



IAGS, WINNIPEG2014
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Time, Movement, and Space:
Genocide Studies and Indigenous Peoples
July 16-19, 2014, Manitoba, Winnipeg-Canada

**Time, Movement, and Space: Genocide Studies and
Indigenous Peoples**

International Association of Genocide Scholars

July 16-19, 2014

University of Manitoba, Winnipeg- Canada

Conference Papers - Abstracts

Wednesday July 16, 2014

- 7:30 am** **Turtle Lodge Excursion-** Depart from the Fort Garry Hotel or University of Manitoba (in front of University Centre) to the Turtle Lodge in Sagkeeng First Nation
- Lunch will be provided at Turtle Lodge
- 3:00 pm** Depart from Turtle Lodge/Sagkeeng First Nation (return to hotels at approximately 4:30)
- 5:30 pm** Bus departs from Fort Garry Hotel for University of Manitoba
- 6:00 pm** **Opening Reception in Marshall McLuhan room, University of Manitoba**
- Reception (complimentary food, cash bar)
- 7:00 pm** **Opening Keynote Event, Marshall McLuhan room, University of Manitoba (5 minutes)**
- University welcome (5 minutes)
 - IAGS welcome and thanks (5 minutes)
 - Felix Cardenas Aguilar- Opening keynote address from Vice-Minister of Decolonization, Bolivia (40 minutes)
 - Ned Blackhawk, Professor of History and American Studies, Yale University (40 minutes)
- Presentation Title:** *"The Question of Genocide and the Praxis of Native American Studies"*
- Abstract:** Lodged within a celebratory and teleological narrative of national development, the historiography of the United States has elided central and enduring features of North American history: namely, the holocaust, dispossession, and anti-colonial practices of North America's Indigenous peoples. This presentation queries the nature of this historiographical absence and considers the varying utilities of the concept of genocide within Native American history. As the growing discipline of Native American and Indigenous Studies has realigned numerous conceptual and methodological approaches to Indigenous history, this legacies of genocidal encounters between empires, settler, nations, and Indigenous peoples have come into increasingly sharp relief.
- Q & A (30 minutes)
- 9:15 pm** Return Bus from University of Manitoba to downtown

Ongoing Events: Throughout the conference, please visit the University of Manitoba School of Art Gallery to see *Photrocity: Mass Violence and Its Aftermaths in the Sovfoto Archive*

Thursday July 17, 2014

7:30 and 8:30 am Buses depart from the Fort Gary Hotel to the University of Manitoba campus

8:00 am Registration opens

9:00 – 10:30 am *concurrent sessions*

*Room UC 214 (Neepawa) – Genocide’s Space, Genocide’s Natures

Moderator: Mark Meuwese, University of Winnipeg

Andrew Woolford, University of Manitoba, “Strange Agents: Non-Human Allies and Settler Colonial Genocide”

This presentation explores the varied roles of non-human agents in facilitating or obstructing genocidal processes at the Albuquerque Indian School (AIS). To arrive at this point, I conceptualize settler colonial practices of assimilative education as a series of nets that operate at the macro-, meso-, and micro-societal levels. These nets tighten or slacken as they stretch across space and time, and when brought together, one on top of the other, form a “settler colonial mesh,” which operates to entrap Indigenous peoples within the settler colonial assimilative project. But this mesh is also prone to snags and tears. That is, at specific points within the settler colonial mesh, relations between the actors and institutions engaged in processes of settlement and assimilation are such that they allow for a loosening of this mesh, and for the emergence of resistance and subversion. AIS is conceived as a node within the settler colonial mesh. In particular, it is argued that AIS was not solely the site of competition between staff members, Indian agents, parents, children, and others invested in tightening or weakening the settler colonial mesh. It was also a place where non-human actors – space, time, disease, food, and blood – were mobilized to advance, expand, intensify, or, alternately, subvert, disrupt, and resist the settler colonial assimilative onslaught.

Lyndsey Amott, Legal Aid, Winnipeg, “Germs and Genocide: Did the British use Smallpox-Infected Blankets to Exterminate the Indians?”

According to Francis Parkman in 1884 (*The Conspiracy of Pontiac and the Indian War after the Conquest of Canada*), Jeffery Amherst, British Commander in Chief in North America from 1759 to 1763, wrote to Colonel Henry Bouquet in July 1763 and asked: “Could it not be contrived to send the *Small Pox* among those disaffected tribes of Indians? We must on this occasion use every stratagem to reduce them.”

In books and essays written since 1884 that include Jeffery Amherst, one would be hard-pressed to find any that do not mention this letter, described in places as proof of genocidal policy and intent. In fact, Jeffery Amherst did not write it; he and Henry Bouquet exchanged letters in which *Bouquet* suggested the idea of inoculating the Indians with [smallpox-infected] blankets, and Amherst agreed to it: “You will do well to try to inoculate the Indians by means of blanketts, as well as to try every other method that can serve to extirpate this execrable race.”

Using the actual correspondence of Jeffery Amherst, Colonel Bouquet and others, as well as transcripts of meetings with Indian nations and transcripts of governmental debates in Pennsylvania, this paper places this smallpox-infected blankets episode in an evidence-based context of the complex events in this colonial period.

Tasha Hubbard, University of Saskatchewan, “‘Kill, skin and sell’: Buffalo Genocide”

In my own *Nehiyaw* tradition, an embodied understanding of the world is articulated with the term *wahkohtowin*, or kinship/relationships. Cree scholar Neal McLeod tells us that, “Through relations, we are able to create the web of understanding of our embodied locations and stretch it outwards to a wider context of collective historicity...” In our belief, the Buffalo is our grandfather, who guides us and teaches us. Other Indigenous nations have similar kinship relationships with the buffalo, often considering them to be elder brothers. In the latter half of the 19th century, the buffalo were hunted and slaughtered as a result of collusion between governments, the military and hide hunters. The buffalo, once numbering as high as 100 million, were reduced to a few hundred by the 1890s. This was a spectacular act of genocide, and had a profound impact on plains Indigenous collective psyche. Not just a loss of a food source, it was a loss of immense and unimaginable proportions. Added to the buffalo trauma are decades of confinement to corrals and reservations, the by-products of colonization. Both the buffalo and Indigenous peoples of the plains continue to recover from the colonial genocidal project. Further to this, restoration of buffalo to the land is analogous to restoring social structure, culture and well-being for Indigenous peoples.

Natalia Ilyniak, University of Manitoba, “Understanding One Micro-Instance of Colonial Genocide: A Practice in Decolonizing Self and Research”

My goal is to create an understanding of one micro-instance of colonial genocide in Canada. As I learn about localized experiences with destruction, I am thinking about how colonial genocide can be studied by someone like myself, a researcher working from a privileged position as a settler within the academy, in a way that might address some of the Eurocentric assumptions that exist in sociology and the study of genocide, as well as assumptions within myself. I consider three epistemological approaches that I utilize in my attempt to conduct research in line with decolonizing epistemologies. First, how might a relational approach to genocide address some of the colonial tendencies within genocide studies, namely moving away from the rigid and European-based United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide? Second, how can reflexivity allow the research process to be more consistent with decolonizing principles? Third, how might using the concept of translation to frame my representation of a culture that is not my own address the historical colonial tendency for settler researchers to speak for Indigenous groups? Drawing from literature on decolonizing methodologies, as well as various relational thinkers, such as Bourdieu and Actor-Network theorists (mainly Latour and Callon), I explore these questions.

***Room UC 220 (Russell) – Rwanda and the Space of Peace Building and Reconciliation**

Moderator: Borislava Manojlovic, Steton Hall University

Jobb Arnold, Queen’s University, “Rwandan Student Genocide Survivors: Space for Alternatives?”

