we also see in the Guatemala case a new category of denial, where judicial power is used to deny remedies to the crime.

ROOM 3

Victimhood and Survival of Minorities

Chair: HOFMANN, Tessa (Freie Universität Berlin, Germany)

VARDANYAN, Gevorg (Armenian Genocide Museum and Institute, Armenia) - *The Similarities and Structural Peculiarities of the Armenian and Other Ottoman Minorities' Genocides: Greeks, Assyrians and Yezidis*

In the historiography of the Armenian Genocide there are works devoted to the comparison of the genocides of Armenians and other nations. In this regard considerable work has been carried out in the sphere of comparative research of the Armenian Genocide and the Jewish Holocaust. However, the comparative study of the extermination of the Armenians with other nations of the Ottoman Empire which suffered deportations and massacres is also of great scientific interest. The peculiarity of such an approach is that it observes the national policy of the same country on the example of different subject nations.

KHOSROEVA, Anahit (Institute of History, Armenia) - *Official Genocidal Policy of the Young Turks' State: The Assyrian Case*

This paper focuses primarily on the history one of the internationally "forgotten" and not recognized as genocide mass atrocities of the Assyrian population in the Ottoman Empire during the Great War, which occurred in the same circumstances as the Armenian genocide. The Assyrian genocide was part of the same process, taking place in the same locations and at the same time as the Armenian genocide.

Throughout the war many massacres and slaughters, mass atrocities, and what they call today "crimes against humanity" took place against Assyrian population in the Ottoman Empire as well as in Urmia region of Iran. The wartime emergency situation provided the opportunity to put into action Young Turks' wild plans to get rid of all Christian minorities, including not only the Armenians but Assyrians and Pontic Greeks, also.

The Assyrian genocide was by no means unexpected or accidental. In current paper I'll discuss the Ottoman Empire's widespread persecution of Assyrian civilians during WWI constituted a form of genocide, the present-day term for an attempt to destroy a national, ethnic, or religious group, in whole or in part. I'll compare the Armenian and Assyrian genocides, describe the genocidal policy of the Young Turks to exterminate these people, and try to emphasize some of the significant commonalities and differences between the Armenian and Assyrian genocides.

STONEHOUSE, Jeff (University of British Columbia, Canada) - *At the Mountains of Madness: Survival Strategies on Musa Dagh, Bisesero, and Sinjar*

Physical geography may mean the difference between life and death for targeted groups pursued during episodes of mass killing. Swamps, forests and other salient features of a region's terrain often help facilitate evasion of a genocidal regime's forces. Large scale flight to *ad hoc* mountain redoubts has historically provided not only a modicum of protection, but also the opportunity for resistance. Drawing upon survivor testimony from three examples within the last hundred years - Musa Dagh (1915), Bisesero (1994), and Sinjar (2014) - this presentation aims to conceptualize and compare mountain survival strategies.

Mountains provide numerous protective advantages (ambush and observation points, difficulty ascending, etc.) and disadvantages (harsh climate, absence of food and water, precarious heights, encirclement, etc.). Crucially, the most distinct advantage of mountain retreats is the manner in which they enable and encourage rescue attempts. Therefore, this presentation argues that the *aim* of these survival strategies is to sustain a continuity of existence for its members until such a time as rescue by a third-party is made feasible. While these strategies blend into those practiced during guerrilla wars, these strategies remain distinct because the overall goal of these groups is not political or ideological, but mere survival.

This presentation thus has two goals: first, to compare resistance strategies utilized in each of these three cases, and to show how the hunted Armenians, Tutsi, and Yazidis succeeded or failed to postpone massacre; and second, to use these examples as a template to encourage a reassessment of how potential rescuers may respond to future mountain sieges.

ROOM 4

Hidden Involvement, Perpetration and Empathy

Chair: ZYLBERMAN, Lior (Universidad Nacional de Tres de Febrero, Argentina)

VAN BAAR, Annika (Netherlands) - An Integrated Theoretical Framework for Corporate Involvement in International Crimes

Mass atrocities are often enabled, facilitated or exacerbated by the conduct of corporations. Plentiful contemporary cases – in the DRC and Sudan, for instance – spark countless initiatives for transparency, accountability and prevention, and also signal a continuation to the historic roles of corporations in Nazi crimes, South African apartheid, or during the military dictatorship in Argentina. However, whilst the accusations of corporate involvement in international crimes and other gross human rights violations are common and damning, little is known about the 'how' and 'why' of such involvement. This paper aims to set out a theoretical framework to aid empirical study of this complex, multifaceted and often ideologically charged phenomenon. We depart from some of the common grounds between what is known about atrocity crimes on the one hand and corporate wrongdoing on the other. The complexities of the phenomenon warrant a multi-level approach so that an integrated theoretical framework is constructed based on the notion of situated action, consisting of three levels of analysis: the institutional level (including home- and host-states and supranational institutions), the organizational level, and the individual level.

WOOLFORD, Andrew (University of Manitoba, Canada) - 'This Benevolent Experiment': Indigenous Boarding Schools and Genocide in Canada and the United States

[This presentation provides an overview of my forthcoming book, *This Benevolent Experiment: Indigenous Boarding Schools, Genocide and Redress in Canada and the United States*, which will be released in winter 2015 (University of Nebraska Press)].

At the end of the nineteenth century, Indigenous boarding schools were touted as a solution to the "Indian problem." In both the U.S. and Canada, these schools were to permanently transform Indigenous young people into Europeanized colonial subjects, thereby removing Indigenous communities as obstacles to land acquisition, resource extraction, and nation building. But the project of boarding schools did not unfold without adaptation, resistance, and unintended consequences in either nation.

"This Benevolent Experiment" offers a multi-layered, comparative analysis of Indigenous boarding schools as a genocidal project. By conceptualizing an overarching "settler colonial mesh" comprised of striated networks of fields, institutions, organizations, and actors, this presentation charts different patterns of destruction in the U.S. and Canada, as well as each nation's distinct pathway toward redress. Beginning with analysis of the formulation of the "Indian problem" as a policy concern in the U.S. and Canada, it examines how this policy was implemented in Manitoba and New Mexico through complex chains that included multiple government offices, a variety of staff, Indigenous peoples, and even non-human actors such as space, disease, and time.

MANUKYAN, Lilit (Armenia) - Ottoman Turkey's International Legal Obligations Towards its Armenian Population

Over the last century and a half, the Ottoman Empire and its successor state, the Republic of Turkey, adopted various constitutional and legislative measures calling for the legal and political equality of non-Muslim and non-Turkish minorities. Turkey signed and ratified various international treaties, especially in the second half of the twentieth century. This includes the historic 1950 European Convention on Human Rights. This Convention and its various protocols remains one of the most complete international instruments for the protection of human rights, with appropriate enforcement mechanisms.

However, the formal adoption of domestic reform legislation and the ratification of international human rights treaties have not guaranteed their effective implementation or the equal protection under the law for all citizens of the Republic.

The aim of this paper is to attempt to identify customary international law which viewed genocide as a crime even prior to the enactment of the 1948 Convention; to find out what are Turkey's international legal obligations and responsibilities for the Armenian Genocide; and observe what norms and principles of international law are applicable in this case.

The author will examine the possibility for claiming compensation and restitution for the victims and descendants of this historic tragedy, which still carries a great deal of resonance today. This work will highlight the disparity between what actually is possible in terms of international law in providing justice to those who seek it and what is realistic given the issue's heavily politicized nature; an issue which continues to haunt Turkey and Armenians after 100 years.

JOSEM, Jayne (Jewish Holocaust Centre (JHC) in Melbourne, Australia) - Genocidal Resonance: Could an Australian Aborigine Sense the Oncoming Holocaust in 1938?

This paper explores the potential for empathy that exists between victims of different genocides.

Specifically it will explore the extraordinary actions of Australian indigenous leader, William Cooper, who lead a group of Aborigines to protest to the German Consul in Melbourne at the treatment of Jews in Germany following the Kristallnacht riots in November 1938. This protest occurred at the same time as Cooper was petitioning the Australian parliament to give Aborigines citizenship rights and to "prevent the extinction of the Aboriginal race..."

The paper will explore Cooper's background, in particular the displacement of his people, the Yorta Yorta, from their land. It will consider the 'stolen generation' years, when the Australian government, acting as 'protectors' of the Aborigines, began forcibly removing young half-caste Aborigines from their homes, leading to a loss of identity, language and culture among the young victims. This policy was under-pinned by a belief in the pseudo-science of Eugenics, the same principles that were behind the Nazi desire to rid Germany and later Europe of the Jewish people they considered sub-human.

This paper will argue that William Cooper's experience of living in a country where government attitudes towards and deliberate neglect of his people were driving them to extinction, enabled his activist group to recognise the signs in Nazi Germany when the Kristallnacht riots occurred and the Germans were denying citizenship rights to the Jews.

William Cooper's legacy is evidenced in ongoing interactions between indigenous and Jewish community groups, striving together to eradicate racism in Australia.

Saturday July 11, 2015

9:30 - 11:00 am

Concurrent sessions

ROOM 1

Post-Conflict and Transitional Justice

Chair: WOOLFORD, Andrew (University of Manitoba, Canada)

RALEIGH, Alexandra (University of California, Irvine, USA) - *Collective Catharsis, Transitional Justice, and the Psychopolitics of Post-Conflict Transitions*

Since the end of the Cold War, transitional justice mechanisms (TJMs) have been implemented in nearly every period following repression and violence. Scholars, however, remain divided on the extent to which TJMs—in particular, war crimes trials and truth commissions—help facilitate national healing through collective catharsis. How is collective catharsis understood by transitional justice scholars and what is its relationship to TJMs? In the first section, I discuss the various conceptions of catharsis originating from medical, religious, and psychological traditions. In the second section, I use Frantz Fanon's notion of "psychopolitics" to critically examine both positive and negative claims about the psychological efficacy of trials and truth commissions. In the final section, I argue that catharsis, as a collective phenomenon, is an unattainable goal for nations haunted by past human rights abuses. Collective memory is dynamic rather than static, and the plurality of collective memories that exist in post-conflict contexts suggests a plurality of cathartic experiences – on the individual level – are possible. This paper provides support for holistic approaches to transitional justice, as well as calls for the incorporation of local spiritual, cultural, and social mechanisms as an alternative to trials and truth commissions based on a Western culture of memory.

HEIN, Patrick (Meiji University Japan) - "From conflict to post-conflict societies in Cambodia and Sri Lanka: Internal and External factors that explain the onset of radical state violence and prospects towards reconciliation in Sri Lanka and Cambodia".

This paper has two parts: the first section looks at the underlying internal and external factors that explain the causes of radical violence (both state and non-state) leading to the exclusion of non-core groups (ethnic as well as non-ethnic). Are nation-states that are subject to the influence/meddling/interference of several foreign powers more likely to exclude non-core groups such as separatist movements or insurgents that threaten state security? The nation-building model of Harris Mylonas which posits that radical state violence is more likely if a host state has revisionist foreign policy goals and an enemy state supports a local separatist group is critically assessed for the Sri Lankan case.

The second section looks at prospects for reconciliation, justice and accountability and explores whether the Cambodian experience of judicial accountability and social norm changes can be transferred to Sri Lanka. Drawing on Alexander's collective trauma presentations concept and Sikkink's justice cascade theory it is argued that long term reconciliation in Cambodia has been made possible due to major norm changes with regard to public perceptions of former victims, perpetrators and with regard to the qualification of the acts committed.

Sri Lanka is far away from the lessons learned in Cambodia but it is assumed that progress can be made in Sri Lanka if the international community works in unison to convince the Sri Lankan ruling elites to establish a UN monitored, hybrid criminal court in Sri Lanka to identify, charge and prosecute individual war criminals (for the period 2002-2009).

**PARENT, Genevieve (Saint-Paul University in Ottawa, Canada) -
*Reconciliation in Bosnia and Herzegovina? Between Denial and
Acknowledgement***

In Bosnia and Herzegovina (B&H) the facts are not denied *per se* but a different meaning is given that denies genocidal intent. Both literature on healing and reconciliation emphasize the crucial function of acknowledging past war horrors and related sufferings. While some research has been done on the consequences of trauma among B&H survivors in clinical and social psychology and psychiatry (Vollhardt and Bilewitz, 2013), no in-depth studies are found on the effects of denial on the survivors' psychosocial well-being. Via the phenomenological approach, this study aims to investigate the consequences of denial at both intragroup and intergroup levels and to identify which forms of acknowledgment are the most meaningful to the survivors in B&H. This paper argues that in a context where the reconciliation process is increasingly fragile and denial unavoidable, acknowledging the sufferings of the survivors via availability and accessibility to health services – physical and psychological – has become eminent. In short, this paper discusses the interconnection between denial and acknowledgment for reconciliation and sustainable peace to occur. This paper is based on upon numerous interviews with victims of war done during several field research trips in BiH, Croatia and Serbia during the months of April, May, June and July 2011, May and June 2012, and in BiH in April and June 2013, May and June 2014.

