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4th Global Conference on Genocide

Genocide and Mass Trauma: Rising to the Challenges of Comprehension, Intervention, Prevention and Restitution

University of Cape Town, 4th – 7th December 2014



**Conveners: Mohamed Adhikari
Juergen Zimmerer
Volker Langbehn**

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Message from the INoGS President



Dear colleagues

I am delighted to welcome all of you here in Cape Town to our 4th Global Conference. It has been a decade, almost to the month, since INoGS was founded in Berlin in January 2005. In these ten years INoGS has developed into a truly global network of genocide scholars with its own *Journal of Genocide Research*, a lively web presence, and dedicated Facebook community (www.inogs.com; <https://www.facebook.com/INoGSONline>). Still, personal meetings are indispensable, becoming all the more important as our academic association extends to all corners of the globe. Despite the existence of this scholarly network, the economic and political realities of our world all too often means that scholarly meetings are an affair of the Global North. As an Africanist I am particularly thrilled that the University of Cape Town kindly invited us to its campus thereby allowing us to meet on the African continent for the first time. We are deeply grateful to the University and its board of governors! But nothing would have come of this if it were not for Professor Mohamed Adhikari, who took it upon himself to bring the INoGS conference to Cape Town. I thank him and his team for their tireless work. Professor Adhikari not only acted as our local convener but also as chief fundraiser. We owe it to him and our sponsors that we could generously assist younger scholars and students from the Global South to attend the conference. The program clearly reflects this.

When we gathered in Berlin a decade ago, it was also to protest against the silence surrounding the genocide of the Herero and Nama people in Germany at that time. I said in my introduction that the conference was called partly in reaction to the fact that no official monument to colonial crimes existed in Germany. I then expressed my hope that the network, which we were in the process of setting up, would become a "living monument" to the victims of mass violence. It would act as a constant reminder of our duty to study the root causes of such violence as well as ways to overcome its catastrophic results so as to assist in its prevention. Whereas our balance sheet on understanding, and thereby preventing, mass violence is mixed at best, the International Network of Genocide Scholars has, as a "living monument", far exceeded my wildest dreams.

Starting with a small conference of 20 presenters, INoGS has in the meantime held Global Conferences on Genocide in Sheffield (2009), Brighton (2010) and San Francisco (2012), with increasing numbers of participants on each occasion. This trend also holds for Cape Town. Meeting now at the southern tip of the African continent, where the Atlantic and Indian Oceans come together, seems a fitting place for us to pursue our objective of building an even more comprehensive network of scholars studying mass violence. The expansive scope of the conference program attests that we have taken a major step in that direction.

I wish us all a fruitful and exciting conference in Cape Town.

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

The conference organizing committee would like to express its heartfelt thanks to all sponsors and partners for their generous support.

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Mauerberger Foundation



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SOUTHERN AFRICA



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<http://inogs.com/>
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GENOCIDE STUDIES INTERNATIONAL

Genocide Studies International (GSI) is a journal devoted to innovative research, analysis and information. *GSI* is a forum for the academic study and understanding of the phenomena of genocide and the gross violation of human rights and various approaches to preventing them. It strives to raise awareness of the necessity of genocide prevention and the promotion of universal human rights. It serves as a critical voice for analyzing governmental and supra-governmental efforts in the prevention of genocide. *Genocide Studies International* is the official journal of the International Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies.

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GSI 8.2 - Fall 2014

General issue with a mix of academic articles on several aspects of the phenomenon of genocide, and installments in the "Research Notes" and "Notes from the Field" sections.

Coming soon...

GSI 9.1 - Spring 2015

Special issue on the "Ottoman Genocide of Armenians, Assyrians, and Greeks"

GSI 9.2 - Fall 2015

General issue with articles on several aspects of the phenomenon of genocide

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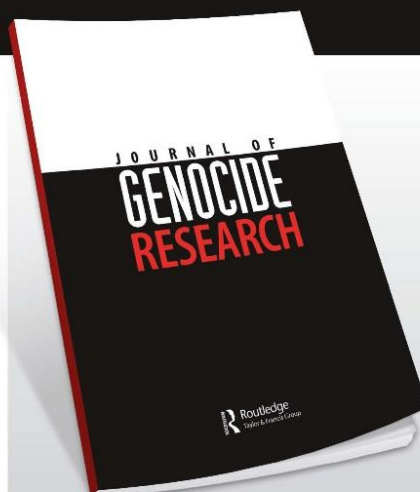
Dirk Moses

European University Institute, Florence, Italy / University of Sydney, Australia

Journal of Genocide Research is the official journal of the International Network of Genocide Scholars (INOGS). As a cross-disciplinary journal it promotes the scholarly study of genocide.

Genocide is a contested legal, historical, sociological and political term that is applied in various spheres: in international law, in academic analyses of genocide, past and present, and in political claim making. **Journal of Genocide Research** welcomes contributions that combine empirical research with conceptual reflection on these and related topics, like social psychology, military intervention, post-genocide conflict management as well as gender and memory issues.

All submissions undergo rigorous peer review, based on initial editor screening and anonymized refereeing by two external scholars.



GET AN INSIGHT INTO THE JOURNAL

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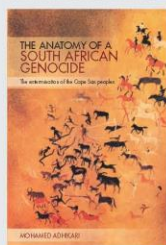
UCT Press is a South African scholarly publisher committed to publishing **high-quality, peer-reviewed, scholarly books** in the area of the broad Humanities with an African perspective

The Anatomy of a South African Genocide

The Extermination of the Cape San Peoples

Author: M Adhikari
 ISBN: 978 1 91989 544 4 (Print)
 978 1 92049 989 1 (Web pdf)
 978 1 91989 566 6 (EPub)
 BISAC: HIS001040
 BIC: HBJH

Format: Soft cover
 Pub date: 2010
 Price: R125.00 / £10
 Size: 228 X 152mm
 Extent: 120 pages



In 1998 David Kruiper, the leader of the Khomani San people, who today live on the fringe of the Kalahari Desert in the farthest reaches of South Africa's Northern Cape province, lamented of his people that '...we have been made into nothing'. The Khomani San are a tiny remnant of the foraging communities who once inhabited most of the land area that is now South Africa. Whereas Kruiper was voicing concern about the marginalisation of the Khomani San in post-apartheid South Africa, his judgement applies to the fate of all the hunter-gatherer societies of the Cape Colony who were destroyed by the impact of European colonialism during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

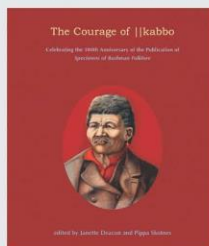
In South Africa, the nature of these killings has effectively been ignored and there is woeful public ignorance about the fate of the country's original inhabitants. Until relatively recently, the marginalisation of the San has been clearly reflected in the treatment of their extermination as little more than a footnote, and none of the recent works that deal with the destruction of San society explicitly analyse it as a case of genocide. The author argues that it is, since the group is no longer able to function as a viable social entity. This book explores the history of the genocide and its modern outcome.

Courage of |Kabbo, The

Celebrating the 100th Anniversary of the Publication of Specimens of Bushman Folklore

Editors: J Deacon & P Skotnes
 ISBN: 978 1 91989 546 8 (Print)
 978 1 77582 113 7 (Web pdf)
 BISAC: HIS001040
 BIC: HBJH

Format: Soft cover
 Pub date: 2014
 Price: R450.00 / \$40 / £27
 Size: 245 X 210mm
 Extent: 464 pages



The year 2011 marked the centenary of the publication of Wilhelm Bleek and Lucy Lloyd's publication, *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*, a unique and globally important record of the language and poetry of a now-extinct language, that of the |xam Bushmen. To mark this anniversary, we have published this edited volume, named after |Kabbo, a prisoner released from the Breakwater Convict Station, who remained in Cape Town far from home and family and sacrificed the freedom of his final years to teach Bleek and Lloyd his language and make his stories known by way of books. The stories in the Bleek and Lloyd archive are now all that remain of the world view of the |xam.

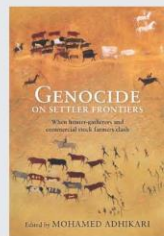
This book brings together a range of experts from a wide array of disciplines but all with a common theme, the Bleek and Lloyd archive, its progenitors and its legacy. It engages with issues of archival research and publication, with the difficulties of understanding oral literature through writing and with the active curation of archives. It comments on the past and present treatment of Bushmen and attempts to keep their culture alive, and it explores the world view of different groups of Bushmen through rock art, the paintings done for Bleek and Lloyd, their poetry and their language.

Genocide on Settler Frontiers

When Hunter-gatherers and Commercial Stock Farmers Clash

Editor: M Adhikari
 ISBN: 978 1 91989 568 0 (Print)
 978 1 77582 153 3 (Web pdf)
 978 1 77582 112 0 (EPub)
 BISAC: HIS000000
 BIC: HBTZ

Format: Soft cover
 Pub date: 2014
 Price: R375.00 / £18.95 / \$27.50
 Size: 228 X 152mm
 Extent: 360 pages



In September 2012, UNESCO held its first ever consultation with member states on the subject of Holocaust and genocide education, recognising the importance of teaching the history of genocide. The aim was to find approaches to raise awareness about the recurrence of mass atrocities and genocide in different environments.

It is in this context that Mohamed Adhikari has put together this title, giving perspective to historical European overseas conquests which included many instances of the extermination of indigenous peoples. In cases where invading commercial stock farmers clashed with hunter-gatherers – in southern Africa,

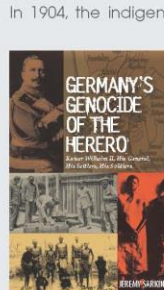
Australia and the Americas – the conflict was particularly destructive, often resulting in a degree of dispossession and slaughter that destroyed the ability of these societies to reproduce themselves biologically or culturally. The question of whether this form of colonial conflict was inherently genocidal has not in any systematic way been addressed by scholars until now.

Germany's Genocide of the Herero

Kaiser Wilhelm II, His General, His Settlers, His Soldiers

Author: J Sarkin
 ISBN: 978 1 91989 547 5 (Print)
 BISAC: HIS001040
 BIC: HBTZ

Format: Soft cover
 Pub date: 2011
 Price: R355.00 / £45 (cloth) / \$80 (cloth)
 Size: 228 X 152mm
 Extent: 284 pages



In 1904, the indigenous Herero people of German South West Africa (now Namibia) rebelled against their German occupiers. In the following four years, the German army retaliated, killing between 60,000 and 100,000 Herero people, one of the worst atrocities ever. The history of the Herero genocide bears not only on transitional justice issues throughout Africa, but also on legal issues elsewhere in the world where reparations for colonial injustices have been called for.

This book explores the events within the context of German South West Africa (GSWA) as the only German colony where settlement was actually attempted. The study contends that the genocide was not the work of one rogue general or the practices of the military, but that it was inexorably propelled by Germany's national goals at the time. The book will argue that the

Herero genocide was linked to Germany's late entry into the colonial race, which led it to acquire multiple colonies all over the world frenetically within a very short period, using any means available, including ruthlessness.



ONE PAGE OVERVIEW OF THE CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

TIME	THURSDAY 4 TH DECEMBER			
15.00 – 18.00	Registration – Robert Leslie Social Science Building foyer			
18.00 – 18.15	Introductory comments, Mohamed Adhikari, convener			
18.15 – 18.25	Welcome to UCT by Professor Sakhela Bhulungu, Dean of Humanities Faculty, UCT			
18.25 – 18.45	Welcome and opening remarks , Professor Juergen Zimmerer, President of INoGS			
18.45 – 19.45	Keynote address, Professor Henning Melber, Director emeritus, Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation			
19.45 – 20.45	Welcome reception, Robert Leslie Social Science foyer			
FRIDAY 5 TH DECEMBER				
TIME	LESLIE 3A	BEATTIE 114	BEATTIE 115	
9.00 – 10.45	1. Climate Change and Mass Violence I	2. Rhetoric, Narrative and Representation	3. Memory and Commemoration of Mass Atrocities	
10.45 – 11.15	Morning Tea/Coffee Break – Leslie foyer			
11.15 – 13.00	4. Colonialism and Genocide	5. Climate Change and Mass Violence II	6. Gukurahundi: Mass Violence in Zimbabwe	
13.00 – 14.00	Lunch – Leslie foyer			
14.00 – 15.45	7. Genocide: Global and Comparative Perspectives	8. Prevention of Genocide	9. German Colonialism and Mass Violence in Africa	
15.45 – 16.15	Afternoon Tea/Coffee Break – Leslie foyer			
16.15 – 18.00	10. Legacy of Genocide in Namibia	11. Survival, Loss, Healing	12. Militias, Paramilitaries, Mercenaries	
18.10 – 19.10	Keynote address, Professor Ian Phimister, University of the Free State, LESLIE 3A			
19.30	Supper, Leslie foyer			
SATURDAY 6 TH DECEMBER				
TIME	LESLIE 3A	BEATTIE 114	BEATTIE 115	BEATTIE 248
9.00 – 10.45	13. Rwanda: Refugees, Rescuers and Identity	14. Armenian Genocide	15. Mass Violence in Nigeria	16. Trauma, Medicine and Mass Graves
10.45 – 11.15	Morning Tea/Coffee Break – Leslie foyer			
11.15 – 13.00	17. Reconciliation in Rwanda	18. Child Forced Removals: Cape Colony	19. East Africa and the Great Lakes Region	20. Legal Perspectives
13.00 – 14.00	Lunch – Leslie Foyer			
14.00 – 15.45	21. Democratic Republic of the Congo	22. Imperialism and Genocide	23. Mass Trauma and Reconciliation	24. Denial and Disavowal
15.45 – 16.15	Afternoon Tea/Coffee Break – Leslie foyer			
16.15 – 17.15	Zapiro, “ <i>Art of Darkness: Cartooning Mass Violence</i> ”, LESLIE 3A			
17.15 – 18.15	INoGS Plenary session chaired by Prof Juergen Zimmerer			
18.30	Departure of bus for Long Street and V & A Waterfront			
SUNDAY 7 TH DECEMBER				
TIME	LESLIE 3A	BEATTIE 114	BEATTIE 115	
9.00 – 10.30	25. Teaching about Genocide	26. Mass Violence in the Middle East	27. Media and Collective Violence	
10.30 – 11.00	Morning Tea/Coffee Break – Leslie foyer			
11.00 – 12.30	28. Museums, Education and the Holocaust	29. Race, Ethnicity and Mass Trauma	30. Gender and Sexual Violence	
12.30 – 13.15	Lunch – Leslie foyer			
13.30 – 16.30	Museums and Mass Human Rights Violations Programme: District 6 Museum + Cape Town Holocaust Centre			
16.30 – 17.00	Afternoon Tea/Coffee Break – Cape Town Holocaust Centre			
17.00 – 21.00	Screening of Claude Lanzmann’s <i>The Last of the Unjust</i> , Cape Town Holocaust Centre			

CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

THURSDAY 4TH DECEMBER

15.00 – 18.00 **REGISTRATION** – Robert Leslie Social Science Building foyer

ROBERT LESLIE SOCIAL SCIENCE, LECTURE THEATRE 3A

18.00 – 18.15 Introductory comments, Mohamed Adhikari, convener

18.15 – 18.25 Welcome to UCT by Professor Sakhela Bhulungu, Dean of Humanities Faculty, UCT

18.25 – 18.45 Welcome and opening remarks, Professor Juergen Zimmerer, President of INoGS

18.45 – 19.45 **KEYNOTE LECTURE**, Professor Henning Melber, Director emeritus, Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation

“Modernity, Colonialism and Genocide: Southern African Dimensions”

19.45 – 20.45 **WELCOME RECEPTION**, Leslie Social Science foyer

FRIDAY 5TH DECEMBER

Panel 1:	9.00 – 10.45	Climate Change and Mass Violence I	LESLIE 3A
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Chair: Professor Juergen Zimmerer (University of Hamburg)

1. Buhaug, Halvard (Peace Research Institute, Oslo), Food insecurity and violent conflict in sub-Saharan Africa
2. Murray, Elisabeth Hope (Embry-Riddle University), Weaponizing famine as genocide: Mass atrocity in the climate era
3. Nyawo, Vongai (Midlands State University), Environmental change and mass violence: Rethinking coping strategies to food security in rural Mwenezi, Zimbabwe

Panel 2:	9.00 – 10.45	Rhetoric, Narrative and Representation	BEATTIE 114
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Chair: Jeremiah Garsha (University of Cambridge)

1. Kuntz, Philipp (University of Bochum), Selling mass atrocities abroad: Analyzing the rhetorical strategies of perpetrator regimes
2. Klein, Dennis (Kean University), Intimate killing: Witnesses' counter-narratives of betrayal and forgiveness
3. Peysson-Zeiss, Agnès (Bryn Mawr College), Regaining one's voice: Meta-language and aesthetic representations in post-genocidal areas
4. Nicola Palmer (King's College), Hate speech, resistance and the power of language in rural Rwanda

Panel 3:	9.00 – 10.45	Memory and Commemoration	BEATTIE 115
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Chair: Liina Mustonen (European University Institute)

1. Mara, Kathryn (Michigan State University), The commodification of memory: Memorializing mass atrocities in Rwanda and Ethiopia
2. Mikel-Arieli, Roni (Hebrew University of Jerusalem), Holocaust memory in South Africa, 1945–1960: The Jews as a “borderline community”
3. Posluszny, Lukasz (Adam Mickiewicz University), Memory practices intertwined with material objects
4. Morris, Robyn (University of Wollongong), Remembering and commemorating genocide: Dark tourism in Cambodia

10.45 – 11.15	Morning Tea/Coffee Break – Leslie Foyer
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Panel 4:	11.15 – 13.00	Colonialism and Genocide	LESLIE 3A
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Chair: Professor Martin Shaw (Institut Barcelona d'Estudis Internacionals/University of Roehampton)

1. Kühne, Thomas (Clark University), Nazi violence and the colonial paradigm: Throughways, byways, and dead-end streets in Holocaust history
2. Anderson, Gary (University of Oklahoma), The crime that haunts North America: Ethnic cleansing and the Indian
3. Lawson, Tom (Northumbria University), Settler colonialism and genocide in the British Empire: Towards a comparative analysis
4. Moses Dirk (University of Florence), No paper to be presented but will deliver commentary on the presentations

Panel 5:	11.15 – 13.00	Climate Change and Mass Violence II	BEATTIE 114
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Chair: Professor Juergen Zimmerer (University of Hamburg)

1. Kuperman, Alan (University of Texas, Austin), Genocide after comprehensive peace? Climate and other causes of continuing violence in Sudan
2. Short, Damien (University of London), 'Ecocide, climate change and extreme energy: The genocide connection
3. Theisen, Ole Magnus (Norwegian University of Science and Technology), Violence against civilians: The role of institutions and climate

Panel 6:	11.15 – 13.00	Gukurahundi: Mass Violence in Zimbabwe	BEATTIE 115
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Chair: Professor Ian Phimister (University of the Free State)

1. Ndlovu, Nompilo (University of Cape Town), Gukurahundi in independent Zimbabwe (1982 – 1987): Genocide (or not)?
2. Maedza, Pedzisai (University of Cape Town), Gukurahundi: committing and commemorating a crime without a name
3. Cameron, Hazel (University of St Andrews), Zimbabwean state terror in Matabeleland 1982 – 1984: The role of the bystander
4. Murambadoro, Ruth (University of Pretoria), The politics of reconciliation in the aftermath of the Matabeleland massacres

13.00 – 14.00	Lunch Leslie – Foyer
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Panel 7:	14.00 – 15.45	Genocide: Global and Comparative Perspectives	LESLIE 3A
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Chair: Professor Dennis Klein (Kean University)

1. Shaw, Martin (Institut Barcelona d'Estudis Internacionals/University of Roehampton), Genocide and international contexts: The Cold War system and changing patterns of genocide
2. Segal, Raz (Hebrew University of Jerusalem/Tel Aviv University), The limits of foundational concepts: The destruction of Jews in Hungary during World War II, beyond "Holocaust" and "antisemitism"
3. Slater, Lamont (Quinsigamond Community College), The reclassification of the African American enslavement/post enslavement period as genocide.
4. Matas, David (human rights lawyer and independent scholar), Genocide assessment and recognition

Panel 8:	14.00 – 15.45	Prevention of Genocide	BEATTIE 114
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Chair: Dr. Morris, Robyn (University of Wollongong)

1. Ga'far, Khadeega (American University in Cairo), The triple theory of justice as a perspective to interpret and prevent genocide
2. Webeck, Mary Lee & Emily Sample (Holocaust Museum, Houston), Community partnerships and raising awareness of genocide history and prevention
3. O'Brien, Melanie (University of Technology Sydney), From discrimination to death: Genocidal process through a human rights lens
4. Mutabazi, Etienne (World Social Forum on Migrations), The rhetoric of "never again" in the case of Rwanda: When to start the prevention of genocide and mass atrocities?

Panel 9:	14.00 – 15.45	German Colonialism and Mass Violence in Africa	BEATTIE 115
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Chair: Professor Henning Melber (Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation)

1. Johannes-Matundu, Scara (Ovaherero Genocide Committee), Genocide of the Ovaherero
2. Festus Muunjua (Ovaherero and Ovambanderu Genocide Foundation), Ovaherero genocide
3. Hoffman, Ida (Nama Genocide Technical Committee), German genocide of the Nama
4. Rushohora, Nancy (University of Pretoria), The documentation of Majimaji war heritage in Tanzania

15.45 – 16.15	Afternoon Tea/Coffee Break – Leslie Foyer
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Panel 10:	16.15 – 18.00	Legacy of Genocide in Namibia	LESLIE 3A
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Chair: Scara Johannes Matundu (Ovaherero Genocide Committee)

1. Shigwedha, Vilho (University of Namibia), "Taking aim at the Germans": The return of Herero genocide, human remains and the politics of reburial
2. Muinjangu, Ester (University of Namibia), German colonialism and genocide: The effects on the Nama, Ovaherero and Ovambanderu people in Namibia; 110 years after
3. Matundu-Tjiparuro Kae (Ovaherero Genocide Foundation), The Namibian-German 'special initiative' vs the Ovaherero, Ovambanderu and Nama demand for reparation
4. Jeremiah Garsha (University of Cambridge), Colonial scars: Imposed markers and Namibian postcolonial identity

Panel 11:	16.15 – 18.00	Survival, Loss, Healing	BEATTIE 114
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Chair: Professor Tom Lawson (Northumbria University)

1. Knocke, Roy (Ruhr University/Lepsiushaus Potsdam), Genocide and the value of culture: moral and social dimensions of doing harm
2. Talić, Ammar (Malmö University), Srebrenica: Womens' survival of genocide
3. Théogène Niwenshuti (University of Witwatersrand), Transformational translations: Narratives of survival and healing from genocide and HIV and AIDS
4. Lucy Nusseibeh, (Al-Quds University), Media: A path to peace and to overcoming victimhood

Panel 12:	16.15 – 18.00	Militias, Paramilitaries, Mercenaries	BEATTIE 115
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Chair: Professor Mark Meuwese (University of Winnipeg)

1. Isaacs-Martin, Wendy (Univ. of South Africa), The role of militias in the Central African Republic (CAR): Self-interest and self-preservation of armed movements in conflict
2. Ferguson, Kate (University of East Anglia), Paramilitaries as prophecies and proxies for genocide
3. Sithole, Tendayi (University of South Africa), The subject of war machines in Achille Mbembe's oeuvre

18.10 – 19.20 Keynote lecture, Professor Ian Phimister, University of the Free State, "International Imperialism: The Violent Making of Southern Africa, 1884-1914" LESLIE 3A

19.30

SUPPER, LESLIE FOYER

SATURDAY 6TH DECEMBER

Panel 13:	9.00 – 10.45	Rwanda: Refugees, Rescuers and Identity	LESLIE 3A
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Chair: Thierry Rousset (University of Cape Town)

1. Marson, Jennifer (Western Michigan University), Gacaca courts and the needs of the Rwandan diaspora in Canada
2. Malani, Pancras (University of Cape Town), Hutuism vs Tutsism in Rwanda: An ethnic or class ideology in keeping Rwandan refugees in Cape Town in a protracted asylum?
3. Seibert, Marie Therese (Keene State College) & Christianson, Kelly (Keene State College), Rwanda's account of rescuers: A critical, theoretical, and empirical analysis
4. Mpazayabo, Albert (University of Stellenbosch), Rwanda: Perpetuating inter-ethnic conflicts, Is a genuine reconciliation possible?

Panel 14:	9.00 – 10.45	Armenian Genocide	BEATTIE 114
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Chair: Professor Elisabeth Hope Murray (Embry-Riddle University)

1. Ayyvazyan, Vahram (Council of Europe's Youth Peace Ambassadors), Turkish denial and public opinion
2. Carikci, Alaettin (Leiden University), Allegory, history and the Armenian genocide
3. Khosroeva, Anahit (National Academy of Sciences of Armenia), The genocide of the Christians in the Ottoman Empire during the First World War: War or genocide?
4. Sin, Jennifer (Concordia University), Confronting history through fairy tale: Once upon a time in Anatolia

Panel 15:	9.00 – 10.45	Mass Violence in Nigeria	BEATTIE 115
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Chair: Gregory Kent (University of Roehampton)

1. Anugwom, Edlyne (University of Nigeria, Nsukka), Memory and the undying imagination of genocide: A re-examination of the Biafra civil war
2. Anugwom, Kenechukwu (University of Nigeria, Nsukka), Women, war and trauma: Perspectives from southeastern Nigeria
3. Iwize, Daniel (Bayero University), Economic and social implications of Boko Haram insurgency in Kano since 2012
4. Korieh, Chima (University of Nigeria), Igbo genocide: De-upholstering the silhouette of silence

Panel 16:	9.00 – 10.45	Trauma Medicine and Mass Graves	BEATTIE 248
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Chair: Professor Carolyn Keller (Keene State College)

1. Ncube, Glen (University of South Africa), Re-telling the stories of liberation war: Mass violence and healthcare in rural Zimbabwe
2. Eppel, Shari (Solidarity Peace Trust), "Bones in the forest" in Matabeleland, Zimbabwe: Exhumations as a tool to transformation
3. Colombo, Pamela (École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales), Spaces of violence: "strategic villages" and mass graves in post-dictatorship Argentina
4. Tsampiras Carla (University of Cape Town), Building on generations of trauma? Early AIDS research and the female form, 1980 – 1995

10.45 – 11.15	Morning Tea/Coffee Break – Leslie Foyer
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Panel 17:	11.15 – 13.00	Reconciliation in Rwanda	LESLIE 3A
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Chair: Professor Agnes Peysson-Zeiss (Bryn Mawr College)

1. Kavuro, Callixte (Stellenbosch University), The politics of apology, reconciliation and restitution in post-genocide Rwanda
2. Clark, Phil (University of London), Beyond unity: Negotiated reconciliation and contingent forgiveness in post-genocide Rwanda
3. Lambourne, Wendy (University of Sydney) & Gitau, Lydia (University of Sydney), Rwanda 20 years on: Trauma, transitional justice and reconciliation after genocide
4. Wielenga, Cori (University of Pretoria), Reconciliation in Rwanda: 20 years later

Panel 18:	11.15 – 13.00	Child Forced Removals: Cape Colony	BEATTIE 114
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Chair: Dr. Yehonatan Alsheh (Waterloo University)

1. McDonald, Jared (University of the Free State), "Suffer the little children": San child removals and the assimilationist impulse of Cape humanitarianism, c.1806-1830
2. Rousset Thierry (University of Cape Town), Legislating cultural genocide: The Masters and Servants Acts and child indenture in the nineteenth century Cape Colony
3. van Sittert Lance (University of Cape Town), Children for ewes: Child indenture in the post-Emancipation Great Karroo c1856-1909

Panel 19:	11.15 – 13.00	East Africa and the Great Lakes Region	BEATTIE 115
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Chair: Azra Rashid (Concordia University)

1. Bangerezako, Haydee (Makarere University), The 1972 genocide and the land question in Burundi
2. Sample, Emily (Holocaust Museum, Houston), Lysistrata rising: Women peace-builders in post-conflict northern Uganda
3. Wamae Irene (Stellenbosch University), Media representation of sexual violence against women during Kenya's 2007-08 post-election violence period
4. Naupess, Kibiswa (African Center for Peace, Democracy, and Human Rights), The genocide mindset in the African Great Lake region: A thought paper

Panel 20:	11.15 – 13.00	Legal Perspectives	BEATTIE 248
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Chair: Dr. Carla Tsampiras (University of Cape Town)

1. Meliksetyan, Naira (University of Nottingham), Law as a tool for perpetrating genocide
2. Siang'andu, Ellah (University of South Africa), History of institutions and jurisprudence of international criminal justice
3. Timoney, Caroline (University of Cape Town), South Africa and the Rome Statute: Conflicting interpretations?
4. Swart, Mia (University of Johannesburg), Was the Marikana massacre a crime against humanity?

13.00 – 14.00	Lunch Leslie – Foyer
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Panel 21:	14.00 – 15.45	Democratic Republic of the Congo	LESLIE 3A
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Chair: Professor Chima Korieh (University of Nigeria)

1. Bulambo, Ambroise (University of Fribourg), Sexual violence against women in DRC: Understanding the motivations of a crime against humanity
2. Court, Anthony (University of South Africa), The Banyamulenge of South Kivu: The 'Nationality Question'
3. Davey, Christopher (University of Bradford), Role of historical narratives in reconciliation: "Africa's World War" in the DRC
4. Benyera Evaristo, Motsomotso Lebohang & Muresan Arina (University of South Africa), War economy, illicit economy and conflict in the DRC: The case of the first Congo war

Panel 22:	14.00 – 15.45	Imperialism and Genocide	BEATTIE 114
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Chair: Professor Lance van Sittert (University of Cape Town)

1. Maddox, Kelly (Lancaster University), 'As for those who fail to understand...we have no other alternative than to exterminate them': Resistance and the emergence of the genocidal impulse in Japanese imperialism, 1937-1945
2. Meuwese, Mark (University of Winnipeg), Merchant companies and colonial genocides: Virginia and the Banda Islands in the early seventeenth century
3. Logan, Tricia (Royal Holloway University of London), Settler colonial genocide in Canada: Acts of benevolence and the costs of eliminating the "Native"
4. Viriri, Advice (Midlands State University), The mnemonics of colonial violence during Zimbabwe's liberation struggle

Panel 23:	14.00 – 15.45	Mass Trauma & Reconciliation	BEATTIE 115
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Chair: Dr. Koni Benson (University of Cape Town)

1. Elradi, Amel (University of British Columbia), Building bridges: Civil society and reconciliation in Darfur
2. Fester, Gertrude (Rwandan Association of University Women), South Africa – beyond rainbow and reconciliation rhetoric: What about reparations and restitution?
3. Silverman, Jon (University of Bedfordshire), Healing or harming?: Perceptions of war crimes trials in Sierra Leone.
4. Eve Wong (University of Cape Town), Trauma, narrative, memory and the truth commissions of South Africa and Chile

Panel 24:	14.00 – 15.45	Denial and Disavowal	BEATTIE 248
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Chair: Dr. Rory Pilosof (University of the Free State)

1. Singer, Iris (Bowlby Centre), The politics of denial in perpetrator identity and genocide
2. Anstett, Élisabeth (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique), Undesirable corpses: Destruction of bodies and denial of memory in the Gulag
3. Beeh, Christoph (independent scholar), Instructing the other: How German Vergangenheitsbewältigung is framed as a role-model for Turkey's way into Europe
4. Avakian, Paul (independent scholar), Guatemala's response to genocide: Denial

15.45 – 16.15	Afternoon Tea/Coffee Break – Leslie Foyer
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16.15 -17.15	Zapiro, "Art of Darkness: Cartooning Mass Violence" LESLIE 3A
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17.15 – 18.15	INoGS Plenary Session Chaired by Prof. Juergen Zimmerer	LESLIE 3A
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18.30	Departure of bus to Long Street and V & A Waterfront
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SUNDAY 7TH DECEMBER

Panel 25:	9.00 – 10.30	Teaching about Genocide	LESLIE 3A
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Chair: Richard Freedman (Cape Town Holocaust Centre)

1. Bentrovato, Denise (Georg Eckert Institute), Teaching about genocide: An assessment of worldwide approaches to teaching the Rwandan experience
2. Buhigiro, Jean Léonard (University of KwaZulu Natal), Teaching genocide and its related controversial issues: Experiences of Rwandan secondary school teachers
3. James Fadokun (NIEPA, Nigeria), Creating a culture of non-violence in Nigerian schools: A preliminary evaluation of UNICEF violent free school in Nigeria initiative
4. Maitles, Henry (University of West Scotland), Better values? Better attitudes? A case study of an innovative approach to teaching about genocide in West Scotland.