Twenty years after the Rwandan genocide, scholars and human rights advocates have expressed concerns that the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF)’s authoritarian approach to implementing “National Unity and Reconciliation” may be setting the stage for future outburst of violence (Scott Strauss and Lars Waldorf 2009). The forceful application of the RPFs program of social engineering both seeks to control discourse and to condition mass behavior in the public sphere. This paper explores how social spaces can generate alternatives to an ideological rhetoric that implies that if individuals don't endorse the state-based implementation of conditional, neoliberal “peace,” then they are fostering the conditions for a return to ethnic violence. I will discuss core elements of alternative discursive space that emerged from my ethnographic fieldwork conducted with a group of Rwandan Tutsi student

genocide survivors: mutual aid, obscurity, temporariness, creativity, salutogenesis, and affinity. In combination, these elements can render the totalizing aspects of state control inoperative, without increasing the risk of inter-ethnic violence. They contribute to a form of “temporary autonomous zone” that eludes the full grip of the state is more responsive to the emotional needs of participants, encourages creative action, and builds the meaningful connections needed for ongoing support, trust, and security. This paper will argue that the proliferation of such alternative spaces may help individuals to pragmatically negotiate, and occasionally to subvert, the statist discourse, potentially destabilizing genocidal processes in their nascent forms.

Marshal N. Mapondera, Zimbabwe Institute of Legal Studies, “Rebuilding and strengthening local government in a post-conflict state: exposing Rwanda’s twenty-year success secret”

The paper is a brief critical evaluation of the success and failures of the Rwandan model of political leadership for the past 20 years, particularly in restoring citizen’s confidence in their local government. The paper focuses on the role of central government in restoring effective local government structures during and after a post-conflict reconstruction stage. Central to the dialogue is the importance of local government in a post-conflict reconstruction phase and beyond as policy-makers consider sustainable and equitable economic growth, as well as social development. The paper evaluates the conventional models of post-conflict reconstruction in empowerment of an Indigenous targeted group 20 years after the 1994 genocide beyond the initial steps of post-conflict reconstruction (social and economic recovery and reconstruction). Challenges faced by the government in rebuilding of Rwanda included ending the violence and creating security and peace-building (the post-conflict reconstruction phase aimed at sustaining the peace to prevent relapse into conflict). The article exposes the fact that the success of post-conflict state building is the sole responsibility of the central government despite international and regional responsibility through the UN and the AU. Further, the role of international justice is limited when it comes to state rebuilding, peace, and transitional justice. It is the hope of this presentation, therefore, to provide possible governance solutions to failed states in transition like Somalia, as well as failing states like South Sudan and Egypt through the Rwandan model.

Tim Gallimore, Independent Researcher, “Judicial/Legal Narrative as Reconciliation Space in Rebuilding Post-Genocide Rwanda”

Justice, psychological healing and reconciliation are multi-generational challenges facing post-genocide Rwanda. Transitional justice initiatives, like the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) and the Gacaca community courts, serve as institutions for discursive and symbolic processes aimed at ending the historical culture of impunity and dismantling the mimetic structures of violence. The narrative produced by these processes creates a psychic space for reconciliation and for reconstructing identity in order to rebuild the Rwandan nation-state after genocide.

This paper analyzes the social and psychological components of justice in response to the 1994 genocide in Rwanda. It presents the contributions of the legal/judicial process in creating a narrative to serve as a universal ritual for trauma healing, reconciliation, and nation-building.

The analysis draws on the judicial/legal narrative in the ICTR case decisions, the Gacaca trials, and the prosecution of genocide denial in the Rwandan national courts. Political and mass media communication about genocide justice are also assessed for their contribution to the national meta narrative that creates temporal and spatial room for reconciliation to take place and for constructing a national identity that is critical for the rebuilding and survival of the state.

Regine Uwibereyeho King, University of Manitoba, “‘If you knew who you were and who I was, you would not have killed me.’ Meanings and Identities of genocide memorial sites in Rwanda explored.”

Nyamata and Ntarama are genocide memorial sites in the Bugesera region in Rwanda. They were catholic churches prior to 1994. During the genocide, these churches became places of extreme violence where thousands of persons were killed. Corpses were piled up between benches and behind the altar. The blood of victims was splattered as high as the ceilings by grenades, bullets and machetes. Over the past two decades these sites have been changed into orderly exhibits with designated areas that display decaying bones and everyday items that once belonged to the dead. Pieces of clothing, kitchen items and children’s school books lay near tools that were used for murder. These two sites host respectively the remains of more than 25,000 and 5,000 persons. At the Nyamata site, an inscription reads: *Iyo uza kwimenya nanjye ukamenya ntuba waranyishe*, which translated means “if you knew who you were and who I am, you would not have killed me.” Rwandan and international visitors who visit these sites pay respect to the dead and ask questions about the genocide. Guards, often survivors with scars from machete blows, welcome guests and speak for the dead. Over the last 20 years, I have visited these places several times and witnessed their physical transformation. Each stage was imbued with various meanings and complexity. This presentation will critically examine the contested significance of genocide memorial sites paying particular attention to temporality and permanence of place in shaping meaning and identity.

***Room 224a (St. Anne) – Genocide Anxieties and Spheres of Responsibility**

Moderator: Peter Karari, University of Manitoba

Robert A. Lord, American University, “Unindicted: A Contemporary Analysis of French Responsibility for the Rwandan Genocide”

The French government was involved in arming, providing military aid, and perhaps most importantly, politically protecting the Habyarimana government in Rwanda throughout the period of the civil war in 1990 and then the genocide in 1994. Postgenocide, France provided various protections to genocide perpetrators, and did not, to the full extent of its ability, aid in the execution of international justice. French legal and moral responsibility for the genocide has been widely treated in the literature. This article contributes to that body of literature, reaffirming France’s legal accountability under, at the least, Article I of the 1948 *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide* (failure to prevent and failure to punish the crime of genocide). 20 years later, however, France’s original policy of dismissal and denial of the above accusations has shifted significantly. Thus, this article proceeds from the facts of French culpability in the early 1990s to assess the country’s contradistinctive and proactive policy of prosecuting former *génocidaires* in the second decade of the 21st century. The current activities of an increasingly authoritarian regime in Kigali are central to this narrative. In the end, I suggest that contemporary French policy toward Rwanda (and Francophone Africa more broadly) may represent a resumption of the policy-position that led France to intervene so deeply in 1994.

Emmanuel Nkurunziza, York University, “Amnestied or Wanted? The Burundian Suspects in the Rwanda Tutsi Genocide”

Burundi and Rwanda have the same social groups and they share the experience of genocide. In 1998, a United Nations report established that close cooperation existed between the perpetrators of the Tutsi genocide in Rwanda and the Burundian rebels. Yet, the responses to genocide in the two countries are antinomic. In Rwanda, suspects are on trial at the ICTR and in Gacaca. In Burundi, what had once been identified as acts of genocide were later deemed “politically motivated crimes” and therefore granted amnesty. What is more, although in 2008 Rwanda submitted to Burundi a list of

670 Burundians wanted for genocide, to date, no one has been summoned.

Based on official statements from both countries, my paper explores how these contradictory responses to genocide transpired through discourse. I argue that while Rwanda's official discourse highlights the necessity to prosecute the suspects, the lexicon and syntax of Burundi rulers suggest that all genocide-related cases are to be handled in the framework of her still-awaited transitional justice program, which favors reconciliation over retribution. I argue further that one way of preventing genocide perpetrators from absconding justice, is by surveying the political discourse in both nations, with a view to detect potential violations of the principle of genocide imprescriptibility.

Rory Pilosof, Waterloo University; Wilfrid Laurier University and Yehonatan Alseh, University of the Free State, "Genocidal Anxieties among White Farmers in South Africa"

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.

Room UC 217 (GSA Lounge) – ARTS

Artist: Osman Ahmed, Ministry of Culture and Youth, Kurdistan Regional Government

10:30 – 11:00 am *Coffee break*

11:00 am – 12:30 pm *Concurrent sessions*

***Room UC 214 (Neepawa) – Genocide and American Indians, 1640-1890**

Moderator: Ned Blackhawk, Yale University

Mark Meuwese, University of Winnipeg, "Frontier War or Genocide? Kieft's War in New Northwest Ordinance of 1781"

From 1640 until 1645 a violent conflict raged between Dutch settlers and Algonquian-speaking Munsee groups in the Dutch colony of New Netherland in North America. This conflict has become known as

Kieft's War after the Dutch governor who is generally seen as being responsible for the war. Most historical studies have typified Kieft's War as a tragic frontier conflict in which European settlers and Indigenous groups were more or less evenly matched and in which both sides inflicted casualties on each other. Since a number of prominent settlers were critical of Kieft's actions, many scholars have also examined the moral and political debate about the war in New Netherland and in Europe. Surprisingly little attention has been paid to the impact of the Dutch military strategies on the Munsee groups. Dutch expeditions frequently targeted Munsee villages and their food supplies. On at least two occasions during the war Dutch officials perpetrated carefully planned massacres of Munsee communities, one of which resulted in the killing of approximately five hundred people. In this paper I examine the impact of the expeditions and massacres on the Munsee groups and to what extent the Dutch policies towards the Munsees can be characterized as genocidal.