ROOM 2

Transgenerational Effects of Genocide

Chair: HOVANNISIAN, Richard G., Shoah Foundation and Professor Emeritus, UCLA

FROSIG, Karen (The Vienna Project) - *Negotiating the Culture of Public Memory in Vienna*

The Vienna Project opened on 23 October 2013 and concluded on 18 October 2014. The project has “officially” ended. However, the ideas contained in *The Vienna Project* persist through post-project development. *The Vienna Project* remains the first public art memorial of its kind in Europe and the first public naming memorial in Vienna to symbolically represent in the same moment and in a differentiated format, the multiple groups of persecuted victims and dissidents of National Socialism, on record within a given country, murdered between 1938-1945.

“Negotiating the Culture of Public Memory in Vienna” tells the story of my return to Austria as the daughter of a Holocaust survivor followed by a determination to install a new public memory project on the streets of Vienna. Speaking as a descendant of genocide victims, the paper focuses on the nuanced issues of mistrust that permeated the different facets of negotiation, as well as cultural blind spots that made this project particularly difficult to navigate.

The paper tracks my movement from visitor to artist, and from citizen to activist, examining the evolution of my voice as an outsider to a spokesperson of memory. While predictable issues such as language, distance, ambivalent attitudes toward memory, and the question of who should pay for memory emerged as formidable barriers, finding trustworthy allies took a number of years to establish, as did the formation of a viable project team. The “Naming Memorial,” featured as the project’s culminating event, produced a number of unexpected collisions regarding ideas about difference embedded in practices of memorialization.

“Negotiating the Culture of Public Memory in Vienna” discusses my process of return, culminating in a rich exchange of ideas that ultimately produced a stunning international production of public memory in Vienna. *The Vienna Project*, representing the histories of the different victim groups, traversed a number of border crossings in an effort to create an inclusive presentation of memory, 75 years after the crimes of genocide were committed.

BEC-NEUMANN, Janja (Faculty of European Legal and Political Studies, Novi Sad, Vojvodina, Serbia) - *“Legacy of Silence”(In Memory of Dan Bar-On 1938-2008) : Double Wall of Silence. Working through after Trauma of Genocides. Reconciliation vs. TRT-To Reflect and Trust Groups after Holocaust and Genocides.*

Dan Bar-On’s book “Legacy of Silence: Encounters with Children of the Third Reich” (1989)” is a book about children (50 years after Holocaust, already adults) of men who were minor functionaries of the Holocaust to serious mass-murderers.

The TRT group was composed of German Nazi perpetrators’ descendants and descendants of Holocaust survivors.

“Legacy of Silence” and TRT groups were basic for an empirical way of describing five stages of working through, when interviews with the descendants of Nazis and descendants of Holocaust survivors were analyzed. First, one has to know what had happened and how one’s own family members were affected by what had happened during the violent acts. Second, this knowledge has to be framed as part of a wider understanding or meaning making. This could be either a religious, historical, ethical or psychosocial meaning making frames, or even a combination of them. Then, after the knowledge has been framed, usually a strong emotional reaction will follow, which could be either positive or negative, specifically toward the parent toward whom this process is related. Fourth, a phase of splitting will follow, in which the strong initial emotional reaction will be contrasted to the opposite emotion one feels toward that person. Finally, if one has succeeded in working through all these phases, s/he may be able to integrate the knowledge, understanding, the strong initial emotional reaction and the splitting and become independent (neither dependent nor counter-dependent) from the person in question.

PEROOMIAN, Rubina (University of California, Los Angeles, USA) - *From Generation to Generation: The Effects of the Traumatic Experience of the Genocide*

The Children of the survivors of the Armenian Genocide are affected, and this is regardless of how they perceived and treated the parents’ traumatic past, or how the parents themselves dealt with their past. The psychological effects of that trauma impressed upon the family atmosphere and relationships.

This paper will show how the shadow of the Genocide has surfaced in the literature of second-generation Armenian writers reflecting a variety of reactions; first toward/against the parent: resentment, aversion, alienation, awe, distancing, and overdependence; second, their own perception of the past, in the context of relationship with the mainstream society and the dominant culture, spanning between total immersion/assimilation and total commitment to the Cause. Within the framework of this spectrum, the Armenian component remains dormant and neglected at least in appearance in some second-generation Armenian survivors; in others it is gradually pulled out of a nebulous memory-hole to become an important dimension in their self-identity; in still others, the transmitted memory of images of suffering and death never loosens its grip and imposes upon everyday life. This state of mind is coupled with the vague image of a lost homeland, thus, generating a sense of deprivation, fueled by perpetrator’s denial of the crime and distortion of history.

The second-generation survivors’ literature is a quest for healing, a process which after one hundred years has not yet begun. On the contrary, as Ervin Staub puts it, cold and callous denial not only prevents the process of healing to begin but “intensifies pain generates anger, and redoubles efforts to establish the truth about what was done.” Healing is denied to Armenians.

The second-generation Armenian artistic expressions are inherent carriers of that state of mind. They echo the struggle to cast off the shadow of the past, and rise against the present stance of the perpetrators and world bystanders.

ROOM 3

From Memory to Commemoration

Chair: ABRAHAMYAN, Lusine (Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute, Armenia)

BLUSTEIN, Jeffrey (City University of New York, USA) - *Conceptions of Genocide and the Ethics of Memorialization*

This paper examines the ethics of memorializing genocide as a practice of groups that have suffered genocidal harm. I first clarify the differences between group-based and individualistic conceptions of genocide by drawing on some accounts in social ontology on the nature of group or collective agency. I then argue that only a group-based account can capture the distinctive evil of genocide. Drawing on work in my recent book, *Forgiveness and Remembrance*, I turn next to an account of the ethics of memorialization. Two sorts of values that memorialization can have are distinguished, namely utility value and expressive value. Under the latter heading, I examine three morally significant evaluative attitudes that lend expressive value to memorialization: respect for persons, self-respect, and fidelity to the dead. Using the account of collective agency presented earlier, I explain how these attitudes can belong to groups as such and not just to aggregates of individuals. In the last part of the paper, I argue for what I call the principle of warranted self-testifying and relate it to the memorial practices of survivors of genocide. I conclude that since genocide is a distinctive sort of wrong that consists in the destruction or intended destruction of groups, it is appropriately commemorated by victims acting collectively. These memorial practices derive moral value from the evaluative attitudes that they collectively express.

OZBEK, Esen (Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada) - *The Coming-to-Memory of the Armenian Genocide: Public Commemorations in Turkey*

Since April 24, 2005, Human Rights Association's Istanbul chapter organizes public events to commemorate the Armenian genocide. In 2010, Say Stop to Nationalism and Racism has begun to organize its own commemorative event at Taksim Square. These public commemorations, which have since become annual events, speak to the changing nature of collective memory about the Armenian genocide despite the Turkish state's well-known policy of official denial. My proposed presentation will offer an analysis of these commemorations in relation to the broader framework of the coming-to-memory of the genocide in Turkey.

Existing research on the collective memory of the Armenian genocide is limited by the political climate of disavowal. Therefore, my presentation will be situated in a tradition of critical scholarship established by historians like Akçam and Göçek who openly challenge the official narrative on the genocide. This "post-nationalist historiography," to use Göçek's term, will be placed in a broader discursive context that engages with studies on cultural forms of public remembrance (Connerton, Winter). Conceptual frames such as "the ethics of memory" (Margalit) and legal discourses on memory in the aftermath of genocide (Minow) will inform my analysis.

My presentation will first give a brief historical background to the contestation over the memory of the genocide in Turkey. Second, I will provide an account identifying the main aspects of these memorials. I will situate these commemorative practices within the accelerated coming-to-memory of the Armenian genocide over the last two decades within a highly contested field of public memory in Turkey. I will argue that there is an observable change in the memory landscape in which divergent Armenian and Turkish memories of the genocide have, only recently, begun to converge and that the public commemorations have become one of the most visible and embodied markers of this recent shift. Then I will briefly discuss the conditions of possibility for the Armenian genocide's emergence into public discourse. I will conclude with the broader implications of the genocide commemorations for civic discourses in Turkey around national identity, transitional justice, and state-society relations.

NDAYIRAGIJE, Ferdinand, NKURUNZIZA, Emmanuel (York University, Glendon College, Toronto, Canada) - More than Remembrance: A Comparison of Genocide Commemorations by the Armenians and the Burundians

As we commemorate the 100th anniversary of the Armenian genocide, one cannot fail to cast a look back at the long and tortuous road that has led to its recognition. Regardless of the form that it may have taken, the conference of this year, with its focus on the Armenian genocide, must have been unthinkable in Turkey in 1935, that is 20 years after the killings. Yet, following the sustained commemoration rituals, the evidence gathering, safekeeping and dissemination throughout decades, the descendants of the Armenian genocide survivors have ultimately gained world recognition of the plight that their people experienced at the hands of the agents of the Ottoman Empire. Today, these dogged efforts to keep alive the memory of the unspeakable atrocities, calls for a comparative study with what is going on in Burundi 20 years after the 1993 genocide of the Tutsi. Under the current rule, the commemoration sessions and other gatherings of genocide survivors in Burundi, succeed or fail depending on the mood and the desiderata of the perpetrators, who are not only in office but also in full control of security forces. Coupling testimonies from a Burundi based genocide survivor and activist on the one hand, and a linguist's analysis of markers of denialism in the official statements pertaining to police disruptions of commemoration sessions, on the other hand, our panel attempts a prognostic forecast of success chances for the survivors who campaign for justice amidst the predominant trend for mass forgiveness in the name of national reconciliation.

ROOM 4

Tools of Genocide Denial

Chair: PORTER, Jack (Harvard University, USA)

CHATTERJEE, Kasturi (Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi) - Tools of Denial: Comparing the Strategies of Denial by Turkey and Pakistan in the Genocide of Armenians (1915- 1923) and Bangladeshis (1971)

Attempts to deny genocides share several common characteristics. States that indulge in denial to plead non-responsibility employ a set of tools that most commonly include: (1) justification of action(s) as resulting out of wartime necessities or contingencies, (2) downplaying the number of victims and/or the scale of atrocities, (3) counter-charge of mutual culpability, (4) obliteration of the memory of genocide from the national narrative, and (5) revisionist writing of history. Seeking to elaborate on the politics of genocide denial, this paper takes stock of two cases of denial by the perpetrator states: the genocide of over one million Armenians through 1915-1923 by Turkey, and the genocide of about one to three million Bangladeshis in 1971 by Pakistan. Where Turkey's denial of the Armenian genocide often receives international spotlight, the genocide of Bangladeshis remains relegated to obscurity. But given that both Turkey and Pakistan have repeatedly indulged in denying any charge of genocide- at most, expressing regret over "the events" leading to massacres- they constitute valid objects of analysis and comparison when studying genocide denial. Even as proper normalization of relations between Armenia- Turkey and Bangladesh- Pakistan continues to remain hostage to the perpetrator state's stance of denial several years after the said genocides, this paper seeks to understand what propels state behaviour towards denial in both cases, and what strategies are used to pursue denial in each case.

TATOYAN, Robert (Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute) - The Armenian Genocide refugees counting data as a source for the Ottoman Armenian population number on the eve of the World War I

After the beginning World War I tens of thousands of Armenians from the territories of the Ottoman Turkey adjacent to Russian Empire fled from the massacres and found refuge in the Russian Caucasus. In 1915-1916 the Russian government with the help of Russian based Armenian relief organizations carried out several censuses of the Armenian genocide refugees in the Transcaucasia. The collected data give us opportunity to check the reliability of pre-war statistics of the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople and of the Ottoman government on the Ottoman Armenians. The comparison of the

Armenian Genocide refugees' counting data with the Ottoman government and Armenian Patriarchate corresponding statistics shows that figures obtained as a result of Armenian refugees' censuses as a rule higher than the Ottoman government's and Armenian Patriarchate figures. We argue that data obtained from the Armenian genocide refugees is generally more reliable than the Armenian and Ottoman statistics and therefore the Ottoman government and Armenian Patriarchate undercounted the Ottoman Armenian population.

Thus, by comparison of Armenian refugees' data with information provided by other statistical sources it is possible to enrich our knowledge about the number of the Armenian population in Western Armenia and the Ottoman Empire in general on the eve of the World War I and the Armenian genocide. This is important, since reducing of Ottoman Armenian population number and, correspondingly, genocide losses constitute one of the pillars of contemporary Armenian genocide denial policy of the Turkish government.

ATTALLAH, Maral (Humboldt State University) - *Moving Towards Reconciliation: Addressing Genocide Denial*

Denial is the final stage in the process of genocide; perpetrators deny involvement, by downplaying the severity of their actions or by denying genocide altogether. Without recognition or analysis of denial, one cannot fully address the problem of genocide, let alone engage in the process of reconciliation. Drawing on material from genocide studies, sociology, and literature documenting the denial of the Armenian Genocide, I discuss the motives and consequences for denial both during and after genocide. Using comparative analysis of the Armenian Genocide, Holocaust, and genocides in Rwanda and Darfur, I address the social/psychological effects of genocide denial on victims, perpetrators, and their descendents. In particular, I weave my grandfather's story of surviving the Armenian Genocide into my discussion as a way of addressing intergenerational trauma and to deploy storytelling as a method of challenging genocide denial.