Panel 26:	9.00 – 10.30	Mass Violence in the Middle East	BEATTIE 114
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Chair: Tendayi Sithole (University of South Africa)

1. Ihsan, Mohammed (Kings' College, London), Massacre of the Barzani people
2. Mustonen, Liina (European University Institute), Whose human rights? Mass violence in Egypt
3. Kent, Gregory (University of Roehampton), Genocide and the failure of responsibility to protect in Syria and Iraq: Implications for global state theory
4. Langbehn, Volker (San Francisco State University), It is the law, stupid' – The Islamic State's use of visual violence and genocide

Panel 27:	9.00 – 10.30	Media and Collective Violence	BEATTIE 115
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Chair: Advice Viriri (Midlands State University)

1. Berryman, Ruby (Independent scholar), Distilling genocide into drama: Adapting Holocaust and slave narratives to the stage
2. Inyang, Ofonime (Tshwane University Of Technology), Violence as threat to social transformation in South Africa: Applied theatre to the rescue
3. Campbell, Kurt (University of Cape Town), 'Muscular dreams': Understanding the violence of early racially charged boxing films (1900-1920)
4. Patrick, David (University of the Free State), Anglo-American newspaper coverage of Bosnia, 1992-1995

10.30 – 11.00	Morning Tea/Coffee Break – Leslie Foyer
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Panel 28:	11.00 – 12.30	Museums, Education and the Holocaust	LESLIE 3A
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Chair: Ruth Murambadoro (University of Pretoria)

1. Hackner, Linda (Cape Town Holocaust Centre) & Sher, Arlene (Johannesburg Holocaust & Genocide Centre), Using travelling exhibitions to teach about genocide.
2. Nates, Tali (Johannesburg Holocaust & Genocide Centre), Developing an exhibition in the 21st century: The creation of the Johannesburg Holocaust & Genocide Centre
3. Petersen, Tracey (Cape Town Holocaust Centre), The impact of Holocaust education: An examination of perceptions of teachers and learners
4. Singer, Michal (Cape Town Holocaust Centre), South Africa: An unlikely site for archiving the Holocaust

Panel 29:	11.00 – 12.30	Race, Ethnicity, and Mass Trauma	BEATTIE 114
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Chair: Dr. David Patrick (University of the Free State)

1. Scanlon, Helen (University of Cape Town) Women's Bodies as a Landscape of Trauma: Race, Class, Gender and Reparations in the New South Africa
2. Pillosof, Rory (University of the Free State) & Alsheh, Yehonatan (Waterloo University), Genocidal anxieties among white farmers in southern Africa
3. Milazzo, Marzia (Vanderbilt University), In the shadow of Marikana: Responsibility, hegemonic racial discourse, and post-apartheid scholarship
4. Blackbeard, Susan (University of Cape Town), "It was a strange place to me": Cultural genocide at the Kat River settlement under apartheid

Panel 30:	11.00 – 12.30	Gender and Sexual Violence	BEATTIE 115
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Chair: Professor Gertrude Fester, (Rwandan Association of University Women)

1. Benson, Koni (University of Cape Town), A "political war of words and bullets": Gendered and generational conflict in the history of Crossroads, South Africa
2. Rashid, Azra (Concordia University), Multiplicity of women's experiences in genocide
3. Sedgwick, James (Acadia University), Crying shame: War crimes, sexual violence, and the cost of speaking out
4. Debari, Johanna, (University of Connecticut) Seibert, Therese (Keene State College) & Carolyn Keller (Keene State College), Rape as a tool of genocide: Impact of Prosecutor v. Akayesu (1998)

12.30 – 13.15	Lunch Leslie – Foyer
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13.30	BOARDING OF BUS FOR SUNDAY AFTERNOON PROGRAMME
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District 6 Museum; Cape Town Holocaust Centre; Lanzmann screening



SUNDAY PROGRAMME

District Six Museum and the Cape Town Holocaust Centre (1.30 pm)

The Sunday afternoon programme will take delegates from UCT to visit two sites; the District Six Museum and the Cape Town Holocaust Centre. The programme will examine issues of identity, community, history and memory. After a brief introduction to the facilitators for the afternoon, District Six Museum staff members will begin the journey from UCT by presenting the trajectories and personal stories of peoples' experience of apartheid as the bus takes everyone through the District Six site of forced removal, and then on to the District Six Museum. The programme at the Museum will start discussion and interrogation of a variety of issues including whether the memory work the District Six museum does 'in community' and the history of the place has broader, or even universal relevance.

From the District Six Museum, delegates will travel to the Cape Town Holocaust Centre. Here conversations begun at the District Six Museum will continue. Delegates will explore why a history seemingly disconnected from South Africa should be commemorated here, and what relevance a history of genocide might hold for a society still grappling with its own traumatic past.

The afternoon will conclude with a roundtable discussion facilitated by staff from the District Six Museum and the Cape Town Holocaust Centre. This session will provide an opportunity to reflect on the afternoon's experiences and to examine issues such as;

- museum education practice and its relationship to education about human rights abuses including genocide
- the role of the public historian in bringing research into the museum
- connecting community to the academy through the museum

Screening of Claude Lanzmann's *The Last of the Unjust* (5.00 pm)

The Last of the Unjust is based on a series of interviews that Claude Lanzmann conducted with Rabbi Benjamin Murmelstein in 1975. A controversial figure, Murmelstein was appointed by the Nazis as "Elder of the Jews" at Theresienstadt ghetto. He was charged for collaborating with the Nazis after the war, but was acquitted. The film also features Lanzmann's 2012 journey back to Theresienstadt, posing vital questions about our understanding of the Holocaust and the conflicting identity of the Jewish councils.

From the trenches of the Marne to the hills of Rwanda: Of war, genocide and mass violence

ABSTRACTS AND BIOS¹

THE CRIME THAT HAUNTS NORTH AMERICA: ETHNIC CLEANSING AND THE INDIAN

Anderson, Gary (University of Oklahoma)

Some historians have argued that after the first colonial settlements appeared in North America, the Indians soon faced “genocide”. Examples include the attack on the Pequots in 1637, in the razing of Cherokee villages during the French and Indian War (1759), and the assaults on Indian men, women, and children, at Sand Creek and Wounded Knee. However, the number of native deaths resulting from such “War Crimes” amounted to only a few thousands, hardly comparable to classic genocides. To employ the word “genocide” to what happened to Indians deflates the true meaning of the term, as it was originally used in 1948 and is currently defined by the World Court. Gary Clayton Anderson argues that “moral restraint,” emerging out of the Enlightenment in Europe, prevented the adoption of a policy of genocide in North America. Instead, government officials used economic and political persuasion to force Indians to sell vast acreages. When Indians refused, pressure mounted from frontier groups, who practiced what “settler sovereignty” to force Indians west, threatening to overrun their villages. When Indians went to war over such threats, civilians on both sides were often caught in the middle. Indians invariably lost these contests, and thereafter the “Right of Conquest,” established by the Supreme Court of the United States, justified the “forced removal” of Indians farther west. The best analytical tool for explaining the American Indians’ loss of land and resources over the four hundred year period of contact is “Ethnic Cleansing.” It readily fits many of the more specific charges defined in Article 7 of the Rome Statutes, which is entitled “Crimes Against Humanity.”

Gary Anderson is the George Lynn Cross Research Professor at the University of Oklahoma, U.S.A. He received his PhD from the University of Toledo in 1978. Specializing in the history of the American Indians of the Great Plains and the Southwest, he has published most recently *Ethnic Cleansing and the Indian: The Crime That Should Haunt America* (2014) and previously, among other, *Will Rogers and “His” America* (2010) and *The Conquest of Texas: Ethnic Cleansing in the Promised Land* (2005, a Finalist for the Pulitzer Prize).

UNDESIRABLE CORPSES: DESTRUCTION OF BODIES AND DENIAL OF MEMORY IN THE GULAG

Anstett, Élisabeth (*Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique*)

During the Soviet period, the USSR government set up a vast system of forced labour, supervised by a central administration: the Gulag. This institution was used as both a tool for political control and an instrument for economic transformation in the country. Overall, between 1918 and 1989, over fifteen million citizens were sentenced to forced labor, and deported to be detained within the Soviet concentration system. It is thought that over two million of them died there. One of the particularities of the violence committed by the Soviet State is that the bodies of prisoners were not returned to their families. In fact, from 1922, the burial procedure for regime enemies who were executed in extra-judiciary proceedings was officially laid down as follows: “the body of the person shot should not be returned to anyone; it is to be buried without any formality or ritual, dressed in the clothes in which it was killed, on the very site where the sentence was carried out or in any other available place, *so that there is no trace of a tomb* [my emphasis], or it may be sent to the morgue for incineration.” These measures were progressively adopted in all death sites (prisons, camps, and hospitals), and for all causes of death: not only execution, but also homicide, accident, or illness. The Soviet State, and more precisely the Gulag services (understood here not as a central administration, but as a set of territorial units), directly ensured that prisoners’ bodies were disposed of “without trace.” This contribution, which will particularly make use of an album of drawings by a Gulag guard, aims to examine the variety of these “erasure” practices by looking at the different issues at play in each, and their posterity. In particular, it attempts to explain their long-term effects on the way in which the memory of Soviet camps is shaped today.

1 In case of multiple presenters or authors, see entry under the name of the first one listed in the conference programme.

Élisabeth Anstett is a Senior Researcher in Social Anthropology at the *Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique* (France), and a Director of the *Corpses of Mass Violence and Genocide* programme funded by the European Research Council. Her recent works focus on the way post-soviet societies are dealing with the traces left by the Soviet concentration camp system, among which are mass graves, and more broadly on the legacies of mass violence in eastern Europe, especially in Russia and Byelorussia. She is a director of the book series 'Human Remains and Violence' at Manchester University Press, and has recently published (with Jean-Marc Dreyfus) *Destruction and Human Remains, disposal and concealment in genocide and mass violence*. Manchester, MUP, 2014.

MEMORY AND THE UNDYING IMAGINATION OF GENOCIDE: A RE-EXAMINATION OF THE BIAFRA CIVIL WAR

Anugwom, Edlyne (University of Nigeria, Nsukka)

The paper re-examines the Nigeria civil war within the context of the resurgence of inter-ethnic and religious conflicts in contemporary Nigeria. It argues that the failure of the state in Nigeria to sufficiently deal with the memory of the war has generated an undying imagination of the war as a genocidal episode and more crucially as a politically motivated exercise to achieve domination of a section of the federation. Hence, while the state has sponsored collective amnesia of the war, there has been a festering collective memory of the war among citizens from the Southeastern region of the country that informs their interpretation of the actions of both the government and even significant others from outside the region in spite of the passage of time. Therefore, the Biafra debacle still has implications for contemporary intra-state relations in Nigeria. But beyond the above, the paper interrogates the call for the war to be seen as a case of genocide against the background of the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide and the available evidence of the events of the war. However, it sees the war as the outcome of a multiplicity of factors that festered on the sore of inter-ethnic squabbles in the immediate post-colonial socio-political dispensation. The paper equally argues that there is need to address and deal constructively with the memories of the war in order to generate genuine reconciliation and re-integration necessary for sustaining the state building project in contemporary Nigeria.

Edlyne Anugwom has a PhD in Sociology with specialization in Industrial/Labour Relations and Political Sociology. He is currently a Professor of Sociology with the Department of Sociology/Anthropology of the University of Nigeria, Nsukka and has held fellowship positions in Leiden, Edinburgh, Birmingham, Mainz, and Bridgewater among others. His current research interests are in the areas of ethnicity, labour, collective memory and conflict in Africa and natural resources conflict in Africa with specific focus on Nigeria.

WOMEN, WAR AND TRAUMA: PERSPECTIVES FROM SOUTHEASTERN NIGERIA

Anugwom, Kenechukwu (University of Nigeria, Nsukka)

The paper depending on narratives of the experience of women who witnessed the 30 months civil war in Nigeria sought to capture how these women experienced and dealt with traumas of the war. There is no gainsaying the fact that women are usually in the forefront of the repercussions of war especially at the household level. Therefore, while the men are engaged in the battle, women keep vigil at the home front as both caregivers and the lynchpin of family stability. However, women in the war in Nigeria did not just provide care but were both the victims of trauma and those who were looked upon to help deal with or heal trauma. As the study found out, these women relied on the spirit of motherhood, prior socialization in providing care and emotional succour to deal with trauma. However, these women were challenged by lack of professional experience and training, dearth of support facilities and other household demands on their time and capacities during and immediately after the war. Trauma had lasting impact on the memories of these women and in some cases derailed the existing social solidarity within families. The findings are really instructive in serving as proxy experience for training of professional social workers in trauma management especially in war times.

Kenechukwu Anugwom is a doctoral student in Social Work in the University of Nigeria, Nsukka as well as a lecturer in the same department. She is also a practising social worker who offers counselling in marriage relationship, widowhood dilemmas, aging and the management of trauma. Her research interests are in the areas of coping strategies of the aged; health care provisioning for the aged; socio-cultural factors affecting detection and care of breast cancer; handling of trauma and grief especially by women; and widowhood challenges of aged women in Nigeria. Kene is happily married with children.

GUATEMALA'S RESPONSE TO GENOCIDE

Avakian, Paul (independent scholar)

Guatemala's historic genocide trial last year was a minor miracle given the country's long history of impunity and the broad indifference inside Guatemala toward whether Indians suffered genocide. That it delivered a guilty verdict makes it even more a miracle given that it pitted marginalized peasants against Ríos Montt, one of Guatemala's most respected military and political leaders. One has to say that it speaks not only to the resolution of the victim and human rights groups who pushed for the trial, but to progress in the Guatemalan State in allowing it. We can say this even with the knowledge that State institutions—from the time of the initial claims of genocide to the aftermath of the verdict—played the largest and most direct role in rejecting the genocide result. In particular, its Constitutional Court, at key moments before, during, and after the trial, was equivocal and conflicting, and acted ultimately in ways that deterred a genocide finding. This paper examines the actions taken by the Guatemalan State to reject the genocide verdict, to clear the stigma it left, and to punish the actors who facilitated it.

Paul N. Avakian is a 2009 scholar award recipient for the Nieman Conference on Narrative Journalism at Harvard University, and a winner of Emerald Publishing's 2010 Award for Excellence. His 2005 documentary, *On The Fringes*, has been adopted as a teaching resource by university Latin American Studies programs across the country. He has studied social revolution at the University of Havana and in Guatemala's highlands. His essays and articles on Latin America have appeared in *Foreign Policy Journal*, *Truthout*, *The Global Dispatches*, *the NACLA Report on the Americas*, and *Foreign Policy in Focus*. His journal articles on management have been published in *Strategy and Leadership* and *Business Strategy*.

TURKISH DENIAL AND PUBLIC OPINION

Ayvazyan, Vahram (Council of Europe's Youth Peace Ambassadors)

For decades, the Turkish government has been in a perpetual state of genocide denial. Some believed that Armenians cannot obtain justice so long as they lack a nation that can exert political pressure at an international level.

First and foremost, a tremendous gap exists between true public opinion and a so-called "published opinion" in quasi-democratic states and in states in transition. Turkish government officials deny the early 20th century conflict resulted in a genocide of Armenians, but have not yet succeeding in filling that vacuum with "adequate alternative stories." They have not yet grasped that media and information can no longer be controlled by the state, and the drastic development of information and communication technologies within Turkey and outside its borders is gradual, but constantly changing perceptions of history among ordinary Turks. How long will the Turkish government succeed in keeping official denial dominant over the real public opinion? It is only a matter of time.

Yet it is civil society organizations, think-tanks, and NGOs that can harness the power of ordinary citizens and make their voice heard in the decision-making processes of governments. Turkish society feels as though it is on the threshold of a new life. Many Turks are keen on facing their own history and entering into dialogue with Armenians, but their thirst for change is hampered by that policy of published opinion—imposing the Turkish government's denial on Turkish citizens. It is of utmost significance to engage as many Turkish students, academics, civil society servants, activists, and ordinary citizens as possible in dialogue with their Armenian colleagues that will spur an increase in public awareness of their own history among Turks, as well as more

independence and leverage vis-à-vis their government. Despite a number of successful projects, more must be done by both sides.

The 100th anniversary (1915-2015) of the Armenian Genocide is fast approaching. It could prove to be a major breakthrough in genocide recognition and Armenian-Turkish Dialogue.

Vahram Ayyvazyan is Youth is Peace Ambassador at the Council of Europe's Youth Peace Ambassadors (YPA) project

THE 1972 GENOCIDE AND THE LAND QUESTION IN BURUNDI

Bangerezako, Haydee (Makarere University)

This paper shows how land disputes in contemporary Burundi prove that genocide has a material aspect. This paper explores land disputes in contemporary Burundi and its connection to the 1972 "selective genocide", in which thousands of people denominated as Hutus, from the dominant ethnic group, were killed by the increasingly mono-ethnicized, minority Tutsi Burundi state. Over 150,000 Hutu were killed and over 300,000 fled to neighbouring countries in 1972. Then, four decades after 1972, tensions are high in the densely populated central African country, following the creation of the Commission Nationale des Terres et autres Biens (CNTB, National Commission on land and other Assets), a state body which grants 1972 refugees full access to the land they lost in 1972, without compensation to those previously owning the land, ending previous land sharing as a solution to land scarcity. By factoring in the ways in which land disputes are presented, negotiated and resolved, this paper assesses the connections between the past and present: What is the language used in the discussion of land disputes? How does ethnicity play a role in those discussions? How does the way land disputes are being resolved tell us about how the past, how 1972 is remembered?

Haydee Bangerezako is currently in her second-year in a five-year Interdisciplinary PhD programme in Social Studies at the Makerere Institute for Social Research. Using historical and ethnographic methods, I am interested in studying women, mediums, spirituality and power in the central and eastern African region in the pre-colonial period. My other research interests include gender and land, film, the performance of political power and resistance to it. My background is in anthropology, history, and journalism, and I am currently majoring in Political Studies, historical and cultural studies.

INSTRUCTING THE OTHER: HOW GERMAN VERGANGENHEITSBEWÄLTIGUNG IS FRAMED AS A ROLE-MODEL FOR TURKEY'S WAY INTO EUROPE

Beeh, Christoph (independent scholar)

In response to an online news article covering the French parliament's decision to criminalize the denial of the Armenian Genocide in December 2012, some users comments' criticize Turkey's official stance towards that particular chapter in history: Turkey was 'by far not ready for European Union (EU) membership' if it did not recognize the genocide. Many not only make mention of Europe in places that are actually nation-state matters. In other comments, German *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* of the Holocaust is summoned as a role-model to becoming modern and European. Whence this confidence for instructing Turkey on how to handle its past? This contribution argues that an emerging sense of Europeanness gives rise to a 'new racism' in Germany. Through criticizing the Turkish handling of the 'Armenian Question', the Germans' own distempered relation to the Other and to their own past is being mirrored. Turkey's weak spot offers a point of attack that allows for the externalization of one's own conflicts. This argumentation takes recent developments into consideration. During the last two decades, problems of political relevance superimposed the problems of Holocaust commemoration. Public atonement is commonplace, but the resurgence of racism is denied. Unjust processes of Europeanization have been ignored while the Holocaust came increasingly into focus – and aside it the Armenian Genocide. Since eye-witnesses died, inconvenient truths can be named. Thus coming to terms with, if not trying to amend past wrong-doing, recent wrong-doings are blinded out: the 'mature' handling of the past legitimizes the violent course of action in the present.

Christoph Beeh earned his Bachelor of Arts degree in Cultural Anthropology / European Ethnology and German Philology from Georg-August University, Göttingen, Germany in 2010. In 2013 he received his Master of European Studies degree after passing a double degree program (European University Viadrina, Frankfurt (Oder), Germany and Istanbul Bilgi University, Turkey). His final thesis titled *Towards a European Imaginary?* enquires mechanisms of exclusion in processes of sociocultural Europeanization. He has contributed to three conferences as an organizer or presenter on topics of identity formation within a European context. He currently works as a freelance lecturer for German as a foreign language.

A “POLITICAL WAR OF WORDS AND BULLETS:” GENDERED AND GENERATIONAL CONTESTATION AND CONFLICT IN THE HISTORY OF CROSSROADS, SOUTH AFRICA

Benson, Koni (University of Cape Town)

This paper looks at layers of contention around contemporary activism in Crossroads, South Africa- a famous symbol of women’s defiance as one of the longest surviving squatter camps under apartheid. In 1998 the Women’s Power Group staged a four month sit-in on City Council offices, demanding accountability for undelivered housing and public services. This was one of the first and most prolonged of what have become known as the post-apartheid or neoliberal period ‘new social movements.’ The occupation unravelled into a year of violent conflict in the township and a subsequent Commission of Enquiry into the events. I first piece together the unfolding events through archival and oral history research. I then turn from history of struggle, to the struggle over history where I look at the unfolding historicization of the events where women’s struggles were reframed in an official discourse of naive pawns of shacklords at best, and undeserving, impatient, troublemakers, at worst. Women’s leadership was demobilized, depoliticized, and dislocated from the issues they stood up for and from the celebrated history of women’s mobilizing in Crossroads. Compared to the official documentation on post-1994 protest in Crossroads, life histories of Women’s Power Group members tell a very different story about what women were thinking and doing when official documents - even those that revolve around actions taken by women - focus on men acting violently. The case of the

Women’s Power Group history points to how silences around complex and violent processes of the demobilization of women’s movements- the reconfiguration of power that is not named or acknowledged- plays out in subsequent attempts to mobilize. The paper aims to document and extend an important piece of post-apartheid history, and to spark discussion on multiple levels of violence imbued in processes of demobilization, and the implications for ongoing struggles today.

Koni Benson is a postdoctoral fellow in History and at the African Center for Cities at the University of Cape Town. Her research focuses on the urbanization of poverty, development and displacement, and women in resistance movements. She is producing life histories of unfolding political struggles of women shack dwellers collectively resisting slum clearance and displacement in South Africa from apartheid to the present. Her work has been published by the International Labour Research and Information Group and in the *Journal of Southern African Studies*, *Feminist Africa*, *Gender Place and Culture: Feminist Geography*, *South African Labour Bulletin*, *Zambezia*, *Zmagazine*, and newspapers in South Africa, Canada, and Kenya.

TEACHING ABOUT GENOCIDE: AN ASSESSMENT OF WORLDWIDE APPROACHES TO TEACHING THE RWANDAN EXPERIENCE

Bentrovato, Denise (Georg Eckert Institute)

Promoting public awareness of mass crimes is today considered to be one of the main means of preventing future collective violence. Schools are among the key institutions responsible for instilling young people with an awareness of such events so as to encourage them to live by the dictum “Never Again”. Teaching about a violent past, and about genocide more specifically, is an area of practice, and research which, whilst attracting increasing attention, remains largely lacunose. Over the years, a growing body of knowledge has emerged on Holocaust education in particular, a discipline which benefits from ongoing advances in research and

pedagogical development. However, less is known about the current status of education with regards to other cases of collective violence worldwide. This paper aims to be among the first to address this desideratum by investigating approaches to, and current trends in, teaching the Rwandan genocide in schools around the globe. Written in the year in which we commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the violent events in Rwanda in 1994, this paper explores how current national curricula and school textbooks in various corners of the world deal with this contemporary case of mass violence. The paper analyses and compares narrative and visual renderings of the event, and assesses the comprehensiveness, balance and accuracy of textbook representations. It investigates national and regional similarities and differences in the contextualisation and framing of the event, in its definition and characterisation, and in the description and explanation of its origins, causes, dynamics and effects, as well as in the didactic methods favoured and the learning objectives accorded to its study. Ultimately, the paper intends to provide useful documentation and analysis of current educational practices in relation to the Rwandan genocide, including reference to deficiencies and distortions, which could help contribute towards the design and implementation of meaningful genocide education programmes around the world.

Denise Bentrovato is a post-doctoral researcher and a focal point for Africa at the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research in Brunswick, Germany. Her work in the “Textbooks and Conflict” research area is centred on investigating worldwide experiences with teaching and learning about a violent past, notably in divided and transitional societies in Sub-Saharan Africa. With a background in International Relations, Conflict Resolution and African Studies, Denise Bentrovato has specialised in the history and politics of the Great Lakes Region of Africa, and of Rwanda in particular. She previously worked in the academia, as well as for international organisations and NGOs in Europe and Africa in the fields of peacebuilding and reconciliation, and post-war educational reconstruction and reform.

WAR ECONOMY, ILLICIT ECONOMY AND CONFLICT IN THE DRC: THE CASE OF THE FIRST CONGO WAR.

Benyera Evaristo, Motsomotso Lebohang & Muresan Arina (University of South Africa)

The Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) has experienced a myriad of political challenges through prolonged intrastate conflict whereby the populace of the state experienced human rights abuses and poor governance. The DRC oriented its economy towards a war economy during the First Congo War (1996-1997) which created conditions that made it easy for lawlessness to emerge within the economy threatening state structures, in essence the illicit economy become resilient towards the formal economy and had entrenched itself in various sectors such as; entertainment, logging, mining, and security. Illegal arms trade is one of the major sectors of the illegal activities in the DRC hence it aids the war economy and as a result it weakens formal state structures creating conditions of a weak state. The DRC is listed as a fragile state, yet it is possible that it may progress to a failed state by tracking the status of conflict and its relationship to the illicit economy. This paper questions the role of the war economy existing in the DRC and how it creates conditions of a weak state that may eventually cause the DRC to be classified as a fragile state.

Dr Evaristo Benyera, Ms Lebohang Motsomotso and Ms Arina Muresan are lecturers in the Political Sciences department at the University of South Africa (UNISA). They have an avid interest for research in the field of genocide and the role which the arms industry and illicit economy has in facilitating conflict.

DISTILLING GENOCIDE INTO DRAMA: ADAPTING HOLOCAUST AND SLAVE NARRATIVES TO THE STAGE.

Berryman, Ruby (Independent scholar)

This paper compares the adaptations of Arthur Miller's Holocaust drama, *Playing for Time* with Lydia Diamond's Slavery drama, *Harriet Jacobs, A Play* to examine how the playwrights' manipulation of the dramatic elements of direct address, complex characterization, and theatrical spectacle create compelling characters that can bear witness to the atrocities of the Holocaust and Slavery. By transforming the genocides into dramas, audiences far beyond the historical time and place of the events can empathize as living

witnesses to these past atrocities. In this way, they bear perpetual witness and offer a timeless justice to the victims.

Ruby Berryman is a recent MFA Playwriting graduate and budding transmedia artist who explores themes of Holocausts, genocide, and the use of science in marginalization and oppression. She has twice received research awards for her academic essays: Marlene Dietrich, *Changing Costumes: the invention and reinvention of the Dietrich persona* and *Evolution Interruptus*. A selection from her new play, *Fish On Friday* will appear in the 2014 edition of the Louisville Review. Mrs. Berryman's latest Holocaust play, *Jazz Camp* concerns the true stories of Blacks in Nazi concentration camps. She writes from the White Mountains of northern New Hampshire.

"IT WAS A STRANGE PLACE TO ME": CULTURAL GENOCIDE AT THE KAT RIVER SETTLEMENT

Blackbeard, Susan (University of Cape Town)

One of Raphael Lemkin's definitions of genocide is "a coordinated plan of different actions aiming at the destruction of essential foundations of the life of national groups . . . the objectives . . . [being the] disintegration of the political and social institutions of culture, language, national feelings, religion, and the economic existence [and] . . . personal security, liberty, health, dignity, and even the lives of individuals belonging to such groups". Working within the framework of this definition, this paper reads as an example of cultural genocide, the Apartheid Government's expropriation of land owned by KhoiKhoi and "Bastards" (people of mixed descent) in Kat River, South Africa, during the mid-1980s, and their transportation to Friemansheim, near Mossel Bay. This claim is backed by interviews with descendants of these people, some of whom have subsequently returned to Kat River but speak bitterly of the adverse impact the forced removals had on them, economically, culturally and socially – manifesting in loss of independence, bankruptcy, the breakdown of social fabrics, and chronic alcoholism.

Susan I. Blackbeard was born in the Eastern Cape, South Africa. She has an MA (Medieval Studies) and a PhD from the University of Cape Town, where she taught in the Departments of English and Historical Studies, respectively. She has also worked briefly under Professors Philip Dwyer and Lyndall Ryan of the Centre for the History of Violence, at the University of Newcastle, NSW. Susan's interests include South African frontier history, colonial settler massacre in Australia, Tasmania, and South Africa, and the dispossession of the Kat River Khoikhoi.

Bouwer, Karen (University of San Francisco)

Karen Bouwer is Professor of French in the Department of Modern and Classical Languages at the University of San Francisco. Her areas of research include Francophone African literature, African cinema and gender. Her abiding interest in the Democratic Republic of the Congo culminated in the publication of her book *Gender and Decolonization in the Congo: The Legacy of Patrice Lumumba* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2010). Current projects focus on contemporary literature produced in the Great Lakes region, humanitarian discourse, and literary and cinematic representations of urban spaces, primarily in Africa.

FOOD INSECURITY AND VIOLENT CONFLICT IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

Buhaug, Halvard (Peace Research Institute, Oslo)

A large number of recent studies have attempted to link climate anomalies to armed conflict. So far, this body of research has failed to converge on a consistent and robust connection. However, extant research is largely limited to testing direct associations and ignores or remains elusive about possible intervening factors and facilitating conditions that could translate environmental hardships into collective violence, thereby potentially

obscuring a more subtle association. This paper moves beyond the state-of-the-art by investigating how fluctuations in agricultural output affect the risk and severity of a wide selection of political violence, and to what extent political structures moderate this relationship. The analysis covers all of post-colonial Sub-Saharan Africa, whose economies and livelihoods are highly sensitive to fluctuations in weather patterns. Preliminary empirical results provide little support to recent popularized claims that contemporary conflicts in Sub-Saharan Africa and beyond occur partly in response to climate-induced crop failures.

Halvard Buhaug is Research Professor at the Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO); Director of PRIO's Conditions of Violence and Peace department; Professor of Political Science at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU); and Deputy Editor of *Journal of Peace Research*. He leads and has directed a number of research projects on security dimensions of climate change and geographic aspects of armed conflict, funded by the European Union, the World Bank, the US Department of Defense, the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, and the Research Council of Norway. Recent publications have appeared in, inter alia, *Climatic Change*, *Global Environmental Change*, *International Security*, *International Studies Quarterly*, *International Organization*, *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, and *PNAS*. He is coauthor of *Inequality, Grievances, and Civil War* (Cambridge University Press 2013).

TEACHING GENOCIDE AND ITS RELATED CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES. EXPERIENCES OF RWANDAN SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS

Buhigiro, Jean Léonard (University of KwaZulu Natal)

In 1994, around one million Tutsi and moderate Hutu were killed in a genocide organized by the then interim government and the population. The paper examines the teaching of genocide and its related controversial issues in history in Rwandan secondary schools. It contends that while the new history curriculum urges teachers to use participatory approach as a model a post-conflict society should adopt to reinforce unity and reconciliation, the sensitivity of the topic is challenging teachers. I argue that due to this sensitivity, the use of the teacher-centered approach persists. At present, expository approach is still very important for some teachers willing to avoid not only challenging questions to be asked by learners but also different interpretations to be made by them. Other reasons pushing them to adopt this approach are also highlighted in this paper. The paper draws other diverse methods used by teachers to tackle this topic. It analyzes different controversial issues related to genocide teaching as this topic cannot be taught in isolation. By of conclusion, it argues that the Rwandan teacher is somehow isolated in facing many challenges while teaching genocide and its related controversial issues. This problem needs more attention for a better achievement of use of participatory approach intended by the curriculum and its positive aspects.

Jean Léonard Buhigiro is a Ph D student at the University of KwaZulu Natal (South Africa) and member of academic staff at the University of Rwanda, College of Education. In partnership between the former Kigali Institute of Education (Rwanda) and the University of Nottingham (UK), he was involved in a Project aimed at exploring issues concerning genocide education and community cohesion in the Rwandan context and developing teachers who can employ a range of pedagogies to promote community cohesion in both formal and non-formal educational settings in Rwanda. In his Ph. D research, he is now dealing with teaching genocide and its related controversial issues in history in Rwandan secondary schools. He published a book on historical sites in Rwanda and a paper on teaching genocide.