Jeffrey Ostler, University of Oregon, "Just War on Genocidal War in the (U.S) Northwest Ordinance of 1781"

The Northwest Ordinance is best known for the mechanisms it provided for the federal government to regulate settlement. Scholars also frequently note its prohibition of slavery. Much less attention has been given to Article 3: "The utmost good faith shall always be observed towards the Indians; their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent; and . . . they shall never be invaded or disturbed, unless in just and lawful wars authorized by Congress." When scholars have noted this section, they have been content to highlight the "utmost good faith" clause. The words about invasion and war have received no scrutiny.

This paper focuses on the "just and lawful wars" of the Northwest Ordinance. Under what conditions did the Ordinance envision war as being "just and lawful?" What were the legal and ideological rationales for such wars? What kind of war was being authorized? Through analyzing the Northwest Ordinance in the context of settler colonial expansion in the Ohio Valley, the elaboration of ideological and legal justifications for the taking of Indian lands, and policymakers' formulations of war's possible necessity, the paper argues that the Ordinance legalized war under conditions in which the U.S. government deemed Indians to have rejected "reasonable" offers for their lands. The paper further argues that the "just and lawful wars" the Northwest Ordinance envisioned exceeded war that could legally be fought among European nations. Wars against Indians would be wars of "extirpation" and "extermination," terms synonymous with the modern term genocide.

Benjamin Madley, University of California, Los Angeles, "California and Oregon's Modoc Indians: How Indigenous Resistance Camouflages Genocide in Colonial Histories"

Between 1851 and 1873, whites launched seven campaigns against the Modocs of California and Oregon. Along with disease, displacement, and less organized violence, these campaigns reduced the Modoc population from 1,000 to 2,000 people or more, to some 250, a decline of roughly 75-88%. Despite the many books about the 1872-1873 Modoc War—during which a handful of Modocs held off the United States Army and state militiamen—scholars have written little about these prior anti-Modoc campaigns, and no author has addressed the 1851-1873 campaigns as genocide. Using varied sources—including some new to Modoc studies—this chapter will narrate the seven anti-Modoc campaigns, explain how they constituted genocide, and explore how indigenous resistance can camouflage genocide in colonial histories before suggesting ways to overcome such misunderstandings.

Discussant: Ned Blackhawk, Yale University

***Room UC 220 (Russell) – Ecologies and Spaces of Genocidal Destruction**

Moderator: Daniel Feierstein, National Scientific and Technical Research Council CONICET; National University of Tres de Febrero (UNTREF)

Louise Wise, King's University; KCL War Crimes Research Group, "Colonial Dimensions of Genocide in Sudan"

Post-independence governance in Sudan has been described as a case of "internal colonialism" (Daly, 2007: 2-3). Despite a large body of literature on Sudan in general, and particularly Darfur, the possibility that the country's colonial history and subsequent latent colonial dynamics may be implicated in – or *constitutive of* – decades of genocidal violence has been underexplored. Interwoven with deeply embedded colonial relations, "centre-periphery" dynamics (De Waal, 2007: 3) have defined the geographical "shape" of multiple genocidal episodes, in the south, the Nuba Mountains, Darfur, and also in the east of the country. Coterminous with these geographical contours, mass murder, rape, displacement, and broader societal and cultural destruction have been primarily directed against indigenous African tribal populations.

This presentation will explore the significance of these dimensions for understanding the emergence and character of multiple episodes of genocidal violence in Sudan, as well as the broader implications for conceptualization of the phenomenon of "genocide" itself. Debates about "genocide in Sudan" have tended to adopt a very narrow, specific geographic and temporal focus, namely, the region of Darfur from 2003. It will also be suggested that by paying attention to the dimensions described above, a new way of looking at what has conventionally been studied simply as the "Darfur genocide" may emerge by broadening our focus to encompass other, similar victims within the state. Thus we may situate the "Darfur genocide" within the context of a geographically and temporally broader network of processes, agents, and relationships that together constitute a "Sudanese genocide."

Jeff Stonehouse, Independent Scholar, "Concentrate to Annihilate: Strategy, Massacre and genocide in Rwanda"

Often described as the rapidest genocide in history, nearly a million Rwandans were murdered over 100 days. Although the brevity of this timeframe is widely acknowledged, we are left without a convincing account of the role played by particularly high mortality and spatially constrained massacres in explaining the genocide's devastating swiftness.

This presentation aims to explain the lethal speed of the genocide in strategic terms by focusing upon the "mass massacres" of the genocide that expeditiously left thousands dead in Rwanda's churches, schools and government buildings. Rather than being spontaneous and disorganized outbreaks of random violence, the largest massacres were part of a coordinated strategy developed prior to April 1994 by a coterie of Hutu Power extremists.

According to their schemes, both civil authorities (bourgmestres, préfets, church and school officials) and armed agents (*interahamwe* militia, gendarme, FAR and Republican Guard) would work in parallel to strategically manage the movements of both "hunter" and "hunted." The overall purpose of these movements was to converge Tutsi and moderate Hutu upon sites of concentration and annihilation. In the footsteps of strategic theorists Clausewitz, Hart and Gray, this presentation argues that, via a careful reading of survivor and perpetrator accounts, we are able to chart the dimensions of a genocidal strategy by examining the parallel movements of both perpetrator and targeted groups in time and space.

An understanding of genocidal strategy explains how some of the largest, fastest and most spatially constrained mass killings on record were organized and implemented during the Rwandan genocide.

José A, Marimán Quemenado, Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, “Favoring the Existence of Some Indians and Exterminating Others: The Chilean Experience”

In the late nineteenth century Chilean settlers in the Magallanes region of southern Chile, paid in pounds per Yamana or Shelman head. Why? During this period the Chilean State encouraged the colonization of that territory, which was ideal for raising sheep introduced for wool production and export to European markets. The Indians, who hunted freely in these pampas before, were soon barred by wire fences, and their prey could no longer move freely. In that context they began to hunt this new and unknown animal. Faced with losses to their businesses, colonists reacted encouraging the genocide of these populations. Not far away towards the center of Chile, in the Araucanía, a similar process of colonization was taking place. The State advanced on the territory of the Mapuche, plundered it and dividing the land among settlers brought from Europe and Chile. However, the process of colonization did not reach the magnitude of brutality described above. Why did the Mapuche not face almost total extermination as the Yamana and Shelnam did? The Chilean nation favored the existence of some Indians while it sought to exterminate others. In this presentation I explore a possible answer to this question, rooted in the Chilean nationalist myth and its explanation of the origin of the Chilean nation.

Paula I. Smith and Stephen L. Egbert, University of Kansas, “An Unwelcome Landscape: Impacts of Indian Land Allotment and the Kickapoo Tribe in Kansas as Revealed in Contemporaneous Map Patterns”

While the Dawes Act of 1887 was primarily driven by the assimilationist vision of reformers, earlier allotment schemes frequently had less altruistic motives. The history of the Kickapoo follows a familiar trajectory: removal from homelands in the east to a new reserve of 768,000 acres in northeast Kansas. In 1854, increasing pressure from white migrants and settlers induced a delegation of Kickapoo representatives to conclude a treaty that called for 618,000 acres of the new reserve to be ceded to the U.S. for \$300,000 and 150,000 acres to be reserved to the tribe. Unfortunately, the diminished 150,000-acre reserve lay along a proposed railroad route, and unscrupulous Indian agents, railroad promoters, and a U.S. Senator undertook to create the fraudulent Kickapoo Land Allotment Treaty of 1862, under which the diminished reserve was to be divided into 40 to 160-acre parcels and allotted to individual members of the tribe and the “surplus” sold. Despite vigorous protests from Tribal members, and even competing railroad interests and some surrounding settlers, the treaty went into force, with the result that nearly 125,000 acres of the diminished reserve were sold for \$1.25 per acre while the remainder was allotted to tribal members in two separate areas, one for allotment in severalty and one for those who wanted allotment in common. Through the use of geographic information systems (GIS), contemporaneous maps of the original and diminished reserves and of individual allotments reveal the devastating nature of the impacts of allotment on the Kickapoo as individuals and as a tribe.