If we want to know how and why genocides continue to happen, we must address the role denial plays in this cycle of violence. Genocide is quintessentially a state crime, and the State in question must be held responsible for their actions. I argue that addressing genocide denial is in itself a necessary aspect of holding the offending state responsible both for the act of genocide and for the harms that result from denial. A full integration of first-person narrative with more typical academic information reveals that understanding the motives and consequences of genocide denial is a powerful step towards empathy, a significant component of reconciliation.

11:30 am – 1:00 pm **Concurrent sessions**

ROOM 1

Genocide Survivors and Identity

Chair: ANDERSON, Kjell (Netherlands Institute for War, Holocaust, and Genocide Studies (NIOD))

MANUKYAN, Robert - *Running Tears: The Story of One Armenian Family's Experience of the Armenian Genocide from 1915 to 2014*

Divided into four major parts, *Running Tears: The Story of One Armenian Family's Experience of the Armenian Genocide from 1915 to 2014* is a melting pot of history and sorrow, together with memories and tears, sprinkled with theories and contemplations. The first part provides a historical context for the reader to obtain a basic understanding of the time-span the events of 1915 took place during. The second section is founded in the memory of violence. Phenomena of trauma, including postmemory, is presented in a theoretical as well as realistic manner. Psychological research is also incorporated in this installment. The stories of my great-grandparents, accompanied by anecdotes of my immediate family members make up the third section.

The final segment evaluates how reconciliation could take place, and investigates the roles of the actors involved in the aftermath of the Armenian Genocide. A result of my personal loathing of works that offer no solution, this last, mostly speculative part will be proceeded by the conclusion.

Painful to write, this work devoured a multitude of nights, the functionality of numerous material items, and countless beads of saline. The only thing I ask of the reader is to invest themselves in the story, and instead of deliberately reading the sentences to rather feel the words. After writing this work, I will never be the same. I hope you won't be either.

MILLER, Abigail (Clark University, USA) - *Narratives of Loss: The Significance of Genocide Survivor Refugee Testimony*

In the classroom and at the policy-making table, participants often presume to understand what constitutes significant losses by refugee victims of genocide: home, family, and security. Few analyze victims' narratives of loss to learn directly from them. By imagining what does/does not constitute a significant loss to genocide survivor refugees, policymakers lose the opportunity to craft more effective and meaningful refugee policies. This paradigm has done a disservice to students and policymakers of the past and, if it continues, will also have a negative effect on future surviving refugees of genocide. This paper will uncover first-hand narratives of loss by Jewish pre- and post-war refugees of the Holocaust who resettled in Argentina. It will highlight particular losses suffered by victims of genocide, situating them in the context of the refugee experience. And it will shed new light on the significance of genocide survivor refugee testimony as a resource for historians and policymakers alike.

In my presentation, I argue that the collection and analysis of such narratives will both enhance academic literature and classroom resources, and provide invaluable data to post-genocide response aid programs and refugee services organizations as they work towards remedy and reparation in specific contexts. My paper also notes the limitations of such efforts to remedy and repair, speaking to the devastating consequences of genocide. Utilizing testimony from the USC Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, my paper analyzes genocide survivor refugee narratives of loss in a framework that draws upon the fields of memory studies, history, and refugee studies.

KHANUMYAN, Gohar (Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute, Armenia) - *One Gold Coin for One Orphan: Rescue During Armenian Genocide*

As a result of the Armenian Genocide thousands of Armenian children were sold in Ottoman slave markets or taken to Muslim households. They were humiliated, subjected to sexual and physical violence. Most of them were forcibly converted to Islam. Some of those children, escaping the Muslim captivity, found shelter in caves, forests, and deserts being deprived of family care.

During World War I, a number of calls were appeared in the Russian and Armenian press urging to rescue the Armenian orphans with a slogan "One Gold Coin for One Orphan." The Armenian children were actually bought from the Muslim households by different means. This practice has become a formula of salvation of the Armenian orphans, a rescue policy, as thousands of orphans converted to Islam were return to their national identity.

The aim of this paper is to present and analyze the process and results of above mentioned method of salvation of the Armenian orphans. To reach our goal, we have used a number of primary sources, especially Armenian archival documents, Russian and Armenian press, oral stories and survivors' testimonies.

SEPPÄLÄ, Serafim (Finland) - *Genocide Descending: Existential Crises of the "Half-Jews" in Poland and "Half-Armenians" in Turkey*

The fates of the actual Jewish communities in post-Holocaust Poland and Armenian community in Turkey (mainly Istanbul) after the genocide are well-known. Yet in both cases, also an unknown number of victims survived in a way or another and continued their lives after the destruction, having lost their original religious identity and community. As for the Jewishness or Armenian-ness, they were considered as lost cases.

Surprisingly, the last ten years or so has witnessed an emergence of what I call "half Jews" resurfacing in Poland, and "half-Armenians" in Turkey – people who are Christians/Atheists or Muslims yet aware of the original identity of their ancestry and who are interested in reviving this identity, perhaps even changing their religion, or at least reconsidering their approach on the matter. Books and interviews

of individual cases have appeared in Poland and Turkey, but very little of overviews and conclusions of general nature have been made, not to mention comparative studies on this absolutely astonishing phenomenon.

Before the answers, one should first discover the right questions. My aim is to discuss some general trends and patterns of problems in these two cases, highlighting the common symptoms of the post genocide identity traumas and existential crises, as well as the obvious differences in the situations and problems of the two groups in question – with full respect to the amount of suffering in both cases.

ROOM 2

Genocide, Memorial Places, Discourse

Chair: TATOYAN, Robert (Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute, Armenia)

GISPERT, Jurgen (Germany) - *The Memorial Places of Buchenwald and Tsitsernakaberd: A Comparison*

Buchenwald and Tsitsernakaberd both are memorial sites to commemorate the Jewish and respectively the Armenian Genocide. In Soviet times the Armenian Genocide was not mentioned officially, while in GDR the Jewish Genocide was less emphasized than the Proletarian battle and its heroes against imperialism. The underlying pattern found its analogy in Yerevan, where the myth of the Armenian rebirth under Soviet rule was attributed. Buchenwald (with not least Jewish prisoners) memorial place is a) the identical locality of cruelty and its memorization and b) it is built by the inheritors of the traitors. The Genocide memorial place in Yerevan has been built by the inheritors of victims and is the locality of Utopia and Heterotopia. It is called "People's Monument", too. There the organizers and volunteers of the project had to fight against the official ideology but succeeded by using the same as their medium. By examination of the commemoration day in Buchenwald in 2005 we can conclude that after 1990 the GDR's exploitation of the Genocide is substituted by a ritual and empty historiography on behalf of a united Germany, whereas in Yerevan we still don't have what Nora would call lieux de mémoire. Dealing with the memory theories of Halbwachs, Nora and Assmann the paper argues that the theories of the latter two by its homogeneous focus lack the proper parameters to describe the developments we witness in Armenia. Nora and Assmann remain centralistic in contradiction to this Halbwachs offers a decentralised oriented possibility, thus respecting the role of Armenian diaspora.

MARSOBIAN, Armen (Southern Connecticut State University, USA) - *Memory, Memorialization & Bearing Witness: Contested Memories of the Armenian Genocide in Turkey Today*

I describe and analyze my on-going project of memorialization of the Armenian Genocide in Turkey. This project began in 2011 and is continuing through the centennial year of 2015. Three components of this project are a photography exhibition, two books and the creation of memorial sites. The project centers of the story of the Dildilian family in Ottoman Turkey before, during and after the genocide (1872-1923). A micro-history of the life of the Armenian minority is chronicled by means of the personal memories and stories of members of the family. The history is richly illustrated with photographs and drawings that serve as the basis of the photography exhibition and books. Members of the family were professional photographers who documented the lives of their community in Sebastia, Amasia, Marsovan, Samsun, Konya and other cities and towns in central Anatolia. Exhibitions and associated talks and panels have taken place in Istanbul, Merzifon, and Diyarbakir with an upcoming exhibition set for Ankara. I will present three aspects of the project. First, I will describe the components of the project. Second, I will describe and analyzed the reaction of the Turkish public to the project. Third, I will give a conceptual analysis of the nature and value of memorialization. I will examine the importance of memorialization for the victims and their descendants. Further, I will explore the importance of memorialization for collective historical memory, especially in situations where historical memory has been subverted by genocide denial. Among the many aspects of memorialization, its role in bearing witness will be explored and highlighted.

MACIOS, Dominika (Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University in Warsaw, Poland) - *Armenian Genocide and Katyń Crime: Review of Iconography of Denied Genocides*

2015 is the 100th anniversary of Armenian Genocide and 75th anniversary of the Crime of Katyn. Both genocides have so far not been properly judged, and the heirs of the perpetrators constantly deny their existence. As such, their iconography remains an open question constantly being changed by new political requirements and shifting historical contexts.

The First World War brought a shift in perceived art. The old iconography was changing, and it had new modern meanings according to new contexts. This especially holds true for the iconography of denied genocides. For those types of iconography the most important are historical events and the source of their description: photos, memoirs, etc. For Armenian Genocide, this period is from 1894 to 2010—that is, from the first Armenian massacres to the 95th anniversary. However for Katyn Crime, this period is from 1939 to 2010—that is, from the arrests of Polish officers by Russian soldiers during World War II to 70th anniversary.

Commentary to historical events are historical sources like memoirs of victims and those who survived extermination, reports and photographic accounts of the eyewitnesses, press and literature. The second group of source material is the artwork which includes paintings, sculpture, graphics, drawings, caricature, philately, numismatics, applied arts (leaflets, stickers, poster) that cover the years between 1894 and 2010. These objects are made by the victims and witnesses, as well as by the post-genocide generation.

In my article I would like to present how artists illustrated both of these denied genocides in contemporary art. In particular my presentation focuses on demonstrating the most important iconographical motifs in an attempt to explain their symbolism such as forest, desert, bones, pomegranate, white eagle, cross and so on. I would like to also examine the similarities and differences between the Polish and Armenian Golgotha and show that in contemporary art iconography of denied genocide we share three groups of illustration: works presented historical events, religious inspirations and patriotic and national motifs.

In my presentation I would like to compare the works of Armenian painters as Vartges Sureniants, Gevorg Bashinjaghian, Hmayak Ardzatbanian, Armenak Misirian, Jansen (Hovhannes Semerdjan), Papaz (Hagop Papazian), Grigor Khangjian with Polish artist Maksymilian Biskupski, Edward Dwurnik, Andrzej Pityński, Stanisław Szukalski, Danuta Staszewska etc. I also will use caricatures, poster and postcards made by French, British, German, Armenian and Polish artists made by 1895-2010.

WEISS-WENDT, Anton (Center for the Study of the Holocaust and Religious Minorities in Oslo, Norway) - *The Soviet Discourse on Genocide and Socialist Armenia*

This paper examines the tension between the official Soviet discourse on genocide and the commemorative practices in the Armenian SSR. An academic study of genocide, pioneered by ethnic Armenian scholars, was specific to the Soviet Union. Tightly controlled from above, the discourse on genocide advanced the politically correct thesis, according to which the regeneration of the Armenian people was only possible within the framework of the Soviet Union. As far as public commemoration was concerned, the Armenian Communist leadership ended up performing a balancing act between their ethnic identity and party discipline. The issue of genocide came up on the wave of ethnic nationalism during Khrushchev's Thaw and reflected the status of Soviet-Turkish relations. Soviet territorial claims to Kars and Ardahan in Turkey and the demands to restore Nagorno-Karabakh and Nakhichevan to Armenia have further intensified the push for official recognition of the Armenian genocide. A NATO member state, Turkey played an important element in the Cold War rivalry between the Soviet Union and the United States. Conscious of both the Turkish sensitivity to the so-called Armenian Question and the fragility of the ethno-social relations within the Soviet Union, the Communist leadership in Moscow took a cautious approach to the issue of genocide.

ROOM 3

International Crime and International Justice

Chair: MASSIMINO, Irene (National University of Lomas de Zamora, Argentina, Universidad de Buenos Aires and Universidad Nacional de José C. Paz)

HOLA, Barbora (VU University Amsterdam, Netherlands), van WIJK, Joris - *"I Would Have Done the Same Again": Life After Punishment at International Criminal Tribunals and Rehabilitation of "Enemies of Mankind"*

In 2010 Veselin Sljivancanin, a former Major in the Yugoslavia Army, was convicted for torture as a war crime for his involvement in a mistreatment of hundreds of prisoners of war at the Ovcarica farm near Vukovar, Croatia. He was sentenced to 10 years imprisonment and granted early release in 2011. When granting early release, the ICTY President considered him "sufficiently rehabilitated" because he behaved well in detention, regularly assisted in the library, maintained good relations with his family and expressed "sympathy for the victims of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia...but [did] not expressed remorse for his own crimes". After coming back to Belgrade, Sljivancanin received a hero welcome, wrote a book on his unfair treatment at the ICTY and frequented TV shows while claiming "[In Vukovar]... I would have done the same again ...".