SEXUAL VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN DRC: UNDERSTANDING THE MOTIVATIONS OF A CRIME AGAINST HUMANITY

Bulambo, Ambroise (University of Fribourg)

Sexual violence is a common feature of the armed conflicts that have taken place in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). Sexual abuses of an extreme gravity continue to be committed, in the eastern regions of the DRC where hostilities still persist, by armed groups, both state and non-state actors, by MONUSCO

soldiers, and by civilians. Thousands of women have been raped during this conflict. The crimes are supported by diverse evidence. In addition, they are of incredible gravity, such that they warrant their qualification as crimes against humanity. However, no one has up to now sought to explain in a systematic way the motivations of those responsible for such violence against women. This paper breaks the wall of silence. It examines motivations by those responsible of such crimes. It offers three hypotheses. First, it reviews claims by many sources that sexual violence has been used in the DRC as a weapon of war. Indeed, primary responsible for these crimes have resorted to sexual violence as a way to subjugate, or break the will of, an ideological opponent, an ethnic group, or a nation. Second, it claims that sexual violence has been used as a means of population control, which might lead to the extermination or annihilation of an ethnic group assumed to be inferior. Finally, having sex with young girls is believed to provide a cure against HIV and/or AIDS. This explains why young girls have also been victims of sexual violence, subjected to willful transmission of HIV.

Ambroise Katambu Bulambo is currently Doctor assistant (scientific associate) at the department of public law at University of Fribourg and visiting professor at catholic University of DR Congo. From 2001 up to present, I'm founder and president of the Foundation Archbishop E. Kataliko Actions for Africa of DR Congo, (www.kaf-africa.org).

Buntman, Barbara (University of Johannesburg)

Barbara Buntman, an Associate of The Visual Identities in Art and Design Research Centre, University of Johannesburg, is an art historian who combines visual and socio-political analyses shaped by social theory and activism. She has published widely on Khoisan identity in popular culture and tourism. Recently her focus is on heritage, remembering and memorialization in South Africa and elsewhere. Currently she examines the complexities of memory in the production and display of images related to the Holocaust. She is a volunteer member of the Johannesburg Holocaust and Genocide Centre's Education team where she has been active since 2008.

ZIMBABWEAN STATE TERROR IN MATABELELAND 1982 – 1984: THE ROLE OF THE BYSTANDER

Cameron, Hazel (University of St Andrews)

The history and official policies of the nation of Zimbabwe throughout the past century have ensured that truth and peace have not triumphed in the country. Zimbabwe is a nation with a history of unresolved conflicts and, since independence in April 1980, there has not been a period of sustained peace or genuine reconciliation to the past. State-terror, Torture, crimes against humanity and, some argue, genocide have reigned. *Gukurahundi*, an atrocious act of Zimbabwean state terrorism, saw an estimated 10,000 - 30,000 killed in violence that was largely unleashed by a wing of the Zimbabwean National Army known as the Fifth Brigade, an elite force trained by the North Koreans. Although widely reported at the time, the international community largely ignored the atrocities being perpetrated; neither the former colonial power of the UK or any African country intervened. The killings disappearances and displacement that were perpetrated under *Gukurahundi* have never been formally acknowledged by the Zimbabwe state and its leadership. By an analysis of interviews, film, newspaper articles, and official documentation, this paper explores what knowledge was available to the British government about *Gukurahundi*, what was Britain's response to such mass atrocities and what was their rationale for such a response. The paper concludes that the British government's response to the Matabeleland massacres between 1982 - 1984 has exacerbated the cycle of Zimbabwean government impunity for their gross violations of human rights throughout the past three decades, resulting in visible ethnic tensions in contemporary Matabeleland.

Hazel Cameron, a lecturer within the School of International Relations, University of St Andrews, Scotland and Director of the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, was awarded her PhD at the University of Liverpool. Her research focuses on State Terror, genocide and war crimes with a particular focus on sub-Saharan Africa. She is affiliated to the International State Crime Initiative (ISCI), a community of scholars working to advance current

understandings of state crime. The International State Crime Initiative is based at King's College London and partnered with University of Hull, University of Ulster and the Harvard Humanitarian Initiative.

Caminsky Maureen (Durban Holocaust Centre)

Maureen Caminsky is the Project Manager at the Durban Holocaust Centre. She is a fulltime employee responsible for scheduling school visits to the Centre, works closely with our volunteers who willingly give up their time to guide our Grade 9 & 11 learners. She assists with public events presented at the Centre, is passionate about education and often conducts adult tours through our Exhibition. She has been involved from its inception in 2008 and watches with great pride how the DHC has evolved into one of the jewels in the crown of the City of Durban.

'MUSCULAR DREAMS': UNDERSTANDING THE VIOLENCE OF EARLY RACIALLY CHARGED BOXING FILMS (1900-1920)

Campbell, Kurt (University of Cape Town)

The Desire for 'white' to fight 'black', manifest as boxing films produced and screened publically between 1900 and 1920 was clearly a common one in America, as half of all boxing films contained the matching of inter-racial opponents despite legal prohibition. As stated by Streible (1989), these films were not subtle in what they wished to exact: '...the Edison Company's film *A Scrap in Black and White* (1903), in which white adults laughingly coax a young black and a young white child to spar with each other in a miniature boxing ring, lays bare the true motivation for the interest in the boxing film...' The power of these boxing films lay less in the medium, than in the symbolic crisis the spectacle offered—'white' fighting 'black'. Thus, the racially charged boxing film as formulated for this conference is, I suggest, symptomatic of an early imagining of race and violence. These films may be theorized as both 'specular mechanisms' and 'calculations of difference', wholly invested in the politics of violence. When said American boxing films travelled to South Africa, they activated the drafting of legislative controls that attempted to govern screenings due to the predicted destruction they would authorise. This archive of official engagements with the racially charged boxing film rewards scholarship that seeks to comprehend the traumatic effects of an early mass medium deployed so as to serve socially divisive ends, a legacy I argue that continues in the current filmic and pugilistic world.

Kurt Campbell is a lecturer in Fine Art / New Media at the Michaelis School of Fine Art. His academic interests relate to Postcolonial theory and the connection between aesthetics and race. Recent writing projects include publishing in the *European Journal of English Studies* and various Fine Art exhibition catalogues. Kurt has exhibited nationally and internationally, deploying both digital and traditional media.

ALLEGORY, HISTORY AND THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

Carikci, Alaettin (Leiden University)

In 2010 Armenian-French director Serge Avédikian shot an animation film, named *Chienne d'histoire*, which sheds a light on the extermination of stray dogs. It is an animation film based on a historical event that took place in 1910 in Constantinople. *Chienne d'histoire* is set five years before the Armenian genocide, in 1910, when streets were overrun with stray dogs in Constantinople. Stray dogs roamed freely in the city until the newly established Ottoman government made a decision to get rid of them. At first European experts from institutes such as Institute Pasteur have shown interest to talk further about the possible methods of eradication. Later on, due to budget problems, the Ottomans have made a decision not to collaborate with any institute and drafted a new plan. The new plan proposed the deportation of the dogs to Ochia, a deserted island of barren and steep cliffs, located in the Marmara Sea. All stray dogs of Istanbul were rounded up and transported to the island, which turned into an open-air dog pound. Finally, approximately 80.000 dogs were

exterminated. *Chienne d'histoire* was praised as an important historical film about the extermination of stray dogs by the Turkish media, yet outside Turkey it was often taken as an allegory of the Catastrophe. For instance, reviews of the film written by scholars and critics in the United States, the Netherlands, France and Belgium have read the film as an allegory of the Catastrophe. In my presentation, 1) I will analyze which elements in the film make this allegorical reading possible, 2) What this allegory points out and what does it tell us about the Armenian genocide? 3) What kind of insights can be conveyed *only* in allegorical form and why is allegory such a helpful strategy in the case of modern Turkey? What does it mean to compare the plight of the Armenians to that of the dogs?

Alaettin Carikci is a Ph.D candidate at Leiden University LUCAS Center in the Netherlands. Prior to his Ph.D he received his MA from Sabanci University Cultural Studies department in Istanbul. His Ph.D research is about the politics of public memory in modern Turkey about the Armenians and the remembrance of the Armenian Genocide. For his memory studies project, Carikci adopts an interdisciplinary approach to analyze a variety of media such as novels, contemporary art exhibitions, cultural heritage sites, museums and films.

BEYOND UNITY: NEGOTIATED RECONCILIATION AND CONTINGENT FORGIVENESS IN POST-GENOCIDE RWANDA

Clark, Phil (University of London)

Reconciliation and forgiveness are among the most contested terms in current peacebuilding and transitional justice debates. Critics often view these concepts as romantic – expecting immediate harmony after enormous harm – or imposed on victims by religious groups or governments that prefer the language of ‘moving on’ to addressing systemic causes of conflict. This paper reconsiders the concepts of ‘reconciliation’ and ‘forgiveness’ by drawing on community-level experiences in post-genocide Rwanda. This context highlights nuanced interpretations of reconciliation and forgiveness that, in key respects, respond to critics’ concerns and call for reappraisal of these terms as central objectives following mass violence. In particular, many Rwandans’ participation in the gacaca community courts – which, between 2002 and 2012, prosecuted 400,000 genocide suspects in around 1 million cases in 11,000 jurisdictions overseen by locally elected lay judges – represents a form of *negotiated reconciliation* and *contingent forgiveness*. These versions emphasise long-term formal and informal negotiations between antagonistic parties during gacaca hearings but crucially long after trials have ended. In contrast, the *transactional reconciliation* and *unconditional forgiveness* advocated by the Rwandan government through its discourse of ‘national unity’ views these processes as immediate and elite-imposed - a perspective that rightly raises the ire of critics but to which negotiated reconciliation and contingent forgiveness offer a robust riposte. This paper is based on more than 650 interviews between 2003 and 2014 with Rwandan genocide suspects, convicted perpetrators, survivors, gacaca judges and policymakers as well as observations of 105 gacaca hearings in 13 communities across Rwanda.

Phil Clark is a Reader in Comparative and International Politics, with reference to Africa, at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London. He specialises in transitional justice in the African Great Lakes region, focusing on issues of justice, peace, reconciliation and forgiveness after mass conflict. Previously, he was the co-founder and convener of Oxford Transitional Justice Research (OTJR) at the University of Oxford. Dr. Clark’s last book was *The Gacaca Courts, Post-Genocide Justice and Reconciliation in Rwanda: Justice without Lawyers* (Cambridge University Press). He is currently completing a monograph on the politics of the International Criminal Court in Uganda and the Democratic Republic of Congo.

SPACES OF VIOLENCE: “STRATEGIC VILLAGES” AND MASS GRAVES IN POST-DICTATORSHIP ARGENTINA

Colombo, Pamela (École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales)

In 1975 the province of Tucumán (Argentina) was occupied by the military under the so called “Operation Independence”. The main goal of this military operation was to destroy the rural guerrilla of the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT-ERP) established in the Tucumán’s bush. Meanwhile forced disappearance of people

occurred, the occupied zone was deeply reconfigured through displacement of population, the construction of new towns (similar to the programme of “strategic hamlets” in Vietnam), and also by the presumed location of mass graves in the same zone. In Argentina as elsewhere, space has played a pivotal role in counterinsurgency strategies, not only in making political destruction possible, but also in creating the conditions that would prevent guerrilla movements re-emerge in the future and also by ensuring long lasting spatial reconfigurations. Almost thirty years after the end of the dictatorship, I conducted in-depth interviews with people who had lived in the military occupied area in the south-west of Tucumán and also with people that were displaced and forced to inhabit in the “strategic villages” created by the military. I will analyse their discourses in order to examine the space in which they imagine that corpses could be hidden and at the same time the spaces that conceal those mass graves. The general goal will be to understand how these spatial remnants of mass violence transfigured the “built environment” and the spatial practices of the inhabitants in the aftermath.

Pamela Colombo holds a PhD in Sociology from the University of País Vasco (UPV), a BA in Sociology from the University of Buenos Aires (UBA), and a MA in Philosophy of History from the University Autónoma de Madrid (UAM). She was Doctoral Researcher at Spanish National Research Council (CSIC, 2009-2013) and was Visiting Researcher at the Center for Place, Culture and Politics (CUNY, New York), the Centre for Research Architecture (Goldsmiths College, London), the Freie Universität Berlin (FU, Berlin) and the University of Konstanz (Germany). Her research focuses on the social production of space, and in particular in the constitution of imaginary geographies in contexts of political violence.

THE BANYAMULENGE OF SOUTH KIVU: THE ‘NATIONALITY QUESTION’

Court, Anthony (University of South Africa)

My aim in this article is to address the question of the relationship between the ethnogenesis of the Banyamulenge people in South Kivu province of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and their status as nationals and citizens of that country. I do not intend to present a history of the Banyamulenge, aspects of which have been thoroughly researched by several noted scholars. Nor do I undertake an account of the developments following the first Congo war of 1996/7 to the present day. Rather, I will focus on three principal historical factors that have impacted on the formative relationship between the ‘Banyamulenge’ of South Kivu province and the broader Congolese society; namely, the diverse historical forms and stages of regional migration of Kinyarwanda speakers into pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial Congo-Zaire; the nature of the post-independence Zairian state and its role in the manipulation and instrumentalisation of group identifications in the Kivu provinces; and the import of the discourses of nationalism and ‘nation-statism’ in the postcolony.

Anthony Court is an NRF rated researcher and Associate Professor in the School of Interdisciplinary Research & Graduate Studies at UNISA. I supervise M & D students in the fields of genocide studies, political studies, and history. I am published in national and international journals and a monograph entitled ‘Hannah Arendt’s Response to the Crisis of Her Times’ (Rozenberg). I am currently working on a second monograph based on research being carried out in Poland on the forced and slave labour camps and industrial hydrogenation plants in East Upper Silesia. I am currently completing the English translation of Carl Schmitt’s book “Staat, Bewegung, Volk”.

Danekce, Florian (University of Marburg)

Florian Danekce is a PhD student at the Collaborative Research Centre “Dynamics of Security. Processes of Securitization in historical perspective” (Giessen/Marburg) funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG). He is researching the formation and implementation of the international proscription of genocide with a focus on Romanian actors (1920s-1940s). Having studied history, social and political science at the Humboldt University of Berlin, he received his degree with a thesis on the German influence on the persecution of Jews in Romania during WWII.

ROLE OF HISTORICAL NARRATIVES IN RECONCILIATION: 'AFRICA'S WORLD WAR' IN THE DRC

Davey, Christopher (University of Bradford)

In 2003, the DRC government's attempts at national reconciliation resulted in the *Commission Vérité et Réconciliation* (CVR) that reported to parliament in 2007. The final report was not made accessible to the public, precluding a society-wide dialogue, and had no impact on pervasive impunity in the DRC. Despite this apparent failure other models of reconciliation and truth seeking offer some more tested processes. Guatemala's *Historical Clarification Commission* encompassed the production of a single historical narrative through the use of witness accounts and sources, that sought to establish an account and indication of responsibility and human suffering. South Africa's *Truth and Reconciliation Commission* models another option. This path includes a more fluid process of public testimony combining restorative justice and truth telling. In this model amnesty or reduced sentences are offered to those willing to detail complicity in violence, providing a platform for voice and truth to both victim and perpetrator. Both of these models can potentially address the formation of identities between within groups of various actors and the issue of impunity. The CVR achieved none of these outcomes. This paper will seek to compare the models of a historical narrative and truth and reconciliation commission. While both offer an end product of a historical document and cataloguing of sources, they differ on the exposure and public nature of the truth forming process, and wider impact on society and conflict transformation. The paper will also comment on the CVR in the DRC, and recommendations based on these above models.

Christopher Davey is a PhD student at the University of Bradford's Peace Studies programme. His research will investigate identity and genocidal processes in the wars surrounding the eastern DRC since 1997. He has previously attended Kingston University's Master's programme in Human Rights and Genocide Studies and wrote a dissertation comparing the nonviolent movements against oppressive dictatorships in East Timor and Kosovo. He also writes for online blogs TransConflict and the Mormon Worker.

de Villiers, Jan-Harm (University of South Africa)

Jan-Harm de Villiers is a legal philosopher and senior lecturer in the School of Law at the University of South Africa. He holds BCom (Law) (*cum laude*), LLB (*cum laude*) and LLM (Jurisprudence) (*cum laude*) degrees from the University of Pretoria and is currently engaged in preparatory reading for a Doctorate degree. He specialises in animal rights theory and primarily works at the intersection of critical legal studies, animal ethics and continental philosophy. He has been published in several accredited journals and presented papers in his field at both national and international conferences. His current project explores the use of the Holocaust metaphor in animal liberation discourse.

BUILDING BRIDGES: CIVIL SOCIETY AND RECONCILIATION IN DARFUR

Elradi, Amel (University of British Columbia)

While peace agreements and transitional justice framework, including macro mechanisms for reconciliation, is important in addressing structural injustice, stopping conflict, and contributing to maintaining some economic aspects, it does not by itself brings peace. In this paper the author argues that in a divided community, civil society organizations are uniquely situated as an agent for healing and nation-building, and that in such divided community as Darfur, peace agreements will not achieve sustainable peace unless it includes efforts by civil society organizations.

Using example of civil society organizations from Darfur, the author shows how civil society in Darfur has the capacity and the agency to assist divided communities in Darfur to deal with current violence and trauma, restore trust, and build social cohesion, which is key for positive and sustainable peace in the region. The author proposes a peace building efforts in Darfur that is centered on civil society organizations in order to empower them to take a primary role in efforts to see the confluence of the people of Darfur as an ethnically and tribally diverse, yet unified nation and desist violence.

Amel Elradi is a current PhD candidate in the Institute for Gender, Race, Sexuality & Social Justice at the University of British Columbia. Amel completed her Master of Arts in Gender & Peace Building at the University of Peace- Costa Rica. Amel is a researcher and social activist. Over the last ten years she worked and volunteered with different international and national civil society organizations in Sudan (both South and North), as well in other countries in the Horn of Africa and Yemen. Her work and activism is mainly around areas of social justice, active citizenship, peace building and environment.

“BONES IN THE FOREST” IN MATABELELAND, ZIMBABWE: EXHUMATIONS AS A TOOL TO TRANSFORMATION

Eppel, Shari (Solidarity Peace Trust)

The need to honour the dead is universal, and of particular importance in animist cultures, where the aggrieved dead can cause illness, crop failure, infertility and failure to marry. In sub-Saharan Africa there are arguably more than a million victims of civil wars since the 1970s lying in mass and shallow graves, having been denied appropriate burial rituals. While the angry dead and their role in rural communities after state conflict is increasingly acknowledged in the transitional justice literature, there have been no longitudinal studies into the humanitarian outcomes and transformational possibilities of exhuming and respectfully reburialing murdered civilians. Exhumations in rural Zimbabwe in the 1990s, which allowed the reburial of civilians killed in the 1980s 'Gukurahundi' massacres, are assessed here from the vantage of 2014. Families mostly continue to reflect on positive outcomes from the reburials, with one exception. The reburials are perceived as having transformed family dynamics, healing rifts and allowing for the reintegration of alleged sell-outs. Retrospectively, it is clear that most people did not know where their relatives were until the exhumation exercise provided a context for the truth to be told by previously silent neighbours. Exhumed gravesites that were once indicative of horrific murders now signify wrongs that were put right, allowing the community to reclaim previously haunted spaces. The potential of reburials to address the rights of the living dead needs to be more widely addressed in the wake of mass atrocities.

Shari Eppel is Director of Solidarity Peace Trust. She lives and works in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe, focusing on community reconciliation and empowerment processes. In the 1990s, she was the sole researcher and primary author of "Breaking the Silence, Building True Peace: a report on the disturbances in Matabeleland and the Midlands, 1902-1988", written on behalf of the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace and the Legal Resources Foundation of Zimbabwe. A psychologist by training, she has authored or co-authored more than thirty human rights reports in the last twenty years, on torture, government demolitions, humanitarian disasters and the impact of diasporisation on rural families in Matabeleland. In the 1990s, as director of Amani Trust, Matabeleland, she spear-headed exhumations and reburials in rural Matabeleland, for purposes of "healing the dead". In May 2014, Shari Eppel graduated with an MSc Anthropology, Forensic and Biological Sciences, from Mercyhurst University in Pennsylvania, with the aim of training a forensic anthropology team for Zimbabwe in the future.

CREATING A CULTURE OF NON VIOLENCE AND LEARNING AND LIVING TOGETHER IN NIGERIAN SCHOOLS: A PRELIMINARY EVALUATION OF UNICEF VIOLENT FREE SCHOOL IN NIGERIA INITIATIVE

Fadokun, James (National Institute for Educational Planning and Administration, Nigeria)

According to the report of the UN Secretary General's Survey on Violence against Children, the consequences of violence can be devastating. These include, brain injuries, bruises and fractures, poor interpersonal relationship and communication, learning problems, emotional/psychological problems like anxiety, depression, aggression or attempted suicide, use of drugs, sexual indulgence and health problems such as HIV/AIDS and sexually transmitted infections (STIs). There are thousands of children living on the streets of Lagos and other major cities, neglected by their parents or abandoned, exposed to so many hazards and threats. In Nigeria, initiatives to address violence against children include establishment of the National Agency for the Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons (NAPTIP) that coordinate mechanisms for rescuing, rehabilitating and reintegrating child victims of trafficking and prosecuting perpetrators. The education sector

is one of the most exposed to violence. The education sector appears to be amongst those where the risk of experiencing some form of violence, bullying or harassment at work is the greatest. This paper is an assessment of violence free education programme introduced by UNICEF in Nigeria to encourage living and learning together in a multicultural setting in Nigeria. Peace Education is integrated comprehensive education focusing on life skills covering human rights, democracy, international understanding, tolerance, non-violence, multiculturalism, and all other values conveyed through the school curriculum. Peace education is the all-round education of each individual. Peace education should be extended to all learners, including refugee and migrant children, children from minorities and disabled with the objective of promoting equal opportunities through education.

James Fadokun is a researcher at the National Institute for Educational planning and Administration, Nigeria. His areas of interests are education and conflict, educational planning in emergencies, Education management information system. He has done a lot of consultancy for the Federal Ministry of Education, UNICEF and did in Nigeria. He has written extensively in his areas of specialisation. He has passion on children issues and participated in a lot of training programme to build the capacity of teachers, school managers and policy makers on multiculturalism and inclusiveness in education in Nigeria.

PARAMILITARIES AS PROPHECIES AND PROXIES FOR GENOCIDE

Ferguson, Kate (University of East Anglia)

Paramilitary or irregular units have been involved in practically every case of genocide in the modern world. Paramilitary forces have participated to such an extent in the perpetration of these particular crimes because governments benefit by using unconventional forces to fulfil devastating socio-political ambitions. The presence of apparently non-state actors in identity based mass crimes are frequently stage-managed by political leaderships in order to purposefully misdirect attention from the true architects, serving both to protect those most responsible and to obscure the final objectives for long enough to ensure they are fulfilled. I suggest that this trend will continue to increase as global norms regarding human rights and the responsibility to protect civilians at risk advance and thus state powers wishing to commit atrocity crimes will increasingly seek to mask their strategies by employing covert and devolved structures of violence. This paper explores the striking symbiosis that exists between the political architects of atrocity crimes and the irregular units that commit them. Deniability and devolved responsibility make paramilitary groups the perfect tools with which to commit atrocity crimes, while the obscurity of military and political commands conceal the intentions behind the participation and actions of those groups. This clouds responsibility, which hinders intervention policy responses and can prevent those most accountable from facing justice. In such structures, political elites temporarily elevate irregular combatants not only to glorify their actions but to normalise their crimes, while simultaneously denying influence over the fighters themselves. At the same time, paramilitary leaders reap the special rewards only political immunity and military capacity can bring. The individual fighters, typically young unemployed men, fleetingly become heroes – until they are no longer of political or military use, when they are presented as solely responsible for the crimes they committed. As the international community strengthens its legal responses to atrocity crimes and promotes the global responsibility to protect initiative, it is crucial that we understand these devolved networks of identity-based violence in order to close the present loopholes that protect elites but punish their foot-soldiers.

Kate Ferguson is Founding Director of *Protection Approaches*, a UK-based NGO tackling identity-based mass violence worldwide. Kate is in the final stages of her PhD in History at the University of East Anglia, completing her thesis on paramilitaries in identity-based conflicts. She is funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council of the United Kingdom. Kate received her BA in History with First Class Honours from the University of East Anglia. She completed her MPhil in Russian and East European Studies at the University of Oxford in 2010.

SOUTH AFRICA – BEYOND RAINBOW AND RECONCILIATION RHETORIC: WHAT ABOUT REPARATIONS AND RESTITUTION?

Fester, Gertrude (Rwandan Association of University Women)

This paper forms part of an interdisciplinary dialogue/panel rooted in theories of genocide and social destruction by researchers representing diverse struggles. The panel will highlight the plight of the Hazara people, Afghanistan, the 100th anniversary of the Armenian genocide, Rwandan women raped and impregnated, the possibilities for peace in Israel/Palestine and lack of reparations in South Africa. Particularities and parallels of these struggles will be stressed. What further links these diverse struggles will be the focus not as victims but active agents promoting a politics of peace. This presentation will assess the possibility of restitution and reparations in South Africa. Individual cases of reparations, apology, reconciliation and restitution will be assessed and examined to what extent these could be emulated. The case study of the organisation Khulumani and its aim of getting victims of gross human rights acknowledged as recommended by the TRC will be used. What is positive about Khulumani is that it is proactive in trying to address the plight of survivors of gross human rights abuse. The presentation concludes with innovative means of prevention of collective violence, healing history's wounds as well as highlighting the gender dimension of trauma. Creatively dealing with the aftermath and legacies of apartheid and social injustice it will seek to address silences as well as the roles of perpetrators. This presentation will expound on transitional justice and relating it to forward-looking strategies whereby all are welcomed to participate in a project that would work towards holistic healing and a politics of peace.

Gertrude Fester was in anti-apartheid struggles prioritising articulation between women's and national liberation, initiating women's organisations. She was a teacher-trainer. Post-1994 she was MP and subsequently political deployments including Gender Equality Commissioner. She has a PhD(LSE). Former positions include deputy-director (Centre for Gender, University of Rwanda), Professor *extraordinaire* (UWC) and Wynona Lipman Chair for Women Political Leaders, Centre for American Women and Politics(Rutgers). Her publications focus on social justice issues highlighting marginalised groups. While a political prisoner in solitary confinement, she composed a play in her head. Currently research-coordinator (Rwandan Association of University Women), she promotes reparations and women's peace-building.

Freedman, Richard (Cape Town Holocaust Centre)

Richard Freedman was born in Johannesburg, South Africa and is a graduate of the University of Cape Town and of Wits University in Johannesburg. He taught History and English in Cape Town high school and was appointed principal of Herzlia Weizmann School in 1990, a position he held until 2005. He was a founding board member of Mothers to Mothers (an NGO which serves to provide counselling, mentoring and support to pregnant mothers living with HIV), and serves on the board of Union Internationale de la Marionnette (SA). He is a council member of the Federation of International Human Rights Museums. He has delivered papers and conducted seminars on Holocaust Education in South Africa and internationally. He is a fellow of the United States Holocaust Museum and the Salzburg Global Seminars. In 2006 he was appointed Director of the Cape Town Holocaust Centre and in 2007 Director of The South African Holocaust and Genocide Foundation. He continues to hold both positions.

THE TRIPLE THEORY OF JUSTICE AS A PERSPECTIVE TO INTERPRET AND PREVENT GENOCIDE

Ga'far, Khadeega (American University in Cairo)

In an attempt to bring a philosophical perspective to the contemporary studies of Genocide; the theory of justice as proposed by Nancy Fraser, the American critical theorist, is read to bear on the phenomenon of Genocide. The research question which would be answered is how a theory of justice that is constituted from three main components: recognition, redistribution and political participation could be a framework for anticipating and precluding genocide? To answer the question: the term Genocide is explained as it was

conceptualized by Raphael Lemkin. Then, the three components of the theory of Justice is explained and correlated to the empirical situation of oppressing and destructing a group as such. The triple theory of justice ensures three rights to every group in a multicultural nation: recognition, distribution and participation. When the theory is applied to the specific case of Genocide, it revealed that it is, ideally, an interpretive and alarming paradigm in the early stages of Genocide when a subordinated group is oppressed by a dominant group via misrecognition, mal-distribution and non-participation in political life. Moreover, the theory is an efficient theoretical and applied paradigm in transitional justice when the genocidal group apologizes for the crime and seeks reconciliation and rebuilding a new inclusive nation based on equality and justice. Finally, it could be concluded that the Genocide is the antithesis of triple theory of justice.

Khadeega Ga'far is a graduate philosophy student at American University in Cairo (AUC). In her studies, she tries to bring philosophical perspectives to the reading and understanding of social phenomena such as violence. Her interest in Genocide studies started when she observed the violent fate of the Syrian revolution and surmised that it is a case of genocide more than a case of revolution. Moreover, she participated in Summer University Srebrenica 2013 (SUS) to study the case of Srebrenica Genocide. In addition to her interest in Genocide studies, she is also studying Ethics, Political Philosophy and Islamic Philosophy.

COLONIAL SCARS: IMPOSED MARKERS AND NAMIBIAN POSTCOLONIAL IDENTITY

Garsha, Jeremiah (University of Cambridge)

In 1912, Germany erected the *Reiterdenkmal*, a bronze statue of a horse rider to commemorate the German soldiers and citizens killed during the “Herero and *Hottentotten* [a derogative term for the Nama] uprising” (1904-1908). In August 2012 Namibian President and SWAPO party leader Hifikepunye Pohamba announced that the *Reiterdenkmal* would be permanently removed from public display, as “[the] time must come for us to make our own monuments.” On Christmas evening, 2013, a century after it was commissioned, the *Reiterdenkmal* was quietly packed away and placed in storage. The production and silencing of historical memory in Namibia has emerged at a fascinating juncture, as various stakeholders’ battle over differing representations of the past, put forward for tourist consumption.

This paper traces these strategies of commemorating and preserving markers of colonial genocide. The SWAPO party, the indigenous Herero and Nama communities, and German-Namibians have each sought to rework historical events in the postcolonial milieu under a new national narrative. This paper seeks to contextualise the contemporary sites of historical memory—in public memorials and monuments—by tracing their current presentation back through the historic transformations these sites have undergone. Of particular focus is the creation of a municipal tourist campground on the former site of the Shark Island concentration camp, as well as an exploration of the cemetery of Swakopmund, which until 2005, allowed all terrain vehicles to drive over thousand of unmarked indigenous graves.

Jeremiah Garsha is a graduate student at the University of Cambridge’s Centre for African Studies. He received his MA degree from San Francisco State University in Modern European History and his BA in History from UC Santa Barbara. His research interests include comparative colonial genocide, Namibian history, German colonialism, and the aftermath of European colonialism in southern African societies. He is writing his dissertation on the evolving presentation of colonial monuments and postcolonial memorials in Namibia, the tensions surrounding state-sponsored nationalist celebrations, and observances of localised indigenous identity transformations to historical narratives in the era following colonial occupation.

USING TRAVELLING EXHIBITIONS TO TEACH ABOUT GENOCIDE.

Hackner, Linda (Cape Town Holocaust Centre) & **Sher, Arlene** (Johannesburg Holocaust & Genocide Centre)

The paper explores best practice in addressing the challenges, and opportunities that exist when teaching young people about genocide. Three case studies of education programmes that use exhibitions to teach

young people about genocide broadly, and more specifically, the history of the Holocaust, are discussed. Each case study illustrates how students are encouraged to consider the historical content as well as the relevance of the history to their lives. The paper examines the education programme developed for an exhibition on the fate of homosexuals during the Holocaust, which encouraged students to consider contemporary examples of prejudice and homophobia. The paper also examines the education programmes developed in relation to an exhibition on Raoul Wallenberg, that encouraged social activism. The third case study is of an education programme, developed to accompany an exhibition on Anne Frank, that included a peer-education component, and the way in which a group of high school students were taught how to teach their peers using the exhibition, is discussed.