Room 224a (St. Anne) – Heroic Movements: Survivors, Rescuers and Resilience

Moderator: Peter Karari, University of Manitoba

Sarah E. Brown, Clark University, “Women Rescuers During the Rwandan Genocide”

This paper explores and analyzes the role of women who rescued targeted victims during the Rwandan genocide. Women who chose to rescue did so at great risk and in instances of tremendously limited options. And though their significant actions and participation continues to affect Rwanda today, current literature does not scrutinize women who rescued during the genocide. In general, women actors are shielded by a gendered representation of the Rwandan genocide that emphasizes female passivity and victimhood.

This presentation counters that narrative and is based upon research that suggests that Rwandan women played central roles during the genocide, within the context of a deeply entrenched patriarchal system that limited their agency. It will explore their mobilization, their acts of rescue, and their post-genocide trajectories. Additionally, this presentation will stress the need to develop a comprehensive narrative of the Rwandan genocide that includes women rescuers as potential models for society and the next generation of “upstanders.” Often, these women hid their acts of heroism for fear of retribution or, at the very least, alienation from Hutu neighbors. Although this trend has begun to shift due to efforts to recognize and reward rescuers during the genocide, the opportunity to celebrate and emulate women rescuers, heroes of the nation, remains overlooked.

Bruna Fonseca, Uppsala University, and Andrew Basso, University of Calgary, “Complex Heroes: Social Memory and Contrasting traits of Specific Individuals in Genocide”

Our paper delves into the complexities of remembering prominent individuals in genocide. These individuals are memorialized in a generally heroic fashion, but are in reality all complex and controversial. Our study cross-examines four individuals in four different atrocities and genocides and offers theoretical critiques and perspectives of social memory formation and implications of this memorialization of heroic individuals.

The four individuals we examine are: King Leopold II of Belgium, Raoul Wallenbourg of Sweden, Paul Kagame of Rwanda, and Naser Orić of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Leopold II is remembered in Belgium for his great nation-building campaigns, but his direction of the Rubber Terror in Belgian Congo is muted in Belgium and in popular memory. Wallenbourg’s actions to save tens of thousands of Jews from the Holocaust in Budapest are well documented, but his personal empowerment and enrichment while dealing with the Nazis is neglected. Paul Kagame is well known as the military commander of the Rwandese Patriotic Front and most notable President of post-genocide Rwanda, but his consistent intervention in Congolese politics and relentless pursuit and killing of Hutu extremists is only just being discovered. Finally, Orić is remembered for repelling Serbian assaults on the United Nations Safe Areas in Bosnia, but memory does not include the fact his raids on Serb military units originated from demilitarized safe areas, violating international agreements, and his actions may have placed Bosnian civilians in greater danger.

Our preliminary conclusion is that individual heroes are too complex to apply a universal label to, and labelling these heroes as such carries significant implications for national identity construction and an inaccurate and simplistic retelling of history.

Odeth Kantengwa, National Commission for the Fight against Genocide, Rwanda, “How motherhood triumphs over traumahood among survivors of genocide rape in Rwanda”

Rape is considered to be a common occurrence during genocide and the children born as a result of rape pose a challenge to post-genocide recovery processes. This paper places mothers of children born as a result of genocidal rape during the Rwandan Genocide against the Tutsi to be a separate category of victims and explores the contribution of a positive embrace of motherhood to their recovery. It is based upon a study that included fourteen (14) women from Kigali city, Karongi District in the western province and Huye District in the southern province. Qualitative analysis of individual interviews and focus groups provided a means to explore in-depth the perceptions of mothers and the value of motherhood. It was found that mothers of children of rape experienced challenges raising their children, especially in the early stages of parenting. Social stigma related to rape and children born of rape created challenges as did the lack of psychosocial resources for the women, particularly when faced with disclosing paternity to the children. However, despite these and other difficulties, motherhood played a positive role for many women, often providing a reason to live again after the genocide. These findings show that positive experiences of motherhood can be key to the recovery of

survivors of genocidal rape in Rwanda and points to future directions for research and health promotion among populations affected by conflict-related sexual violence.

Rubina Perroomian, University of California, Los Angeles, “The Plight of Armenian Genocide Survivors: Within the Context of the Global Issue of Uprooted People”

In harmony with the motif of this year’s Conference, the rights of the indigenous people of Canada and condemnation of the forced assimilation of indigenous children, I propose to present a paper on the global issue of uprooted people—with a case study on Armenians—as I believe that the ultimate violation of human rights, occurs when indigenous people are uprooted and driven away.

99 years ago, the first major uprooting of the indigenous people in modern history occurred in the Ottoman Empire. The remnant, the survivors of the Armenian Genocide, consisted of those few who endured the unparalleled hardship of the road and managed to escape the liquidation stations. Their predicament of “refugees,” “displaced persons,” or “forced migrants,” whatever the legal constructs may be, will be the topic of my discussion as I see reflected in the collective psyche of Diasporan Armenians all the psychological aspects and elements at work in the communities of uprooted people in the world.

I have chosen to go beyond the usual discourse of statistics and public statements and rely on artistic literature, the literary responses to this particular dilemma, as for many artists suffering these conditions, like Sudharshana Coomarasamy, a refugee from Sri Lanka, “Writing has in one sense been a journey of discovery of self and of transforming pain into poetry.” Through these literary responses I will show the horrors of oppression, the horridness of the violence that has “produced” the uprooted, their fears, hopes and dreams. This, I believe, can be an effective tool to raise awareness of the issue and pave the way towards the recognition of the crime as a *sine qua non* condition for justice and reconciliation.

Room 224b (Souris) – Canadian Settler Colonialism and Memory Spaces

Moderator: Tricia Logan, University of London

Menachem Freedman, Montreal Holocaust Museum Centre, “A Place where Words Fail: Commemoration and Memorial as an Integral Part of the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement”

In this paper, I explore the margins between law, memory and architecture by asking the question: “In light of recent architectural responses to Holocaust memory, what might a monument to the Indian Residential School system look like and why is it necessary?”

The IRS Settlement Agreement is structured around four axes: compensation to survivors, a Truth and Reconciliation Commission, psychosocial healing initiatives and commemoration. A preponderant amount of attention and criticism has been focused on the first two of these remedies. Fact-finding commissions may lead to premature closure and allow the IRS experience to be forgotten. Legal solutions may do a disservice to the memory of what occurred, by putting into words, historicizing and categorizing crimes which defy rational ordering. These problems are not unique to IRSSA but are engaged in any legal response to state-sponsored, 'national crimes'.

This paper envisions a memory space that could address these gaps. Building on the model of the 'counter-monument' developed by artists and architects to commemorate the atrocities of WWII, I will argue that a similarly inspired monument could be a lasting place of memory and an essential part of the reconciliation process. Rather than attempting to repair the harm with restitutionary payments or historical accounts, counter-monuments build into the rip in the national fabric so that it will not be forgotten or plastered over. A national monument to the victims of the IRS system must be a space “where words fail, where legal concepts are found wanting, a place of... silence where we are forced to

humbly ponder the human condition, ever mindful that it cannot be captured in manageable doctrines concepts”.

Karen Ella McCallum, University of London, “Redrawing the Boundaries of Public Memory: Indigenous Residential School Survivor Testimonials and their Ideological Translation”

Roger I. Simon has argued that Canadians are challenged by Indigenous testimony to remember “otherwise.” Simon explains that when settlers witness Indigenous testimony they encounter *difficult knowledge*—knowledge that fundamentally disrupts taken-for-granted temporal boundaries and catalyzes the formation of new realities and relationships with pasts, that open-up multiple new futures. Simon insists that settlers are ethically obliged by witnessing Indigenous testimonies to redraw boundaries of kinship to include Indigenous lives and stories. This “non-indifference” towards Indigenous stories and lives would foster the translation of testimony of Indigenous survivors into a form of ‘counsel’, entailing hearing stories *as if Indigenous stories mattered*. To live as if Indigenous stories mattered would necessarily oblige listeners to think towards a future that reacts ethically towards the past—for most settlers, a radical shift in consciousness.