While international criminal tribunals often cite rehabilitation as a sentencing goal and the extent of rehabilitation constitutes one of the criteria for early release, academia and practice has thus far neglected this topic. This paper discusses how the ICTY, ICTR and SCSL operationalize rehabilitation of 'enemies of mankind'. When it comes to rehabilitation, the story of Sljivancanin is in no way exceptional. There is no principled approach towards rehabilitation, the practice of evaluating rehabilitation of genocidaires and war criminals is erratic and no monitoring after release is in place. We argue that given the specific character of international crimes, peculiarities pertaining to their perpetrators and potential effects on reconciliation in the post-conflict countries, rehabilitation should be given much more focused attention.

LINGAAS, Carola (University of Oslo) - *Imagined Identities: Race as Protected Group of the Crime of Genocide*

While most social sciences avoid the historically burdened and contentious term 'race' or juxtapose it with 'ethnicity', international criminal law continues to hold on this outdated concept. The Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (ICC) contains the term 'racial' in three different provisions, amongst which the crime of genocide. The jurisprudence of the International Criminal Tribunals for Rwanda (ICTR) and Yugoslavia (ICTY) proves to be very inconsistent on the interpretation of 'racial' with regard to genocide. Nevertheless, there is a tendency to a subjective approach by relying on the perpetrator's perception of the targeted group. Gradually, the Tribunals have been shifting towards an anthropological view of groups. The membership to a collective grouping is accordingly not determined by means of dubious objective parameters such as skin color, but moreover by the perception of differentness. This paper will attempt a contemporary legal interpretation of race in genocide, based on the theory of imagined identities: even if the group as such – objectively - does not exist, it must be granted protection under international criminal law because of its perceived and thereby socially relevant differentness. This partially anthropological approach will have to be brought into conformity with the guiding principle of strict legality, whereby criminal provisions have to be as precise and detailed as possible in order to allow for predictability and prosecution. It will be shown that international criminal forums have started to incorporate this theory into their jurisprudence on genocide, thus enhancing not only its theoretical, but also practical relevance.

BOUWKNEGT, Thijs (Netherlands Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies (NIOD) - *Through the Prism of International Justice: Mass atrocity in Rwanda, DR Congo and Sierra Leone*

How to unravel atrocity? Quality fact ascertainment is vital in the study of mass violence. Transitional justice offers a pallet of formulas to exhume the violent past. Next to truth commissions, criminal

trials have become one of its privileged truth finding forums. However, confronted with African conflicts this claim proves to be simplistic. Leading trial judgments highlight substantial obstacles to adequately investigate mass crimes and produce solid proof as the bulk of available evidence consists of eyewitness testimony and NGO reports. In non-documentary contexts, answering seemingly simple questions like what happened to whom, where and when is problematic. While journalists, human rights researchers, academia and the public easily pinpoint culprits, criminal investigators, prosecutors and judges face problems corroborating these ‘facts’ beyond reasonable doubt.

What can we know, what do we know and how do we know it? With these epistemological queries in mind, this paper seeks to explain the uneasy balance between judicial findings and historiography in post-conflict sub-Saharan Africa. The Rwandan, Congolese and Sierra Leonean experiences are exemplary for this dichotomy. I will detail how prosecutors at international courts struggled to establish the rationales behind the Rwandan genocide, the civil war in Sierra Leone and ethnic cleansing in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). By examining the Théoneste Bagosora (ICTR), Charles Taylor (SCSL) and Thomas Lubanga (ICC) cases, the paper offers a roadmap to understanding how these discrepancies come about and assesses the impact of atrocity trials on the study of mass violence and the historical record.

ROOM 4

Cultural Genocide

Chair: MULLER, Adam (University of Manitoba, Canada)

BACA, Maya (London School of Economics and Political Science) - *Cultural Genocide*

This paper contributes to the discourse on genocidal processes. Raphael Lemkin and the Draft Convention on the Crime of Genocide’s concepts of cultural genocide are analyzed to argue that there is a need to either include cultural genocide in the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide or, at least, acknowledge that cultural persecution can lay the groundwork for genocide. The Holocaust, as a case study, and David Scheffer’s concept of “precursors of genocide” are examined to discuss how including cultural genocide or the persecution of genocide in the Convention could help mark early warning signs and prevent genocide.

PINON, Erin (Southern Methodist University) - *Quarried, Carved and Commemorated: The Armenian Khatchk’ar as a Deposit of Genocidal Trauma*

The Armenian Khatchk’ar is a complex object of devotion and memoriam, serving the spiritual and commemorative needs of the Armenian people since the ninth century CE. At its most basic, Khatchk’ars are outdoor, vertically erect, stone stelae whose surfaces are delicately carved in ornamental bas-relief. Today, these monolithic funerary monuments stand as symbols of Armenian religious, cultural and artistic history. Subject to a tumultuous socio-political environment, the Khatchk’ar has been met with growing sentiments of national identity and cultural precedence in territories with fluctuating borders.

In this paper, I question the current artistic identity of the Khatchk’ar. In two case studies, I track a shift in function from marker of personal identity to monument of collective identity as determined by a post-Genocide population of diasporic Armenians. For the first time, the cross-stones are being simultaneously destroyed, rescued and created—altering their artistic worth and cultural significance. While contemporary craftsmen have made the conscious effort to continue sculpting Khatchk’ars as a testament to their nation’s strength—meeting the demand of diasporic communities—I argue that the survival of iconographic models is dependent on, and birthed from, the trauma facing Armenians affected by the Genocide. Can the Khatchk’ar now *only* be read through the lens of genocidal studies? And are twenty-first-century Khatchk’ars only meager derivatives of their meaningful medieval predecessors? I conclude that the Khatchk’ar has lost its ability to mark an individual’s life; instead, it has been appropriated as the foremost symbol of Armenian collective, national identity.

PARSAMYAN, Seda (Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute) - The Cultural Aspect of Genocide: The Armenian Case

Genocide is not only the physical annihilation of a national, ethnic, racial or religious group, but also the destruction of that group's national and cultural heritage. The Polish lawyer Raphael Lemkin, by putting into circulation the term "genocide" through his fundamental work "Axis Rule in Occupied Europe", paid particular attention to the cultural aspect of the phenomenon of genocide. The vast majority of genocide scholars have asserted so far that the cultural inclination of genocide is part of each genocidal act.

In spite of the urgency of the issue, the problem of expanding the definition of the term "Genocide" in international legal documents (the UN "Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide" in December 9, 1948; United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, 13 September, 2007) and including the cultural aspect in it has been disputable over decades.

The paper presents an interdisciplinary research, which examines the role and importance of cultural aspect of the Armenian Genocide. One of the main goals of the research is to discuss the destruction of the Armenian cultural heritage during the genocide and its aftermath. This study shows as well that the destruction of the Armenian cultural heritage in the post-genocidal period is a lasting state policy of Turkey.

4:00 – 5:30 PM

Concurrent sessions

ROOM 1

Genocide Denial Strategies

Chair: GARIBIAN, Sévane (University of Geneva) TBA

HOVHANNISYAN, Anush (Institute of Oriental Studies, Armenia) - *The Peculiarities of the Armenian Genocide Denial in Modern Turkey*

Keeping up with its Armenian Genocide denial policy, official Ankara has developed a new tactical tool – distortion of the fact of the first genocide of the 20th century. The recent statements of high-ranking Turkish officials as well as the document entitled "1915 events" prepared by the Turkish Foreign Office show some new peculiarities in government denialist policy.

By trying to present the massacres of Armenians as the tragedy of Ottoman citizens—both Armenians and Turks—during the war they put to the same scale the Genocide and the sufferings of Turkish people being at war.

The fact that Armenian Genocide issue is discussed not only internationally but also internally makes them try to control all kinds of discussions, spreading genocide denial policy not only abroad but throughout their own country as well.

Turkey's new tactics of hindering the process of international recognition of the Armenian Genocide can be described as "creeping denialism". The strategy is the same, but Turkey uses "blurred" policy instead of the previous tactics of obvious denial. This policy is dangerous because it intends to create an illusion of Turkey's desire to reconstruct the "objective" picture of the past.

HOVHANNISYAN, Mari (Armenia) - *Methods and Mechanisms of Centennial Denial of the Armenian Genocide 1915 – 2015*

The multifold phenomena of genocide denial have always been of great interest and concern to genocide scholars. And the Armenian Genocide implemented in Ottoman Turkey from 1915 to 1923 is considered to be the first "modern" genocide in the list. Impunity paves the way for new or similar atrocities. The Holocaust, Rwandan, Cambodian, and other massacres of the century might not have happened if the Armenian Genocide had been addressed properly.

The fact of the Armenian Genocide implemented in Turkey from 1915 to 1923 has been denied for 100 years. The denial of the Armenian Genocide has long been on the agenda of the Turkish both scientific and political circles. The Turkish government spares no endeavor to deny the Armenian Genocide both in Turkey and outside its borders. The Turkish official historiography has created and developed its own version of the events of 1915 of which the Turkish society has been convinced for decades. In this paper, I aim at presenting the Turkish state-orchestrated denial of the Armenian Genocide and the key

techniques adopted, used and modified by Turkey. The work is based on the content analyses of the existing literature and discourse analyses of the speeches made by academicians and officials denying the Armenian Genocide.

BASSO, Andrew (University of Calgary, Canada) - *Denying Crimes: Canada's Settler Colonial Genocide and the Ottoman Genocide of Christian Minorities*

The Ottoman/Turkish genocide of Christian Minorities, mainly Armenians, Greeks, and Assyrians, and the Canadian genocide of First Nations, Métis, and Inuit (FNMI) populations are similarly denied within both countries. The central contribution of my paper is an exploration of similar denial tactics in Turkey (an increasingly illiberal democracy) and Canada (a liberal democracy) despite significant difference in sociopolitical systems and norms. I will discuss specific ways each nation denies at both governmental and societal levels utilizing Israel Charny's identification of ways to deny genocide as a critical understanding of denial.

Turkish genocide denial is well-known and continues to be upheld by the increasingly illiberal President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. Turkey's government fervently defends and upholds systems of denial of past crimes as official policy via repressions of free speech. Unlike Turkey, Canada accepts *some* responsibilities for past crimes at the governmental level, but little is ever undertaken to begin healing the FNMI-Canadian relationship or to facilitate mutual understandings that can corrode systems of denial. Canada continually represses its FNMI populations and seeks to hide, diminish, and victim-blame FNMI sufferings in a continuation of settler colonialism. In effect, the policies of both governments lead to sustained denial of genocide and gross human rights violations despite significant political differences between the two cases.

Socially, both countries utilize educational systems to perpetuate systems of denial. In Turkey, there is repressed discourse on the genocide of Christian minorities and literatures are centred away from accepting Ottoman/Turkish crimes. The exact same types of repression of historical facts are present in Canada, though highly selected and decontextualized commentaries are taught within the gradeschool educational system. When information is made unavailable by government, or at the very least very difficult to access, then systems of denial will continue and will percolate throughout society which then accepts denial as historical truth. It is only after free and open discussions of past crimes can the systems of denial my paper explores be broken.

MEYER, Kristina (University of Michigan, USA) - *Courts and Armenian Genocide Denial: Denial's Implications for the Availability of Legal Remedies*

Much of the scant legal scholarship on the Armenian Genocide deals with the availability of reparations in U.S. courts. My paper will examine from a legal perspective what the academic community has studied in comparative depth: how denial is used to perpetuate uncertainty and deny legal remedies/relief to those impacted by the genocide. The Turkish strategy of fomenting debate (perpetuating the "argument" argument) has not only obscured the truth, but has impacted the legal status of the genocide.

ROOM 2

Justice and Memory

Chair: THERIAULT, Henry (Worcester State University, USA)

MASSIMINO, Irene (National University of Lomas de Zamora, Argentina, Universidad de Buenos Aires and Universidad Nacional de José C. Paz) - *A Comparative Study and Overview of the Trials in Argentina, Chile, Guatemala, and Colombia*

The aim of this essay is to make a comparative study of the trials and transitional justice processes undertaken and carried out currently in Argentina, Chile, Guatemala, and Colombia as a result of former dictatorships and current internal conflict, respectively.

Therefore, the work will focus on a general overview with the purpose of introducing the main strengths and weaknesses as well as the most important particularities of each of these processes and trials carried out until today.

This paper will examine these judgments within a period of time for each case, focusing on the following: the Argentine trials started after 2003 with the approval of the “Memory, Truth and Justice” process; the Chilean judicial processes started at the end of the 90s with the detention of former dictator Augusto Pinochet; the Guatemalan trials initiated in 2009 with the formal declassification of military plans; and the many years of the Colombian on-going processes, which include the paramilitary demilitarization during the 90s.

Moreover, throughout the essay, I will put special emphasis on the classification of ‘genocide’ and ‘crimes against humanity’ within the trials, as they may differ from each other.

Finally, I intend to construct specific conclusions regarding what may happen within these different judicial processes in the future and in light of their current situation, and how they could or could not be utilised as examples for similar processes around the world seeking justice, memory and reconciliation.

BAUL, Tapas (Bangladesh) - *Memory, Justice and Media: Experiences from the International Crimes Tribunal of Bangladesh*

In 2009 Bangladesh started to try the local perpetrators and collaborators involved in committing one of the most heinous crimes of the Twentieth Century, which is the Bangladesh genocide of 1971. The trials have been and continue to be carried out by the International Crimes Tribunals of Bangladesh, established under the International Crimes Tribunals Act of 1973.