Linda Hackner is the Senior Educator based at the Cape Town Holocaust Centre. She has been in the field of education for most of her life and has taught in a variety of schools across three continents. Her experience over the years as a teacher, Head of Subject and Deputy Principal has afforded her an understanding of pedagogy that is multicultural and multigenerational. As well as conducting school programmes, Linda has worked with corporate groups and has conducted training workshops with teachers and professionals.

Arlene Sher graduated from the University of the Witwatersrand with a BA degree. She has a post-graduate diploma in Human Resource Management from the Wits Business School, and a Jewish Studies teaching diploma from the South African Board of Jewish Education. For half a decade, Arlene taught programmes on diversity and tolerance to Primary and High School students, at the Foundation for Tolerance Education in Johannesburg. In 2010, Arlene joined the Johannesburg Holocaust & Genocide Centre as head of the Learner Education Programmes, responsible for developing educational programmes, training and facilitation and other projects at the Centre.

GERMAN GENOCIDE OF THE NAMA

Hoffman, Ida (Nama Genocide Technical Committee)

This paper, focusing specifically on the German Genocide of the Nama endeavours to do justice to the Genocide issue through the delivery of facts, data, genocide acts and atrocities. The paper will also zero in at the reasons, players, perpetrators, victims and those who held state in the decimation of the Nama. Further, the paper focuses on the current states of the quest for justice against the genocide. It highlights the position taken by the government of the Federal Republic of Germany, and the role the Namibian is playing. The aspects of acknowledgement of guilt by the German government and its people as the government and its people as the perpetrators of these crimes against humanity, an apology, the repatriation of all skulls and human remains of Namibian origin now still being kept in Germany, reconciliation and restitution are also attended to in the paper.

Ida Hoffman is the Chairperson of the Nama Genocide Technical Committee and a German Genocide justice activist in Namibia for more than 20 years. She presented a program entitled "Dialogue Forum with Ida Hoffmann" through the cooperation of the Pan-Africanism Congress Munich 2013 in Sept 2013 in Munich, Berlin and was a panellist at the very Pan-Africanism Congress Munich 2014. Hon Ida Hoffmann served in parliament of the Republic of Namibia as a parliamentarian from 2005 – 2010.

MASSACRE OF THE BARZANI PEOPLE

Ihsan, Mohammed (Kings' College, London)

In September 1983 the authorities ordered in absolute secrecy the detention and the killing of 8,000 males belonging to the Barzanis. Through his fieldwork carried out between 2005 and 2013, the author was able to present forensic and documentary evidence that directly link the higher hierarchy of the regime to this massacre. With the support of photographs, maps, undisclosed documents, the author will explain in detail the different phases the crime. He will also show how this particular event represented a tragic escalation in the

spiral of violence that engulfed Iraq during Saddam's regime increasing its skills, scope and atrocities. The paper will also address the legal implications of the trial that was held against the perpetrators and the ambiguous role of the Iraqi High Tribunal as well as the unwillingness of the Iraqi institutions to embark in a path of national reconciliation. This crime will be analysed taking into account the current situation in Iraq where sectarian violence is still wrecking the country jeopardizing any attempt of nation-building and co-existence among Shias, Sunnis and Kurds.

Mohammed Ihsan is currently chief of the KRG's committee for the disputed regions and Senior Visiting Research Fellow at the Defence Studies department at Kings' College, London. In the Kurdish Regional Government he was minister for Extra Regional Affairs from 2005 to 2011 and Minister for Human Rights and International Investigator for Genocide crime in Iraq from 2001 to 2005. He holds a Ph.D. in International law from the London School of Economics (2001) and another in Arab and Islamic Studies from the University of Exeter (2014). He authored various articles and books on Kurdistan and Iraq.

VIOLENCE AS THREAT TO SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION IN SOUTH AFRICA: APPLIED THEATRE TO THE RESCUE

Inyang, Ofonime (Tshwane University Of Technology)

South Africa is currently confronted with challenges that appear to threaten the gains of freedom and democracy fought and won at a huge price in the 90s. The troubling rate of violence in the *new* South Africa is beginning to attract references to the brutality and inanities of the apartheid era in the nation's history. A recent past case in point is the *Marikana* killings, where protesting miners lost their lives in open confrontation with state security apparatus. Added to this are incessant occurrence of sexual abuse and killing of women, children and physically-challenged persons by people lost on the ends of personal survival, anger and pure criminality in various parts of the country. This does not only leave heavy toll on the national psyche but clearly points to deficits in governance, economic development, education, values building and social engineering. The need for repositioning humanities education in the country appears imminent and urgent in order to sufficiently address the complexities and challenges of a post-conflict society. Scholars and researchers increasingly recommend the employment of multi-disciplinary methods that draw on local knowledge systems in awareness creation in anti-violence campaigns in developing societies. The applied theatre pedagogy, a participatory education and development communication strategy linked to Augusto Boal's theory of the Theatre of the Oppressed appear to suit this situation. This paper aims to articulate the viability of employing applied theatre principles and techniques in violence mitigation campaigns in rural parts of South Africa.

Ofonime Inyang is a PhD candidate in the Department of Drama & Film, Tshwane University of Technology, Pretoria, South Africa. His research explores media use for development communication targeting environmental problems in Sub-Saharan Africa. Using experiments in rural farming and fishing communities in Nigeria and South Africa, the research interrogates Augusto Boal's theory of participatory communication and Sloan's mediated development theory as a tool for mass communication and participatory community development. Ofonime is also active as a creative writer, university teacher and development activist and taught for some years in University of Uyo-Nigeria before relocating to South Africa for doctoral studies.

THE ROLE OF MILITIAS IN THE CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC (CAR): SELF-INTEREST AND SELF-PRESERVATION OF ARMED MOVEMENTS IN CONFLICT.

Isaacs-Martin, Wendy (University of South Africa)

Militias have become a 'normal' feature in armed conflict in Africa. These groups are comprised predominantly of men who are ex-soldiers, armed, disenchanted and unemployed youths, mercenaries and often bandits. Their objectives are to contest government authority, as their ideological relevance, but also militias are economically opportunist. In the CAR militias have divided the population along ethnic and religious identities yet these same armed groups enter into and break allegiances with rival and opposing groups easily. The question posed is *whether political leadership in CAR can be sustained without the use of militias?* The aims are

to determine whether political leadership in this failed state employ militias, along with government troops, to support their political authority and power and secondly whether it is militias that direct the political narrative and seek to control political authority and power. The conclusions are that firstly the militias destroy infrastructure, communities and social bonds and serve merely to preserve material gains at any cost. Secondly that political leadership, in the form of government troops, and militias alike decimate villages in retaliatory attacks not against each other but instead on unarmed civilians.

Wendy Isaacs-Martin is a researcher at the Archie Mafeje Research Institute at UNISA. Her fields of research include identities – ethnic, religious and gendered – and violence. The identities are limited to Africa including the complexity of religion and ethnicity in social and political paradigms. In terms of violence her focus is on Rene Girard's scapegoat mechanism that argues that perpetrators create the narrative by denying the victim a voice.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF BOKO HARAM INSURGENCY IN KANO SINCE 2012

Iwize, Daniel (Bayero University)

Kano and other northern Nigerian cities had witnessed series of ethno-religious inspired violent conflicts before the emergence of Boko Haram insurgency in the region. Boko Haram insurgents laid siege on Kano in systematic co-ordinated attacks on military formations, immigration, police and government institutions on 20th January 2012 leading to death of many people, some maimed for life, others sustained various degrees of injuries and destruction of properties worth millions of naira. Kano has been the greatest emporium of trade and commerce of Western Sudan since the era of trans-Saharan trade. The murderous attacks by the insurgents have reversed all that. The extremist Islamic sect had carried out series of attacks in Kano metropolis targeting police stations, military barracks, churches, mosques, schools, motor station, open eateries and/or relaxation spots and other government institutions. The lingering insurgency in Kano and particularly in the North-east of Nigeria has traumatized the people causing the disruption of economic and social activities in the area. It is against this background that this paper examines the economic and social implications of the Boko Haram insurgency in Kano.

Daniel Olisa Iweze lectures in the Department of History, Bayero University, Kano, Nigeria. He holds a Bachelor and Master of Arts degrees from Bayero University, Kano and a doctorate degree from University of Nigeria, Nsukka. His main research interests are on Social and Economic History. He has published several articles and chapters in reputable scholarly international and local journals and books.

GENOCIDE OF THE OVAHERERO

Johannes-Matundu, Scara (Ovaherero Genocide Committee)

Addressing the past is in many ways unavoidable due to its drastic influence on the present. In the words of Faulkner: "The past is not dead. It is not even past." It is unanimously agreed today that between 1904 and 1908 Germany committed genocide, as legally defined, against the Ovaherero of the then German South West Africa (GSWA), the present day Namibia. The genocide against the Herero is unique in that the order to annihilate (The Ovaherero) was publicly proclaimed and made known to the targeted group in their own language. The official proclamation initially sought the extermination specifically of the Ovaherero, though other tribes, particularly the Nama, were later targeted because of their rich land holdings and their intransigence against the Germans. However, this study will focus mainly on the Ovaherero tribe. German settlers in the territory who wanted the land and cattle of the indigenous Ovaherero, and the public in Germany, incited by propaganda that the Ovaherero were conducting a race war, bayed for the Ovaherero blood. German troops, many of who had previously experience brutal treatment on indigenous populations in various parts of the world, killed men, women, and children without distinction. Other atrocities committed against the Ovaherero included raping the women, of which testimony remains in the present day Namibia in the form of the so-called "Ovirumbona", loosely translated to mean, 'the whites of half-German parentage'.

These events initially occurred under the command of General Adrian Dretrich Lothar von Trotha (hereafter von Trotha), and most likely under the instruction of Kaizer Wilhelm II. Both men had a history of ordering and conducting brutal extermination-type practices. Von Trotha embarked on a planned, announced, systematic, and indiscriminate extermination of the Ovaherero community.

Scara Johannes-Matundu previously worked as a journalist for over 20 years before switching to studying law. I have carried out research work first on Information seeking behaviour of secondary school pupils, followed by another research on the customary law of the Ovahimba people for my B-Juris degree Thesis before embarking on the LLB degree studies at the University of Pretoria where I completed the degree after 2 and half years. I opted for the Genocide research of the Ovaherero people when the opportunity presented itself because not many or no scholars have approached the Ovaherero massacre from a legal perspective.

THE POLITICS OF APOLOGY, RECONCILIATION AND RESTITUTION IN POST-GENOCIDE RWANDA

Kavuro, Callixte (Stellenbosch University)

The reconciliation in the post-genocide Rwanda is justified on moral claims that all Hutus (and their offspring) confess and/or apologise to their real or imagined crimes of acts of genocide. A wide range of policies and initiatives were undertaken to create national platforms on which apologies and confessions can be expressed. On the other hand, from the outset, Rwanda justified the retributive idea of desert as an appropriate mechanism for promoting national reconciliation and social reconstruction. In the spirit of retributory reconciliation, the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) and the Gacaca Courts were established and thus given mandates to “eradicate the culture of impunity” and reconciling the conflicting parties, namely Hutu and Tutsi. In these two main forums and other subsidiary forums, some accused persons expressed their deepest apologies as they were blameworthy for what they did. Owing to a belief that all members of Hutu community are collectively guilty, majority of the Hutu population were simply compelled to apologize, especially in Gacaca courts and subsequent subsidiary forums. Consequently, to some, apologies resulted in their convictions. It is especially important to note that an involuntary apology/confession would lead to “self-incrimination”, the practice which is inimical to the criminal justice system. The paper analyses the concepts of confession and apology in the context of the retributive idea of justice and the restorative idea of justice, illuminating more than the extent to which the politics of apology in Rwanda is used for criminal liability, rather than a genuine reconciliatory process. It will also demonstrate that retributive theory of justice is not concerned with the restitution, reparation and healing but merely punishing the perpetrators. It focuses on and examines some of the strategic ways in which the government demanded the members of the Hutu community to confess and apologise and, on this basis, prosecuted, convicted, and sentenced.

Callixte Kavuro is currently LLD Candidate at Stellenbosch University. He attained his LLM in Social Justice from University of Cape Town, his LLB from University of the Western Cape, and his Diploma in Journalism from Career Management Centre (CMC), Harare, Zimbabwe. He worked as research associate with the Centre for Law and Society (CLS) and Safety and Violence Initiative (SaVI), University of Cape Town and as a parliamentary monitor with the Parliamentary Monitoring Group. Before that he coordinated the Lobbying and Advocacy Task Team of the Unity for Tertiary Refugee Students (UTRS). Today he chairs the Rwandan platform for Dialogue, Truth and Justice (RDTJ). He writes extensively on violence, reconciliation, socioeconomic rights, refugee and immigration rights, and criminal and transitional justice.

RAPE AS A TOOL OF GENOCIDE: IMPACT OF PROSECUTOR V. AKAYESU (1998)

Keller, Carolyn (Keene State College) **Debari, Johanna** (University of Connecticut) & **Seibert, Therese** (Keene State College)

In this paper we examine the impact of the 1998 Akayesu ruling by the ICTR which was the first successful indictment of rape as a war crime. This case is important because it specifically dictated that rape in the case of Akayesu in the Rwandan Genocide was, in fact, a tool of genocide. In this analysis we first discuss the

ongoing development and definition of rape during war within international law. Catharine Mackinnon has been the foremost scholar arguing the necessity of trying rape as a tool of genocide while others suggest women may benefit more from rape being tried as a crime against humanity. We outline this debate and then analyze the cases of rape in the ICTR post-Akayesu to determine how rape is being defined and when it is successfully prosecuted. We use ICTR documentation to analyze eight additional trials of rape. While much of the extant literature on Akayesu trial posits that the ruling will further be used to try rape as genocide, we find, rather, that the ongoing trials of rape within both the ICTR and the ICTY tend to try rape as a crime against humanity. We conclude by discussing the impact that these trials have on women who have been victims of systematic rape as well as the important precedence being set within international law.

Carolyn Keller is an assistant professor of sociology at Keene State College. **Johanna Debari** is a graduate student studying Human Rights at the University of Connecticut. **Therese Seibert** is a professor of sociology at Keene State College.

GENOCIDE AND THE FAILURE OF RESPONSIBILITY TO PROTECT IN SYRIA AND IRAQ: IMPLICATIONS FOR GLOBAL STATE THEORY

Kent, Gregory (University of Roehampton)

The paper will explore the connection between the development of the Responsibility to Protect (RtoP) principle of human rights protection and the ongoing 'global democratic revolution' central to Global State theory. Based on extensive examination of UN documents and debates, leaders' speeches, ngo and think tank commentary, the paper will bind and then explore connections between two major concepts in IR offering an innovative reflection on the structuring of contemporary world politics. Not conventionally connected, the research will develop a reflection on a key dynamic in politics: the relationship between the key human rights-based dynamic shaping the structure of global governance on the one hand, and on the other, the resulting Western dominated politico-economic state-based structure that frequently fails to engage in an effective manner in cases of mass killing.

Gregory Kent, based at the University of Roehampton, London, is an International Relations scholar with a research focus on war and massive human rights violation; in particular his interests include the politics of intervention, and specifically in that context, communication and representation. He worked as a journalist, freelancing for national newspapers and was formerly an ESRC post-doctoral fellow researching diaspora social networks and peacebuilding focused on African, Asian and European case studies. He published an acclaimed, and Amazon best-selling book, 'Framing War and Genocide' (Hampton Press, 2006) on the Bosnian war and genocide. He currently leads an advisory group on genocide for the Kurdish Regional Government in London.

THE GENOCIDE OF THE CHRISTIANS IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE DURING THE FIRST WORLD WAR: WAR OR GENOCIDE?

Khosroeva, Anahit (National Academy of Sciences of Armenia)

This paper focuses primarily on the Christian genocide in the Ottoman Empire during the Great War. Throughout these period many massacres and slaughters, mass atrocities, and what they call today "crimes against humanity" took place. The wartime emergency situation provided the opportunity to put into action Young Turks' wild plans to get rid of the minorities. Almost three million Christian perished from massacres, death marches, slave labor, starvation, and diseases. What happened to the Ottoman Christians during that time was not a war crime committed against the population of a warring country. It was the first time in modern history that the government turned against the large parts of its own population. The definition of two legal terms – **genocide** and **crimes against humanity** – was directly influenced by the destruction of the Ottoman Christians. The following images of the Christians were created to annihilate the Ottoman Armenians, Assyrians, and Greeks by Young Turks' government: (i) The Christians as exploiters (ii) The Christians as competitors (iii) The Christians as betrayers or Russian agents. In this paper I'll explain above mentioned as the

key elements of the Armenian, Assyrians, and Pontic Greek genocide and characterize some of their commonalities and differences.

Anahit Khosroeva is Senior Researcher at the Department of Armenian Genocide Studies in the Institute of History, National Academy of Sciences of Armenia, and has been scholar in residence at North Park University in Chicago, USA, where she taught courses on Genocide Studies. She is the author of the several research books and monographs, as well as the numerous articles on the history of the genocide of Armenians, Assyrians and Greeks during Ottoman period. Her research interests include comparative genocide studies and human rights. Dr. Khosroeva has presented at various worldwide academic conferences. Her recent significant presentation on Assyrian, Armenian, and Greek genocides was delivered and well welcomed at the Parliament House of New South Wales, Australia.

INTIMATE KILLING: WITNESSES' COUNTER-NARRATIVES OF BETRAYAL AND FORGIVENESS

Klein, Dennis (Kean University)

My paper examines the local realities of the genocidal encounter. Fundamental in this investigation is the central role of witness accounts, a corpus of sources complementing and sometimes competing with state records for representing the destruction process. The implications of this research are significant. Assault was not only impersonal fueled by racial hatred or by state orders. Killers and victims knew each other. They were, indeed, neighbors – though surely not always friends – who constituted a community, a *sensus communis*. Even in western Europe, where mass killing was the rule, killers and victims recognized each other as compatriots. This is virgin information for many contemporary observers who can easily miss the quotidian details of local life. But by drawing on recognition theory to grasp the intercultural dimensions of assault, we can observe that witnesses, in their accounts, write not only about the ambience of violence but also about the actors in the encounter and therefore about violations of social trust. Indeed, betrayal is a subject worth exploring in witnesses' accounts and may well lay at the heart of the destruction process itself. Expressions of this betrayal in witnesses' accounts give rise to the question: Do they present evidence of a forgiving disposition? For answers, I will first examine the dynamics of betrayal. I will show how witnesses regard their assailants not only intensively, as criminals, but also extensively as compatriots before and beyond the commission of their crimes. I will assert that the memories of their experiences are often attempts at reconciling two narratives in conflict: the governing narrative that incriminates assailants by bearing witness to assault, and a counter-narrative asserting a fraternal bond.

Dennis B. Klein is Kean University Professor of History and director of the Jewish Studies Program and the Master of Arts in Holocaust and Genocide Studies. He is author or editor of four books, including *Jewish Origins of the Psychoanalytic Movement* (University of Chicago Press, 1985), *Hidden History of the Kovno Ghetto* (Little, Brown in cooperation with the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, 1997), and *The Genocidal Mind* (Paragon, 2005). He is founding editor in chief of *Dimensions: A Journal of Holocaust Studies* and founding director of the Anti-Defamation League's Braun Center for Holocaust Studies.

Kluk, Mary – (Durban Holocaust Centre)

Mary Kluk a graduate of UKZN was instrumental in the establishment of the Durban Holocaust Centre in 2008. Over the past twenty years she has held voluntary leadership positions in a number of Non Profit Organisations, including the Highway Hospice and CHIVA Africa. Currently she is the Director of the DHC as well as the National Chairman of the South African Jewish Board of Deputies.

GENOCIDE AND THE VALUE OF CULTURE: MORAL AND SOCIAL DIMENSIONS OF DOING HARM

Knocke, Roy (Ruhr University/Lepsiushaus Potsdam)

Throughout the debate over the harm of genocide, intuitions about cultural dimensions are a common occurrence. The line of reasoning frequently follows a semantics of loss. Therefore, the specificity of genocidal events can be identified as the loss of cultures. (Cf. Lemkin's work or *ex negativo* the UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity). Such arguments presuppose what I call the thesis of the value of culture. This position comes in multifarious versions, all of which draw on the usual distinction between intrinsic and extrinsic values for their justification of the value of culture. Moreover, almost all the positions currently available are closely related to certain normative arguments, which aim to establish the value of cultural diversity. The aim of this paper is to thoroughly analyze these positions from a moral and social-philosophical point of view, showing most of them to be flawed on account of their inducing essential structures. I discuss the following questions: What counts as a value of culture? According to the thesis of the value of culture, who is losing what in a genocidal event? Why should cultural diversity be a *sumum bonum* for societies? I argue that a refutation of variants of the thesis of the value of culture could shift the focus of genocide studies away from the semantics of loss to a semantics of (identity-)transformations in order to salvage a multi-causal meaning of genocide beyond essentialist ontologies and (hopefully) the minefields of political uses/abuses.

Roy Knocke is a Ph.D. candidate at the Ruhr University Bochum, a research fellow with the Lepsiushaus Potsdam, and a INoGS member since 2012. He teaches undergraduates at the Centre for Jewish Studies, University Potsdam. His research focuses on philosophical and sociological aspects of genocide and collective violence, particularly as it relates to moral and political dimensions. Publications: *Franz Werfel und der Völkermord an den Armeniern* [Franz Werfel and the Armenian Genocide] (ed. with Werner Treß), Berlin, New York: De Gruyter 2014 (forthcoming).

IGBO GENOCIDE: DE-UPHOLSTERING THE SILHOUETTE OF SILENCE

Korieh, Chima (University of Nigeria)

Alexander Laban Hinton has described the 20th century as the “Century of Genocide”. The century recorded the colonial massacre of Hereros of South West Africa by Germans, the mass execution of Kikuyu of Kenya by the British, the mass murder of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, the Jewish Holocaust in Nazi Germany, the mass killing of East Timorese by Indonesian soldiers, the mass murder in Cambodia under the Khmer Rouge regime, and the more contemporary genocidal killings in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Rwanda and Darfur, among others. While most of the 20th Century mass killings have been acknowledged and memorialized, a number of them have rarely been mentioned in the anthologies of genocides. These include the genocidal massacres of the Igbo people of Nigeria in the *ante-bellum* and *post-bellum* Nigeria, but especially during the Biafran war of resistance. These massacres were conceived and planned by the Northern-dominated military junta, supported by their civilian political marionettes, and executed in coordination with a socially and morally deprived ethnic rabble. This paper examines what the Igbo and many international observers believe was an act of genocide. It explains the Igbo genocide as the first black-on-black genocide in post-colonial Africa. It argues that the seeds of the Igbo genocide were sown by Imperial Britain during the colonial period while the act itself was tacitly supported by Britain and British personnel in Nigeria during the Biafran war of survival.

Chima J. Korieh is associate professor of African History at University of Nigeria. He graduated with a first class honors from the University of Nigeria, Nsukka and a PhD from the University of Toronto. He was a British Academy Fellow at Oxford University in 2008 and also a Fellow of the African Studies Center, Leiden, Netherlands. His publications include *The Land Has Changed: History Society and Gender in Colonial Eastern Nigeria* (2010) and several edited books including *The Nigeria-Biafra War: Genocide and the Politics of Memory* (2012) and *Remembering Biafra: Narrative, History and Memory of the Nigeria-Biafra War* (2014).

NAZI VIOLENCE AND THE COLONIAL PARADIGM: THROUGHWAYS, BYWAYS, AND DEAD-END STREETS IN HOLOCAUST HISTORY

Kühne, Thomas

Scrutinizing the patterns, pitfalls, and potentials of the recent debate on continuities from European colonialism and imperialism to the Nazi conquest and the Holocaust, this paper suggests to render account to the diversity of colonial and imperial traditions, practices, and imageries as well as of the variety of Nazi projects on reorganizing the demographic, social, economic, and political landscape of Europe. Which strands of European colonialism, or which strands of its legacy, did establish which kinds of continuities to which elements of Nazi violence? In which ways did this legacy affect Nazi violence, and how did the Nazis take ownership of this legacy? More concretely, the paper will discuss three possible continuities and discontinuities. 1. The Nazi conquest in the East, i.e. the territorial expansion or Lebensraum program, may be linked to various, in part (by the Nazis) misunderstood traditions of *colonial exploitation*. 2. The Nazi war on and the occupation or domination of the rest of (continental) Europe is best understood as an appropriation of imperial traditions, which do include some sort of respect of indigenous social and political structures. 3. The General Plan East and especially the murder of the European Jews bares only superficial parallels to settler and other colonialisms but cannot be adequately examined within colonial or imperial patterns. The paper will end with end with conceptual thoughts on the use of the categories genocide, colonialism, and mass violence.

Thomas Kühne is the Strassler Professor of Holocaust History at Clark University. Trained in Germany, he received his PhD from the University of Tübingen in 1992 and moved to the U.S. in 2003. Awarded prizes and fellowships from the German Bundestag, the German Research Council, the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, and the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, he has authored and (co-) edited eleven books, among other on the election culture in Imperial Germany (1994), the history of masculinity (1996), male bonding in Hitler's army (2006), and, most recently, *Belonging and Genocide: Hitler's Community, 1918–1945* (2010).

SELLING MASS ATROCITIES ABROAD: ANALYZING THE RHETORICAL STRATEGIES OF PERPETRATOR REGIMES

Kuntz, Philipp (University of Bochum)

Over the past decades, the body of research on international reactions to mass atrocities has grown impressively. Yet, as Alex Bellamy rightly pointed out, this literature is also marked by a considerable gap: virtually all studies neglect how perpetrator regimes actively try to manipulate external responses to their crimes.

Drawing on the framing concept from media and social movement studies, the paper introduces a framework for analyzing the rhetorical strategies employed by regimes committing large-scale human rights violations. It aims to go beyond existing approaches by offering a tool that (1) allows to comprehensively map these efforts, (2) is closely linked to existing scholarship on how external actors frame violent events, and (3) facilitates the examination of why regimes resort to certain strategies and to what effect. The way the Sudanese government around President al-Bashir reacted to the international outrage created over the carnage in Darfur serves to illustrate the usefulness of the framework.

Philipp Kuntz is a post-doctoral fellow at the Institute for Diaspora and Genocide Research at the University of Bochum, Germany. His current research focuses on international interpretations and representations of mass violence in Darfur. He has previously published on the topic of popular uprisings against authoritarian regimes.

GENOCIDE AFTER COMPREHENSIVE PEACE? CLIMATE AND OTHER CAUSES OF CONTINUING VIOLENCE IN SUDAN

Kuperman, Alan (University of Texas, Austin)

This paper explores why civil war has erupted again in Sudan – resulting in widespread humanitarian suffering and the alleged targeting of civilians by government forces – despite the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement that ended the civil war between north and south Sudan and led to the mutually agreed secession of South Sudan in 2011. Specifically, the project aims to explain the emergence of rebellion in Sudan's "two regions" – South Kordofan (the Nuba Mountains) and Blue Nile – along rump Sudan's border with the new country of South Sudan. These rebellions have failed to achieve their goals but have provoked retaliation from Sudan's government, including aerial bombardment and restrictions on aid delivery, contributing to widespread humanitarian suffering. The paper first explores underlying causes of this conflict, including scarcity and inequitable distribution of resources, and the extent to which these are associated with climate change. The paper then assesses competing explanations for the rebels' emergence and persistence: (1) optimism about prevailing without outside assistance; (2) military aid from South Sudan and other neighboring states; (3) expectation of humanitarian-motivated international intervention benefiting the rebels. The methodology traces four dynamics over time, identifying causal links between them: (1) rebel escalation; (2) state retaliation; (3) military aid to the rebels from South Sudan and other neighboring states; and (4) threats of international intervention. It also explores who is blocking the delivery of humanitarian aid and why.

Alan J. Kuperman is Associate Professor of Public Affairs at the LBJ School of Public Affairs, University of Texas at Austin, where he teaches courses in global policy studies and is coordinator of the Nuclear Proliferation Prevention Project. His research focuses on ethnic conflict, nuclear proliferation, and U.S. military intervention. Dr. Kuperman is author of *The Limits of Humanitarian Intervention: Genocide in Rwanda* (Brookings, 2001). He is also editor of *Constitutions and Conflict Management in Africa: Preventing Civil War Through Institutional Design* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), *Nuclear Terrorism and Global Security: The Challenge of Phasing out Highly Enriched Uranium* (Routledge, 2013), and *Gambling on Humanitarian Intervention: Moral Hazard, Rebellion and Civil War* (Routledge, 2006). His articles have appeared in journals and newspapers including *Foreign Affairs*, *International Security*, and *The New York Times*, he has chapters in many edited volumes, and he frequently appears on radio and television.

RWANDA 20 YEARS ON: TRAUMA, TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE AND RECONCILIATION AFTER GENOCIDE

Lambourne, Wendy (University of Sydney) & **Gitau, Lydia** (University of Sydney)

Trauma has been defined as the sense of being completely overwhelmed by a very stressful event, in which ordinary systems of care that give people a sense of control, connection and meaning are destroyed (Herman 1997). This describes the experience of Rwandans in 1994 when the genocide shattered attachments of family, friendship, love and community and people's belief systems were severely challenged. Soon after the genocide, the Kinyarwanda term *ihahamuka* was coined to express the feeling of trauma among Rwandans of 'being overwhelmed by what is inside me' (Richters 2010, 183). This paper explores how awareness of the impact of mass trauma and the need for healing contributes to our understanding of the processes of reconciliation and dealing with the past in Rwanda.

Herman (1997) identified three stages that trauma victims move through as part of the healing process: safety, acknowledgment and reconnection. We analyse the situation in Rwanda 20 years post-genocide and the extent to which transitional justice and reconciliation policies and practices have contributed to Rwandans feeling safe and in control of their lives; experiences of suffering and loss have been acknowledged; and feelings of reconnection nurtured and supported at individual and community levels. As we have argued previously (Lambourne & Gitau 2013), there is a need for both individual and collective healing after mass violence. We conclude by proposing a greater focus on healing and the avoidance of retraumatisation as part of transitional justice interventions in order to prevent further violence and promote a more sustainable peace.

Wendy Lambourne, PhD is Deputy Director of the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, University of Sydney.

Her research on transitional justice, reconciliation and peacebuilding after genocide and other mass violence has a regional focus on sub-Saharan Africa and Asia/Pacific. Recent publications include chapters in *Transitional Justice Theories* (Routledge, 2014), *Critical Perspectives in Transitional Justice* (Intersentia, 2012) and *The Development of Institutions of Human Rights* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), as well as articles in the *Journal of Peacebuilding and Development*, *International Journal of Transitional Justice*, *Genocide Studies and Prevention* and *African Security Review*.

Lydia Gitau comes from Kenya and is currently a PhD candidate and a Postgraduate Teaching Fellow at the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, University of Sydney. She also holds an IPRA Foundation Dorothy M. Senesh Graduate Fellowship, 2014-2015. In her PhD on "Trauma Interventions and Peacebuilding: A Case Study of South Sudanese Refugees in Kakuma Refugee Camp, Kenya", Lydia is examining the link between trauma healing and peacebuilding. More broadly, she is interested in examining the post-conflict interventions that have potential to support long-lasting peace in the East African Region, with a particular focus on trauma-sensitive interventions.

IT IS THE LAW, STUPID' – THE ISLAMIC STATE'S USE OF VISUAL VIOLENCE AND GENOCIDE

Langbehn, Volker (San Francisco State University)

The Islamic State use of YouTube to show the beheading of American journalist James Foley and other innocent people has caused many strong reactions predominantly in the Western World. However the visual and public decapitations are routine in Saudi Arabia as the newsmaker magazine *Newsweek* most recently observed. While some countries such as the Saudi legal system are based on Islam's Sharia law, many other countries apply Sharia Law as a significant source of legislation. To Arabic speaking people sharia signifies the moral code and religious law of a prophetic religion. The interpretations of the Sharia vary between Islamic sects and recognized schools of jurisprudence. At its core, however, the Sharia is historically the infallible law of God. My paper addresses this visual representation of murder by ISIS and their ultimate goal to create a caliphate or Islamic State based on emulating the early leaders of Islam, in particular the Prophet Muhammad and the four "rightly guided caliphs" who led Muslims from Muhammad's death in 632 until 661. First my paper explores the history of public beheadings and executions, and as such delineates the various driving mechanisms that have shaped the interest in and fascination with such forms of killing. The justification of the beheadings by way of invoking Sharia law will serve as an entry into my argument, that the law functions as the internal and external authority of individuals and regulates ISIS's social reality. As the external authority, the law determines the internal reasoning of individuals, because s/he believes in and identifies with the law, and subsequently, the law turns into an internal authority of belief. Second, ISIS self-justification echoes the argument by Daniel Goldhagen in *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* (1996). Goldhagen had argued that the vast majority of ordinary Germans were "willing executioners" in the Holocaust because of a unique and virulent "eliminationist anti-Semitism" in the German political culture, which had developed in the preceding centuries. Regardless of the validity of Goldhagen's argument, I argue that ISIS following their version of Sharia law and the intent to create a caliphate echoes many of the characteristics Goldhagen suggested when writing about the eliminationist mindset of Nazi-Germany.