Here, I “listen” to video testimony from Canada’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission, a state-funded project that gathered testimony from residential school survivors. In the interviews, especially wherein speakers are unable to go on speaking, I argue that would-be “spectators” are *summoned*—are claimed by the speaker into a relationship of co-ownership of memories, thus opening up fresh possibilities for the memories themselves. I argue that what were once private memories have, since becoming public, become the Canadian public’s responsibility in a new way than before. In my paper I argue for the possible futures of the video testimony, and explore some of the ethical obligations and implications of the pedagogical ‘counsel’ offered, or, “gifted,” by the testimony.

Charlene Bearhead, Native Counselling Services of Alberta (NCSA), Trina Cooper-Bolam, Aboriginal Healing Foundation; Carleton University, “*Healing and/or Reconciliation: Rethinking Commemoration of Canada’s Indian Residential School System*”

Presenting itself on the international stage as a country with “no history of colonialism,” Canada’s commemoration needs to appear to bear no likeness to those of other nation-sites of atrocity and genocide. Despite creating exhibitions dedicated to the Indian Residential School (IRS) System, even the Canadian Museum for Human Rights has refrained from using the word genocide within its narratives. Similarly, Parks Canada’s National Program of Historic Commemoration excludes subjects of ‘difficult’ commemoration, including former sites of Indian residential schools. In many ways, one could say that the 20 million dollar Commemoration Fund, an element of the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement (IRSSA), safeguards existing federal commemoration infrastructure from unwanted change, allowing it to continue to show Canada in its ‘best’ light. Is heritage redress in the form of federal heritage designation of the former Indian residential schools desirable, or will it render reconciliation and healing an either/or proposition? This workshop will discuss some of the issues involved in working to commemorate Indian residential schools, both from within the federal heritage system through the Historic Sites and Monuments Board and Secretariat, as well as from the outside, through the infrastructure created by the IRSSA commemoration fund. Both presenters -Trina Cooper-Bolam and Charlene Bearhead – are Survivor advocates, have managed National IRS commemoration initiatives, and have negotiated the tensions between the desire for ‘official’ reconciliation and the real needs of healing in communities affected by the legacy of the IRS. This workshop will be presented as conversation between the presenters, open to participants.

Stacey Jessiman, Stanford Archaeology Center; University of British Columbia, “Cultural Heritage Repatriation as a Means of Restorative Justice, Affirmation and Cultural Revival for Aboriginal Peoples in Canada”

Colonial church and government assimilation and eradication laws and practices in Canada – including relocating Aboriginal peoples from traditional territories, outlawing key cultural ceremonies, and forcibly removing children to residential schools where Native languages and cultural expression were prohibited -- facilitated the large-scale removal in the late 19th and early 20th centuries of cultural objects from Aboriginal communities that were devastated culturally, financially and psychologically. In many cases, those cultural objects ended up in national and international museums, which when confronted with repatriation claims alleged they acquired valid title to the objects or raised other defences and barriers to repatriation.

Using as examples the 1922 confiscation of ceremonial regalia from Kwakwaka’wakw First Nations by Canadian government officials under threat of imprisonment, and the 1929 removal of the G’psgolox totem pole from Haisla First Nation traditional territory to the Swedish Museum of Ethnography, this paper examines the ways in which government officials, missionaries, museum representatives and others participated in the genocide project by removing cultural objects under circumstances of duress. It then explores how Aboriginal communities have used repatriation of cultural heritage to combat genocide and its ongoing effects, including as a means of restorative justice, identity affirmation and cultural revival. It will also critically examine from legal and ethical perspectives various barriers museums have raised to repatriation of Aboriginal cultural heritage. In doing so, it will compare museum responses to requests for return of art taken or acquired under duress from Jewish persons by Nazi government officials during WWII.

***Room 224c (Steinbach) – Workshop: Community-Based Approaches to Atrocity Prevention**

Moderator: David Simon, Yale University

Workshop Leaders:

1. Saghar Birjandian, George Mason University and SCAR’s Genocide Prevention Program, “Entry points for prevention through community-based approaches to justice, healing, and reconciliation – Uganda”
2. Borislava Manojlovic, Seton Hall University, “Individual responsibility and atrocities prevention”
3. Bridget Moix, George Mason University; USAID’s Office of Conflict Management and Mitigation, “How community-led early warning, early response systems can close the response gap – Kenya, Liberia, Burundi, and CAR”
4. Tetsushi Ogata, George Mason University and SCAR’s Genocide Prevention Program, “Atrocity Prevention Translated at the Community Level”

Over the past decade, genocide scholars have played a critical role in advancing new understanding, policy development, and practical initiatives to improve the international community’s ability to prevent genocide and mass atrocity crimes *before* the killing begins. Growing commitment by the United Nations and its member states to the principle of the responsibility to protect, along with new regional and national mechanisms dedicated to preventing genocide in Latin America, the Great Lakes Region of Africa, and the United States, demonstrates significant progress in building international structures for genocide prevention.

Still under-studied and often neglected, however, are indigenous and community-based approaches to preventing atrocities, protecting civilians from violence, and healing communities that experience mass violence.

New scholarly research and practical work on local warning and response systems, community strategies for nonviolent protection, systems approaches to peacebuilding, and indigenous mechanisms for healing and reconciliation offer an important starting point for improving our understanding of what constitutes community-based approaches to atrocity prevention. Moreover, we discuss the need for redefinition of responsibility to prevent genocide and mass atrocities, which offers a new lens for policymaking and practice. Through an interactive workshop that integrates emerging theory and the lived experience of the participants, we will explore important new dimensions of the field of genocide studies.

The workshop will include presentation of papers and research on *Community-Based Approaches to Atrocity Prevention*, *Deconstructing Responsibility to Prevent Mass-Atrocities*, *Community-Based Approaches and State Formation Processes*, and *Prevention Perspectives and Practices in a Local Sense* by the organizers and draw on the experience of participants, particularly those from indigenous communities, to deepen and expand our understanding of how local communities choose peaceful strategies for protection and prevention of violence, even in the midst of genocidal threats.

12:30 – 2:00 pm *Lunch*

Marshall McLuhan Hall: Complimentary Lunch and *Genocide Studies and Prevention Journal* presentation

2:00 – 3:30 pm *concurrent sessions*

Room UC 214 (Neepawa) – Genocide Studies and the Continuing Challenge of Genocide Conceptualization

Moderator: Chris Powell, Ryerson University

Maureen S. Hiebert, University of Calgary, “The Role of Law in the Perpetration of Genocide: Legitimation and the Definition of ‘Deviance’”

A small but growing literature in genocide studies has begun to explore the role of law not in the prevention of genocide, but in its perpetration. In this largely theoretical paper I seek to contribute to this discussion, first, by drawing on interpretive and critical socio-legal theories to understand how the law legitimates group destruction by rendering such practices “lawful” and by classifying, and thus delegitimizing, targeted groups as “deviant”. Second, I confront the assertion, found in the works of some scholars, that the use of law in genocide seems to involve the non, or less violent, aspects of genocide (segregation, deportation, marking, revocation of citizenship etc.) while the more explicitly violent processes of destruction are usually “extralegal.” This argument is largely accurate if we are referring only to mass violence genocides. In these circumstances, it would seem that while the law can be “bent” to play a role in creating the conditions for genocide, it cannot be “broken” to sanction exterminationist violence on a massive scale. But, I will argue, if we consider cases of cultural genocide in settler societies, more specifically the residential school system in Canada, we can see that law, without being “bent” or “broken”, plays a leading role in the entire process of destruction as democratic governments wedded to the rule of law turn to the law itself to craft and enforce programs of forced assimilation legitimated as “lawful” against groups defined under these same laws as “deviant”.