Within these trials, the prosecution is using both the individual and collective memories of the witnesses as a testimony before the Tribunal which, in order to verify their veracity, analyses them in light of the legal principles of evidence established and used in different International Tribunals such as the Nuremberg Tribunal, the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda and the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, amongst others. Alongside this oral evidence, the prosecution also presented newspaper articles from and videos taken in 1971 to establish the notorious events that took place across the country.

This particular paper intends to exhaustively discuss the use of memory and media in the justice process of the International Crimes Tribunals of Bangladesh by also focusing on the international standards that are being followed in trials of these nature worldwide, with the aim of determining their particular importance in constructing judicial memory. Moreover, I intend to make some recommendations and suggestions for future national tribunals for their use of memory and media in justice processes.

AMIR, Ruth (Yezreel Valley College, Israel) - *Article II (e) of the UNGC: Whether a Dormant Clause, Legal Anachronism, or Potent Provision?*

Article II (e) of the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide (UNGC) prohibits the act of “[f]orcibly transferring children of the group to another group.” The Forcible Transfer Clause (FTC) has received relatively scant attention. Scholars referred to it as an enigma, legal anachronism, suggesting that it was passed almost as an afterthought.

The proposed paper puts forward two arguments. First, that the FTC is soundly grounded in domestic and international legal norms and policies since early twentieth century. The FTC trails the League of Nations’ customary law provisions, and humanitarian field-work. Its Commission on women and Children in the Near East was to rescue and rehabilitate Armenian children. In the aftermath of WWII, the Nuremberg judgment in the RuSHA and Einsatzgruppen cases and the severe problem of displaced children justified its inclusion in the UNGC.

Second, the FTC may prove potent in applying the UNGC to broadly defined genocide cases and thereby open up the narrow scope of the UNGC. The Australian groundbreaking *Bringing Them Home* Report concluded that the forcible removal of Torres Strait children was genocidal from at least 11 December 1946. This and the recent permissive interpretations of international criminal courts could open the door for the recognition of forcible transfer cases.

The proposed paper will outline lesser-known cases of forcible transfers of children of particular groups such as the Cuban Peter Pan, Franco's Children in Spain, Israel's Yemeni Children Affair, the Baltic Countries deportations' and the Magdalene Laundries.

ROOM 3

Armenian Genocide Survivors and Diaspora

Chair: LOUREIRO, Heitor (São Paulo State University, Brazil (UNESP)

PAVERCHI, Silvia (Federal University of Sergipe, Brazil)- *Who are Armenians in South America?*

This article focus on descendants of the Post-Genocide Armenian Diaspora to South America whose refugees arrived in Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay after the Armenian Genocide perpetrated by the Ottoman Empire previously and during the First World War. The priority approach is related to identity: who are such Armenian Diaspora descendants today and how they define themselves in terms of cultural identity and belonging. The second approach focus on collective memory and oral narratives of some of these descendants involving histories of their ancestors about facts of Armenian Genocide and Armenia homeland, diaspora and the deal with death and lose relatives and parents, orphanage and the forced immigration process as consequences of this Genocide. Through such reports this research intends to present some possibilities of Armenian Genocide recognition and reparation proposed by the interviewers.

KECHICHIAN, Hagop (University of São Paulo, Brazil) - *The Armenian Genocide Survivors in Brazil*

This paper aims at analyzing the cultural aspects of the Armenian community that was established in Brazil — mainly in São Paulo — after the 1915 Genocide. The first immigrants, after a period of struggle for economic survival in the new country, sought to create spaces for the building of the community life. They transferred a great part of their institutions from the homeland such as churches, schools, political parties, and the community councils, adapting them in accordance with the hostland's standards and rules. The Armenian community in Brazil remains attached to its traditions, which pervade all moments in everyday life. The "cultural survival" was the main objective for the first comers and their descendants as a means to state that the Committee Union and Progress was not successful in its attempt to destroy the Armenian culture, and these survivals who were settled in Brazil — mainly from Marash, but also from other places in the historical Armenia—would be the concrete evidence of this failure. Our sources — photography, newspapers, books and other samples of material culture —are analyzed in order to highlight this discourse of the identity affirmation built by the Armenians in Brazil after the "Great Catastrophe".

DER GHOUGASSIAN, Khachik (Universidad de San Andrés and Universidad Nacional de Lanus in Argentina) - *The Southern Input: Genocide Knowledge-Building in South America and the Armenian Case*

In 1965, Uruguay became the first country to have a law recognizing the Armenian Genocide. Yet, compared to the Middle East, Europe and North America, the issue of recognition and justice for the Armenian case in South American countries suffered almost a delay of two decades. The main reason of this delay is the military dictatorships during the 1960s and 1970s in Argentina, Uruguay and Brazil where organized Armenian communities existed since the beginning of the 20th century. Nevertheless, since mid-1980s, with the restoration of democracy and the spread of activism against the crimes of the military, the Armenian Cause, referring to the recognition and justice for the Genocide, made a remarkable progress. Moreover, political activism and scholarship for the Armenian Genocide closely interacted with the widespread debate about truth, justice and memory for the crimes of the military to provide a genuine knowledge-building, which, so far, has been studied, debated and evaluated within the historiography of the Armenian Genocide. This paper proposes a first approach to genocide knowledge-building in South America and its input in the historiography of the Armenian case. The aim is, first, to highlight the historical process of both Armenian political activism and scholarship in

South America; second, their interaction with the truth, justice and memory debate; and, third, discuss the potential of this input to the forthcoming stage of the struggle for reparations to the Armenian Genocide.

ROOM 4

Arts, Imagination and Narration of Genocide

Chair: BALAKIAN, Peter (Colgate University, USA)

ARZOUMANIAN, Ana (FLACSO University Buenos Aires, Argentina) - *Law's aesthetic dimension, the theatrical language as a cultural device in the conception of bodies/ video-art*

The task of identifying missing people of a genocide deals with disembodied identities and bodies without identity. In the case of the Armenian genocide, not only there aren't bodies "without identity" but there isn't "identity" of those absent bodies either. Relatives of the survivors have inaccurate data, only some names, ages often misleading; either because relatives are gone, or because a stunned silence has unvoiced the victims.

We present a dramatical short story filmed in order to show the incarnate legal fiction. The bodies of the artist would exhibit the development of the law as an instituted social space for reproduction and death. The theatre will also highlight the aesthetic dimension of the law. Restoring the instituted characteristics of the theatrical body implies facing the law to the written text of the industrial and post industrial eras. As a consequence, the theatrical production will constitute a social device that will face the genocide's lack of body.

The video will lead to the confiscated bodies through the gestures of the artist taking into account Hanna Arendt's conception of the legal process as a theatre. When a court or a sentence doesn't exist then the art accomplish its place.

AHMED, Osman (Kurdology Centre for Kurdish Studies, University of Sulaimani Kurdistan Regional Government), *Documenting the Anfal: The Kurdish Genocide (1988) Through Drawing*

In the absence of photographic evidence, as an eyewitness artist to the Kurdish genocide in 1988 I undertook an ambitious PhD project during 2008-2013 to systematically document memories of 15 Anfal survivors from different regions. I shall present my fieldwork and methodology, research training, development of new sites for the display and discussion of artworks, the collection of survivors' testimonies and the visual documentation of their memories which have been an enlightening process, both in theory and practice which I believe would stimulate discussions on documenting genocide and enable witness artists to document genocide/crimes against humanity.

I shall discuss my findings along with some of the 355 images produced based on face to face interviews with the survivors inside Kurdistan and will argue since the eyewitness artist's visual construction of his memory constitutes only a fragment of the collective memory of violence, loss, injustice and pain, why and how the incorporation of other survivors' testimonies can produce a 'collective memory'/artistic representation of genocide appropriate to the community concerned. The visualized testimonies are now part of an Anfal museum that equipped with adequate audio-visual documents and testimonies would play a vital pedagogical role in keeping the memory of Anfal alive, and provide a means of telling future generation.

ZYLBERMAN, Lior (Universidad Nacional de Tres de Febrero, Argentina) - *Cultural Memory of the Rwandan genocide. An approach from the cinema*

Between April and July 1994 "the fastest genocide in history" (Melvern, 2004) took place in Rwanda. One of the media by which the genocide acquired visibility was through film; thus, we could say that the various titles produced so far make an audiovisual archive on the basis that not only the films succeeded in establishing forms, schemes and visual motifs of representation but also allowed to put into circulation an interpretation of the genocide.

From this starting point, this presentation aims to study the film archive of the Rwandan genocide

from the concept of cultural memory: a type of memory that is mediated through texts, images, rituals, etc. (Assmann, 2011); in that sense, cinema has become one of the most important contemporary means for the construction and transmission of cultural memory. On the other hand, the dynamics of cultural memory, as an active form of memory, can be understood through a dialogue between the canon and archive. In our presentation, we will investigate the archive of the Rwandan genocide in the light of that dialogue, not always harmonious one but sometimes dissonant.



Sunday July 12, 2015

9:30 - 11:00 am

Concurrent sessions

ROOM 1

Outside Powers – Humanitarianism and Response

Chair: GUDEHUS, Christian (Ruhr University Bochum, Germany)

MELKONIAN, Arda (UCLA, USA) - *Types of Intervention during the Armenian Genocide*

Between the years of 1915 and 1917, 1.5 million Armenians were displaced from homes, sent on death marches, and killed as part of the Ottoman Empire's campaign to exterminate the Armenian population within its borders. However, a small fraction of the Armenian population living in Ottoman Turkey survived.

Relying on Armenian Genocide survivor testimonies, this paper will focus on interventions by non-Armenians during the Genocide intended to prevent death or further harm. The classification scheme will identify the types of action and the category of individuals who acted in an attempt to determine the relation between the kind of intervention and category of person. The types of action which resulted in preventing or delaying death are divided into two large categories—legal means (advocacy and exemption) and illegal or subversive acts (warning, safe passage, food, protection by government officials, shelter). The most dominant category is providing shelter, encompassing a wide range of subcategories with very different motivations.

Since the Genocide occurred in the Ottoman Empire, not surprisingly, the majority of individuals who assisted Armenians in all categories of intervention were Turks. However, many other ethnic groups (Arab, Kurd, Azeri, Assyrian, Circassian, American, German, Russian, and Dane) also came to the assistance of Armenians. The lives of those who survived were protected through the legal and subversive actions of these individuals.

LOUREIRO, Heitor (São Paulo State University, Brazil (UNESP) - *Humanitarianism and Emerging Powers: The Brazilian and Canadian Responses to the Armenian Genocide*

This research examines how governments of Brazil and Canada responded to the Armenian massacres, making use of a humanitarian situation to create the image of emerging countries that could deal with international issues. While many Canadian missionaries were working within the Ottoman Empire, they witnessed the persecution of the Armenians and provided press with information that caused public commotion and encouraged debates about the reception of refugees. Meanwhile, in Brazil, some politicians were negotiating with Ottoman authorities in order to allow the "unwanted" Armenians to emigrate to Amazon. These plans were executed partially or waived, but they came back especially after the Great War. From Ottawa to Rio de Janeiro, politicians, intellectuals, and religious leaders lobbied to create an Armenian state encompassing several Ottoman provinces, and also encouraged campaigns to provide aid to the refugees. While in Canada this lobbying was led by some Protestant groups, in Brazil these efforts were made by an Armenian intellectual who worked as a diplomatic deputy of Armenia in the country. Even differing in the strategy and approach, both groups tried to push their respective governments to assume a mandate over Armenia, supervised by the League of Nations. After analyzing the Brazilian archives, and recent studies from Canada's academia, I argue that both administrations considered at some point assuming this mandate over Armenia, not only because there were social demands for the issue, but also because they saw a timely opportunity to realign their positions in the international arena as major players.

DARBINIYAN, Asya (Clark University, USA) - *The Armenian Genocide and Russian Response*

While Russian and Ottoman imperial troops were fighting on the Caucasus front of World War I, hundreds of thousands of Armenian subjects of the Ottoman Empire were targeted by Turkish authorities as a potential “strategic threat.” Justifying their actions as a military necessity, Ottomans massacred the Armenians or deported them to the deserts of Mesopotamia. Those who did not fall victim became refugees on the Russian-Ottoman frontline.

In my paper I examine the reaction to the Armenian Genocide in the Russian Empire and trace the actions taken on behalf of Armenians. Drawing upon the materials that I have found in State Archive of Russian Federation and in Russian State Military Historical Archive, in Moscow, I will drill down on Russian humanitarian assistance and relief efforts for the Armenian refugees. Humanitarian and relief work was organized by a number of governmental and non-governmental agencies in the Russian Empire, such as the All-Russian Union of the Cities, the Russian Red Cross, and the “Tatianinsky” Committee. I will elaborate on what motivated the assistance, and how the aid was provided. This help was significant, as thousands of refugees were in desperate condition, and war raged.