Volker Langbehn is Professor and undergraduate adviser of the German Program in the Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures at San Francisco State University. Dr. Langbehn has written and published on topics related to European and German Colonialism. His research addresses the shifting contours of medial representations of race in imperial Germany within the context of European colonialism and at the intersection between visual anthropology, philosophy, literature, visual aesthetics, and mass culture. His main publications include: *German Colonialism: Race, Holocaust, and Postwar Germany*, with Mohammad Salama (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011) and *German Colonialism, Visual Culture, and Modern Memory*, ed. Volker Langbehn (New York: Routledge, 2010), *Arno Schmidt's Zettel's Traum: An Analysis* (Rochester: Camden House, 2003).

SETTLER COLONIALISM AND GENOCIDE IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE: TOWARDS A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS**Lawson, Tom** (Northumbria University)

My forthcoming book – *The Last Man: a British Genocide in Tasmania* (IB Tauris, 2014) – reconstructs the involvement of metropolitan British state and society in the genocide of indigenous peoples in Van Diemen's Land. It argues both that the British colonial project there was inherently genocidal whatever the apparent intentions of its authors and that British culture was subsequently saturated with a sense of its triumph over indigenous communities. This paper, as the beginnings of a new and more comprehensive project, seeks to place this analysis in a wider context and ask how far the British Empire, and especially its settler colonies, might as a whole be seen as genocidal? How far, for example, were the colonisations of Ireland, North America and Australia in general founded upon an ideology which looked forward to the transformation, destruction and displacement of indigenous communities? In analysing this colonial ideology and its manifestation in British culture, the paper also asks how far genocide was represented in depictions of the British Empire at home – arguing for the spread of a fundamental genocidal consensus in the colonial discourses in Britain which supported the expansion of Empire. As such this paper suggests that the idea of genocide needs to be placed at the very centre of our conceptualisation of the British settler colonisation of the globe.

Tom Lawson is Professor of History at Northumbria University in the UK. He is the author and editor of several books including: *The Church of England and the Holocaust* (2006); *Debates on the Holocaust* (2010); and with James Jordan *The Memory of the Holocaust in Australia* (2008). His most recent book will be published by IB Tauris in February 2014 titled *The Last Man: a British genocide in Tasmania*. He is also the co-editor of *Holocaust Studies: a journal of culture and history*.

SETTLER COLONIAL GENOCIDE IN CANADA: ACTS OF BENEVOLENCE AND THE COSTS OF ELIMINATING THE "NATIVE"**Logan, Tricia** (Royal Holloway University of London)

History of settler colonial genocide in Canada spans a series of centuries and it takes many forms. Genocidal processes in Canada promoted elimination of First Nations, Métis and Inuit communities in Canada. Defining and describing historiographies of Canada and settler colonial genocides is highly complex and they are often misunderstood. One point often misunderstood in the narrative of the "benevolent empire" and creation of Canada as a nation-state is the operation of the Indian residential school system and accompanying policies aimed at removing Indigenous presence from Canada. The Indian residential school system has become relatively notorious in Canada for the criminally high rates of physical and sexual abuse, student deaths, widespread disease and malnutrition. This paper will examine the interesting history of the financial capital invested by Canada and colonial governments to remove Indigenous children and adults from their homes including forced removals, forced relocations and community 'restructuring'. Some histories of the residential schools and the periods of forced removals cite a sheer lack of funds and attribute the criminal level of neglect for Indigenous peoples' lives as "mis-management". In part, this paper will address the discrepancies between the actions of a "benevolent empire" and the mass imperial-colonial appropriation of territory in Canada. Considerable capital and infrastructure was invested in the forced removals of Indigenous presence in Canada and this was highly disproportionate to the care for human life of Indigenous people during these periods of forced removals.

Tricia Logan is a PhD candidate at Royal Holloway, University of London. Her dissertation topic focuses on memory of residential schools in Canada and the history of settler colonial genocide in Canada. Tricia was curator of Indigenous content at the Canadian Museum for Human Rights in Winnipeg, Canada from 2010-2013. Tricia has spent the past decade working primarily in the areas of residential school history in Canada, Indigenous history in Canada and Métis research. In that time she has worked with Métis, First Nations and Inuit Elders and residential school Survivors from across Canada, sharing in the transmission of countless stories and oral histories over the years

'AS FOR THOSE WHO FAIL TO UNDERSTAND...WE HAVE NO OTHER ALTERNATIVE THAN TO EXTERMINATE THEM': RESISTANCE AND THE EMERGENCE OF THE GENOCIDAL IMPULSE IN JAPANESE IMPERIALISM, 1937-1945

Maddox, Kelly (Lancaster University)

Between 1937 and 1945, in the pursuit of imperial objectives, the Japanese military perpetrated heinous atrocities against those they sought to dominate. These atrocities, though systematic, widespread and purposeful, have rarely been seen in terms of genocide. This is largely due to the dominance of the Holocaust as a model for analysis of genocidal cases. Certainly, if viewed through this narrow lens, the actions of Japan's military would not neatly fit the requirements for genocide. However, recent work on the relationship between imperialism and genocide, particularly the dynamic analytical framework proposed by A. Dirk Moses, has moved away from this rigid model. Instead, Moses argues that, rather than a sustained genocidal process, violence in the colonial field was characterised by 'genocidal moments', moments in which an intent to destroy a group as required by the UN Genocide Convention emerge. Using this framing as a foundation, in this paper, I explore the role of resistance by native populations in the escalation of violence to genocide at particular times throughout the Japanese Empire. The infamous Nanjing Massacre will be touched on, but I will pay greater attention to lesser known aspects of Japanese atrocities, including the 'kill all, burn all, loot all' policy which came into effect in North China toward the end of 1940, the *Sook Ching* purges of the Chinese population in Singapore and Malaya in early 1942 and massacres of various native populations throughout Southeast Asia between 1943 and 1945. I argue that, though genocide was often in opposition to Japan's imperial objectives, particularly those that required the securing of native populations' cooperation, when faced with the resistance of those populations, genocidal policies were frequently put into effect. Thus, resistance was a central factor in triggering the emergence of the genocidal impulse in Japanese imperialism. This obviously raises some important questions as to why resistance in these instances led to genocidal policies and I attempt to provide some insight into why this was the case.

Kelly Maddox is a PhD student funded by the Economic and Social Research Council and based in the History Department at Lancaster University. She is currently working on her thesis, provisionally titled: 'The Strong Devour the Weak: Tracing the Genocidal Dynamics of Imperialism through the Case of Imperial Japan', which explores the ways in which violence, at times, radicalised to genocidal policies in Japanese imperialism. From April to October 2014, she conducted research as a scholar-in-residence at the Library of Congress' Kluge Center generously funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council.

GU KURAHUNDI: COMMITTING AND COMMEMORATING A CRIME WITHOUT A NAME

Maedza, Pedzisai (University of Cape Town)

This paper seeks to investigate and further our understanding of how performance makers have devised theatre in response to and in the aftermath of mass violence and unacknowledged acts of genocide in Zimbabwe. The paper is a meditation on social memory and on the ways in which memory has operated in Daniel Maphosa's play *Decades of Terror* and Chickenshed's *The Rain that Washes*. Although genocide is widely acknowledged as 'the ultimate crime in the evolution of modern human conflict' (Dadrian, 1993:173) this crime, once committed, seems to fall into oblivion. According to Charny 'most events of genocide are marked by massive indifference, silence, and inactivity' (1982:284). In many instances it remains 'the nameless crime' (Winston Churchill, 1941). Using the two performances, this paper investigates how performance enacts memory in response to this 'social amnesia' in the representation(s) of the extermination of minority peoples by the Zimbabwe government. The paper will be a narrative analysis of the performances and makes the case that they represent a contemporary body of artistic work we can refer to as theatre of unacknowledged genocide. The paper will make the case that performance stands as the public yet ephemeral and embodied commemoration of unacknowledged atrocities. Performance fills the void created by the absent murals and museums that are often built in commemoration of past and contemporary violence.

Pedzisai Maedza is the 2014 Canon Collins Scholars' Scholar reading for a PhD in Drama at the University of Cape Town, South Africa. He holds a M.A Drama (UCT) and B.A Theatre Arts (University of Zimbabwe) both awarded with distinction.

BETTER VALUES? BETTER ATTITUDES? A CASE STUDY OF THE IMPACT OF AN INNOVATIVE APPROACH TO TEACHING AND LEARNING ABOUT GENOCIDE IN A SECONDARY (HIGH) SCHOOL IN THE WEST OF SCOTLAND.

Maitles, Henry (University of the West of Scotland)

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 out with 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 activities) ranging from understanding genocide to cultural visits to understanding poverty in the developing world to challenging intolerance. This paper will examine the programme of learning put in place and if there was an impact in promoting positive values and attitudes, of developing citizenship content without the traditional structures of learning.

Henry Maitles is Professor in Education at UWS. I research and teach in the area of citizenship and values and in particular the impact of citizenship initiatives in the schools. I was a member of the Scottish Executive Review Group which drew up the proposals for Education for Citizenship which is a policy priority in all Scottish schools. I am on the editorial boards of *Citizenship Learning and Teaching* and *Journal for Critical Education Policy Studies*. I was on the editorial board of *Genocide Studies and Prevention* 2007-2013.

HUTUISM VERSUS TUTSISM IN RWANDA, THE INCUBATOR OF GENOCIDE AND EXILE: AN ETHNIC OR CLASS IDEOLOGY IN KEEPING RWANDAN REFUGEES IN CAPE TOWN IN A PROTRACTED ASYLUM?

Malani, Pancras (University of Cape Town)

Are you Hutu or Tutsi? This is the frequent question that Rwandans in the diaspora are confronted with in their interactions with other nationalities whose curiosity is to know about “the good from the evil, the perpetrator from the victim in Rwandan tragedy.” Rwandans respond in three possible ways: some reveal without shame their ethnic groups; others prefer to say that they are only Rwandans, and others resort to playing safe by saying that they are fifty-fifty, even if they know they are not. The response is often irrelevant because of two reasons: firstly, their interlocutors do not know who the Hutu and the Tutsi are, and secondly, the answer has little to change the dominant thinking that only Hutu committed genocide against Tutsi. This perception is also the official policy of the Rwandan government in explaining what happened. There are programmes to promote reconciliation, the famous one is the the banning of the use of Hutu – Tutsi discourse but many Hutu in the diaspora see the governmental top down efforts to reconcile Rwandans as window dressing and coercing Hutu to accept collective guilt and force them into silence. The paper shows that Rwanda has been inhabited by Hutu, Tutsi and Twa. They all spoke the same language, lived in the same area, intermingled and looked the same but, for political and economic gains, attempted to dominate one another throughout history. The paper uses the case of Rwandan refugees in Cape Town to highlight the role of Hutu and Tutsi's ethnic ideologies in the culmination of a vicious circle of refugee problem, massacres and genocide in Rwandan throughout successive governments. The paper shows also that because ethnicity is still rife in Rwanda, refugees are reluctant to go back.

Pancras Malani grew up in Rwanda and became a stateless when he was forced to go into exile on 18 July, 1994 and ended up in Cape Town five years later in July 1999. Against all odds, he managed to further his studies in South Africa. He is currently in his Masters in Historical studies at the University of Cape Town. He has developed an interest in refugee, immigration and statelessness studies.

THE COMMODIFICATION OF MEMORY: MEMORIALIZING MASS ATROCITIES IN RWANDA AND ETHIOPIA

Mara, Kathryn (Michigan State University)

In *A Butterfly in the Hills*, author Koulsy Lamko describes Thérèse Mukandori's occurrence as a butterfly at Nyamata Church, a massacre site of the Rwandan Genocide. In her new form, she renames herself "The Queen of the Middleworld," and upon hearing a survivor tour-guide tell her story, she becomes enraged, insisting that "the story of my life is mine and mine alone" (Lamko 31). In so doing, however, the Queen poses a pertinent question: Whose story is genocide to tell, and how does it pertain to their proximity to the events? Relevantly, this paper will conduct a comparative analysis of sites of mass violence in Rwanda and Ethiopia. Of particular interest to this study are the following elements: the events recalled and the manner in which they translate into representation, the constructors of and the subsequent visitors to memorials, and finally, the sites' consideration of genocide within a global context and their appeal to visitor-empathy. Drawing largely upon the presenter's own in-country examination of these memorial sites, the presentation will also allude to the African Writers' Project "Le Devoir de Mémoire," as well as more theoretical texts, such as James E. Young's *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning*, and Silke Arnold-de Simine's *Mediating Memory in the Museum: Trauma, Empathy, Nostalgia*. Ultimately, however, this paper aims to address what constitutes the genocide experience, namely who can experience it and when, and how that, in turn, matters for the field of genocide studies.

Kathryn Mara is a graduate student in African American and African Studies at Michigan State University. Under the direction of Dr. Kenneth Harrow and Dr. Safoi Babana-Hampton, she is presently working on a master's thesis, entitled "Someone to Tell the Story: Literature, Genocide, and the Commodification of Trauma in Post-Conflict Rwanda." More broadly, her research interests include post-colonialism, genocide studies, and narrative trauma.

GACACA COURTS AND THE NEEDS OF THE RWANDAN DIASPORA IN CANADA

Marson, Jennifer (Western Michigan University)

2 main issues will be addressed: a policy review of Rwandan gacaca courts and the needs of the Rwandan diaspora in Canada. Following the 1994 Rwandan genocide, gacaca courts were instituted as a means of not only trying and sentencing offenders of the genocide, but as a means of achieving justice and reconciliation among the Rwanda population. As these courts have recently closed, a thorough discussion of the successes and failures of gacaca courts must occur to understand whether this apparatus achieved its primary goal of justice and reconciliation, as well as ways in which gacaca can improve in the future. A review of current literature addressing this issue will be presented, specifically ethnographic studies and interviews of Rwandan participants in gacaca. As gacaca courts are noted as the primary way in which Rwandans attempted to achieve justice and reconciliation following the genocide, we must ask how the Rwandan diaspora living abroad achieves justice and reconciliation without direct participation in the gacaca system. There is very little published research regarding the Rwandan diaspora. It is imperative to understand how Rwanda diaspora members achieve justice and reconciliation among themselves. This will be done by examining their connections from abroad with gacaca and other Rwandan based justice apparatuses to determine if participation from a distance served the attainment of justice and reconciliation among the diaspora. Secondly, it will be discussed if there is any specific justice and reconciliation apparatuses that the diaspora utilize within their "host country" separate from the gacaca courts.

Jennifer Marson is a third year doctoral student in the Department of Sociology at Western Michigan University (WMU), located in Michigan in the United States of America. My dissertation primarily addresses how the Rwandan diaspora located in Canada achieves justice and reconciliation among one another. I completed my Master's degree at Central Michigan University and completed field work in Kigali, Rwanda in 2008 addressing the psychosocial needs of children surviving the 1994 Rwanda genocide. My research interests include state crime, genocide, restorative justice practices, and peacemaking criminology. I am also a primary instructor of the Modern Social Problems course at WMU.

GENOCIDE ASSESSMENT AND RECOGNITION

Matas, David (human rights lawyer and independent scholar)

Claims of genocide are difficult to address when alleged perpetrators remain in power, deny all culpability, intimidate witnesses and those who seek justice and cover up relevant data. The question this paper would address is, what should the international community do in such circumstances. The gravity of the offence of genocide requires the international community to act. However, charges of genocide should not be levied lightly. Intimidation, cover up and efforts to seek impunity by alleged perpetrators do not in themselves establish that a genocide has occurred. The paper would consider the problem by focussing on two case studies, the case of China and the charge of genocide against Falun Gong, and the case of Sri Lanka and the charge of genocide against Tamils. The case of China highlights the difficulty in mobilizing the international community where the alleged perpetrator has a veto power in the United Nations system. The case of Sri Lanka illustrates a different problem, a large refugee outflow with refugee claims to which countries of proximate refuge or resettlement may not want to give credence through recognition of genocide and ongoing repression. The paper would set out what has already been done in these two cases to address charges of genocide and consider what realistically in the future could be done. The conclusion would be that engaging the international community to address charges of genocide when the alleged perpetrators remain in power, though difficult, is possible.

David Matas is an international human rights lawyer based in Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada. He was a member of the Canadian delegation to the United Nations Conference on an International Criminal Court held in Rome, Italy in 1998. Mr. Matas is the author of ten books, including *Justice Delayed: Nazi War Criminals in Canada* published by Summerhill Press in 1987 co-authored with Susan Charendoff and *Bloody Harvest: The Killing of Falun Gong for their Organs* co-authored with David Kilgour published by Seraphim Editions in 2009. He represented a coalition of interveners in the case of alleged Rwandan génocidaire Léon Mugesera at the Supreme Court of Canada in 2005. He is currently an adjunct professor in the Faculty of Law at the University of Manitoba, teaching immigration and refugee law.

THE NAMIBIAN-GERMAN SPECIAL INITIATIVE VS THE OVAHERERO, OVAMBANDERU AND NAMA DEMAND FOR REPARATION

Matundu-Tjiparuro, Kae (Ovaherero Genocide Foundation)

In the 1904-08 wars of resistance against Imperial Germany, culminating in the Extermination Order issued on October 2, 1904 and on April 5, 1905 by the then Commander of Imperial Germany's Armed Forces in the then German South West against the Ovaherero, Ovambanderu and Nama respectively, about 80% of the Ovaherero and Ovambanderu, and 20 percent of the Nama, were killed. Until a re-spirited re-awakening among the Namibian people, especially the Ovaherero and Ovambanderu, shortly after independence, there was hardly any talk of Germany's historic and moral responsibility towards Namibia, and the affected communities in particular. But there is today what is termed the Namibian-German Special Initiative which indigenous Namibians have received it with circumspection as meant to assuage them, if not dampen their Reparation quest if not altogether derail it.

Kae Matundu-Tjiparuro is a journalist

"SUFFER THE LITTLE CHILDREN": SAN CHILD REMOVALS AND THE ASSIMILATIONIST IMPULSE OF CAPE HUMANITARIANISM, C.1806-1830

McDonald, Jared (University of the Free State)

The paper explores how British-inspired notions of 'childhood' served to legitimise the forced removal of San children from "savage" parents in the Cape Colony during the early nineteenth century. The San's formidable

resistance to the encroachment of settler stock-farmers along the Cape frontier had largely been defeated by this time. Owing to the loss of land and resources, and most significantly, the settler-led programme of extermination which culminated in genocide in the latter decades of the eighteenth century, the San's ability to resist further colonial advances had been radically curtailed. The lives of many San children were, however, spared in order to satisfy the growing labour needs of the expanding European stock-farming population. This became an important aspect of San experience on the Cape's north-eastern frontier, especially following the Second British Occupation of the Cape Colony in 1806. Legislative measures were introduced in subsequent years in order to regulate the employment and treatment of indigenous labourers. Within this context, the frequent abduction of San children along the frontier resulted in a substantial portion of the labour force in the north-eastern districts of the Colony having an ambiguous legal status. In an attempt to address this, it was deemed appropriate to officially incorporate San children into the Cape Colony's labour regime as apprentices. The paper argues that the moral justification for legalising the apprenticeship and forced assimilation of San children was based upon an emerging discourse of the desirability of a 'civilising' 'childhood' for *indigenes* emanating from Britain's evangelical revival and humanitarian movement.

Jared McDonald is a lecturer in the Department of History at the University of the Free State, South Africa. He recently completed his PhD in History at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London. McDonald specialises in Khoesan responses to British colonialism in the Cape Colony during the early nineteenth century. His other research interests include: 'childhood' and child labour; settler colonialism and genocide; and the work of the London Missionary Society in southern Africa.

Melber, Henning (Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation)

Henning Melber came to Namibia as son of German immigrants and joined SWAPO in 1974. While studying Political Sciences and Sociology in Berlin he was banned from Namibia and South Africa as from 1975 until 1989 and 1993 respectively. He was Director of the Namibian Economic Policy Research Unit (NEPRU) in Windhoek (1992-2000), Research Director of The Nordic Africa Institute (2000-2006) and Executive Director of The Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation (2006-2012), both in Uppsala/Sweden. He is Senior Advisor to both institutions, as well as Extraordinary Professor at the Department of Political Sciences/University of Pretoria and the Centre for Africa Studies at the University of the Free State in Bloemfontein. He served as first INoGS Vice President (2005-2012), is managing co-editor of *Africa Spectrum*, editor-in-chief of the *Strategic Review for Southern Africa* and co-editor of the *Africa Yearbook*. His latest book is "Understanding Namibia. The Trials of Independence" (London: Hurst and Auckland Park: Jacana 2014).

LAW AS A TOOL FOR PERPETRATING GENOCIDE

Meliksetyan, Naira (University of Nottingham)

Law is believed to be a prescriptive norm to establish what is moral, right and just. In this research I aim at presenting laws from another angle on the example of the Armenian Genocide: law as a means to ease the process of genocide perpetration. Enacted on June 1, 1915 the Temporary Law on Deportation referred as "Tehcir kanunu" by Turkish historians and also known as "Sevk ve İskan Kanunu" ("Dispatchment and Settlement Law") authorized the forceful mass-deportations of the Armenian civilian population in the Ottoman Empire which resulted in death of huge number of Armenians displaced. According to the scholars of the Armenian Genocide this was the third decisive stage of the process of reducing the Armenian population to helplessness and destructing them.

Although de jure the wording of the law neither referred to any nationality specifically, nor was intended to bring to the destruction of population, de facto the Temporary Law of Deportation aimed at the annihilation of the Armenian population taking into account the official reasoning of its adoption brought forward by Talaat Pasha and the consequences of its implementation.

In this research the Temporary Law on Deportation will be analyzed in light of the consequences of its implementation. By presenting it I will argue that the Temporary Law on Deportation was a tool to legitimize the Armenian extermination plan and show that this is a vivid example how law can be used to legitimize

crimes.

Naira Meliksetyan is studying at the University of Nottingham . She holds an LL.M. degree from the American University of Armenia. The scope of her research includes human rights, public international law, international criminal law and genocide studies. She is also an alumna from Zoryan Institute's "Genocide and Human Rights University Program", Toronto, Canada.

MERCHANT COMPANIES AND COLONIAL GENOCIDES: VIRGINIA AND THE BANDA ISLANDS IN THE EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Meuwese, Mark (University of Winnipeg)

Genocide studies scholars have recently paid much attention to the links between European settler colonies and genocides. One aspect of European expansion that has often been neglected in genocide studies is the relationship between merchant companies and colonial genocides. Initially, mercantile companies appear to have little to do with genocides. It was not in the best interest of trade companies to destroy Indigenous societies because the companies needed non-Europeans as trading partners or as a work force. However, Indigenous groups were occasionally subjected to genocidal campaigns in territories claimed by European merchant companies. Because of the slow means of trans-oceanic communication, company directors were usually confronted with the news of colonial genocides long after the actual events. Did directors condone the genocides of Indigenous peoples or did they reprimand the company personnel in the colonies for needlessly perpetrating mass violence against Indigenous peoples? This paper explores this question by focusing on two case studies: the destruction of the peoples of the Banda Islands by forces of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) in 1621 and the violent reprisals by servants of the English Virginia Company against the Powhatan confederacy in the Chesapeake Bay after 1622. While the VOC directors were critical of the brutal campaign of their personnel against the people of the Banda Islands, the directors of the Virginia Company instructed its servants to destroy the Powhatans. This paper examines how company directors based in Europe responded to outbreaks of genocidal wars in their overseas territories.

Mark Meuwese University of Winnipeg () is associate professor of History at the University of Winnipeg in Winnipeg, Canada. He has published a number of journal articles and book chapters on Dutch-Indigenous relations in the Americas as well as a monograph entitled *Brothers in Arms, Partners in Trade: Dutch-Indigenous Alliances in the Atlantic World, 1595-1674* (Leiden: Brill, 2012). His current research project concerns massacres and genocides in the Dutch overseas world during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. His teaching interests include genocide studies, European expansion, frontiers and borderlands, Atlantic history, and Indigenous peoples of the Americas.

WORLD WAR I AND THE GENOCIDE OF UKRAINIANS IN 1932-33 AND THE HOLOCAUST OF 1941-45

Midlarsky, Manus (Rutgers University)

The protraction of World War I substantially increased the probabilities of occurrence for the genocide of Ukrainians in 1932-33 and the Holocaust of 1941-45. Rationality and emotion were found to apply at different times in WWI, with the latter taking the lead in prolonging it. Equally important for WWI's protraction and for later genocide is the concretization of symbolic politics. When contested several times by two or more protagonists, small places can have enormous consequences. The threat of loss of Posen (Poznan), the birthplace of the Prussian wartime leaders Ludendorff and Hindenburg with its implication for the eventual Polish domination of other German-held territories was critical in establishing the policies prolonging WWI. Evidence of a vastly disproportionate emphasis on Posen and Poland is found in the memoirs of Ludendorff and Hindenburg. Ludendorff's military policies had a strong influence on the occurrence of both genocides; also consequential for the Holocaust was Prussian military complicity in the Armenian genocide. Similarities between the historical trajectories of Posen and German birthplaces highest in density of war criminals during WWII provide additional support. Findings are consistent with newly emergent genocide theory, and suggest

possibilities for the future analysis of intense conflicts.

Manus I. Midlarsky is the Back Professor of International Peace and Conflict Resolution at Rutgers University, New Brunswick, and Director, Center for the Study of Mass Violence. The *Origins of Political Extremism: Mass Violence in the Twentieth Century and Beyond* (2011) and *The Killing Trap: Genocide in the Twentieth Century* (2005) were both published by Cambridge University Press. The *Handbook of War Studies III* (2009) was published by University of Michigan Press. The *Handbook of War Studies* (2011), *The Onset of World War* (2014), and *The Internationalization of Communal Strife* (2014) were reissued in the Routledge Revival Series.

HOLOCAUST MEMORY IN SOUTH AFRICA, 1945–1960: THE JEWS AS A “BORDERLINE COMMUNITY”

Mikel-Arieli, Roni (Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

This paper is part of a larger dissertation exploring cultural and discursive performances of Holocaust Memory in South Africa during apartheid and its aftermath. The paper focuses on the years 1945–1960 and examines the representation of the Holocaust memory in South Africa society by looking at the Jewish community as a unique “borderline community.” By tracing the status of South African Jewry from its position as immigrant community, mourning for the loss of their relatives in Eastern Europe, and memorializing the Holocaust while confronting anti-Semitism from Afrikaner nationalists, to being a community on the borders of the ruling caste of apartheid, this paper reveals tensions within South Africa society regarding the Holocaust. The first is between non-whites and Jews around the instrumentalization of Nazism by apartheid resistance movements. An analysis of archival material reveals the tendency of activist's to draw parallels between Nazism and apartheid. Most of the Jewish community rejected the analogy and was reluctant to voice opposition to apartheid in general, for it was perceived as part of the white minority, but still a vulnerable “borderline community.” The second tension is between the Afrikaners and the Jews. The transition from anti-Semitism to the alleged acceptance of Jews into the ruling caste since 1948 led to specific Holocaust representations among the white community during the 1950s. A discourse analysis of novels, plays, and film reveals that, unlike in other western countries, in South Africa the Holocaust was presented as a Jewish tragedy with references to anti-Semitism in South Africa, however, its universal lessons were not connected to the local racial context.

Roni Mikel-Arieli is a PhD. Student at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, exploring the Holocaust Memory in South Africa during apartheid and its aftermath, under the supervision of Dr. Louise Bethlehem and Dr. Amos Goldberg. I have B.A. and M.A. degrees in Politics from Ben Gurion University of the Negev and was awarded by The Bertie Lubner Award for social contribution and by Goldhirsh Foundation for outstanding M.A. thesis focusing on issues of the Holocaust. Now days, I am a Ph.D Fellowship at the Harry & Sylvia Hoffman Leadership & Responsibility Program and at the European Research Council (ERC) project.

IN THE SHADOW OF MARIKANA: RESPONSIBILITY, HEGEMONIC RACIAL DISCOURSE, AND POST-APARTHEID SCHOLARSHIP

Milazzo, Marzia (Vanderbilt University)

Starkly resembling the 1960 Sharpeville massacre, the August 2012 Marikana massacre speaks to the ongoing *killability* of the Black person in post-apartheid South Africa. That the police force carrying out the executions today is multiracial rather than predominantly white does not make the incident disconnected from institutional racism, but it does give ammunition to colorblind arguments that deny the essential role that racial power played in the tragedy and the demonstrations preceding it. Concurrently, the 2008 banning of Black-only organizations following accusations of ‘reverse racism’ by a white journalist reveals the power that colorblindness discourse has acquired in South African politics. Recognizing that the production of knowledge is a key site for the reproduction of dominant racial ideologies, this paper turns the lens to academic scholarship itself. In this way, it contributes to a substantial body of interdisciplinary scholarship that shows how whiteness “is built into our disciplines, our institutions, our professions . . . and in our methods as

researchers" (Steyn & Conway 2010, p. 286). I demonstrate that a significant body of interdisciplinary scholarship on race produced in South Africa since the advent of democratic rule demonizes the employment of racial categories, underemphasizes or silences white advantage, and vilifies policies that attempt to redress racial inequality. I argue that the location of colorblindness ideology in this scholarship reveals the impact of racial consciousness in the production of racialized meaning and raises uncomfortable questions about the significance of justice in the post-apartheid present.

Marzia Milazzo is an Assistant Professor of English and affiliated faculty in Latino and Latina Studies at Vanderbilt University where she teaches courses in South African Literature, U.S. Literature, Critical Race Theory, and Black Radical Thought. Milazzo's research is broadly concerned with the relation between the poetics and the politics of racial disavowal and antiracism across national borders and literary traditions. She is currently completing a book titled *Colorblind Tools: Narrating Racial Power in the Americas and South Africa*, which examines the rhetorics of colorblindness discourse in a transnational context and its implications for contemporary literary imaginaries, antiracist strategies, and the production of knowledge.

REMEMBERING AND COMMEMORATING GENOCIDE: DARK TOURISM IN CAMBODIA

Morris, Robyn (University of Wollongong)

Remembering and recording histories of trauma is gaining precedence in second generation diasporic Asian fiction and memoir serving as a revisioning of lived historical experiences presented in museums, or sites of memorialisation. The rise in second generation narratives of trauma reimagines and contests the notion of the happy refugee story, of a past that is somehow magically obliterated the immigrant crossing. The paper will explore whether the rise in second generation acts of transferring the memory of trauma gives rise to new ways of thinking about constructions of individual, community and national identity. It takes as a case study, the representation of the Cambodian genocide in fiction and memoir and the rise of 'disaster tourism' to sites such as the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum in Phnom Penh and Choeung Ek, the Killing Fields Memorial, 17km South of Phnom Penh. This paper seeks to address how literary representations and sites of commemoration can act as tangible gaps between a haunted past and a way to haunt and remind the present and future of the consequences of the world ignoring acts of human-induced atrocity.

Robyn Morris lectures in the English Literatures and Cultural Studies Program at the University of Wollongong, Australia. Her areas of interest include diaspora studies, trauma and memory studies, and the politics of citizenship and belonging. Her focus is trauma narratives in diasporic Asian writing. She has published widely on the work of writers such as Larissa Lai, Joy Kogawa, Hiromi Goto, Evelyn Lau, Lillian Ng, Simone Lazaroo, Hsu-Ming Teo, Madeleine Thien and Alice Pung in articles, book chapters, interviews and reviews. She is the Editor of *Australasian Canadian Studies* and President of the Association for Canadian Studies in Australia and New Zealand (ACSANZ).