Daniel Feierstein, National Scientific and Technical Research Council CONICET; National University of Tres de Febrero (UNTREF), "Indigenous and national Identities: The Risk of a new Racism as Opposed to Assuming Multiple Identities"

This paper examines the impact of indigenous identity politics on discussions of national identity in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. After a long history of persecution during which their identities were denied, various peoples - especially in the Americas but also on other continents like Oceania - have begun a process of recovering their cultures and identities, while condemning the violent imposition of Western identity on the states of different regions.

Nevertheless, this enormously rich and important process has also brought problems. For one thing, it has lumped together under the heading of "indigenous" or "aboriginal" peoples a variety of cultures and identities that had already been homogenized under colonialism. Colonialism defined these peoples largely in negative terms - i.e. they were *not* part of Western culture; it ignored their historical and cultural differences as well as their different concepts of identity. Another problem is that this process has sometimes led to *reverse racism*, prioritizing 'blood and soil' nationalism typical of Western racist thinking in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, including ties with territories where indigenous peoples once lived and from which they were violently expelled.

This paper critically analyzes some of the risks associated with this resurgence of racism. It explores other alternative historical processes that have sought to integrate indigenous identities into a multicultural national identity, starting with Evo Morales' political project of the Movement toward Socialism in Bolivia and the enactment of a new Bolivian Constitution.

Adam Jones, University of British Columbia, "Israel and genocide"

The paper will consider the multifaceted relationship between the state of Israel and modern genocide. Born from the Jewish Holocaust, one of the worst genocides in history, the Israeli state has memorialized and politically utilized the Holocaust to generate cohesion among Jewish Israelis. It has also depicted its foreign policies as underpinned by the need to ensure that "Never Again" will Jews be victims of genocide. Viewed from another angle, the founding of the Israeli state in 1948 involved the dispossession and expulsion of hundreds of thousands of Palestinian Arabs, accompanied by substantial mass killings and other atrocities. The conquest of the West Bank, Golan Heights, and Gaza Strip in 1967 produced further massive refugee flows, and a military occupation of Palestinian territories and communities that continues, as does the inundation of the Palestinian territories by hundreds of thousands of Jewish colonists and the evolution of an apartheid-style settler regime. Reciprocal acts of terrorism, by Palestinians against Jews and vice-versa, reflect Gerald Caplan's sense that "a quarter of all Israelis and all Palestinians harbour genocidal feelings towards each other." The paper will sketch the parameters of this debate, and evaluate whether a genocide framework, notably a Lemkian one, can usefully be applied to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. The paper concludes with comments about the place of the Israel-Palestine issue within the IAGS, and the long-running exchanges on this subject among genocide scholars on the IAGS listserv.

Adam Muller, University of Manitoba, "Genocide, International Law, and the Return to Raphael Lemkin"

This paper argues that we are currently in the midst of a paradigm shift in our understanding of genocide, which has hitherto been deeply indebted to categories and norms enshrined in international law. Recently, in order to justify moving away from legally derived conceptions of genocide, scholars have begun returning to the early writings of Raphael Lemkin (1900-59), the Polish-Jewish jurist responsible for drafting the UN's Genocide Convention as well as for coining the term "genocide." Critics have argued that the legal conception of genocide, by precluding the consideration of cultural genocide as a crime and requiring clear evidence of the intent to destroy, fails to do justice to many

instances of mass violence plausibly considered genocidal on other grounds. This failure is particularly striking in the context of discussions of the traumas associated with Canadian settler-colonialism.

This paper proposes to contextualize this return to Lemkin, arguing that it is symptomatic of (as well as fueling) an attempt to enlarge and nuance our understanding of genocide's criminality. The need for this enlargement will be explained with reference to the debate ongoing in Canada over whether or not settler-colonialism was genocidal here. In dialogue with work by Andrew Woolford, Dirk Moses, Donna-Lee Frieze, Douglas Irvin, Peter Balakian and others, I will show how attention to cultural aspects of the destruction of "human kinds" enables richer and subtler accounts of genocide, its harms, and resultant struggles for recognition and redress.

***Room UC 220 (Russell) – Denial**

Moderator: Jack Nusan Porter, The Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies, Harvard University

Gregory D. Boese, Simon Fraser University, Katherine B. Starzyk, University of Manitoba, and Stephen C. Wright, Simon Fraser University, "A Dark Spot in History and the Mind: Towards a Psychological Understanding of Genocide Denial"

In this paper, we aim to provide a descriptive psychological framework for understanding the phenomenon of genocide denial. Our analysis draws on theory and research from both social (e.g., social identity theory; Tajfel & Turner 1979) and cognitive psychology (e.g., metaphorical framing model; Ottati, Renstrom, & Price 2014). We first review existing research on the role of perpetrator identity as a moderator of genocide denial. We then describe some of our own research on the role of knowledge (in our case, of the history of residential schools) as a moderator of genocide denial. We present several experimental studies where we put forth and test competing hypotheses about the role of knowledge. On the one hand, knowledge of residential schools could conceivably act to decrease genocide denial by increasing perceptions of the magnitude of the harm. On the other hand, however, knowledge of residential schools could act to exacerbate genocide denial because said knowledge may not "fit" with the relatively narrow lay-conceptualization of genocide as a purely physical act of harm. We see this as an important question because these competing hypotheses suggest different solutions to genocide denial. Specifically, the former implies we should focus on expanding people's knowledge of the history of residential schools, while the latter implies we should focus on expanding people's conceptualization of genocide to include cultural or group-based forms of destruction (Woolford 2009). In this paper, we present a series of mixed experimental findings that lead us to tentatively believe both mechanisms are likely acting simultaneously.

Augustine Brannigan, University of Calgary, "Labeling Genocide: The Constitutive Problem of Genocide Attribution, Genocide Denial, Missed Genocides and Misclassified Atrocities"

The creation of international laws to curb such human rights abuses as genocide and crimes against humanity is a relatively recent development. The liberal legalist account attributes this to the emergence of supranational or cosmopolitan norms. The realist account stresses the role of sovereign self-interest and geo-political power dynamics. Such competing perspectives problematize how events attract the 'genocide' label. This paper examines the artificial limits placed on which social groups enjoy protection under the UN genocide convention, and which atrocities are 'mere murder.' Competing narratives over social conflicts can lead to genocide affirmation, genocide denial, false genocides and missed genocides. These labeling outcomes are depicted in a typology created by juxtaposing whether events are accepted or rejected as genocide, versus whether they contain or fail to contain the elements required of genocide *sensu stricto*. I canvas the recent debates over the politicization of genocide allegations and denial to illustrate the precariousness of claims making in respect of such crimes. I illustrate the debate in terms of Bass's work on *The Blood Telegram* (2013), Daschuk's work on *Plains Natives* (2013) and Herman and Peterson's *Politics of Genocide* (2010).

Miguel Salgueiro Meiro, Universidade do Minho; Portuguese Bar Association, “Criminalizing Genocide Denial: A necessary means to prevent genocide or an unnecessary attack on freedom of expression?”

In 2012 the French Senate approved a law making it a crime to publicly deny the Armenian genocide, later ruled unconstitutional by the French constitutional council. This re-launched the debate about the criminalization of genocide denial: Does it make sense? Is it necessary? Does it infringe upon freedom of expression?

Genocide denial is not a punishable act under the Genocide Convention. Nevertheless, some genocide scholars argue that denial is always present in genocides, as its last stage (see Gregory Stanton’s “8 Stages of Genocide”) and that “is among the surest indicators of further genocidal massacres”. Some countries have already criminalized genocide and holocaust denial. But doesn’t this infringe upon freedom of expression? Freedom of expression is a core human right, but not an unlimited right. It is potentially subject to certain restrictions, such as the respect of the rights or reputations of others; for the protection of national security or of public order, or of public health or morals. Thus, should the criminalization of genocide denial be considered a legitimate restriction on the freedom of expression? On what grounds and with what limits? Only in countries that had previously experienced the drama of genocide and where there is still a potential high risk of new genocide episodes to come should the criminalization of some genocide denial acts be admitted as an exceptional and extreme measure of prevention.

Ruth Linn, University of Haifa, Israel, “Genocide heroes never die – They are just ignored: What do you know about the escape from Auschwitz?”