Russian relief efforts for the Armenians remain little known. While there is a robust literature on the representation of and international response to the Armenian Genocide, these works focus on American, British, French, and Scandinavian news coverage and relief committees. The Russian response in print and on the ground has prompted little scholarship. Exploring sources from Russian archives for the first time, I seek to contribute to this neglected aspect of Genocide Studies.

VARNAVA, Andrekos (Flinders University, Belgium) - *Betrayed Promises: Entente Imperialism and Humanitarianism and the Legion d’Orient*

Today, in countless crises, foreign states intervene to protect ethnic/religious minorities on humanitarian grounds and sometimes help establish safe and secure homelands for them. This paper uses British, French, Ottoman, Armenian and Cypriot archives to explore how and why the recruitment of Armenians into the *Légion d’Orient* in October 1916 and the desire to prevent any future massacres of Armenians, resulted in the British and French commitment to establish a safe and secure state for Ottoman Armenians after the Great War, yet British and French efforts to do so failed. Why, after all they had won the Great War, in which the Armenians were allies? To address this question, this paper explores two conflicting ideologies within the international response to the Armenian Genocide, imperialism and humanitarianism. It uses the case of the *Légion d’Orient*/Armenian *Légion*, 1916-1920, to explore the tensions between humanitarianism and imperialism, which resulted in the Entente Powers abandoning their promise to establish an autonomous Armenia under French control. With imperialism under threat, humanitarianism proved too weak and the policy to establish a secure homeland was abandoned. Ottoman Armenia was lost to the Kemalist Turkish nationalists and a second wave of massacres and exodus followed for Armenians. This episode offers a valuable historical example to those who today influence, formulate and implement foreign and security policies specific to minorities subject to mass violence.

ROOM 2

Museums and Memorial places of Genocide

Chair: DEMOYAN, Hayk (Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute, Armenia)

MULLER, Adam (University of Manitoba, Canada), SINCLAIR, Struan (University of Manitoba, Canada) - “‘Virtually’ Representing a Group’s Destruction: Reflections on Technology and Method”

This paper considers the challenges faced by researchers involved in the multidisciplinary critical and creative *Embodying Empathy* project. *EE* seeks to construct a digital representation of a Canadian Indian Residential School (IRS) using leading-edge virtual and augmented reality technologies. The project’s digital “storyworld” will serve multiple purposes. It is being designed as a museum-quality educational tool that will instruct those immersed in it about Canadian settler-colonial genocide, of which the IRS system constitutes one significant node. It also seeks to ascertain whether immersive representations

can bridge the empathetic distance separating victims from secondary witnesses to atrocity. As-yet empirically unsubstantiated claims that such representations succeed in this task abound in both museum and genocide studies. Additionally, so-called “ideas museums” seem convinced that digital technologies are the key to transforming the outlooks and future actions of their visitors, particularly when it comes to reconciliatory praxis. There is also, however, a large body of work on digital gaming and so-called “empathy fatigue” that suggests representations of the sort we envisage either do nothing or else undermine mechanisms of empathetic identification and attachment.

This paper will critically consider the conceptual and methodological challenges facing *Embodying Empathy* researchers attempting to digitally render a genocidal environment. It will survey some leading-edge research into empathy and virtuality and describe the participatory-design strategies being adopted in order to facilitate the creation of a truly immersive traumatic storyworld within which the needs of multiple end-users – including IRS and intergenerational survivors, and Canadians with little understanding of Canada’s IRS and their genocidal legacies – may be productively and ethically met.

SAMPLE, Emily (Holocaust Museum Houston, USA) - *Teaching the Armenian Genocide in Holocaust Museums: Education as Genocide Prevention*

One of the most basic forms of genocide prevention is remembering and prosecuting earlier genocides, as Hitler himself demonstrated in asking his now infamous question: “Who, after all, speaks today of the annihilation of the Armenians?” While Turkish denial of the Armenian genocide continues unabated, Holocaust museums worldwide are increasingly using their status to raise awareness of the atrocities committed against the Armenians and other Christian minorities. At Holocaust Museum Houston, this has revealed a major division in the local community. In planning commemorative and educational programs for the centennial of the genocide, the museum has faced pushback from the Turkish Consulate, as well as the Turkish immigrant community, whose repeated calls for ‘nonbiased’ programming amounts to genocide denial. In this polarizing debate, Holocaust museums hold a unique standing, caught between the worlds of advocacy and education. Holocaust museums must navigate this politically delicate situation, while staying true to their mission of educating their community about the dangers of intolerance and apathy. This paper investigates why and how the Armenian genocide should be taught in Holocaust museums, drawing on specific experiences of Holocaust Museum Houston. In teaching about the genocide, museums are not only endeavoring to bring justice and dignity to the targeted populations, but ensuring that the next generation of activists are informed about the events that precipitated the invention of the word ‘genocide.’

ROOM 3

Post-Genocide. Rescue and Reintegration

Chair: GA’FAR, Khadeega M (American University in Cairo, Egypt)

ABRAHAMYAN, Lousine (Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute, Armenia) - *Treating Post-Genocide Trauma, Strategy for Social Integration: Near East Relief and the Armenian Orphans*

As a result of the Armenian Genocide hundreds of thousands of Armenians faced post-genocide trauma. The number of the orphaned children among them was immense. The Near East Relief, a philanthropic organization founded by a number of prominent Americans in 1915, undertook the responsibility to take care of traumatized survivors. Serving as primary relief organization for displaced and orphaned Armenians, Near East Relief introduced a sustained, organized, carefully thought out effort to help people recover from the terrors of forced marches, starvation, and execution suffered during the Armenian Genocide.

The child was the center about which the relief work of the Near East Relief revolved for many years. Near East Relief authorized the relief workers to assume responsibility for orphans and gather them from refugee camps into institutions (the largest one was the ‘Orphan City’ in Alexandropol, Gyumri). One of the main concerns of this organization was finding an antidote to the traumatized state of the orphans. The relief workers believed that solution was ‘character building’ disciplinary

mechanism, which involved physical exercise, strictly regulated time schedules, balance of work and leisure. It was intended to normalize the children enough to integrate them into society. The entire organization functioned for the ultimate development of untutored, undisciplined child life into potential manhood or womanhood. NER workers trained orphans in skills that would help them become self-supporting members of society. Near East Industries were established in the orphanages, which focused on educating an entire generation of mechanists, shipbuilders, carpenters, masons, shoemakers, tailors and nurses. The trainees upon release from the orphanages, would be ready to participate as productive members of their adoptive countries. This determined the major policy and program of the organization from 1919 and classified the Near East Relief as an international child welfare agency of unprecedented scope and size.

**JINKS, Rebecca (University of East Anglia, UK) - *“Marks Hard to Erase”:
The Rescue and Repatriation of “Absorbed” Armenian Women Survivors,
1919-1927***

During the Armenian genocide, many thousands of women and children were kidnapped or sold from the deportation columns into Turkish, Kurdish, or Arab households, where they lived as wives, servants, or concubines. After the Armistice, various humanitarian organisations, including the League of Nations and the American charity Near East Relief, set about reclaiming these Christian women and children from Moslem homes as part of the relief work, and reintegrating them into the Armenian community. A very specific group within these survivors were women whose faces and hands had been tattooed according to Bedouin custom, a rite of passage which also denoted tribal and familial possession. These women thus bore on their skin visible, permanent reminders of their ‘defilement’ by non-Christian men – a visual ‘contamination’ which, for some relief workers, solidified their feeling that these women were not ‘fit’ to be restored to the Armenian ‘nation’. This paper will focus on the varying responses to the women who had been tattooed by different groups of humanitarian actors – from those driving the League of Nations’ small project in Aleppo, to the missionaries and the new generation of lay relief workers working under the auspices of Near East Relief. It will uncover and analyse the gendered particularities of the humanitarian ideologies underpinning each project of Armenian national reconstruction. The contrasts between these different humanitarianisms – and their exclusion or inclusion of these women – offer us a suggestive window into the sea changes within the practices and ideologies of humanitarianism which occurred immediately after World War One.

**MELKONIAN, Doris (UCLA, USA) - *Tattooed: Boundaries of Inclusion and
Exclusion***

Cultural boundaries, indicating one’s inclusion/exclusion within a specific community, have existed among ethnic groups for centuries, demarcated through language, customs, religion, and appearance. In addition to these markers, an ancient means of indicating group membership employed tattoos, creating boundaries based on inscriptions on the body.

During the Armenian Genocide, Armenian women and children were often “branded” for life. As commodities of Arabs/Kurds/Turks, many were tattooed by their “owners” with tribal markings on their once unblemished faces and hands. With each new owner, new symbols were tattooed, creating a kaleidoscope of patterns and designs. This proprietary action, marking the body to control it, was commonly used to mark slaves.

Imprisoned within their tattooed skins, the fate of many Armenian children was sealed. Because of symbols inscribed on their bodies, they were reluctant to cross this cultural boundary to rejoin the Armenian community. Many who attempted to reunite with their compatriots encountered discrimination.

Using Armenian Genocide survivor testimonies, this paper will analyze the practice of tattooing and its aftermath of creating a cultural boundary for Armenian children. This study draws from eyewitness testimonies to examine how the visible markings of tattoos created boundaries, serving to exclude individuals from the Armenian community. Through the viewpoint of survivors, this study addresses the following questions: How did Armenian children respond to carrying indelible tattoos on their

faces and bodies? How were they treated once they returned to the Armenian community? How did the tattoo serve as an enduring identity marker etching the boundaries of possibility for their lives?

ROOM 4

Survivors and Memory Narratives

Chair: PEROOMIAN, Rubina (UCLA, USA)

OHANJANYAN, Anna (Yerevan State University, Armenia) - *Yergir* as the Paradigm of Lost Paradise: the Concept of "Heaven" among Armenian Genocide Survivors

This paper looks at "Yergir" – the lost Motherland in Western Armenia - as a paradigm of Lost Paradise and a model of Heaven in afterlife for Genocide survivors. It draws upon primary sources including published memoirs and historical song-evidences collected from Genocide survivors of about 150 localities of Western Armenia, Cilicia and Anatolia, unpublished narratives of survivors' descendants collected by us in the regions of Armenia (Yerevan, Shirak, Gegharkunik, Lori), as well as two case studies with old-aged survivors in Shirak region (in 2009).

Upon the theological examination of these sources, it becomes clear that in collective retrospective memory of Genocide survivors "Yergir" was identified with the heavenly place, where the happiness dwelt. In this regard the term "Yergir" becomes applicable to space and time in the meantime: in territorial terms to regain "Yergir" means to regain Paradise lost, while in temporal terms it means to move back in Golden Era, despite the Ottoman rule.

Through the integration of the term in eschatological context this paper highlights that for those, who suffered Genocide and didn't witness the territorial repossession of the Lost Motherland, "Yergir" is reconstructed and transmitted in afterlife, performing as "Heavenly Jerusalem". The result of such reconstruction is the alteration of the "location" and the "philosophy" of "Yergir": it breaks the temporal and territorial boundaries of material reality shifting into the ideal reality, that is, eternity.

SARIKAYA, Cafer (Boğaziçi University, Istanbul, Turkey) - *Food Narratives in Fethiye Çetin's My Grandmother*

In recent years, Turkish political and social life has been marked by public debates about how far one can guarantee the freedom of expression and cultural rights for ethnic and religious minorities and whether past atrocities committed in the name of the nation can be acknowledged. Some of the most contradictory discussions have been on the Kurdish issue and the massacre of Armenians in 1915. This paper investigates Fethiye Çetin's *My Grandmother* with a special emphasis on food narratives in her memoir. *My Grandmother* is a real life story of Fethiye Çetin's Armenian grandmother. There are an estimated two million Turks whose grandparents could tell them similar stories in Turkey. On a more personal level, I have a similar ethnic background. My paternal grandmother was from a Circassian family that came to Çarşamba from Russia as a result of the migration wave from the 19th century Caucasus and my maternal grandmother came from a Georgian immigrant family of Batumi. My great grandmother was an Armenian lady called Mari who took the name Zeliha after getting married to my Turkish great grandfather in Ünye in 1915. In her memoir, Fethiye Çetin breaks the silence and helps accelerate the profusion of confession literature and testimonials about hidden Armenians in Turkey. In this paper I will focus on the following questions: How does the author negotiate between her Turkish and Armenian identities? How does her grandmother in disguise of a Turkish housewife prepare certain foods that are related to her Armenian heritage? How does the author reconcile the conflicts in the household growing as a Turk and admit her hidden minority status to her grandchild before she dies that challenges dominant Turkish narrative on Armenian minorities in Turkey?

JARVIS, Helen (Cambodia) - *Beyond Bones: The Continuing Presence of victims of the Khmer Rouge Regime in Today's Cambodia*

The remains of victims of the Khmer Rouge regime (1975-79) are a constant presence in Cambodia -- regarded by survivors or means for commemoration and memorialisation; presented as evidence of the crimes in the current judicial process; inspiring artistic works in many different forms; and forming

instantly recognisable symbols of the Cambodian genocide.

To reflect on how the remains of victims of the Khmer Rouge have been treated and how they are viewed both by Cambodians and foreigners, I examine the official/national/public narratives alongside sometimes quite different unofficial/local/private narratives as they have developed over the past 35 years.