Moses Dirk (University of Florence)

A. Dirk Moses took up the Chair in Global and Colonial History at the European University Institute, Florence, in January 2011 after eleven years at the University of Sydney. He received his PhD from the University of California, Berkeley in 2000. His first book was *German Intellectuals and the Nazi Past* (Cambridge, 2007). Since then specializing in genocides in colonial contexts and in the historiography of the genocides, he has published many articles, book chapters, and edited or coedited books, including *Empire, Colony, Genocide: Conquest, Occupation and Subaltern Resistance in World History* (2008), the *Oxford Handbook of Genocide Studies* (2010), and *Colonial Counterinsurgency and Mass Violence: The Dutch Empire in Indonesia* (2014).

RWANDA: PERPETUATING INTER-ETHNIC CONFLICTS. IS A GENUINE RECONCILIATION POSSIBLE?**Mpazayabo, Albert** (University of Stellenbosch)

The present paper is an attempt to highlight some causal-roots of persistent fatal conflicts between Hutus and Tutsis, as well as a suggestion of key guidelines towards both definitive genuine reconciliation and national unity. As suggested by anthropological studies, which were conducted in Rwanda in the early 1950s, and was also corroborated by subsequent historical records, the Tutsis who represented only 14% of the whole Rwandan population had managed to rule over the Hutus (85%) and the Batwas (1%), unjustly and unfairly oppressing them for more than 500 years, through an absolutist Tutsi-monarch governance. The Europeans arrived in the late 1890s, and took advantage of the situation, and while supporting and exploiting the system, the social inequality gap between Tutsis and the rest of the Rwandan social fabric went on deepening. The elite Hutu, trained in Seminaries led the Hutu-Rwandan social revolution from 1959-1962, overthrew the Tutsi monarchy system and instituted the Republic. Then, as the Tutsis nobility, which had just been ousted from power, was not ready nor willing to face the change's reality opted for exile, managed to organise themselves into illegitimate armed groups, and subsequently, with expectations to re-conquer power from novice Hutu leadership, those Tutsi, from their respective host countries, started engaging in number of sporadic armed offensives against the Rwandan young republic. The last attack dated 1990-1994, which was crowned by the assassination of HABYARIMANA (a Hutu President), triggering the Rwandan genocide of 1994. Since July 1994 up to date, Rwandan-Tutsi government has been mainly featured by a brilliant lack of political will as to reconcile Rwandan peoples, and apparently, after 52 years of so-called freedom from European colonial rule, Rwandan Tutsis and Hutus are currently worse socio-political enemies than ever before. What could be done if any genuine reconciliation is ever to be achieved?

Albert Mpazayabo is a Rwandan national, left my country in 1994 and have been living in Cape Town since 1997 up to date as a refugee. I am married, father of four (two sons & two daughters). I hold a Bachelor of Psychology (B Psych) from the University of the Western Cape (UWC); a Post Graduate Diploma (PDM) in HIV/AIDS Management from the University of Stellenbosch; a Master's of Philosophy (M Phil) in HIV/AIDS Management from the University of Stellenbosch; and currently I am doing a Post Graduate Diploma in Monitoring & Evaluation Methods at the University of Stellenbosch. I am a humanitarian activist, I used to be involved with Red Cross activism in Rwanda, and in South Africa, I was the founder of Rwanda of Good Hope, a NPO involved with reconciliation issues among Rwandan refugees

GERMAN COLONIALISM AND GENOCIDE DURING 1904-1907: THE EFFECTS ON THE NAMA, OVAHERERO AND OVAMBANDERU PEOPLE IN NAMIBIA; 110 YEARS AFTER**Muinjangu, Ester** (University of Namibia)

"Problems of today's Africans are the direct result of the enslavement and colonisation of African peoples over the past 400 years, and that Africans should not forget the atrocities that were committed against their ancestors during the enslavement, trade and colonisation of Africans, else their children will continue suffering" (Gauva, 2006, p. 14). The Nama, Ovaherero and Ovambanderu people in Namibia have formed foundations to address the issue of Genocide and demand Reparation from the Federal Government of the Republic of Germany. The demand for reparation is based on the *Vernichtungsbefehl* of General Lothar von Trotha (Extermination Order). The purpose of this paper is to provide a discussion on the impact of the genocide on the Nama, Ovaherero and Ovambanderu people in Namibia; 110 years later. "Large piece of land was taken by the Germans and remained fenced to this day. it is well known fact that cattle are a necessity in the life of the Ovaherero, for Ovaherero without cattle and land could hardly survive" (Riruako, 2006).

Ester Utjua Muinjangu is a social worker by training and currently a social work lecturer at the University of Namibia. Principles of human rights and social justice are fundamental to social work and that influenced me somehow to get involved with the Ovaherero genocide and their demand for reparation from the German Government. I'm the chairperson of the Ovaherero and Ovambanderu Genocide Foundation (OGF) in Namibia. I'm involved in a lot of advocacy work around the issue of the Ovaherero Genocide, not only in Namibia but at international platforms, mostly in Germany.

THE POLITICS OF RECONCILIATION IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE MATABELELAND MASSACRES.

Murambadoro, Ruth (University of Pretoria)

Since the Matabeleland genocide in the 1980s, reconciliation remains a challenge in this region of Zimbabwe. Reasons for this include the fact that the Matabeleland genocide was never addressed and the perception of the survivors living in Matabeleland is that the government has systematically marginalised this region from that time up to date. This paper explores the attempts to facilitate reconciliation by Civic Society Organisations in the context of Zimbabwe's episodes of violence and how the reconciliation process is affected by the interactions of various agents and stakeholders, such as the government, aid organizations, the media and the dynamics within the community itself. Drawing from interviews with respondents in Harare, Bulawayo and the Nkayi district in April 2014, this paper argues that although the wounds of survivors of the Matabeleland genocide may have healed, the residual mistrust between the Ndebele and Shona populations of Zimbabwe need to be addressed for reconciliation to become a reality. The findings reveal that there is still much work to be done at the policy level in order to transform the negative perceptions and actions that are promoting divisions between the Shona and Ndebele within Matabeleland and the rest of the country.

Ruth Murambadoro is a research Masters Candidate in the Department of Political Sciences at the University of Pretoria. She holds an Honours degree in International Relations and a Bachelors of Political Science from the same university. She also holds postgraduate certificates in Conflict Management, Post-conflict transitions and International Justice from the International Peace and Security Institute (IPSI). She has recently concluded her Masters research which explored the challenges of reconciliation in Zimbabwe. Her fields of interest are in reconciliation and post-conflict recovery in Africa.

WEAPONIZING FAMINE AS GENOCIDE: MASS ATROCITY IN THE CLIMATE ERA

Murray, Elisabeth Hope (Embry-Riddle University)

What role will famine have in climate-era genocides? Famine played a key role in 20th century genocide as policy and product of genocide. In more recent literature, however, famine is viewed more as a climate-related process and less as a weapon. Climate change and the international climate agenda gives perpetrators of atrocity using famine as a genocidal tool a ready-made excuse for mass death, cleansing and forced population shift. Targeted violence is hidden against a backdrop of 'natural' events blamed not on regional leaders desperate for power, but on western aggrandizement. This makes scholars look again at intention, resources as a necessary base for power, and ideology and the changing relevance of a propaganda machine in light of climate-era mass killing.

Elisabeth Hope Murray is an Assistant Professor of Security Studies and International Affairs at Embry-Riddle University in Daytona Beach, Florida, USA. She has held previous research posts at the University of Hamburg in Germany, and the University of Edinburgh in Scotland, where she received her PhD in Political Science and International Relations. With a background in Genocide Studies, Dr. Murray's work looks at the interchange between genocide, climate change, and famine; she also has interests in ideas of otherness, the process of ideological radicalization, gender violence, and nationalism studies. A long-time member of INoGS, she has been on the Executive Board since 2012 and is honored to have been the first female to hold such a post.

WHOSE HUMAN RIGHTS? MASS VIOLENCE IN EGYPT

Mustonen, Liina (European University Institute)

In the aftermath of the ouster of Egypt's first democratically elected president Mohammed Morsi, the anti-coup alliance - primarily consisting of the members and sympathizers of the now banned Muslim Brotherhood - has been faced with unprecedented violence. The collective violence culminated in the Rabaa al Adawiya and Nahda massacres in August 2013. Instead of going to the details of these two cases or other events that

preceded and followed these massacres (organizations such as the Egyptian Initiative for Personal Rights, Wiki Tharwa and the HRW provide a good source of information on these events), I propose a research paper that examines the process that constructs the “Other”, the now banned “terrorist” and eventually dehumanizes a part of the population. Secondly, the paper asks how is it possible that, remembering that many Egyptians so vigorously tried to convince the world that the events of summer 2013 did not constitute a military coup and promised to keep the army in the barracks, a big part of the society has remained silent in the face of the human rights violations? Subsequently I examine how the process of “othering” and the “inaction” with regard to the human rights violations are related to deeper societal inequalities and relations of power.

Liina Mustonen is a PhD candidate at the European University Institute. In her PhD she looks at distinctions and inequalities between different social classes. Further she is interested in the concepts of secularism and cosmopolitanism. She holds a MA from the university of Geneva.

THE RHETORIC OF “NEVER AGAIN” IN THE CASE OF RWANDA: WHEN TO START THE PREVENTION OF GENOCIDE AND MASS ATROCITIES?

Mutabazi, Etienne (World Social Forum on Migrations)

During the commemoration of the twentieth anniversary of genocide in Rwanda, the academia and media focused on how the horror was prepared and executed. None questioned the situation that is evolving in Rwanda today with the likelihood to lead to another tragedy. In a statement, President Kagame called on all Rwandan Hutu to apologize for the genocide committed in their name. According to him, the fact that Hutus were allowed to live in Rwanda was the greatest political space that one could possibly think of. The president moreover threatened to arrest and; possibly shoot in broad daylight those who intend to destabilise the country. A pastor unapologetically asked all Hutu inmates to accept collective guilt like the genocide targeted all Tutsis. Recently, 40 bodies wrapped in plastic bags were discovered floating in a lake in South Eastern Rwanda. These acts and pronouncements are clear signs for ethnic hatred and incitement to genocide and mass atrocities. The questions to ask are when, how and who will take the lead to prevent the genocide in making? The state can prevent genocide or seek the international community's assistance. If the state manifestly fails, the international community must step in. Desforges (1999) and the International Panel of Eminent Personalities (2000) investigated state's actions that facilitated the 1994 Rwandan genocide to occur. Berkeley (2002), Power (2003), Stanton (2007) and (Dallaire 2005) found that the USA and the UN knew that genocide would be committed in Rwanda. The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (2006) confirmed acts which were similar to what is happening today. This paper answers the questions posed highlighting the necessary actions to avert the re-occurrence of genocide and mass atrocities in Rwanda that can be used in other hot spots around the world

Etienne Mutabazi specializes in international criminal, human rights and humanitarian law. He has diplomas in International Humanitarian Assistance and in Transport and Distribution Management. He possesses certificates in forced migrations law and in International Crime Investigations. He has more than twenty years of experience; including Defence Legal Assistant and Investigator at the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, Legal Adviser in the Rwandan Ministry of Defense and is currently the Administration Officer for the World Social Forum on Migrations 2014, an event that will gather close to 5000 people in Johannesburg from 5 to 8 December 2014 to discuss issues of migrations and mobility. He contributed many papers in academic conferences and published six articles in peer reviewed journals.

OVAHERERO GENOCIDE

Muunjua, Festus (Ovaherero and Ovambanderu Genocide Foundation)

My Paper will give a brief historical background highlighting the factors that led to the Ovaherero uprising of 1904 - 1908 culminating in their genocide during the German misrule of “South West Africa” (now Namibia) from a Herero perspective. The Paper will argue that the Berlin Conference itself, and to the extent that it

excluded the African peoples from participating in issues concerning their continent and their destiny, was inconsiderate, inhumane and criminal. It was in fact a Conference to plan for the commission of a Continental crime against Africa and her peoples. The paper will argue that specific German colonial policies and the actual atrocities perpetrated against the Ovaherero by German colonising agents (missionaries, traders, scientists) , the general mistreatment of the Natives and the fraudulent ways and means of acquiring land, livestock and mineral rights constituted acts of genocide as defined in International Law and a breach of Article VI of the Berlin Act. The Paper will argue that the mere fact that the Hereros fired the first bullet and thereby started the war is immaterial. It is not WHO started the war but rather WHY the war was started. It was a just war of resistance to Colonial Rule and self-preservation. The Paper will conclude by arguing a case for reparation demand from the German government and from the estate of Emperor Wilhelm II, who hired and authorised General Von Trotha to issue an "extermination order" against the Ovaherero people.

Festus Muunjua was former member of the Public Service Commission of Namibia, former farmer; former lecturer at the defunct "UN Institute of Namibia ", during our liberation struggle of our independence; now the Patron of the Ovaherero and Ovambanderu Genocide Foundation. I'm a holder of M.Ed. (Master of Education) from the University of Massachusetts Amherst, United States of America. I was a teacher of African Studies Department of Public Education, Providence, State of Rhode Island, USA. During 1973 up to 1976 I was attached to the Ministry of Education, Kaduna State, Nigeria as an education officer.

DEVELOPING AN EXHIBITION IN THE 21ST CENTURY – THE CREATION OF THE JOHANNESBURG HOLOCAUST & GENOCIDE CENTRE

Nates, Tali (Johannesburg Holocaust & Genocide Centre)

The paper will go behind the scenes of the creation of the new Holocaust & Genocide Centre (JHGC) in Johannesburg, exploring the ideas, thoughts and decisions made in the process. Falling under the South African Holocaust and Genocide Foundation, the three pillars of the JHGC are Memory, Education and Awareness, and the visitors are encouraged to become active citizens and not bystanders in society. The JHGCC strives through its exhibition and accompanying educational programmes to facilitate in the visitors, an understanding of the consequences of prejudice, racism, and stereotyping, as well as the roles and responsibilities of individuals, groups, and nations when confronted with human rights violations. The paper examines the distinctive and symbolic architecture of the institute and the content and design of the permanent exhibition. The permanent exhibition tells side by side the histories of the Holocaust, the genocide in Rwanda as well as the story of Raphael Lemkin and the development of the word 'genocide'. We will examine the decision making process of how to tell these histories, concentrate on the exhibition's arching themes, how best to use testimonies and artefacts and how to engage best with interactive technology. The Johannesburg Holocaust & Genocide Centre (JHGC) has been designed to make it as impactful as possible for 21st century visitors. The paper examines how the Centre has used interactive programmes for iPad, a special interactive app. and the use of iTunes U for enhanced learning.

Tali Nates, Director of the Johannesburg Holocaust Centre, lectures internationally about Holocaust education, genocide prevention, reconciliation and human rights. She has presented at numerous conferences, has published extensively and has been involved in documentary films. In 2010, Tali was chosen as one of the top 100 newsworthy and noteworthy women in South Africa (*Mail & Guardian Book of South African Women*). Tali acts as a scholar and leader of many Holocaust education missions to Eastern Europe and educational missions in South Africa and Rwanda. Tali was born to a family of Holocaust survivors: her father and uncle were saved by Oskar Schindler.

THE GENOCIDE MINDSET IN THE AFRICAN GREAT LAKE REGION: A THOUGHT PAPER

Naupess, Kibiswa (African Center for Peace, Democracy, and Human Rights)

Genocide is rampant in the African Great Lakes Region (AGLR). It lives in some people subgroup's heart and mind and makes up their being. It has been committed many times in the region before the 1994 Rwandan genocide and will most likely occur in the future if things, especially political leadership, remain intact in the region. Indeed, ethnic hatred and mutual political exclusion, in particular between Hutus and Tutsis in Rwanda and Burundi and impunity of genocide and counter-genocide perpetrators nurture genocide in the AGLR. And its spirit spread in neighboring nations, especially the DRC where it has been committed afterward and led the latter country to unprecedented and negotiated reforms. But its base remains unchallenged in its sanctuary. Strong initiatives and actions are therefore needed to try and reverse this quasi fatality of genocide in the region, including inter-Rwandan dialogue for power-sharing on an ethnic basis.

Kibiswa Naupess is a former Fulbright scholar and Gandhi fellow from the DR Congo, Christian labor union's leader, human rights defender and college professor. He holds a Bachelor in Management of health services, a Master's in Peace and Justice Studies, and a PhD in Conflict Analysis and Resolution. He served as Member of the Transitional Parliament on behalf civil society organizations. Research interests in African conflicts: exploring, promoting, and leading appropriate strategies for conflict prevention, management and resolution/transformation through negotiations, mediations, intercommunity/ethnic dialogues; raising genocide awareness; exploring tensions between peace and justice and/or human rights; culture and human rights; peace, democracy, and socioeconomic development.

RE-TELLING THE STORIES OF LIBERATION WAR, MASS VIOLENCE AND HEALTHCARE IN RURAL ZIMBABWE

Ncube, Glen (University of South Africa)

Zimbabwe is one of the foremost southern African countries that fought a bitter liberation war against the British colonial power during the 1960s and 1970s. This war was characterized by massive violence perpetrated by both the nationalist liberation armies and the Rhodesian defence forces. Images of this violence continue to be etched in national memory, and regularly replayed by, mainly, the postcolonial state to legitimize its own agendas. However, the impact of this bitterly fought liberation war on rural healthcare services is still relatively untouched. This paper seeks to explore this important subject by looking at the ways in which individuals remember and re-tell the story of how liberation war guerillas interacted with the Ndanga Hospital, a colonial African medical institution in south-eastern Zimbabwe, which found itself acting as an unwitting arena of war. Perceived ambiguously as a local symbol of white oppression, but also a potential source of the much-needed medical care for the cash strapped liberation armies, hospital staff were harassed and begged for help at the same time. The paper draws from lay audio-visual materials and oral testimonies of former health workers and other eyewitnesses, to tell a story that revolves around this colonial rural hospital in order to show the ambiguous position occupied by social welfare institutions in situations of mass violence. Through this local case study, the paper will contribute to a broader understanding of the institutional interfaces of mass violence and the position they occupy as iconic reference points in community memories about such instances of past violence.

Glen Ncube is a postdoctoral fellow in History at the University of South Africa, in Pretoria. He obtained a PhD in Historical Studies from the University of Cape Town, where he also contributed to the teaching of, among other courses, the *Genocide: African Experiences* course offered by UCT's History Department. He also spearheaded the re-introduction of academic development programmes within the history curriculum at UCT. His research interests encompass areas such as the histories of medicine and healthcare; medical humanities; and archives.

GUKURAHUNDI IN INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE (1982 – 1987): GENOCIDE (OR NOT)?**Ndlovu, Nompilo** (University of Cape Town)

The Gukurahundi war is a process which occurred from 1982 to 1987 in the Matabeleland and Midlands Provinces of Zimbabwe, and largely affected the Ndebele populace. The 3500-strong army (referred to as the 5th Brigade), specially trained by the North Koreans and accountable to Robert Mugabe was commissioned to purge newly independent Zimbabwe of 400 armed 'dissidents' within these regions. The result was that 20 000 civilians were executed, tortured, displaced and lost their property. Further, citizenry of these provinces also suffered from food deprivation along with a lack of other basic resources during this era. The mass violence came to an end in 1987 when the Unity Accord was signed by Robert Mugabe (ZANU-PF) and Joshua Nkomo (PF-ZAPU). Where there are a myriad of academic debates that can come out of the Gukurahundi occurrence on a political, economic, psycho-social and developmental level to date - this paper seeks to explore, ascertain and discuss the veracity of viewing Gukurahundi within the context of a genocide (or not). Increasingly since the mid 1990's, and in the wake of Human Rights discourses, it has become evident that 'the naming' of Gukurahundi holds significance to various actors/sectors both within and outside of Zimbabwe - for several reasons. There are thus different responses to this occurrence. Where the State has been silent on the issue, civil society groups in particular have mounted pressure for it to be recognised as a genocide. Additionally, some researchers writing on this atrocity have generally been cautious in referring to it as a genocide, opting to use other terminology instead, such as mass violence, a civil war etc. All have compelling arguments, and this paper thus attempts to unpack these debates as a first step to understanding Gukurahundi.

Nompilo Ndlovu is currently reading towards a PhD in the field of Genocide and Memory in the Department of Historical Studies at the University of Cape Town. Prior to this, she studied and worked within the disciplines of Gender and Development. Further, she is an alumni of the African Leadership Centre/Kings College London where she completed the Peace and Security Fellowship for African Women, in the 2011/12 cohort.

TRANSFORMATIONAL TRANSLATIONS: NARRATIVES OF SURVIVAL AND HEALING FROM GENOCIDE AND HIV AND AIDS**Niwenshuti, Théogène** (University of Witwatersrand)

What in the journey to healing from HIV and AIDS stigma, could inspire learning and the journey to healing from the trauma of genocide and other crimes against humanity? This paper explores possible intersections and contrasts between two narratives of Survival and Healing from Genocide and HIV and AIDS, two (auto)ethnographic experiences from Rwanda and South Africa. The presenter draws on responses to a performance entitled *Re/Naissance & Witness*, and a series of in-depth conversations with openly HIV-positive Justice Edwin Cameron. His journey and experiences, in parallel to available scholarship, serve as reflexive pretexts and seem to increase our awareness of complex contexts and matrix of traumas that narratives of healing and transformation, further research and potential solutions have to confront and journey through.

Théogène Niwenshuti is a genocide survivor, pursuing postgraduate studies and working part time as a consultant for Wits University. He has taught and performed in Europe and across Africa, mainly in post conflict/genocide regions. His work is celebrated and published. He has received numerous awards, medals and honorary marks.

NTULI MDUDUZI (DURBAN HOLOCAUST CENTRE)

Mduduzi Ntuli is educator/facilitator at the Durban Holocaust Centre (DHC). Masters degree from University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN), born and home grown in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal. While pursuing a PhD in History at UKZN before joining DHC, Mdu also tutored classes in political philosophy.

MEDIA: A PATH TO PEACE AND TO OVERCOMING VICTIMHOOD**Nusseibeh, Lucy** (Al Quds University)

Wars nowadays are whipped up around identity issues, which are stirred up – even created around formerly nonexistent sectarian divisions often based on chosen traumas and demonisation. Such wars make money for their leaders who therefore need to keep their population in fear and loathing of the enemy, and have vested interests in maintaining violence, and in creating deeply traumatised societies. Therefore peace building has to address core issues of identity so that both individuals and large groups will be able to withstand the manipulation of leaders to unspeakable acts of violence. This includes the perceived as well as the actual identity. The essential for peace-building, as for mentally healthy individuals and groups generally, is therefore the secure attachment base. Examples can be found of individuals with a secure base working to communicate with the “other side” as peace-builders. Successful ECD media projects show the potential for breaking the negative stereotypes that are part of conflict and need to be countered to build peace in new wars. These can also help promote the sense of agency and awareness of impact that is also necessary for overcoming the victimhood that is also part of conflict and trauma. Programmes can include all kinds of media. The most important element is internal three-way reinforcement between children, parents/caregivers and community. The policies of governments and intra-governmental organisations have to change to make ECD programmes, including research and training programmes in universities, a top priority.

Lucy Nusseibeh lives in East Jerusalem. She is founder and Chairperson of Middle East Nonviolence and Democracy (www.mendonline.org) and since November 2007, has also been Director of the Institute of Modern Media at Al-Quds University (www.imm.ps). Ms. Nusseibeh is on the board of the Nonviolent Peaceforce, on the Humanities Advisory Council at the Fetzer Institute, and on the editorial board of the Palestine-Israel Journal. She was a senior research fellow at the Women and Public Policy Programme at Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government, and in 2010 spoke on TEDx Holy Land. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GD7tfcefvU>). She has published on nonviolence and other subjects.

ENVIRONMENTAL CHANGE AND MASS VIOLENCE: RETHINKING COPING STRATEGIES TO FOOD SECURITY IN RURAL MWENEZI, ZIMBABWE**Nyawo, Vongai** (Midlands State University)

This study seeks to identify features of environmental change in Mwenezi District traditional and explore cultural approaches to food security with the aim of unmasking mass violence that occur due to lack of adequate food. Mwenezi is a multi-cultural district comprising the Nambia, Shona, Ndebele, Venda and Shangani ethnic groups who are intermingled yet each has strong cultural traits. The district, which falls in Zimbabwe's geographical region 5, which receives very little rainfall, has faced numerous environmental challenges. As a result of little food resources and given the different ethnic groups in the area, the district is prone to mass violence where it comes to resource sharing. Network referencing is going to be used to select 40 respondents per ethnic group to respond to a self-administered questionnaire interview schedule. Respondents of 40 years and above, and who have stayed in the district for more than 30 years are considered credible and to have experienced sufficient environmental changes and episodes of mass violence. Six interviewees (3 males and 3 females) aged 60 and above, per ethnic group are to be also selected and interviewed. The kraal head (or chief) for each ethnic group, the district agricultural research and extension (AGRITEX) officer, district environmental management (EMA) officer, World Vision and CARE non-governmental social welfare organisation officers are to be all interviewed for their expert ground experience on environmental change and food security in the district. Direct observation is to be used to 'ground truth' evidence of environmental change. Results indicate that traditional food sources in Mwenezi are diversified and divided into wild and domestic sources. Evidence of environmental change include silted rivers, extinct plant, animal and bird species, failure of some traditional crops, shortages of pastures, firewood and water. Results also indicate that communities believe that traditional methods to deal with matters of conflict and reconciliation can help. It is recommended that given the resilience and faith that local communities have in food coping strategies, it is important for scientists and nutritionists to understand and study them further and promote them from the communities' indigenous knowledge point of view.

Vongai Z. Nyawo is a Senior Lecturer of History at the Midlands State University. She holds a PhD in issues of land reform in independent Zimbabwe and South Africa. Her research areas are land reform, gender, reconciliation, governance, food security, climate change, the diaspora, sustainable development, community engagement and African literature. She is well published in these areas and has attended and presented in many conferences around the world.

FROM DISCRIMINATION TO DEATH: GENOCIDAL PROCESS THROUGH A HUMAN RIGHTS LENS

O'Brien, Melanie (University of Technology Sydney)

In his infamous tome, *Mein Kampf*, Hitler wrote "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.

Melanie O'Brien is a Researcher at Anti-Slavery Australia (Law School, University of Technology Sydney), and the recipient of a Post-doctoral Research Fellowship at the TC Beirne Law School at the University of Queensland, Australia. She is on the Editorial Boards of Human Rights Review and Genocide Studies and Prevention, and the International Association of Genocide Scholars' Advisory Board and the QLD International Humanitarian Law Committee of the Australian Red Cross. She has been the recipient of a Gandel Philanthropy Scholarship for the Gandel Holocaust Studies Program for Australian Educators, at Yad Vashem in Israel, and was a Griffith Asia Institute Australia-China Futures Dialogues Visiting Fellow to Peking University, China. Melanie's previous work includes the ARC Centre of Excellence in Policing and Security at Griffith University; the National Human Rights Institution of Samoa; and the Legal Advisory Section of the Office of the Prosecutor at the International Criminal Court. She is an admitted legal practitioner.

HATE SPEECH, RESISTANCE AND THE POWER OF LANGUAGE IN RURAL RWANDA

Palmer, Nicola (King's College)

In international criminal law, a single speech is sufficient to satisfy the *actus reus* of incitement to genocide and persecution as a crime against humanity. One of these discursive acts occurred in Kabaya in the Western Province of Rwanda. The now infamous speech by Leon Mugesera on 22 November 1992, in which he called for Tutsi to be sent back to their home in Ethiopia via the Nyabarongo river, has been adjudicated internationally but should also be understood as profoundly local. The speech was given only forty kilometres from where Mugesera grew up. In this same location ethnically discriminatory violence was actively resisted in 1973, 1990 and 1994. Drawing on a detailed life history of a man who engaged in this resistance, this paper challenges the dominant deployment of James Scott's notion of 'everyday resistance' that emphasizes private discourses and public silence to explain rural relations in Rwanda. It shows that both violence and resistance can stem from public discursive and deliberative practices that are grounded in a particular individual's social standing. In doing so, the paper builds an argument for the need to pursue a 'thick description' of public utterances to understand both incitement and resistance to genocidal violence.

Nicola Palmer is a lecturer in criminal law at King's College London. Her forth-coming book, 'Courts in Conflict: Interpreting Criminal Justice in Post-Genocide Rwanda' will be published by Oxford University Press in 2015. Her most recent journal article, 'Re-examining resistance in post-genocide Rwanda' is available in the Journal of Eastern African Studies (2014). Nicola received her D.Phil in law from the University of Oxford in 2011, where she studied as a Rhodes scholar. Prior to this, she worked at the United Nations International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, following her undergraduate in law and economics at Rhodes University, South Africa.

ANGLO-AMERICAN NEWSPAPER COVERAGE OF BOSNIA, 1992-1995

Patrick, David (University of the Free State)

Whilst the conflict in the Balkans did indeed generate a significant degree of mainstream coverage from the British and American press (particularly when compared with the attention devoted to the Rwandan genocide of 1994), it remains the case that the crisis was only given the most concentrated focus in specific circumstances. Highlighting a series of quantitative and qualitative trends arising from the analysis of 912 British and American newspapers, this paper seeks to provide evidence that the extent of coverage devoted to Bosnia was influenced more by the "nature" of the violence, rather than the "magnitude" of that same suffering. In addition to this, it is shown that, throughout the conflict, the victims of the violence (particularly in the case of Muslims) were consistently caricatured, marginalised, and even implicated in their own suffering.

The implications of this framing of mass violence can be seen to challenge the validity of the accepted rhetorical notion of "Never Again," and raises questions as to how future outbreaks of mass violence may be presented to the Western public.

David Patrick received his PhD (History) from the University of Sheffield in 2014, for his thesis: "Framing Disinterest: Anglo-American Press Responses to the Holocaust, Bosnia and Rwanda." His primary research interests are responses to genocide and mass violence; and framing (of various issues) within the Anglo-American press. He is currently a postdoctoral research fellow at the University of the Free State, and is researching British newspapers and their framing of this year's referendum on Scottish independence. For his undergraduate dissertation, he received the Ben Pimlott Award for Contemporary History (2007).

THE IMPACT OF HOLOCAUST EDUCATION: AN EXAMINATION OF PERCEPTIONS OF TEACHERS AND LEARNERS

Petersen, Tracey (Cape Town Holocaust Centre)

I will be presenting the findings of two research studies – one conducted with 300 high school students in the Cape Peninsula, and the second with History teachers across 7 provinces. The studies gauge what students and teachers consider significant about Holocaust education, and whether learning and teaching about that particular genocide has facilitated their learning or teaching about apartheid or other genocides. Until this study, the only assessment of student and teacher perceptions was an evaluation form filled out on completion of the education programmes provided by the Cape Town Holocaust Centre. Feedback from these forms indicates that the education programme have had a significant emotional and intellectual impact on the students and teachers, and almost all include reference to a desire to "do" something to fight prejudice, or to prevent genocide. What has not been measured, until now, is how long these sentiments prevail, and indeed, what remains. This is what the studies sought, *inter alia*, to gauge.

Tracey Petersen is the Director of Education for the Cape Town Holocaust Centre, South African Holocaust and Genocide Foundation. She has an M.Phil in education from the University of Cape Town, and is a History Ph.D candidate at the University of the Western Cape. Her areas of interest lie in the field of Human Rights education, and teacher development in societies recently emerging from repressive regimes. Petersen has delivered papers on Holocaust education in South Africa, Germany, France, the Netherlands and Argentina. Her work on Holocaust education in the post-apartheid state has been published in peer-reviewed journals. She is a fellow of the Salzburg Global Seminars.

REGAINING ONE'S VOICE: META-LANGUAGE AND AESTHETIC REPRESENTATIONS IN POST-GENOCIDAL AREAS**Peysson-Zeiss, Agnès** (Bryn Mawr College)

In the aftermath of a massacre or genocide, the arts receive scant attention but are a non-negligible part of recovery. It is often artists, authors and intellectuals who are to be found at the forefront of civil society efforts to come to terms with a troubled past. Be it in Turkey, Cambodia, Lebanon, Rwanda or Congo to name only a few countries, artists have survived and created to never forget and have embraced, and helped generations to move forward. Since, according to the Rwandan proverb: "man's tears flow towards the inside (« les larmes de l'homme coulent vers l'intérieur) » how does one express oneself and start the healing process? In this presentation, I aim at understanding how art works and look at what the use of such mediums bring to the issue. I will examine the ways in which aesthetics forms fill the void left by this unspeakable violence "voiced" through other mediums in post-traumatic areas. Focusing on the use of the graphic novel in some of the above mentioned countries, I will investigate the way they represent such discourse and the challenges that such representation can encounter. How does this interstitial space function and does it allow for both victims and victimizers to come to the surface, face their past and recreate a new future; are some of the questions I will try to answer?