The truth about the Auschwitz-Birkenau extermination camp was the best-kept secret of the Nazi architects of the Final Solution. On April 7 1944, two Slovak Jewish prisoners, Rudolf Vrba and Alfred Wetzler sneaked out of the camp. After a perilous 11 days of walking and hiding, the escapees made it back to their native country, Slovakia and for three days they revealed the secrets of the geographical plan of Auschwitz-Birkenau, the specifics of the Germans' method of mass murder - tattooing, gassing, and cremation - and the course of events they had witnessed at the camp. The 32-page Vrba-Wetzler report was the first document about the Auschwitz death camp to reach the free world and to be accepted as credible.

In the present study, the author delves into the mystery of the escapees' 1944 disappearance not only from Auschwitz- Birkenau but also from various textbooks and the Holocaust narrative. This take involves managing information in a manner that creates identities, advantages, and disadvantages of knowing, by keeping certain bits of knowledge hidden to avoid observability by others.

***Room 224a (St. Anne) – Representations as/of Genocide**

Moderator: Amy Fagin, Independent Scholar and Artist

Jeremy Maron, Canadian Museum for Human Rights (CMHR) “Barriers of Experience: The Holocaust in Canadian Cinema”

This paper analyzes the treatment of the Holocaust in Canadian cinema. Lacking the experiential relationship to the Holocaust of countries like Germany, France, or Poland, Canada’s films do not manifest a specific national history of the event. Similarly, Canada lacks a universalizing system like Hollywood, through which America (also having a distanced historical relationship with the Holocaust) has incorporated/“Americanized” the Holocaust.

Taking this distance as a starting point, this paper uses a 4-point analysis to show how a *barrier of experience* functions as a trope across Canada’s Holocaust cinema. First, it looks to films that directly engage Canada’s history during the Second World War, and posit the Holocaust as separated from this experience. Second, it explores films that feature the figure of an emotionally isolated survivor in Canada in order to delineate interpersonal barriers between the Holocaust (represented in the

survivor), and the surrounding Canadian environment. Third, it will discuss films that aim to *resolve* this barrier, but ultimately suggest that it remains intact.

This leads to a fourth way that Canadian films address the barrier of experience, which is explored via the films of Jack Kuper – a survivor and filmmaker from Toronto. Kuper’s films – produced by someone *with* a direct experience of the Holocaust – still approach the event *externally*, as inaccessible except via mediation. They thus suggest that the barriers manifest in Canada’s Holocaust cinema are not simply derived by Canada’s inexperiential relationship to the Holocaust, but point to a more universal challenge to representation inherent in experience itself.

Amy J. Freier, Western University, “Skin and Bones: Photography as Flesh in the Aftermath of Genocide”

In her book, *Remembering to Forget*, Barbie Zelizer argues that two iconic image types emerged in the years following the liberation of Nazi concentration camps; these categories include *survivors* and *accouterments* (piles of shoes, eyeglasses, luggage, etc.). By contrast, in the wake of the Rwandan Genocide one dominant iconic image type has emerged that feature skulls and/or bones. In effect, the dominant image type emerging from the Rwandan Genocide harkens back to the iconographies from the Holocaust, but complicates and condenses the metonymic relationship: emaciated survivors are replaced with dead victims and piles of clothes are replaced with piles of bones. This results in a category that I have termed *victim accouterments*. Using Vivian Sobchack’s understanding of *flesh* and *interobjectivity*, terms that encapsulate complimentary and contradictory associations to intersubjectivity and empathy in cases of trauma, this paper will first develop connections between interobjectivity and genocide. As interobjectivity is an ethical and aesthetic position that strives to realize the “reversible structure” of human life in which humans are both subjective thinking beings and material objects, and genocide is a crime in which victims are objectified and dehumanized, the space for connections between the two phenomenon require attention. Following this, I will return to the iconographies of genocide, which provide a frame to consider the spectrum of reversibility and irreversibility inherent in photography as a medium and genocide as an offence that aims to leave none to tell the story. Comparatively, the photographs of skin and bones work in distinct ways to engage audiences in the ongoing effects of genocide, and importantly complicate notions of photography’s ability to facilitate witnessing and empathy with distant victims.

Arthur Anyaduba, University of Manitoba, “The Uses and Abuses of the Dead: Mass Graves in Boubacar Boris Diop’s *Murambi* Book of Bones”

The discursive landscape of genocide is characterised by narratives of affect and trauma that raise existential questions concerning the human condition (see Schaffer and Smith; Sontag; Dawes; Slaughter). These narratives are largely about righting the wrongs of massive human rights violations. Although the ascendance of life narratives and “novel[s] of human rights” (Dawes; Slaughter) reveals a trend in genocide narratives founded on moral universals (Alexander) or a commitment to global social justice (Santos), I will argue that the ethical vocabulary of genocide narratives also heavily relies on the uses and abuses of dead victims, who are often used to give weight to the traumatic experiences of survivors.

My paper will therefore examine the representations of the dead and the mass grave as a human rights site, in Boubacar Diop’s *Murambi*, a novel on the Rwandan Genocide. Apart from *Murambi*’s postmodernist approach to trauma (Harrow; Hitchcott), its aesthetic and thematic focus on autonomy and agency in *Murambi* distinguishes the novel as an important text for an examination of how dead victims of massacre are narrated. My purpose is to raise questions concerning the rights of the atrocious dead. These questions will allow me to problematise an influential conception of “the human” that is founded on the conditions of life and on human capabilities (Nussbaum), but that remains indifferent to human death. If human rights are conceptually and morally predicated on ideas

of agency and autonomy, how do we resolve the ethical and representational complications that arise in narrating the dead?

Simarjit Kaur, Independent Scholar, "Voices of the Sikh Genocide with Excerpts from Saffron Saffron"

Saffron Salvation is a novel that crosses spiritual dimensions, political dimensions and the narratives of Sikhs attacked in the Sikh genocide. I would like to share an extract from the novel that gives a setting, and then share ten stories of widows of extra judicial killings- their individual voices thirty years on. In the background, theirs and their loved one's image would show, and then I would relay in English what their suffering has meant along with music and songs sung by them playing faintly. We can dramatize this further into soliloquys. Our format remains open. I will be in the Punjab working with widows for February 2014, when this will be gathered and recorded. If we can arrange the invitation letters, I will try to see if any have passports and fund one or two to come and join the ensemble.

The issues around the 1984-1994 Sikh genocide in India, include military 'operations', widows of extra judicial killings, and an overall level of impunity continuing in Punjab. This denial by the state, and their stigmatization as 'terrorist' families, have had long term impacts on their survival, as a result of wondering where their loved ones are and if they could have done more. This comes out in their narratives.

Room 224b (Souris) – Finding Peace in Local and International Space

Moderator: Kimberley Ducey, University of Winnipeg

Vahram Ayyazyan, Independent Scholar, "Globalization and 'Humane' Culture"

The globe is currently facing vehement challenges: A global economic crisis, dramatic growth of the world population and a possible food crisis. Also, Syrian deadlock, the Arab Spring and Muslim upheaval, mass atrocities in CAR and the Sudans, Iranian nuclear issue, China's rise and nationalistic appetite, global environmental change, and so on encapsulate the 21st century's gloomy picture.

To alleviate the on-going international suffering, the world needs a dramatic change, a new culture. I will call this the "Humane" culture. This new culture encompasses humane phenomena: friendship, cooperation, mutual trust and understanding- win-win principles. We find a similar thesis with Wendt who calls it (culture) "Kantian," in contrast to Hobbesian and Lockean, following Immanuel Kant's famous work *Perpetual Peace*. The structure that a Kantian culture is based upon is "friendship" and its subject position "friend." Within this structure, friends are expected to follow two basic rules: first, "the rule of non-violence," meaning the resolution of disputes without recourse to war or even threat of war, and second, the rule of "mutual aid," namely taking collective action as a "team" against an outsider who threatens the security of a team member. It is of utmost significance to understand who the Wendtian outsider is. He is the climate change, he is hunger and disease, he is the terrorism, he is war, he is the genocides and genocide denials. No generation has benefited from those above, and neither will we.