In this analysis, the term 'remains' extends beyond physical bones or ashes to include photographs and various artistic representations of those physical remains, and also of the faces and even the names of the victims, providing a wider frame through which to view and assess the power of the victims' remains. Appearing on an almost daily basis, hauntingly ever-present, emotionally affective and deployed for various political, judicial or ethical purposes, these transportable/transmissible representations provide a vehicle for the remains to emit a continuing 'presence' well beyond memorial sites and graves.

The ineluctable link between the graves and the crimes that brought them about gives rise to sharply differing attitudes towards the remains found therein and to polemical arguments about their treatment. The high visibility of these controversies in public and media debate reveals the continuing potency of these remains even today, more than thirty-five years after the victims died.

12:00 – 1:30 pm **Concurrent sessions**

ROOM 1

Post-Genocide Trauma Experiences

Chair: VON JOEDEN-FORGEY, Elisa (Stockton University, USA)

FEIERSTEIN, Daniel (Universidad Nacional de Tres de Febrero, Argentina)

- *Why is Genocide so Effective? Some Reflections on the Role of Terror in Constructing Memory Processes and Identity*

Genocide has long-lasting consequences for everyone involved. This paper analyzes the ways in which genocidal social practices destroy social ties through the traumatic effects of terror, transforming the identity of the survivors and their societies. Questioning the notion that the perpetrators of genocide are motivated by hatred or evil, or that they seek to eradicate population groups for ideological reasons alone, it examines the functionality and effectiveness of genocide over time and attempts to determine why the effects of genocide are so enduring. To this end, it revisits Raphael Lemkin's pioneering concept of genocide as the "destruction of the national identity of the oppressed group [and] the imposition of the national identity of the oppressor" in the light of contemporary developments in neuroscience, psychoanalysis and social sciences. The paper concludes that Lemkin's hypothesis is largely supported by an analysis of the ways in which memory is constructed, the impact of these on the construction of identity and the use of terror and trauma as strategies for "reorganizing" the social fabric.

ALSOP, Christiane (Lesley University, USA), COWAN, Sylvia (Lesley University, USA) - *Children of Victims and Perpetrators: Comparing Experiences of Trauma after the Nazi Regime in Germany and the Khmer Rouge Regime in Cambodia*

How do members of the second generation experience their parents' trauma of genocide? And how do they process the consequences on family relationships and cultural identity? Although the post-genocide generation cannot be considered immediate victims, they inherit the trauma experienced by all members of the first generation, whether they were perpetrators, victims, bystanders or witnesses. These children variously comply in silencing their parents' past or covertly engage in disbelief and suspicions; or they compensate for their parents' trauma-induced inability to mourn, with feelings of guilt and shame, and a sense of obligation to create a "better" life. These dynamics shape personal and cultural identities and relationships.

The presentation compares the experiences of the children after the Nazi regime in Germany (from existing interview studies along with personal experiences) with those after the Khmer Rouge regime in Cambodia (from interviews conducted in Cambodia with children of survivors and in the

U.S. with children of Cambodian immigrants). To understand our studies' findings we refer to neuro-psychology, attachment theory and concepts about inter-generational and cultural remembering.

We also examine resilience and the impact of overriding cultural norms in grieving, healing and empowering. We will invite audience members to reflect on their own cultural concepts of genocide and memory creation; to share themes touching their scholarship or personal encounters; and to envision movement toward healing.

TEVOSYAN WILLOUGHBY, Hasmik, WILLOUGHBY, Roger (Newman University, Birmingham, UK) - *Contemporary Identity, Culture and Trauma in the Wake of the Armenian Genocide*

There has been considerable research into intergenerational patterns within both normal human development and the transmission of dysfunction and trauma. Literature on the latter predominantly considers the impact of the Holocaust on the later lives of survivors and subsequent generations. Limited scientific consideration has been given to survivors of other conflicts and in relation to the Armenian genocide this literature is particularly sparse. Here, we begin to address this through a consideration of the psychosocial sequelae of that genocide on survivors and current generations resident *within* the Republic of Armenia.

In reviewing both the analogous literature on the psychosocial sequelae of the Holocaust and the parallel literature on the Armenian genocide, we discuss the widespread clinical and sub-clinical symptomatology the latter studies note among the *diaspora* communities. We then report on psychological problems noted in our review of first-generation survivor accounts (141 from Virabyan [2013] and 315 from Svazlain [2011]). We then detail our in-depth qualitative study of 21 second and subsequent generation survivors living in Armenia. We highlight the myths and scripts – particularly involving women's suffering – that narrate identification across the generations and the tensions between silence, memory, and commemoration.

Using a psychoanalytic framework, we outline mechanisms in the intergenerational transfer of traumatogenic material and discuss how contemporary Armenians have incorporated either *cultural* or *personal* familial imagos related to the genocide. We argue that this impacts on cultural and personal identity and can represent a vulnerability factor when facing stress. We conclude with a discussion of emerging current generation efforts to re-edit identity.

ROOM 2

Memory and Aftermath of Genocide

Chair: SHERMAN, Marc (Institute on the Holocaust and Genocide, Jerusalem, Israel)

MARUTYAN, Harutyun (Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography, Armenia) - *The Memory of Armenian Genocide as a Factor in Armenian Revolution/Karabagh Movement (1988-1990)*

Some significant elements of a people's collective and historical memory can remain in a passive, "dormant" state, to be "awakened," or activated by the influence of external and internal incentives to acquire the function of an influential, or even decisive, factor. This happened in the case with the memory of the Armenian genocide before the Armenian Revolution and in 1988, immediately following the massacres of Armenians in Azerbaijani city of Sumgait. These last events were perceived unequivocally as genocide against Armenians, especially in consideration of the fact that the methods of savagery reproduced almost to the latter the methods of the Genocide in Ottoman Empire at the beginning of the twentieth century.

As the study of the various materials proves, the struggle of Armenians for the assessment of 1988-1990 massacres of Armenians in Azerbaijan as genocide; for the exposure of its organizers and perpetrators and the revelation of the possibly guilty; as well as the evaluations of the trials against them, gradually led to the political maturity of the popular masses, to transformations of stereotypes that had been shaped in the course of centuries and decades, and to processes of re-evaluation of the past and the present. From the point of view of avoidance of genocide in the future, the need for

society to have governing mechanisms and the need for political changes in general was understood. Thus, in the years of the Karabagh Movement the theme of genocide, transgressing the limits of pain and sorrow typical of its initial stage, drove people to activity that resulted in the formation of a new parliament, which was expected to choose the course of radical change.

That is, the perceptions and the memory of Genocide – the factor that is often interpreted as an obstacle to the elimination of the “bondages of the past,” and hence a hindrance to the real progress of Armenians and a “retrograde” means, became the major incentive in Armenia’s move to democracy, overthrow of Soviet regime, to the creation of independent state.

**DREYFUS, Jean-Marc (University of Manchester, UK) - *Saintly Remains?*
*The Transfer of Ashes after the Holocaust***

In April 1949, the French central consistory decided to add some ashes of Auschwitz in the memorial that had previously been inaugurated in the official French synagogue, the temple on the rue de la Victoire in Paris. An urn was transferred from Cracow to Paris through the diplomatic pouch. This story is among many in post-war Europe. Survivors on pilgrimages on the camp sites used to bring home a handful of ashes, or even small fragments of human bones. It was as if these human remains were to replace bodies of lost ones, in absence of graves. They were placed in memorials (in France, on open air memorials to deportation, urns are often securely fixed on the pedestal, like in Blois). This presentation wants to develop this theme of ashes transfer, to explain why they were made only in a short period of time (till mid 1950s) and which meaning can be given to them. It will argued that Resistance fighters were the first all over Europe to organise such transfer ceremonies, followed by various Jewish leaders from across the continent and in Israel and then by Catholics. Those ceremonies proved multifaceted, they bore different meanings even if they seemed similar. They were unique in 20th century Europe. It will also be argued that those transfer of ashes mimicked – even unknowingly – the transfer of relics by Catholics, in order to recreate communities and to bring political legitimations.

**GAYDOSH, Brenda (West Chester University of Pennsylvania, USA) -
*Forgiveness or Forbearance: Rwanda 20 Years Later***

Following European imperialism, the Rwandan people had to identify themselves as Hutu, Tutsi, or Twa. These forced designations helped lead to the 1994 genocide of Tutsis and modern Hutus. Leading the government in varied ways following the genocide, current Rwandan president, Paul Kagame, has demanded that all Rwandans identify themselves as “Rwandans,” with no tribal designation. He called on his people to forgive their neighbors and begin life anew. If 1994, killers admitted their guilt and asked for forgiveness; the state freed them from imprisonment. Church leaders have called on the Rwandan people to forgive each other.

Two thousand fourteen marked the twentieth anniversary of the genocide. How have the Rwandan people dealt with the state’s seemingly demand that forgiveness be their practice? Has there been forgiveness in Rwanda? Have Church leaders been successful in softening people’s hearts. There continues to be some underlying tension, but the people are looking for ways to bring their country to unity. For the first time in the history of genocide, a nation of people has begun quickly to look for ways to heal the country. Some believe that the calm in current day Rwanda is a farce, that tensions could erupt again.

This paper argues that “forgiveness” has not saved Rwanda nor will “tolerance.” Rwandans must use both of these avenues and other creative measures, such as storytelling, to stave off a future crisis. Using many primary sources, including Rwandan newspapers from April-June 2014 and personal conversations with individuals in Rwanda, this paper will show that the people of Rwanda must continue to tolerate unrepentant neighbors, forgive when they can, and institute numerous practices to avoid future conflict.

ROOM 3

Arts and Genocide

Chair: HINTON, Alex (Rutgers University, Newark, USA)

HOFMANN, Tessa (Freie Universität Berlin, Germany) - "Only Those Who Look Back, Move Forward": Four Literary Responses to Genocidal Trauma in Greek and Transnational Prose

In my contribution, I introduce four authors of different generations and languages (Greek, English, Swedish), but all of Greek descent: In fall of 1922, the Ottoman citizen Elias Venezis (born Mellos; 1904-1973), aged just eighteen, came into a forced labor unit of originally 3,000 Greeks of from Ayvalik (Greek Kidonia), of which only 23 men survived the initial death march. Shortly after his release in 1924, Venezis published his haunting memories in a local Greek weekly. They reappeared in a revised and extended version in 1931 as a "blood spelled" autobiographical novel under the title "Το Νούμερο 31328: Το βιβλίο της σκλαβιάς" (Number 31328: The Book of Slaves). Dido Sotiriou (1909-2004), Communist daughter of a wealthy entrepreneur of the same Western Anatolian region, who bankrupted due to the Young Turks' boycott measures, based her popular biographical novel "Ματωμένα Χώματα" ("Earth, Covered in Blood", 1962; English title: "Farewell, Anatolia!") on the hand-written memories of a poor farmer's son, survivor and eyewitness Manolis Axiotis.

In postmodern transnational literature, memories on Asia Minor, the genocide against its Greek population – and in particular the Holocaust of Smyrna - survival and estrangement in the international Diaspora are reflected in the prominent novels "Middlesex" (2002) and "Den siste greken" ('The last Greek', 2009) of Jeffrey Eugenides and Aris Fioretos, both born in 1960 and deliberately mixing literary genres such as family biographies, immigrant and coming-of-age stories.

Both the works of expelled authors from Asia Minor and of their transnational descendants are remarkably free of revanchist clichés or the stereotype "othering" of Turks or Muslims. While Venezis points out to the irritating "genocidal corruption" in the victim group, Sotiriou externalizes the political responsibility for the "Catastrophe" on Germany and the Entente, depicting Asia Minor as homeland of Greeks and Turks. Eugenides chose intersexuality as a metaphor of modernity and hybridity of (Greek and other) immigrant communities, whereas Fioretos is interested in flowing, flexible identities and the interlinkage of past and present that expresses in a non-linear narrative, where everybody and everything is related to others.

BALAKIAN, Peter (Colgate University, USA) - *Elia Kazan's America, America and the Armenian Massacres of the 1890s*

Elia Kazan's Oscar winning film of 1963, *America, America* is the first major feature film to portray the treatment of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire. The film's narrative is situated in the political context of the Ottoman Bank take-over by Armenian activists in August 1896 and the ensuing massacres initiated by Sultan Abdul Hamid throughout Turkey. In my paper I will assess the filmic (cinematic and narrative structure) representation of this Armenian/Ottoman political moment and its relationship to Kazan's narrative, which deals primarily with a young Greek man's flight from Turkey amidst the ominous warning of the massacres and the burning of the Armenian church in his village. I will conclude by analyzing the reception history of the film and the absence of any acknowledgement or explanation by critics and scholars of the Armenian historical event which commences the film and is the source of the film's primary narrative (the protagonist's journey out of Anatolia) that defines the story.

CASTRO, Azucena (Stockholm University, Sweden) - *A literary analysis on the representations of perpetrators- Perpetrators' role in mass violence in the XX century context*

In the literary representations of mass atrocities, the victimizers' role is not usually addressed, as it occurs with the traditional responses to the Armenian and the Jewish Holocausts. Instead, the focus has often been on the victims or the covenant between the victims and God. The type of explanation –secular or religious, internal or external– that catastrophe is given determines how the role of the relevant actors is understood and conceptualized. Considering this determination, in my paper I will

shed light on the people that supply the physical force in the violent act, victimizers.