Agnès Peysson-Zeiss is Coordinator of the Intensive Language sequence in French, and of the Teaching Assistant Training Workshop at Bryn Mawr College. She has researched the works of the Algerian francophone writer Assia Djebar and published a number of articles on her polyphonic texts, particularly on the Algerian Quatuor; looking at the forms of meta-language used by the author to rewrite women's history and her way of marking a new approach to her-story through the use of song, dance and the feminine gaze. She is expanding her research to the realm of trauma, looking at artistic mediums used in post-genocidal areas and is looking at the "savoir-survivre" of violence.

Phimister, Ian (University of the Free State)

Ian Phimister is presently Senior Research Professor at the University of the Free State. He has held positions at the universities of Zambia, Cape Town, Oxford and Sheffield. His research interests encompass patterns of British overseas investment during the 19th and 20th centuries, and the political economy of Central and Southern Africa. An emeritus Professor of the University of Sheffield, and an honorary Professor at the University of Pretoria, he has been Visiting Professor at the universities of Zimbabwe, Malawi, Sydney and Geneva. He is an elected member of the Academy of Science of South Africa.

GENOCIDAL ANXIETIES AMONG WHITE FARMERS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA**Pilososof, Rory** (University of the Free State) & **Alsheh, Yehonatan** (Waterloo University)

Genocide research has so far dedicated little attention to the phenomenon of genocidal anxieties. Some have researched the role genocidal anxieties play in the emergence, dissemination and entrenchment of genocidal ideologies. However, genocidal anxieties that did not underpin the perpetration of an actual genocide are still in need of further research and proper conceptualization. This paper looks at genocidal anxieties as a phenomenon in its own right, arguing that while obviously related to the actual perpetration of acts of genocide, genocidal anxieties also relate to many other political phenomena such as nationalism, regime transformation, conflict resolution, and political theology. A proper study of the phenomenon of genocidal anxieties requires attending to these different relations as well as understanding the full implications of the ways in which genocidal anxieties are embedded in the political experience. As a case study, this paper provides a discourse analysis of genocidal anxieties among white farmers in Zimbabwe and South Africa. By looking at farming voices and discourses from 2000 onwards, this paper shows how genocidal fears were framed, manufactured and presented by these communities. These anxieties found international audiences. *Genocide Watch* included Zimbabwe and South Africa in its list of states on "genocide watch". This act, expressing external concern regarding the situation in southern Africa is not without its own effects on the very situation it monitors. The role of *Genocide Watch* raises interesting questions about the international

reception of settler populations in post-colonial, post-Cold War southern Africa and how genocidal anxieties tie into the political economy of the region.

Rory Pilosof is a post-doctoral fellow at the University of the Free State, Bloemfontein. He is a historian of southern Africa whose main research interests are land and its control, identity and belonging, and the white settler state and its interactions with African nationalism.

Yehonatan Alsheh is postdoctoral fellow at the Balsillie School of International Affairs, Waterloo University and Wilfrid Laurier University. From 2011 to 2013 he was a postdoctoral fellow at the University of the Free State. His book *A Political History of South Africa* (in Hebrew) has just been published by the Israeli Ministry of Defense Press

MEMORY PRACTICES INTERTWINED WITH MATERIAL OBJECTS

Posluszny, Lukasz (Adam Mickiewicz University)

In the social sciences a research on the biography of things reoriented thinking about the objects, and favored them with the role of the relevant actors in society (Kopytoff, 1986; Latour, 2007; Domanska, 2008; Hicks, Beaudry, 2010; Shallcross, 2011). Things build their own biographies by modifying their roles and statuses under the influence of a variety of individual approaches to material culture, by changing classification of objects within the community and the context in which they previously existed. Relationship between humans and things are constitutive for both, and therefore essential to sustain social life and transmit memory (Dant, 1999; Hooder, 2012). If society is a much wider concept, including both humans and non-humans, how one should think about the processes of building collective and cultural memory? Does material culture play a significant role in it and to what extent? In my presentation I will deepen these questions, and exemplify application of the mentioned approach by reconstructing some biographies of particular concentration camp objects during and after Shoah. The research is based on original material collected by the author within biographical method (interviews with former prisoners of concentration camps), observations in places of memory (anniversaries, museum exhibitions), in already existing narratives, scientific works, cultural representations, and examination of social and political usage of these objects.

Łukasz Posluszny, is a Ph.D. candidate at the Institute of Sociology at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, Poland. He received his M.A. in Philosophy (2010), M.A. in Polish Literature (2011) and M.A. in Sociology (2012) from Adam Mickiewicz University. He is co-author of a book *Questions for Memory. Autobiographical Accounts of Concentration Camps Prisoners* (2012), and several texts concerning memory practices. Author focuses on areas of memory and holocaust studies, with special interest to sociology of aural landscape of concentration camps and everyday, material culture and urban studies.

Radford, Laurence (University of Manchester) - not presenting a paper

Laurence Radford is a publisher for the *Corpses of Mass Violence and Genocide* programme at the University of Manchester, primarily involved in the production of academia concerning the role of human remains in genocide and mass violence contexts. Laurence has also worked as an editor for Ten Alps Publishing and Manchester University Press, specialising in the social sciences and humanities. Laurence is the Associate Editor of the journal *Human Remains and Violence*.

MULTIPLICITY OF WOMEN'S EXPERIENCES IN GENOCIDE

Rashid, Azra (Concordia University)

Currently, the feminist scholarship is divided on the relative importance of gender and ethnicity in the context of violence endured by women in genocide. Despite some similarities in the gender-based violence committed

during war, women's experiences in genocide are varied and rooted in specific, local history. Instead of treating "women" as a unified category that transcends history, space and boundaries, there is a need for detranscendentalization within the feminist discourse on representation of women's experiences in genocide. The feminist task is to not only resist and challenge the patriarchal accounts of genocide but also to make visible the difference in experiences and the existence of repressive mechanisms that create them in the first place. Such visibility and representation can help demystify the otherness of the marginalized "other" and more specifically of women. In this paper, I explore the multiplicity of women's experiences in the 1971 genocide in Bangladesh and explore the tensions between the nationalist accounts of the war and its lived reality by women.

Azra Rashid is a Montreal-based filmmaker and PhD candidate. Her doctoral research focuses on gender and genocide, using creation-as-research as methodology. She has over six years of experience working as a journalist in NYC, Toronto, Edmonton, and Karachi. She has worked on numerous documentaries on social justice issues, including her own award-winning film, *Dishonour Defied* - a documentary about rape and status of women in Pakistan. Her films have been screened at film festivals in Canada and in the US. Her documentary on forced marriages, *Unveiling the Abuse*, has been incorporated in the curriculum by the Toronto District School Board in Canada. She is currently working on a documentary, with the working title, "Genocide: Through a woman's lens," funded by the Canada Council for the Arts. In the past, Rashid has also worked in the NGO sector with Amnesty International, Alliance Against Modern Slavery, Ve'ahavta, and Women Won't Forget.

Rometsch, Konstantin (University of Marburg)

Konstantin Rometsch is a PhD student at the Collaborative Research Centre "Dynamics of Security. Processes of Securitization in historical perspective" (Giessen/Marburg) funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG). He is working on the formation and implementation of the international proscription of genocide with a focus on Eastern European actors (1920s-1940s). Having studied History and Polish Studies in Giessen, Wrocław and Glasgow, he completed his Master's Degree with a dissertation on the internationalization of penal law examining the papers of the Polish lawyer E.S. Rappaport (1877-1965), one of the mentors of R. Lemkin. Previously, he investigated in his BA thesis the interrelations of anti-Semitism and colonial endeavours in interwar Poland.

LEGISLATING CULTURAL GENOCIDE: THE MASTERS AND SERVANTS ACTS AND CHILD INDENTURE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY CAPE COLONY

Rousset, Thierry (University of Cape Town)

While there has been an increase in recent scholarship regarding physical genocide in the settler societies of southern Africa such as Adhikari's *Anatomy of a South African Genocide* (2011), and the two publications relating to the genocide of the Herero – Sarkin's *Germany's Genocide of the Herero* (2011) and Erichsen's *The Kaiser's Holocaust: Germany's Forgotten Genocide and the Colonial Roots of Nazism* (2011) – very little work has been done on practices of cultural genocide in this region. Lawrence Davidson (2012) has pointed out that cultural genocide is an "under-recognized and under-studied phenomenon". And defines it as the "purposeful destructive targeting of out-group cultures so as to destroy or weaken them in the process of conquest or domination." This paper explores how the nineteenth century Cape Colony Masters and Servants Acts (itself an under-researched topic in South African historiography) employed 'voluntary' apprenticeship and the forced apprenticeship of what were termed 'destitute children' as a legislative mechanisms for carrying out a cultural genocide against certain indigenous groups in the region, such as the Bushmen and Korana. Through a close reading of advertisements of 'destitute children' in the Government Gazette and the surviving apprenticeship archives of select colonial magistrates this paper demonstrates how the Masters and Servants Acts formed part of a broader drive to undermine and integrate these groups into colonial society as a docile cheap labour force in the context of an acute and enduring rural labour shortage.

Thierry Rousset is a PhD student in the Department of Historical Studies at the University of Cape Town. He

teaches African History courses within the Department and his current research focuses on maritime frontiers and island studies. His previous research has involved work in the field of Antarctic studies as well as the use of destitute children as a labour source in the nineteenth century Cape Colony.

THE DOCUMENTATION OF MAJIMAJI WAR HERITAGE IN TANZANIA

Rushohora, Nancy (University of Pretoria)

Majimaji was a war of resistance against the German colonialism which occurred in 1905-1907 covering more than 260,000 square kilometers of southern and eastern Tanzania regions of Lindi, Mtwara, Ruvuma, Morogoro, Dar es Salaam, Njombe and Pwani. Majimaji war studies are very few and none have been conducted with the intention of eliciting public awareness and perception of the battle sites and how the memories of the war resonate into people's minds. Elsewhere, memories of conflicts, graveyards and battle sites of a recent past are more attached to the communities affected by the battle. Therefore, communities perception of the battlefield is that of a tomb, holding the bodies of most of those who died there, a perpetual shrine and memorial which engage thought and reverence. The connection between the battlefield and the memorial can easily be lost, as the memorial itself becomes the symbol of the event. This highlights the need to physically record where the boundaries of conflicts lie and where the exact location of the battlefield is certainly. This paper presents an archaeological investigation of the Majimaji battlefield and the documentation of the battle sites collaboratively between professional archaeologist and the communities which utilizes and encounters the battle sites in the present as it was the past.

Nancy Rushora is a Ph D student at the University of Pretoria. The title of her thesis is "Archaeological Identity of the Majimaji War: towards an Historical Archaeology of German Colonisation in Southern Tanzania

LYSISTRATA RISING: WOMEN PEACE-BUILDERS IN POST-CONFLICT NORTHERN UGANDA

Sample, Emily (Holocaust Museum, Houston)

The women of Uganda have lived in a state of conflict in their homes, communities, and country for over fifty years. In the last decade, increasing numbers of women have risen up to say they have had enough. Northern Uganda has been repeatedly victimized by a series of military coups and rebel armies, stemming from the "divide and rule" strategy implemented by British colonialists over a century ago. With the 2006 ceasefire between the Ugandan government and the Lord's Resistance Army, northern Uganda became a post-conflict zone for the first time in six decades. This paper focuses predominantly on the plight of women in northern Uganda, who are the front line against human rights abuses in their communities, and their emerging role as stakeholders in peace. To this end, this paper uses the experiences of local female leaders to frame a theoretical analysis of peacebuilding practices and the legislative transformation begun by United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325. Based on interviews with Lugbara and Acholi activists, this paper will examine how women are utilizing traditional, religious, and political mechanisms to bring about a sustainable peace. I aim to investigate women's historical victimization and consequent contributions to conflict resolution to answer the question: to what extent do women play a unique role when it comes to peacebuilding and preventing future atrocities in post-conflict northern Uganda?

Emily Sample is the Assistant Director of Education at Holocaust Museum Houston and has worked in anti-genocide awareness for almost a decade. She recently earned her Master's degree in Human Rights and Genocide Studies from Kingston University London. She previously interned for the Ugandan National Committee on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide and Mass Atrocities, and the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum. She earned her B.A from The College of William and Mary, earning High Honors on her thesis on Holocaust memory. Her research interests include Holocaust and genocide education, gender-based violence, and the Great Lakes region of Africa.

WOMEN'S BODIES AS A LANDSCAPE OF TRAUMA": RACE, CLASS, GENDER AND REPARATIONS IN THE NEW SOUTH AFRICA

Scanlon, Helen (University of Cape Town)

Twenty years into South Africa's democracy debates have re-emerged over the limitations of both the material and symbolic reparation initiatives created following the much lauded Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) of 1996. However, in the two decades since South Africa's first free and fair elections a widening chasm has emerged between the promises of "transformation" and the realities of on-going widespread poverty and inequalities. As a result, mobilisation is now underway by former TRC commissioners such as Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Dr Alex Boraine to push for some of the unrealised promises of reparations by the TRC to be fulfilled in order to advance social justice in the country. Indeed, South Africa's beleaguered transformation is particularly apparent in terms of the prevalent level of gender-based violence, often cited as the highest in the world and the ongoing feminisation of poverty. As such, it is timely to consider how gender-based concerns have been addressed in the country through its reparations process. Restitution, compensation and memorialisation reparations fulfil a number of practical and symbolic purposes of acknowledging the harm inflicted upon victims. And according to gender activists reparations have the potential to drive post-conflict transformation of socio-cultural injustices and inequalities.

This paper will take a critical look at South Africa's attempts to confront its brutal past through reparations and assess how far their "symbolic" purpose has been realised. The conversion of the women's jail in Johannesburg into the national Commission of Gender Equality, for example, does not acknowledge the fact that while all black male political leaders were sent to Robben Island, also a site of memory, women political prisoners were generally separated and scattered across jails throughout the country. Given current debates over revisiting the promise of reparative justice by the TRC Commissioners it is an opportune time to reflect on how reparations for gender based crimes have been received by victim-survivors and interrogate what could be done to better curate South Africa's histories of gendered harms.

Helen Scanlon is Head of Gender Studies, Convenor of the Justice and Transformation Programme and Senior Lecturer at the University of Cape Town, South Africa. Prior to joining the UCT in 2011 she was the Director of the International Center for Transitional Justice's (ICTJ) Gender Justice Program. She holds a Ph.D. in African history from the School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London. Before joining ICTJ in 2007 Helen worked at the University of Cape Town, South Africa, in both a teaching and research capacity. Between 2002 and 2004 she was a research fellow in UCT's Department of Historical Studies and afterwards worked for the African Gender Institute. Between 2005 and 2007 Helen was Senior Researcher for the Centre for Conflict Resolution's Policy Development and Research department. She has published widely on transitional justice issues in Africa.

CRYING SHAME: WAR CRIMES, SEXUAL VIOLENCE, AND THE COST OF SPEAKING OUT

Sedgwick, James (Acadia University)

Retelling past traumatic experiences can heal, but it can also hurt. Without dismissing the cathartic potential of 'speaking out', this paper looks instead at the use and abuse of traumatic accounts once 'out'. Specifically, it explores how victims of sexual violence in the Asian sphere of World War II – and their memories – have been appropriated for wider political, legal, moral, and social agendas. Postwar exigency silenced numerous victims of gender crimes. The legacy of this 'silence' and the brutality of the atrocities remain divisive in the Asia. When breaking their silence, victims pay a price of martyrdom, their *personal* suffering commodified as *national* pain. In the hands of others, memories take on 'currency' beyond personal pain and outside the circle of healing. In courts, testimonies become valued only for probative worth and legal weight. Politicians use trauma as diplomatic leverage. Most starkly, restitution claims monetise scales of suffering. There is no simple formula for trauma's emotional arithmetic. For some, talking about past experiences may provide relief, even release. However, this paper shows that in crying shame, survivors also pay a steep cost for speaking out. It may be better to keep silent.

James Burnham Sedgwick is an Assistant Professor in history and a Harrison McCain Emerging Scholar at

Acadia University in Nova Scotia, Canada. An international historian of global governance, human rights, mass violence, and justice, his research explores how the inner-workings of international organisations affect their outcomes, how social networks, lived experiences, and emotions inform humanitarianism and advocacy, and how institutional solutions to transnational crimes shape international relations. He has published articles and reviews on memory, trauma, and justice in multiple fields including law, international relations, history, and Asian studies.

THE LIMITS OF FOUNDATIONAL CONCEPTS: THE DESTRUCTION OF JEWS IN HUNGARY DURING WORLD WAR II, BEYOND “HOLOCAUST” AND “ANTISEMITISM”

Segal, Raz (Hebrew University of Jerusalem/Tel Aviv University)

This paper argues that the terms “Holocaust” and “antisemitism” frame the persecution and annihilation of Jews during World War II as unique, placing these events and processes apart from essential historical and political contexts. The destruction of Jews in wartime Hungary offers an example, as it underscores how histories of state and nation building—in this case the drive to realize “Greater Hungary” with a marked Magyar majority—generated multi-layered mass violence against non-Jews as well as Jews. Focusing on the multiethnic borderland of Subcarpathian Rus’ *before* the German invasion of Hungary in March 1944 illuminates the links in the state’s attack against the region’s society and sheds new light on the particular victimization of Jews. Yet much scholarship on the annihilation of Jews in wartime Hungary has focused on the period after the German invasion and on mass murder in Auschwitz, thus integrating the violence into an account of “the Holocaust.” This paper takes a different approach and explores the persecution and destruction of Jews in Hungary as an integral part of the state’s modern history. It uncovers how anxieties about disloyalty and foreignness played crucial roles in the exclusionary campaign against Jews, Roma, and Carpatho-Ruthenians in Subcarpathian Rus’. The Hungarian authorities planned and carried out violent measures against them and, whenever political opportunities permitted, mass deportations. The examination of these related processes of mass violence highlights the meaning of “antisemitism” in a specific context and the connections between anti-Jewish policies and the persecution of other groups. Viewing this violence as it unfolded, rather than backwards from Auschwitz, opens new paths to rethink “the Holocaust” in Hungary.

Raz Segal earned his PhD at the Strassler Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies, Clark University (2013). Segal is now writing a comprehensive history of Hungary during World War II, addressing issues at the intersection of modern European history, history of Jews, and Genocide Studies. Segal teaches at the University of Haifa and holds a Lady Davis Postdoctoral Fellowship at the Avraham Harman Institute of Contemporary Jewry, the Hebrew University. Segal’s publications include *Days of Ruin: The Jews of Munkács during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem, 2013), and articles in *Journal of Genocide Research*, *Holocaust Studies*, and *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry*.

RWANDA’S ACCOUNT OF RESCUERS: A CRITICAL, THEORETICAL, AND EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS

Seibert, Marie Therese (Keene State College) & **Christianson, Kelly** (Keene State College)

A scholarly literature on Hutus who resisted genocide and rescued Tutsi during the 1994 genocide is growing, but theory development in this area remains negligible. Indeed, how to conceptualize rescuers continues to be debated. This presentation begins by critically assessing multiple perspectives on how to define rescuers and then proceeds to grapple with controversy surrounding the study of rescuers. It then presents a theoretical framework for understanding why at least some Hutus both consistently resisted genocide and rescued Tutsi. The paper calls for both a micro-level and macro-level analyses to adequately understand rescuers. Data from a 2010 study of rescuers conducted by the Rwandan survivor organization Ibuka is used to test micro-level hypotheses. These results are cross-referenced with the Rwandan Genocide Archive and published accounts of rescuers. Results from the Ibuka data provide initial support for sociologist Bradley Campbell’s social distance theory, which posits an inverse relationship between social distance and a proclivity to rescue. The social context of rescue is studied using published research and a field study of the three officially recognized rescuer

memorials in Rwanda: Gisenyi, Nyange, and Remara. This analysis reiterates the importance of social context for understanding rescue already highlighted in books like *Killing Neighbors*, *Order of Genocide*, and *Resisting Genocide*. The paper ends with a call for more in-depth interviews of rescuers validated with survivor interviews and archival data.

Marie Therese Seibert taught at the University of Virginia and published *Long Time Coming: Trends in Racial Inequality in the Nonmetropolitan South, 1940-1990* with Mark Fossett. She joined Keene State College in 1998 and helped launch the Holocaust and Genocide Studies major. In 2011, she received the Susan Herman award for Leadership in Holocaust and Genocide Awareness. Her research interests are rescue during the Rwandan genocide and the impact of the 1998 *Akayesu* ICTR judgment to define rape as a tool of genocide.

Kelly Christianson is a senior at Keene State College pursuing a Bachelor of Arts in Holocaust and Genocide Studies and a Bachelor of Science in Elementary Education and Sociology. She intends to enroll in the Masters of Arts Program in Genocide Studies and Prevention at the University of Rwanda in 2015. She recently participated in a two-week Peace Building Institute sponsored by Never Again Rwanda where she presented on perpetrator behavior. She is a research assistant for Professor M. Therese Seibert who is studying rescue during genocide, and she is also researching what genocide memorials in Rwanda can teach us.

GENOCIDE AND INTERNATIONAL CONTEXTS: THE COLD WAR SYSTEM AND CHANGING PATTERNS OF GENOCIDE

Shaw, Martin (Institut Barcelona d'Estudis Internacionals/University of Roehampton)

The study of modern genocide remains disproportionately focused on the 'mega-genocides' such as the Holocaust, Armenia and Rwanda, sometimes narrowly conceived as 'domestic' episodes. Although the study of settler-colonial genocide has provided a valuable, internationally focused corrective to this one-sidedness, we lack a coherent account of the changing historical patterns of genocide in the later twentieth and early twenty-first century. In particular, we lack an explanation of how genocide changed after the end of the Second World War, how and how far new patterns were linked to the Cold War, and how the end of the Cold War resulted in further transformations in genocide. In this paper I shall explore how patterns of genocide are related to international contexts by examining the complex changes of the period after 1945. I shall argue that these need to be understood in terms of how tripolar rivalry between the West, the Soviet bloc and China interacted with the broader historical changes resulting from the end of European empires, including wars of decolonization, struggles over the shape and control of postcolonial states, wars of secession and continuing settler-controlled states in South Africa and Israel. I shall argue that the incidence and forms genocide in this period showed patterns substantially different from the pre-1945 era of empire and colonialism, and that the end of the Cold War brought further major changes.

Martin Shaw is a historical sociologist of global politics, war and genocide, who has worked in International Relations for the last twenty years. His many books include *What is Genocide?* (2007, new edition in preparation), *War and Genocide* (2003) and *Genocide and International Relations: Changing Patterns in the Transitions of the Late Modern World* (2013). He is Research Professor at the Institut Barcelona d'Estudis Internacionals (IBEI) and Professorial Fellow in International Relations and Human Rights at the University of Roehampton, London, as well as Emeritus Professor of the University of Sussex. His personal website is www.martinshaw.org.

"TAKING AIM AT THE GERMANS": THE RETURN OF HERERO GENOCIDE HUMAN REMAINS AND THE POLITICS OF REBURIAL

Shigwedha, Vilho (University of Namibia)

This paper deals with the 20th century's first genocide: that of the Herero and Nama populations in German South West Africa (modern day Namibia) by the Schutztruppe. During this period (1904 - 1908), undisclosed

numbers of human skulls and skeletons were shipped to Germany from Namibia. As part of the growing trend to call for the repatriation of human remains, negotiations between the Namibian and German governments have resulted in the return to Namibia of fifty - five skulls, including two skeletons, since October 2011. The repatriation of human remains, which remain unburied, has invoked religious, cultural, political and ethnic views and claims regarding, among others, demands for reparation and whether the remains of the victims of the genocide should be buried or displayed as a warning against similar events in the future. Drawing from interviews with Herero and Nama activists, who seek recognition for the Herero and Nama communities as genocide victims who qualify for compensation, as well as interviews with a number of individuals whose ancestors were killed during the Herero and Nama uprising against the Germans, this paper considers the controversies arising from the repatriation of the human remains from Germany to Namibia as strategies in pursuit of political interests other than doing justice to the victims of the genocide.

Vilho Shigwedha graduated from the University of the Western Cape with a Ph.D. in History in 2011. His doctorate research ("Enduring Suffering: the Cassinga massacre of Namibian exiles in 1978 and the conflicts between survivors" memories and testimonies") examines the massacre of Namibia civilians in Angola by the former South African Defence Force (SADF). He currently teaches public history at the University of Namibia. His research interests include: The politicking of the return of the skulls and skeletons of the Herero and Nama genocide from Germany; Forgotten war graves and traumatic memories of the Namibian liberation struggle; Visual representation of violence; and the challenge of denigrating colonial heritage in post-colonial Namibia.

ECOCIDE, CLIMATE CHANGE AND EXTREME ENERGY: THE GENOCIDE CONNECTION

Short, Damien (University of London)

In this paper I trace the institutional history of the concept of ecocide, and it's relationship to genocide within the United Nations system, in order to highlight both the critical conceptual connection between them and to provide the background for an empirical discussion of the environmental and social impacts of the new wave of 'unconventional' energy extraction processes know as 'extreme energy'. I will analyse extreme energy's genocidal potential, contribution to anthropogenic climate change, and the possibilities to halt its seemingly relentless march via an international law prohibiting ecocide.

Dr Damien Short is a Reader in Human Rights at the School of Advanced Study, University of London. Much of his research has focussed on the rights of indigenous peoples, settler colonialism, reconciliation projects and cultural genocide and extractive industries. In his more recent work he has investigated the institutional history of 'ecocide' within the United Nations and it's relationship to the Genocide Convention. A new monograph 'The Genocide Ecocide Nexus' will be published by Zed Books, spring 2015.

HISTORY OF INSTITUTIONS AND JURISPRUDENCE OF INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL JUSTICE

Siang'andu, Ellah (University of South Africa)

Over time, a number of circumstances have led to international law recognising individual responsibility for actions prohibited under international law. Recently, there has been an increase in institutions set up for the purposes of prosecuting individuals. This article considers the history of international justice. The article considers how the notion of international justice has developed through the increase in institutions intended to prosecute individuals suspected of having committed the most serious offences to international concern. The article adopts a case study approach. Reference is made to instances when states took active measures to ensure that individuals suspected of committing offences were prosecuted based on either multilateral treaties or by means of UN Security Council adopting particular actions. The article further highlights that despite the increase in institutions intended to establish individual criminal responsibility or the lessons that we learn from history. The problem of individuals escaping accountability still stands. The world is still facing challenges today, particularly there are countries where individuals suspected of committing the most serious offences still escape liability. In addition, there are also countries that for various reasons fail to prosecute.

Consequently, the problem of individual escaping accountability still exists despite having measures in place intended to ensure that individuals suspected of committed the most serious offences to international concern are held accountable. It therefore implies a suitable approach needs to be established to ensure accountability.

Ellah T.M Siang'andu is a Doctoral Candidate at University of South Africa. Ellah holds a masters degree in Public International Law (LLM) from University of Nottingham and a bachelors of Laws (LLB) Hons from University of Hull. Ellah is currently a full time lecturer in Law at Zambia's highest learning institution, the University of Zambia where she teaches International Law, Law of International Institutions and Alternative Dispute Resolution. Ellah is a member of several School of Law Committees at the institution, particularly the Admissions Committee, Curriculum Review Committee, Research Committee as well as a member of the Editorial Board Committee for the Zambia Law Journal. Ellah's research interests lie in Criminal Law, Access to justice, Alternative dispute Resolution, African Customary Law, International Law, International Criminal Justice, International Criminal Law and Transitional Justice.

HEALING OR HARMING? : PERCEPTIONS OF WAR CRIMES TRIALS IN SIERRA LEONE.

Silverman, Jon (University of Bedfordshire)

The application of international humanitarian law (IHL) to conflicts in Africa has been the subject of some scholarly and much journalistic discourse about the ending of "impunity" and an extension of the normative principles of transitional justice. The war crimes trials conducted by the Special Court for Sierra Leone (SCSL) were brought to audiences in both countries by a media which has had scant experience in grappling with such weighty jurisprudential concepts. A research project is examining attitudes towards the reporting of two of those trials, as well as seeking to draw conclusions about the wider role of the media in legitimizing post-conflict governance by providing a platform for civil society organizations. Preliminary conclusions from the research suggest that the reporting of some influential sections of the print media in Sierra Leone was 'a continuation of the war by other means' (Marković and Subašić 2011 : 81) and that a distinct trend can be discerned of partisanship in the press along ethnic and regional lines. The decade-long conflict has been characterized in the western media as being about diamonds and the malign intervention of Charles Taylor, but this ignores the impact of 'ethno-regional' faultlines which led to the breakdown of good governance at the start of the 1990s. This study of the CDF trial and the Taylor trial in The Hague indicates that the press coverage tended to perpetuate rather than challenge these divisions.

Jon Silverman has been Professor of Media and Criminal Justice at the University of Bedfordshire (UK) since 2007. I am also a journalist and was the BBC Home/Legal Affairs Correspondent from 1989-2002, with a specialism in war crimes trials and international justice (covering the ICTY/ICTR etc). In 2010, I was awarded a grant by the British Academy to examine the role of the media in reporting war crimes trials in Sierra Leone and Liberia and I have been supervising a PhD student based in Freetown since 2011. I have reported from Rwanda, Chile and Sierra Leone and trained journalists in the CAR.

CONFRONTING HISTORY THROUGH FAIRY TALE: *ONCE UPON A TIME IN ANATOLIA*

Sin, Jennifer (Concordia University)

In spite of a general consensus from historians and the public, the Armenian genocide that took place at the beginning of the 20th century is an event that the contemporary Turkish Republic has not only continuously denied, but has, more importantly, also made an active effort to erase from its history and the collective memory of its citizens. In the first half, this paper takes a historical approach, identifying the ways in which the Turkish government has suppressed all discussion of this event, often through violent and unscrupulous means, and how this has affected members of civil society. In the second half, this paper illustrates how this defense mechanism of the State, in an attempt to preserve its powerful Ottoman image, is reflected in the narrative and aesthetic language of Turkish director Nuri Bilge Ceylan's *Bir zamanlar Anadolu'da* ("Once Upon

a Time in Anatolia," 2011). Drawing additionally from Turkish and external texts, this paper concludes that the film presents itself as a significant contribution to a growing foundation for open discussion and transitional justice for those directly and indirectly affected by the genocide.

Jennifer Sin is in her third year of pursuing a B.F.A. with a Major in Film Studies and a Minor in Human Rights Studies at Concordia University (Montréal, Canada). She is currently on a one-year academic exchange at the Institut d'études politiques de Paris (Paris, France), after which she will return to Montréal to complete her undergraduate degree. Her primary interests lie in the realm of film – one of her essays has been featured in the online film journal *Offscreen* and one of her reviews has been published in the print magazine *Afterimages*. However, she also believes in the power of the film medium, in both its fiction and non-fiction format, to present a necessarily accurate, and often disturbing, portrayal of the world that we live in.

THE POLITICS OF DENIAL IN PERPETRATOR IDENTITY AND GENOCIDE

Singer, Irris (Bowlby Centre)

What is the process of stepping out of denial? What facilitates and what prevents that process? Can we adapt identified features into professional and community interventions? Although an important temporary coping mechanism, denial also underlies dehumanisation, violence and genocide. Using O/H diagrams, illustrated by the stories of two former mortal enemies, an Israeli and a Palestinian who stepped out of violence and denial, I will outline: 1) the psychological, cognitive, emotional, environmental and political factors that facilitate personal and public denial; the role of fear, trauma, victimhood, inclusion-exclusion, oppression, and essentially collective narratives of victimhood that glorify warriors – and dehumanise the 'enemy'. 2) the role of childcare, secure attachment, media, language, socialisation, education. 3) factors that inhibit denial and facilitate recognition, empathy, mentalisation, executive functions of decision making and the capacity to act; rehumanising; recognition of pain and desire to comfort; perpetrator identity, losses of self, goodness, ideology; finding the enemy in yourself – and reconnecting with common humanity. 4) building those factors into interventions for childcare, adult and child education, creative arts, media, NGOs, and the political process. We conceptualise that as the Ethical Mindset and Behaviours.

Irris Singer is a feminist relational psychoanalytic psychotherapist. Her special interests are psychoanalysis, philosophy and politics. As a training therapist, supervisor, group facilitator, teacher (The Hebrew University, The Bowlby Centre, and IPSS, UK), and Clinical Director (IPSS) Irris has worked in both the UK and Israel, co-founding the Counselling Centre for Women, Israel. Her writing has focussed on psychoanalytic aspects of the Palestine Israel conflict, and on *difference*; she has been active in anti-apartheid, feminist, UK, and Israeli politics. For the past six years Irris directed an action research project based on two former mortal enemies, a Palestinian and Israeli, who stepped out of denial and violence to co-found a group *Combatants for Peace*. We aim to adapt our findings re stepping out of violence and denial to facilitate interventions in the community and political process.

SOUTH AFRICA: AN UNLIKELY SITE FOR ARCHIVING THE HOLOCAUST

Singer, Michal (Cape Town Holocaust Centre)

Since 2011 the South African Holocaust and Genocide Foundation has become formally engaged in an archiving project aimed at preserving and digitising its various archival collections related to the Holocaust. This includes archival material in a range of formats, including personal letters, official documents, photographs, and a variety of ephemera. The paper will reflect upon research conducted in the archive to establish the provenance of the eclectic contents of the collections. South Africa may seem an unusual source for such content, but the collections that have amassed at the three Holocaust Centres demonstrate both the global, enduring impact of the Holocaust, and the particular and multidimensional legacy of Nazism and its implications on South Africa's own history of race and mass trauma. The archive provides a space for the tangible, and fragmented, remnants of this traumatic past to be explored, understood, and sublimated

through the arguably more cathartic experience of laying the past to rest. The project's emphasis on provenance and maximal exposure through digitization allows the material to speak for itself. Much of the material is uniquely South African, and thus serves the unintended purpose of contributing to the process of nation building.

Michal Singer is an historian based at the Cape Town Holocaust Centre, where she works both as an archivist and an educator. She received a Research MA in History at Wits University, with a focus on South African environmental history. She was awarded the Africa Thesis Award in 2010 by the African Studies Centre in Leiden, the Netherlands. Having worked in the South African heritage sector for the past five years, she is particularly interested in exploring the interface between history and human rights education.

THE SUBJECT OF WAR MACHINES IN ACHILLE MBEMBE'S OEUVRE

Sithole, Tendayi (University of South Africa)

The subject of war machines, originating from Giles Deleuze and Felix Guattari will be examined in relation to Achille Mbembe's articulation of the state of violence in the postcolony. War machines as political subjects contest political power and this contestation is not limited to the arena of the political, but also that of illicit economies which are sites for accumulation. War machines can be broadly understood as rebels, mercenaries, warlords and combatants located outside of the realm of the legitimacy of the state and who by their nature or existence seek to contest political power to become para-governors. The form of political life they assume is that of banditocracy—that is, plunder, extraction and excess of violence as banal acts of the political. It is argued that the nature, form and the constitution of war machines is complex and defies standardisation, typology or classification. Mbembe's account of war machines is essential to understand political life in postcolony, a life predicated by violence.

Tendayi Sithole teaches African Politics at the University of South Africa and is a founding member of Africa Decolonial Research Network. Thematic areas of his research are black radical thought, decolonial critical theory, Africana existential phenomenology and decolonial epistemic systems. He is awaiting the verdict of his doctoral thesis in African politics entitled *Achille Mbembe: Subject, Subjection and Subjectivity*. Sithole is also working on a book on Steve Biko's decolonial meditations.

THE RECLASSIFICATION OF THE AFRICAN AMERICAN ENSLAVEMENT/POST ENSLAVEMENT PERIOD AS GENOCIDE.

Slater, Lamont (Quinsigamond Community Colleg)

In the course of American history, the event that is commonly referred to as the triangular trade, American enslavement or Middle Passage has been often characterized as shameful, and unfortunate, but is not given the same sympathetic weight of the Jewish holocaust. Although Raphael Lempkin coined the term genocide in 1944, which fit nicely into the narrative of the Jewish experience, does not mean that genocides did not occur prior to this date. According to the legal definition of genocide, found in the 1948 UN Convention on the Prevention and punishment of the Crime of Genocide (CPPCG), it defines genocide as "any of the following acts committed with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such killing members of the group: causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group: deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life, calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; imposing measures to prevent births within the group; and forcibly transferring children of the group to another group"(CPPCG). Under this definition, it is necessary that we look at the African American experience as more than a footnote in American history, but as a genocide that has contributed to the struggle of this oppressed group. The research conducted will include prior study on the African American experience as genocide, and will include a questionnaire to determine if further study should continue to reconfigure the event from historical experience to an actual genocide.

Lamont Slater is a Professor of History at Quinsigamond Community College, located in Worcester, MA. Lamont is currently a PhD candidate at Salve Regina University in Newport, Rhode Island, where he is examining colonial genocides, such as the Herero/ Nama genocide with the early enslavement and post enslavement experience of the African Americans. Professor Slater has recently presented at the University of Kwazulu-Natal, and in Freiberg, Germany on "Immigrant Populations and the Multiple Choice Format".

WAS THE MARIKANA MASSACRE A CRIME A CRIME AGAINST HUMANITY?

Swart, Mia (University of Johannesburg)

The massacre at Marikana of 16 August 2012 has been described as South Africa's 9/11. Although South Africa has a long history of police violence and brutality the fact that the use of lethal force on a mass scale was sanctioned by the democratically elected government makes the Marikana massacre particularly chilling and poignant. It also makes the massacre relevant to international law. It will be established in this article that the killing of 34 striking miners by the South African police is a crime that transcends the limits and boundaries of domestic justice. This article will explore an approach to the *legal* aftermath of Marikana that has not yet received academic attention: the question of whether the Marikana massacre should be prosecuted as an international crime. The article will further consider the factors that will have to be taken into account in classifying the massacre as an international crime. It will be argued that even though instinctively a crime of this scale might seem to reach the gravity of an international crime, the application of the strict legal requirements for international crimes, the policy requirement in the definition of a crime against humanity, the doctrine of complementarity as well as the gravity threshold applied by the International Criminal Court (ICC) render it complicated but not unlikely that the massacre will be considered an international crime in the sense of meeting the jurisdictional requirements set out for such crimes. Recognising the relevance and applicability of international law in the context of prosecuting the perpetrators of the Marikana massacre will signal to the international community that South Africa has put its barbaric past behind it and fully embraced the values of the international community.

Mia Swart is professor of international law at the University of Johannesburg. She is a research associate of the South African Institute of Advanced Constitutional, Public and International Law (SAIFAC). Published in the areas of transitional justice, international criminal law, and comparative constitutional law, Mia currently focuses her research on reparations in international criminal law. In 2007 and 2009, Mia received a Humboldt research fellowship to do research at the Max Planck Institute in Freiburg and at Berlin's Humboldt University, from which she holds an LL.M. She worked as an intern in the appeals chamber of the international criminal tribunal for the former Yugoslavia in 2001, the same year she was admitted as an attorney. She regularly contributes to the media.

SREBRENICA: WOMENS' SURVIVAL OF GENOCIDE

Talić, Ammar, Malmö University

The genocide at Srebrenica in Eastern Bosnia, comprised the July 1995 killing of an estimated 8,000 Bosniaks, mainly males, in the world's first United Nations Safe Area. This is a study of Srebrenica women who survived the genocide and returned to Srebrenica. The purpose of the study is to explore women's survival of genocide; how they come to terms with the genocide and go on with their lives. The study aims to capture and discuss the shared life-worlds of the women but also the diversity within those structures of experience. The aim of the study is justified by means of an explorative and contextual research design. The empirical material consists of transcribed deep interview narratives mainly analysed through the theory of Meaning Constitution Analysis. The study offers a discussion on the meanings of survival, genocide and trauma, the three major experiences of the woman interpreted within the interdisciplinary frames of contextual, existential and political psychology. The results show that surviving genocide is a multi-dimensional traumatic experience which requires a contextual approach allowing individual psychological dimensions to encounter those of a collective, cultural, political and gender character. The study concludes that women's survival and recovery in

the aftermath of genocide is an intersectional and broad experience of meaning-making and psychological flexibility.

Ammar Talić is a passionate scholar-practitioner in the field of clinical and political psychology who divides his time between clinical practice, training and consulting, and scholarly writing and research. He studied political psychology at Stanford University, USA and is a member of the International Society of Political Psychology. He previously earned MSc psychologist degree from Lund University in Sweden and is today licensed in both Sweden and Denmark.

VIOLENCE AGAINST CIVILIANS: THE ROLE OF INSTITUTIONS AND CLIMATE

Theisen, Ole Magnus (Norwegian University of Science and Technology)

The study of violence against civilians with its over 200 million dead in the 20th century is understudied if viewed in terms of the death toll compared to the studies of inter-state and civil war. R. J. Rummel's extensive data collection of democide in the period 1900-87, has unfortunately laid dormant, mostly untouched by other researchers since its publication in 1997. This paper uses a new country-year version of this dataset and analyses democide in four parts. As democide performed by (i) states against their own population; (ii) in foreign states; (iii) by non-state groups; and (iv) all forms of democide combined. We have a two-pronged approach analyzing both the effects of political institutions as well as the potential impact of temperature and precipitation. Thus, we will be able to judge the separate potential for mass-violence for exogenous factors as well as for political institutions.

Ole Magnus Theisen (PhD, born 1981) is an associate professor in political science at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU) in Trondheim, Norway. His research interests include resource scarcities, climatic factors and violent conflict; the escalation from low-level inter-group conflict to organized violence; and surveys in conflict areas.

SOUTH AFRICA AND THE ROME STATUTE: CONFLICTING INTERPRETATIONS?

Timoney, Caroline (University of Cape Town)

In August 2002, South Africa fulfilled its final obligation under the Rome Statute it had signed in 1998 and ratified in 2000 by creating the Implementation of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court Act. Under the Rome Statute states must implement effective domestic legislation in order to complement this multilateral treaty. This is particularly crucial for states which previously did not possess legislation to criminalise and combat crimes against humanity, genocide and war crimes. South Africa's Act outlines the jurisdiction of the domestic courts in respect of the principle of universal jurisdiction, which was provided for in the Rome Statute, and which is the primary focus of this paper. South Africa's *locus standi* in bringing an alleged perpetrator to court is defined by section 4(3) of the Act and this paper will emphasise the broad scope offered by the provision in subsection (c) that 'that person, after the commission of the crime, is present in the territory of the Republic'. The recent case concerning allegations of torture in Zimbabwe has, however, shown how universal jurisdiction is balanced with the National Prosecuting Act of 2005 which provides for a series of relevant factors when considering whether or not it would be in the public's interest to prosecute. This paper will examine how South Africa's 'ICC Act' has construed the obligations imposed by the Rome Statute, particularly in reference to the case concerning allegations of torture in Zimbabwe. How should the state balance the political and legal considerations at play? Does South Africa allow for anticipated presence when applying universal jurisdiction? This paper attempts to analyse how South Africa has interpreted its responsibilities under the Rome Statute through both actions and policy.

Caroline Timoney is currently an MPhil student in International Law, Caroline has a BA in History and Politics and an Honours degree in History. During her years at the University of Cape Town she has chaired the History and Current Affairs Society, held the Research Portfolio for Students for Law and Social Justice, and is currently

secretary of the 2014 Postgraduate Law Students' Council. She has also participated in the UCT Model United Nations, the Diplomacy Course, represented the university in the Brain World Cup filmed in Tokyo, and represented South Africa in the 2013 Youth G8 Summit held in London.

BUILDING ON GENERATIONS OF TRAUMA? EARLY AIDS RESEARCH AND THE FEMALE FORM, 1980 – 1995

Carla, Tsampiras (University of Cape Town)

Drawing on articles from the *South African Medical Journal* that appeared in the early years of the AIDS epidemic (1980 – 1995), this paper tracks when, how, and in what forms, medico-scientific elites ignored, investigated or interrogated HIV and AIDS amongst womyn. The paper explores the roles that were assigned to certain female forms as 'AIDS avatars' that reflected the socio-political and moral concerns of the time. These concerns often focussed on certain types of sexualities or sexual orientation and were embedded in unchallenged racialised, sexist, and heteronormative modes of research. In the early AIDS narratives certain types of womyn receive attention (first sex workers and much later pregnant ('black') womyn) while others (like lesbians, post-menopausal womyn, or womyn accessing private health care) are totally ignored. The task of this paper is three-fold – firstly, to reveal the silences in the medical record and explicitly note which female forms are seen and which unseen. Secondly, to determine whether the role and function of the female form at this point in the history of the AIDS epidemic built on, and added to, a medico-scientific tradition and understanding of the female form founded on other traumatised female forms such as Sara Baartman's body. Finally, the paper speculates on what it might mean for researching health crises like AIDS if researchers were to acknowledge the traumas repeatedly imposed on certain bodies by certain types of research practices.

Carla Tsampiras is a vegan, feminist, social historian interested in how constructions of gender, 'race', and sexuality have shaped research into health and access to healing. Her research interests include the relationship between health, dis-ease and society; social histories of HIV and AIDS in South Africa; slavery (past and present); gender and violence; and global social justice issues. Her newest research interests are related to what Medical / Health Humanities are or could be, and to questions around ideas of generational trauma or how bodies remember.

CHILDREN FOR EWES: CHILD INDENTURE IN THE POST-EMANCIPATION GREAT KARROO C1856-1909

van Sittert Lance (University of Cape Town)

While the employment of child labour in the Cape Colony under slavery is well known, the same cannot be said for the post-emancipation period, despite the hinge 1841 masters and servants ordinance governing the new free labour market legitimating employment of two categories of child labour; those indentured by their parents and 'destitute children' indentured by the state. Both groups left paper trails. That of destitute children is easier to follow because they had to advertised in the press, but a few scattered sets of contracts of 'indenture of apprenticeship by parents' (IAPs) survive in the archives of the colonial magistrates. The paper offers a close reading of the destitute children advertisements and IAP contract archive for one such magistracy; that of Colesberg in the Great Karoo in the second half of the nineteenth century. It traces patterns in the aggregate demography, form and features of the more than two hundred and fifty IAP contracts signed in the magistracy over this period to demonstrate the gendered nature of child indenture, its relation to and dampening effect on adult wage rates and its contributions to reproducing proletarian households in the commercializing pastoral economy of the Great Karoo. In so doing it troubles two prevailing assumptions about the post-emancipation Cape labour market; that settler employers dictated the terms of exchange through coercion and that the proletarian household was a haven from such exploitation, detecting evidence for both the patrimonial exchange and parental exploitation of proletarian children. Finally, the paper offers a corrective to the scholarship on the invention of colonial childhood in the final quarter of the nineteenth century based exclusively on the white middle class experience of the south western Cape by suggesting that post emancipation black childhood was without formal education or indolent adolescence but rather an apprenticeship in labour.

Lance van Sittert is an environmental historian based in the Department of Historical Studies at the University of Cape Town and has published widely on South African environmental history including on the historical spread of conservation, wire fencing, artesian water boring and predator extermination in the South African countryside. He has also written extensively on marine environmental history including the origins of marine science and fisheries management and post-apartheid reform in the fisheries. He is interested in the invention and imagination of 'the environment' as an arena of state and civil society formation and action and the development, operationalisation and contestation of specialist bodies of 'environmental' knowledge and how both operate as mechanisms of social engineering and dispossession in the past and present. He is currently pursuing these lines of enquiry through histories of 'environment's' excluded others; vermin, weeds, alien invasives, pathogens, poachers, etc.

THE MNEMONICS OF COLONIAL VIOLENCE DURING ZIMBABWE'S LIBERATION STRUGGLE

Viriri, Advice (Midlands State University)

This article is concerned with and how Chimurenga War has created far-reaching consequences derived from incidents of mass violence. It emphasises the genocidal quality of this colonial era's murderousness. It is believed that many liberation struggles had strong genocidal overtones and it the purpose of this research to ascertain whether this notion captures this war. It assesses how freedom fighters and the masses dealt with the outbreak of mass violence and its immediate aftermath. The article further explores the presentation of trauma in selected Zimbabwean war literature, narratives which are intensely embedded in psychological discourse, strewn with injured or suffering war-veterans whose personalities and reputations are not only altered but also affected by continually experiencing trauma throughout their lifetime. This chosen literature depicts realistic human descriptions of more severe moments in chivalric Chimurenga War life. The Chimurenga War was favourable to the deployment of extreme violence against the Rhodesian Forces whose retaliation where aimed at the Zimbabwean masses. This article demonstrates the various ways in which the genre's imaginative possibilities contributes to the lasting effects of wounds from extremely violent Chimurenga War episodes that defy clear categorisation, but which fomented genocidal and other kinds of extreme violence from various contestants.

Advice Viriri is Executive Dean of the Faculty of Arts and also Senior Lecturer in the Department of Film and Theatre Arts at Midlands State University. He has researched and published in reputable journals, whose findings were presented at both local and international conferences. His research interests are in African Literature, Film and Theatre. Socially, he is an interesting team-worker who is not only focused in his approach but with a personality that reflects maturity.

MEDIA REPRESENTATION OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN DURING KENYA'S 2007-08 POST-ELECTION VIOLENCE PERIOD

Wamae, Irene (Stellenbosch University)

The objective of this research is to determine the representation of violence against women in the news and hypothesize its effect on audience's responses to such incidences. Articles from the 'Daily Nation online' a Kenyan newspaper with the largest readership countrywide will be scrutinised. The investigation will address how the newspaper framed attacks on women during the 2007/8 post-electoral violence. A post-modern feminist angle to framing will be used to determine the outcomes of media discourse on sexual violence against women and response to it from readers (online comment sections). Collectively research methods borrowed from feminist media theories, qualitative discourse analysis and news framing will be employed. Feminist media studies determine the role of journalists in defining gendered circumstances, in this case of sexual violence, the method in which sexual violence toward women was (mis)represented in news reports. Qualitative discourse analysis will be used to determine the non-verbal cues, that is, the meaning behind the 'words' in a particular communication. The theory of news framing will determine the method of presenting information such that it resonates with existing underlying schemas among audiences.

The key research outcomes will include: A clearer understanding of how the largest online newspaper addressed violence against women subsequent to 2007 elections. The lack of response by government and public toward gender violence during the post-election period will be highlighted. As is the nature of feminist media studies this research may serve as a 'call to action' for justice for post-electoral rape and molestation victims in Kenya.

Irene Wamae studies at Stellenbosch University Journalism Department. Her work and academic experience includes working with Population Service International/Kenya as a maternal and child health programme assistant for 6 months; her duties were to co-ordinate communication between the department head and regional officers (health/social workers). In 2013, she graduated with a post-graduate diploma in Sustainable development specialising in renewable energy management. And currently she is pursuing a Masters of Arts in Journalism focusing on development journalism. She has worked collectively for almost 3 years with women and children organisations as a volunteer employee and intern. Her current research interest is in feminism and the media representation of sexual violence against women. In future, she would like to use my academic experience in feminist research to establish a career in women and children rights organisations based in Kenya with a regional reach.

COMMUNITY PARTNERSHIPS AND RAISING AWARENESS OF GENOCIDE HISTORY AND PREVENTION

Webeck, Mary Lee & Emily Sample (Holocaust Museum, Houston)

What kinds of community partnerships can effectively raise awareness of Holocaust history and genocide history and prevention? This session suggests several unique and arts-based projects that have involved the scholarly community and engaged communities in the USA and Israel in dialogues about genocide awareness. "Light /The Holocaust & Humanity Project" is a contemporary ballet and Holocaust education partnership that promotes the protection of human rights against bigotry and hate through arts, education and public dialogue. It has been performed in ten cities in the US and Israel. "Kaddish: I am Here", a collaboration with the Houston Symphony and The Israeli Philharmonic is based on the verbatim testimony of Holocaust survivors, including four from Houston, TX. It has been performed in the USA and Israel, with current discussion ongoing for performances in Poland, Germany and South Africa. "One Million Bones" was a large-scale social arts practice, combining education, hands-on art making, and public installations to raise awareness of ongoing genocides and mass atrocities in places like Sudan, South Sudan, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Somalia and Burma. 1,000,000 handcrafted bones were created and installed for a three-day event on the National Mall in Washington, D.C. in June, 2013. The presenter has been an integral part of these three projects and offers insights into the projects and the outcomes in communities with over 90 community partners joining in the common cause of raising awareness while combatting indifference and prejudice.

Mary Lee Webeck is the Director of Education at Holocaust Museum Houston. Prior to joining the Museum, Mary Lee taught at The University of Texas at Austin and Purdue University and at the elementary and middle levels in Indiana public schools. Dr. Webeck created and taught the course "People and Genocide: Choices" at The University of Texas at Austin as a Signature Course for incoming freshman from colleges across the campus. She has a special interest in community activism projects that raise awareness of genocide.

RECONCILIATION IN RWANDA: 20 YEARS LATER

Wielenga, Cori (University of Pretoria)

Following the genocide in Rwanda in 1994, the government has implemented numerous interventions to facilitate reconciliation in that country. These include the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission, the *gacaca* courts, *ingando* solidarity camps, memorials and commemorations and on the community level, together with local NGOs and leaders, forums for dialogue. The twentieth anniversary of the genocide lends itself to speculation as to the progress made concerning reconciliation. This paper intends to examine some of the contentious issues related to assessing the progress of reconciliation in general, and in Rwanda in

particular. Apart from assessing the contribution made by the above mentioned institutions, it will explore perceptions of Rwandans concerning reconciliation and what this suggests about the way forward.

Cori Wielenga is a research fellow in the Department of Political Sciences at the University of Pretoria. Her research interests include reconciliation and post conflict recovery on the African continent. She has undertaken extensive ethnographic research in Rwanda and Burundi.

TRAUMA, NARRATIVE, MEMORY AND THE TRUTH COMMISSIONS OF SOUTH AFRICA AND CHILE

Wong, Eve (University of Cape Town)

The question of the relationship between memories of trauma and the survivor's concept of self-identity and agency has been widely discussed recently. Typically this relationship is conceptualized in terms of trauma or damage as a discursive practice. That is to say, trauma does not only cause injury to the victim's identity within the constraints of the events, but leaves a continued residue upon the person in the form of memories that cause a "reliving" of the incident. If taken in this way, memories, as self-told narratives, act as a constant compromise and challenge to one's sense of urgency in the present. Taken in another way, however, this has theoretically been argued as also opening the door for potentially using present presence of memory to reintroduce expressions of agency that may contain a more nuanced and more deeply layered explanation of events through the process of creating and recreating memories to construct and reconstruct individual subjectivities and identity.

This paper explores the possibility of this "transformative" approach to memory and its possible effects through an analysis of transitional justice processes, in particular, the narratives and subsequent reflections and testimonies of participants in the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission and the National Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Chile. The main focus is on the investigating the suggestion that agency may be partially recovered in reconstructing memories of the past through narrativization and the ways in which this method may generate new understandings of the social influences that weave thick threads underneath narrative tellings of trauma, as well as the cultural constructions, limitations and emotional tags attached to those constructions that influence the emotional power of telling (and re-experiencing) trauma as an interactional and social act.

Eve Wong is a Master's candidate in the Department of Historical Studies at the University of Cape Town and working towards her PhD in Anthropology at Boston University. Eve's research is on coloured history and politics through a study of early twentieth-century coloured education reforms in Cape Town. Her research is concerned with the interconnections, symbiosis and tensions within and between notions of nationalism and citizenship; and its relationship to racial and ethnic identification in South Africa.

Zapiro [aka Jonathan Shapiro], (Cartoonist)

Zapiro. Born in 1958, he went through school in Cape Town, architecture at UCT, conscription, activism, detention and a Fulbright Scholarship to New York before establishing himself as South Africa's best-known and most-awarded cartoonist. He has worked continuously for *Mail & Guardian* since 1994, *Sunday Times* since 1998 and *The Times* since 2009. Previously he was also editorial cartoonist for *Sowetan* and *Independent Newspapers*. He has published 19 best-selling annuals as well as *The Mandela Files*, *Vuvuzela Nation* (a collection of his sporting cartoons) and *Democracy* (a collection of his cartoons spanning the 20 years of SA's democracy). His numerous SA awards include the Mondi Shanduka Journalist of the Year award and two honorary doctorates. Internationally he has won the Principal Prince Claus award (2005) as well as Press Freedom awards from the International Publishers' Association, the Media Institute of Southern Africa and Cartoonists' Rights Network International. In 2011 the magazine *Jeune Afrique* voted him one of the 50 most influential people in Africa and in 2013 and 2014 he was celebrated as one of the '100 World Class South Africans' by City Press

Zimmerer, Juergen (University of Hamburg)

Jürgen Zimmerer is Professor of History at the University of Hamburg, Germany and President of the International Network of Genocide Scholars (INoGS). Between 2005 and 2011 he served as Editor and Senior Editor of the *Journal of Genocide Research* and was from 2007 to 2011 Founding Director of the Sheffield Centre for the Study of Genocide and Mass Violence. His research interests include German Colonialism, Comparative Genocide, Colonialism and the Holocaust, Critical Prevention Studies, and Environmental Violence and Genocide. He is author and editor of ten books and journal special issues, the latest of which is "Climate Change and Genocide", special issue of the *International Journal of Human Rights* 2/14. His latest book *From Windhoek to Auschwitz. On the relationship between colonialism and the Holocaust*, (London, Routledge) will be published in 2015.

List of Participants

<u>Surname</u>	<u>First Name</u>	<u>Affiliation</u>
Adhikari	Mohamed	University of Cape Town
Alsheh	Yehonatan	Waterloo University
Anderson	Gary	University of Oklahoma
Anstett	Elisabeth	CNRS - France
Anugwom	Edlyne	University of Nigeria, Nsukka
Anugwom	Kenechukwu	University of Nigeria, Nsukka
Ayvazyan	Vahram	Never Again International - Canada
Bangerezako	Haydee	Makerere University
Beeh	Christoph	independent scholar
Bennet	Bonita	District 6 Museum
Benson	Koni	University of Cape Town
Bentrovato	Denise	Georg Eckert Institute
Benyera	Everisto	University of South Africa
Berryman	Ruby	Independent scholar
Blackbeard	Susan	University of Cape Town
Bouwer	Karen	University of San Francisco
Buhaug	Halvard	Peace Research Institute, Oslo
Buhigiro	Jean Leonard	University of KwaZulu Natal
Bulambo	Ambroise	University of Fribourg
Buntman	Barbara	University of Johannesburg
Cameron	Hazel	University of St Andrews
Caminsky	Maureen	Durban Holocaust Centre
Campbell	Kurt	University of Cape Town
Carikci	Alaettin	Leiden University
Christianson	Kelly	Keene State College
Clark	Phil	University of London
Colombo	Pamela	École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales
Court	Anthony	University of South Africa
Davey	Christopher	University of Bradford
Debari	Johanna	University of Connecticut
Danecke	Florian	University of Marburg
de Villiers	Jan-Harm	University of South Africa
Elradi	Amel	University of British Columbia
Eppel	Shari	Solidarity Peace Trust
Fadokun	James	NIEPA, Nigeria
Ferguson	Kate	University of East Anglia
Fester	Gertrude	Rwandan Association of University Women
Freedman	Richard	Cape Town Holocaust Centre
Ga'far	Khadeega	American University in Cairo
Garsha	Jeremiah	University of Cambridge
Gitau	Lydia	University of Sydney

Hackner	Linda	Cape Town Holocaust Centre
Hoffmann	Ida	Nama Genocide Technical Committee
Ihsan	Mohammed	King's College London
Inyang	Ofonime	Tshwane University of Technology
Isaacs-Martin	Wendy	University of South Africa (UNISA)
Iwize	Daniel	Bayero University, Kano
Johannes-Matundu	Scara	Ovaherero Genocide Committee
Kavuro	Callixte	Stellenbosch University
Keller	Carolyn	Keene State College
Kent	Gregory	University of Roehampton
Khosroeva	Anahit	National Academy of Sciences, Armenia
Klein	Dennis	Kean University
Kluk	Mary	Durban Holocaust Centre
Knocke	Roy	Ruhr University/Lepsiushaus Potsdam
Korieh	Chima	University of Nigeria
Kühne	Thomas	Clark University
Kuntz	Philipp	University of Bochum
Kuperman	Alan	University of Texas at Austin
Lambourne	Wendy	University of Sydney
Langbehn	Volker	San Francisco State University
Lawson	Tom	Northumbria University
Logan	Tricia	University of London
Maddox	Kelly	Lancaster University
Maedza	Pedzisai	University of Cape Town
Maitles	Henry	University of the West of Scotland
Malani	Pancras	University of Cape Town
Mara	Kathryn	Michigan State University
Marson	Jennifer	Western Michigan University
Matas	David	University of Manitoba
Matundu-Tjiparuro	Kae	Ovaherero Genocide Foundation
McDonald	Jared	University of the Free State
Melber	Henning	Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation
Meliksetyan	Naira	University of Nottingham
Meuwese	Mark	University of Winnipeg
Mikel-Arieli	Roni	Hebrew University of Jerusalem
Milazzo	Marzia	Vanderbilt University
Morris	Robyn	University of Wollongong
Moses	Dirk	University of Florence
Motsomotso	Lebohang	University of South Africa
Mpazayabo	Albert	Rwanda of Good Hope
Muinjangué	Ester	Ovaherero Genocide Foundation
Murambadoro	Ruth	University of Pretoria
Muresan	Arina	University of South Africa
Murray	Elisabeth Hope	Embry-Riddle University
Mustonen	Liina	The European University Institute
Mutabazi	Etienne	World Social Forum on Migrations

Muundjua	Festus	Ovaherero Genocide Foundation
Nates	Tali	Johannesburg Holocaust & Genocide Centre
Naupess	Kibiswa	African Center for Peace, Democracy & Human Rights
Ncube	Glen	University of South Africa
Ndlovu	Nompilo	University of Cape Town
Niwenshuti	Theogene	University of the Witwatersrand
Ntuli	Mduduzi	Durban Holocaust Centre
Nusseibeh	Lucia	Al-Quds University
Nyawo	Vongai	Midlands State University
O'Brien	Melanie	Griffith University
Padayachee	Kantha	Pillay & Padayachee Attorneys
Palmer	Nicola	King's College London
Patrick	David	University of the Free State
Petersen	Tracey	Cape Town Holocaust Centre
Peysson-Zeiss	Agnès	Bryn Mawr College
Phimister	Ian	University of the Free State
Pilosof	Rory	University of the Free State
Posluszny	Lukasz	Adam Mickiewicz University
Radford	Laurence	University of Manchester
Rashid	Azra	Concordia University
Rometsch	Konstantin	Justus-Liebig-Universität Gießen
Rousset	Thierry	University of Cape Town
Rushohora	Nancy	University of Pretoria
Sample	Emily	Holocaust Museum Houston
Sanger	Mandy	District 6 Museum
Scanlon	Helen	University of Cape Town
Sedgwick	James	Acadia University
Segal	Raz	Hebrew University of Jerusalem/Tel Aviv University
Seibert	Marie-Therese	Keene State College
Shaw	Martin	Institut Barcelona d'Estudis Internacionals
Sher	Arlene	Johannesburg Holocaust & Genocide Centre
Shigwedha	Vilho	University of Namibia
Short	Damien	University of London
Siang'andu	Ellah	University of Zambia
Silverman	Jon	University of Bedfordshire
Sin	Jennifer	Concordia University
Singer	Irris	Bowlby Centre, UK
Singer	Michal	Cape Town Holocaust Centre
Singer	Sidney	British Psychological Society
Sithole	Tendayi	University of South Africa
Slater	Lamont	Quinsigamond Community College
Swart	Mia	University of Johannesburg
Talic	Ammar	Malmö University
Theisen	Ole Magnus	Norwegian University of Science and Technology
Timoney	Caroline	University of Cape Town
Tsampiras	Carla	University of Cape Town

van Sittert	Lance	University of Cape Town
Viriri	Advice	Midlands State University
Wamae	Irene	Stellenbosch University
Webeck	Mary Lee	Holocaust Museum Houston
Wielenga	Cori	University of Pretoria
Wong	Eve	University of Cape Town
Zapiro/Shapiro	Jonathan	Cartoonist
Zimmerer	Juergen	University of Hamburg

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