I will examine perpetrators' role and agency drawing from literature that approaches mass violence committed under wartime, dictatorship and colonialism in different contexts in the XX century. I will analyze the projections of the figures of perpetrators by establishing a dialogue between literary and autobiographical accounts of mass violence that depict perpetrators, mainly in the Armenian genocide through Ana Arzoumanian's *Mar Negro* (2012), the Algerian War of Independence through Henri Alleg's *The Question* (2006[1958]) and the Argentinean dictatorship through Juan Gelman's *La Juntaluz* (1985 [2011]). My analysis draws on literary and cultural theory. This corpus of literary and autobiographical works provides a multi-faceted view on the roles that victimizers take: (a) ordinary workers performing a repetitive task, (b) actors adapting to a script and (c) performers in a torture ritual. This multi-faceted perspective on these actors will illuminate angles which are not conventionally addressed in mass atrocities' studies of perpetrators.

POMERANZ, Laura (UNAM, National Autonomous University of Mexico, Mexico) - *Split Between Truth and Depiction: Contemporary Art and Cambodian Genocide*

My proposed lecture, "Split between Truth and Depiction: Contemporary Art and Cambodian Genocide", will analyze the piece of Cambodian artist Ly Daravouth, *The Messenger* which was part of the larger exhibit *The Legacy of Absence*, shown in Phnom Penn in 2000. The piece is devoted to exploring the atrocities committed with the indoctrinated children used by the regime.

The Messenger presents photographs taken from the Center of Documentation of Cambodia of children employed as child soldiers, spies of their own families and executioners. These photographs are shot in a similar matter than ones taken in the S-21 jail, the most terrifying center of torture of the regime. The pictures of the regime-abused kids, presented in *The Messenger*, are extremely alike to those of the prisoners in the camps, which brings forth the controversy of this past. The main questions that arise are: Which children represent the political reality of Cambodian identity? Can we judge those who were obligated to serve the Khmer Rouge?

When the public sees the piece of art, and discovers the faces of the child soldiers, a split between reality and representation, in which the line of victim and victimizer is blurred. The lecture will be accompanied by a power point presentation which will look at this serious conflict, and allow the audience to follow the debate of the horrors a genocide can bring forth, while we maintain the fire of memory lit.

ROOM 4

Armenian Genocide Reparation Issue

Chair: TBA

GZOYAN, Edita (Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute, Armenia) - *Claiming Reparations for the Armenian Genocide: the European Court of Human Rights*

It's well-established that during the Armenian Genocide alongside with systematic and organized massacres the Armenian population was being deprived of its properties. The Turkish government assured the Armenians that they would be fairly compensated for the confiscated property. However, part of Armenian property was pillaged, another part sold in auctions or distributed to Turks, nomads, Kurds and other Muslim population.

A general principle of international law stipulates that a State is responsible for injuries caused by its wrongful acts and should make reparation in an adequate form. Though approximately a century has passed from those notorious events the issue of reparations is still urgent. Nowadays descendants of those Armenians are trying to seek appropriate remedies for restoration of their violated rights in different national courts. However, whatever decision the national courts reach, the aspect of sovereign immunity of Turkey from foreign court decisions will prevent their enforcement. The most reasonable way to make Turkey compensate is to apply to an institution to which the Turkey is party and which can make authoritative decisions mandatory for compliance. Such forum can be the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR).

This paper addresses the possibility of successfully claiming reparations for the Armenian properties confiscated during and following the Armenian Genocide before the ECtHR. After careful consideration of the ECtHR case law and admissibility tests for individual applications, the conclusion is that there is a possibility to litigate the case before the ECtHR.

THERIAULT, Henry (Worcester State University, USA) - *The Armenian Genocide Reparations Study Group Final Report*

The Armenian Genocide Reparations Study Group was formed in 2007 by philosopher Henry Theriault, political scientist and transitional justice expert Jermaine McCalpin, renowned United Nations lawyer Alfred de Zayas, and foreign affairs expert and former Armenian ambassador to Canada Ara Papian. The group has recently produced the first comprehensive study of the issue of reparations for the spectrum of harms inflicted against Armenians as a group by the 1915 genocide. The study includes an account of the harms done, a legal and theoretical analysis of appropriate reparations strategies for such cases, and a concrete proposal for (a) repairs that should be made and (b) the transitional justice mechanisms that can result in these repairs in a productive manner for both the victim and perpetrator groups. The AGRSG report is available at <http://www.armeniangenocidereparations.info/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/20150331-ArmenianGenocideReparations-CompleteBooklet-FINAL.pdf>.

This paper will discuss the key theoretical and practical insights of the report as well as highlighting potential limitations and criticisms of the approach it takes. In addition, the paper will discuss the role of the approach taken in the report in future Armenian-Turkish state relations and treatment of the Armenian Genocide.

(NOTE: The report does not analyze Greek or Assyrian reparations claims, due to specialization limitations of its co-authors and the fact that some Armenian groups were specifically asking for this type of analysis, giving the group legitimacy on this particular case, but not the others.)

ANKESHIAN, Tamar (Australia) - *Punishing Genocidal Crimes: The issue of reparations and the limited capacity of international justice Limitations of International Justice – The Armenian Genocide*

The following paper will analyse the success of current international law mechanisms in achieving justice against crimes of genocide, and those of reparation for victims of genocide. The paper will explore mechanisms in terms of both genocides in general, and then, focus in particular on the Armenian Genocide. Current lack of recognition and reparation of the Armenian Genocide will be a subsequent issue to be discussed.

The method of approach to this analysis includes research into current international laws governing crimes of genocide, academic journals as well as second hand research conducted in relation to the issue of reparations for victims of the Armenian genocide.

It is found that even though progress has been made in terms of victim's rights and reparation within the international criminal justice system, there are still significant challenges being faced by the Armenian diaspora in achieving a just resolution to the genocide of 1915.

2:00 – 3:10 pm

Concurrent sessions

ROOM 1

Genocide Education

Chair: WILLIAMS, Tim (Marburg University, Germany)

BENTROVATRO, Denise (Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research in Braunschweig, Germany) - *Teaching about Conflict and Genocide in Central Africa: A Comparative Analysis of Experiences and Lessons from Rwanda and Burundi*

This paper explores the cases of Rwanda and Burundi in order to shed light on current practices in teaching history in the wake of genocide and mass violence in the Great Lakes Region of Africa. Drawing on original fieldwork and a review of primary and secondary sources, the paper examines approaches

to dealing with a violent and contested past in schools in this region, using a comparative perspective to identify and explain similarities and divergences in observed trends. At the core of this paper is an analysis of official curricula and textbooks and an investigation of the present-day experiences and views of teachers and pupils, to the end of assessing the ways in which national policies have been received and translated into practice and, more specifically, how the nation's traumatic history is actually taught, learned and understood in Rwandan and Burundian classrooms. In particular, the paper examines the role of state-controlled education in the formation of collective memory by juxtaposing analysis of official historical narratives with an investigation of social constructions of victimhood, responsibility and heroism among Rwanda's and Burundi's younger generations. The paper concludes by arguing that the courses taken by Rwanda and Burundi, although greatly divergent, both remain uncertain; this calls our attention to the failure of schools in these countries to help their students make sense of a complex past and a complex present.

MAITLES, Henry (University of the West of Scotland, UK) - *"That Given the Tiniest Reason People will Turn Against Each Other": The Impact of an Innovative Approach to Teaching and Learning About Genocide in a Secondary (High) School in the West of Scotland.*

Education for citizenship is a priority area in many countries throughout the world. An integral component of education for citizenship is the development of informed values and attitudes. Within this context, issues involving topics such as an understanding of human rights, democracy, genocide and racism can be central to the development of more rounded human beings. There is a case for giving pupils experience in areas of learning relating to citizenship such as human rights and genocide outwith the structures of the traditional subject based classroom. Such a method of learning has been attempted in this West of Scotland comprehensive. Students in S1 (first year of secondary education – about 12 years of age) were taken off normal timetable for 12 days and were engaged in a series of rich tasks and learning experiences (involving role play and other active learning activities) ranging from understanding genocide to cultural visits to understanding poverty in the developing world to challenging intolerance.

Research Questions

- Examine the programme of learning put in place;
- Is there an impact in promoting positive values and attitudes of developing citizenship content outwith the traditional structures of learning.

Methodology

In conjunction with the school, a values and attitudes questionnaire was drawn up, using experience of Hahn (1998), Maitles and Cowan (2006), Maitles (2010), Torney Purta et al (2005) and Schultz et al (2012). The pupils were asked to complete the questionnaire before the initiative started and immediately after it ended

Findings

The findings will report on the short term difference in terms of values and attitudes towards:

- Racism and prejudice towards a variety of minority groups;
- Responsibility for challenging racism;
- Other controversial issues;
- Gender differences.

ROOM 2

Genocide Denial

Chair: MARSOBIAN, Armen (Southern Connecticut State University)

WAINTRATER, Meir (France) - *Genocide Denial as a Symbolic Re-enactment of Genocide Itself*

At the time when a genocide is perpetrated, the criminal organization in charge of it strives to deny its very existence, mainly for tactical reasons such as the need to confuse the victims and to avoid international reactions. Immediately after a genocide, denial is necessary to protect the criminals

against the consequences of their actions. However, the way denial goes on for decades—up to a century—is an indication that its relationship to genocide runs far deeper than that.

Although the three major genocides of the twentieth century—the Armenian genocide, the Jewish genocide and the Tutsi genocide—occurred in very different contexts, a comparative analysis shows striking similarities between their respective discourses of denial. In all cases, we witness a systematic disparagement of testimonies, an attempt at permuting the roles of executioners and victims, complaints against Armenian/Jewish/Tutsi “lobbies” who peddle false accusations, and a strong liking for conspiracy theories. Why is it so? Because the denial results from a logic that is consubstantial to the genocide itself.

In the world as the perpetrator sees it, the Armenian/Jew/Tutsi does not have a right to live. It is necessary to kill him, because of his treacherous nature; it is allowed to kill him, because he is a non-person; and, since he is a non-person, his murder is a non-event.

A cross-analysis of present-day denial discourses will show how that logic has been adapted to contemporary ways of thinking, and how it morphed into a symbolic re-enactment of genocide that is perceived as a direct threat by the groups of former victims.

MERENICS, Éva (Hungary) - *Inner Logical Incoherence of Armenian Genocide Denial*

The proposed presentation intends to analyse arguments of Armenian Genocide denial mainly listed by Richard Hovannisian with formal logical means. (The arguments concern: ‘propagandistic aims’ of documents proving the genocide, Armenians considered as security threat, lack of intent of state institutions in causing death, relativisation or underestimation of numbers of victims/refugees, the ‘myth of genocide’ serving political/economic motives or burdening relations with Turkey). The author also adds denialist arguments controversially interpreting the causes of Armenians’ death.

Steps of the analysis:

1. Separate logical examination of the arguments. Thereby the inner logical coherence of each argument is analysed.

2. Comparison of the arguments to the genocide-definition of the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime Genocide. The preamble states that Genocide has been present throughout the history of mankind, therefore the application of the definition is possible for pre-1948 genocides.

Either of the arguments proved to be false get a negative truth value, while those arguments that cannot be completely rejected get a positive truth value.

3. Formal logical conjunction of the arguments and their truth values. The final truth value of this process is false if any of the arguments is false.

4. Further examination of contradiction between arguments.

Expressed verbally, if arguments denying the Armenian genocide are false or contradictory, then denial proves to be false.

Hovhannisian’s list, meeting his original aims is also applicable to Holocaust denial. Therefore the extension of this method is possible, probably also in case of further genocides or historical debates.

ROOM 3

Understanding and Engagement through Art: Images and the Teaching of Genocide WORKSHOP

MULLER, Adam (University of Manitoba, Canada) and JONES, Adam (University of British Columbia, Canada)

This workshop centers on the disciplines that photography and artistic visual imagery may be mobilized for so as to convey knowledge / understanding of genocides, in the classroom and elsewhere. Visual representations of genocide bear a complicated relationship to the atrocities they depict. At their best, they allow us to connect intimately and emotionally with victims’ experiences, humanizing them, sometimes unexpectedly. At their worst, images turn their viewers into idle

spectators, uncaring consumers of other peoples' objectified pain and suffering.

Susan Sontag suggests that the only thing that legitimates our exposure to images of genocide and its aftermaths is our willingness to learn from what we see, and to act to make things better in light of what we've come to know. But how exactly do images enable this learning and action? What knowledge is conveyed by images, and how should we begin to access it? Does the formal beauty of many images of horrific events impede or ease this access? And what sorts of strategies are (or can be) employed by producers, curators, and critics of atrocious visual representations to facilitate their audience's moral and historical education?

Professors Adam Jones and Adam Muller, along with artist / educator Amy Fagin, will draw on variety of private and public images, theoretical approaches, and teaching experiences in order to launch a wide-ranging discussion of the ways in which images can help us learn about past genocides, and act to prevent new ones from occurring in future.