Peter Karari, University of Manitoba, "The Role of the 4Cs in de-THEMification and Genocide Prevention: The Kenyan Case Study"

The end of the cold war saw the emergence of a new global challenge— the proliferation of intrastate and ethno-political violence in which nation states are faced with multiple challenges as they seek to come to terms with their violent past while investing in transitional and restorative justice. Protracted conflicts are rooted in complex constructions related to political, social, and cultural identities. These identities characterized by negative ethnicity, attachment to collective myths and symbols, deep-seated grievances, and intolerance are derived from structural and historical injustices, experiences, violence, and patterns of engagement with the potential or perceived 'enemy' other/s. These frozen conflicts threaten regional stability and international security, fundamental freedoms, and human rights; they destroy social and physical infrastructure, and are capable of creating global humanitarian disasters including genocide in the absence of focused and timely intervention. Focused intervention requires addressing the root causes of this protracted violence.

In this presentation, I argue that intra-state and ethnic violence emanates from what has been referred to as the most dangerous four-letter word in English language— THEM, one that has caused indefinable suffering and death of millions of people globally. THEMification has nurtured finger pointing among disputants therefore, compromising unity, harmony, and peaceful coexistence. I argue that, THEMification can be alleviated by applying the principle of the 4Cs: we need to be **Conscious** about ethnic prejudice, labels, and stereotypes; we need to be **Curious** about the stories of other people; we need to be **Compassionate** about breaking the cycle of the otherness; and we need to **Challenge** the foundations of THEMification. Finally, this presentation focuses on how de-THEMification using the principle of the 4Cs can be applied in Kenya, a country that has witnessed protracted ethno-political violence for the last two decades.

Tushar Kanti Saha, University of Lesotho, "Experiment with Truth and Reconciliation Commission: A South African Perspective"

Truth Commissions are strategic in nature with plan devised for situations in which war crimes and human rights abuses have largely come to an end and societies are struggling to come to terms with the tragedy. One focus is on investigations to determine what actually happened, especially to people who may have just "disappeared". The task is also to find out who was responsible and assigning appropriate punishment within the province of investigation by a credible institution. This requires one to consider the forces that led people to commit such crimes. In the most serious cases the crimes are attributable to absolutely indefensible behavior by people who knew what they were doing and had the power to stop it. On the other side, crimes may have been perpetuated by lower ranking officials who were, in fact, being forced to do under superior command what they did was in fact vicariously done by the people in higher authority. Still, a third dimension points to the fact that some crimes may have resulted from the terrible cascading effects of violent escalation which could have led to the kind of emotional hysteria causing people to do things that they would otherwise consider absolutely unthinkable. This results in a recurring cycles of disorder in which both sides are committing atrocities to avenge and retaliate for atrocities committed by the other side.

Reconciliation of past war crimes often presents a difficult dilemma. On the one hand, victims of these terrible crimes find it impossible to simply forget and forgive about the crimes and live in a society with the perpetrators as if nothing happened. For them some measure of justice is likely to be an essential part of the healing process. On the other hand, if the victims of such crimes insist on holding everyone fully responsible for what might be quite murderous acts, then the result is likely to be an all-out fight to the death rather than reconciliation and healing. Here strategies that combine a search for truth and justice, linked with amnesty and forgiveness are likely to heal the wound for long term peaceful solution with less trace of traumatic experience rubbed on the soul. The Paper proposes an in-depth study of the problem as experienced in the annals of history in transition to stability in the South

African context and point to the way forward to the new path of integration and progress. The purpose of the study is to reveal the harsh historical truth and share the findings with peers for stimulating further interest in the value and importance of the application of the principle of truth and reconciliation in post-conflict healing process and its limitation and replication as a model elsewhere such as in Sudan as an alternative to trial by International Criminal Court.

Gulstan Abuzeyit, University of Waterloo, "Turning a Blind Eye to the Kurdish Genocide"

3:35 – 4:35 pm *Special Guest Presentation*

Room 210 (Killarney): The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada Commissioners Marie Wilson and Wilton Littlechild

TRC COMMISSIONER MARIE WILSON: Since 2009, Marie Wilson has been one of the three Commissioners chosen to lead the historic Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, probing into the history and impacts of more than a century of forced residential schooling for aboriginal children.

Ms. Wilson came to be Commissioner following more than 30 years of professional experience as an award-winning journalist, trainer, and senior executive manager. She has also been a university lecturer, a high school teacher in Africa, a senior executive manager in both federal and territorial Crown Corporations, and an independent contractor and consultant in journalism, program evaluation, and project management. She has lived, studied and worked in cross-cultural environments for almost forty years, including Europe, Africa, and various parts of Canada.

As a journalist, Ms Wilson worked in print, radio and television as a regional and national reporter, and then as the senior program and executive manager for the three northern Territories of Canada and northern Quebec. She was the first television program host of northern Canada's flagship weekly information program, Focus North. Her reports tackled complex issues, from the Quebec sovereignty referendum and national unity debates, to the national Constitutional talks of the 1980's; from the settlement of historic aboriginal rights agreements, to the state of health in First Nations and Inuit communities; from Papal visits, to centennial celebrations of the Riel Rebellion.

As a Regional Director for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Ms Wilson was a pioneer. She launched the first Daily Television News service for northern Canada, against a backdrop of four time zones and ten languages: English, French and eight indigenous. She developed the Arctic Winter Games and True North Concert series for a wider national audience in order to share unique northern performing artists and traditional indigenous sports with the rest of the country. She fought for the recruitment and development of aboriginal staff and their on-air reflection. She acknowledged staff excellence with the establishment of the CBC North Awards. She acknowledged the wider community with program initiatives to support and promote literacy.

For several years Ms Wilson was a member, and then Chair of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's Training Advisory Committee, providing training both within the CBC, and internationally to several countries in Europe and South America, and South Africa. A career highlight was to deliver training through the South African Broadcasting Corporation as part of that country's transition to democracy, preparing their journalists for broadcast coverage

of South African's first democratic election and their own Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

For several years Marie Wilson served as an associate board member of what was to become APTN, the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network. Over the years she has also worked with various other boards and agencies committed to social justice, journalism and civic engagement, community, spiritual and international development, and the wellbeing of children and youth.

In 2012 Ms Wilson received an Honorary Doctorate of Laws from St. Thomas University in New Brunswick in recognition of her contributions to excellence in communications, education, civic and democratic engagement and social justice. She has also received a CBC North Award for Lifetime Achievement, a Northerner of the Year Award, and various recognitions for journalism, writing, and work-place safety initiatives. She has post-graduate degrees in French and Journalism from the University of Western Ontario, certificates in project management and program evaluation, and a French language certificate from the University of Besancon, France.

Marie Wilson is married to the Honourable Stephen Kakfwi. They are blessed with three children, Kyla, Daylyn and Keenan, and four grandchildren, Maslyn, Tydzeh, Sadeya and Ry'den.

TRC COMMISSIONER CHIEF WILTON LITTLECHILD: In 1976, Chief Wilton Littlechild had the distinction of being the first Treaty First Nation person to acquire his law degree from the University of Alberta. He received his Bachelor of Physical Education Degree in 1967 and his Master's Degree in Physical Education in 1975. In June of 2007, the University of Alberta bestowed the Doctor of Laws Degree on Chief Littlechild for his outstanding achievements.

An avid sportsman and athlete, Chief Littlechild has won more than fifty provincial, regional, national and international championships. He has served as a coach and organizer of sports event – being a founder of the North American Indigenous games; and has been inducted into seven Sports Halls of Fame.

Chief Littlechild is a respected lawyer and operates the law firm of J. Wilton Littlechild, Barrister and Solicitor, which is situated in the Ermineskin Reserve. He is a strong advocate for the rights of Indigenous Peoples and promoter of implementation of the treaties between the Indigenous Peoples of Canada and the Crown, now represented by the federal government. Chief Littlechild also served as the Chairperson for the Commission on First Nations and Métis Peoples and Justice Reform, mandated to review the justice system in the province of Saskatchewan.

Chief Littlechild served as a Member of Parliament from 1988 – 1993 for the riding of Wetaskiwin-Rimby. He served on several senior committees in the House of Commons and was a parliamentary delegate to the United Nations. Chief Littlechild organized a coalition of Indigenous Nations that sought and gained consultative status with the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. He was re-appointed by the E.C.O.S.O.C. President to represent North America and has completed his second and final term as the North American representative to the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues.

Chief Littlechild was honoured by being appointed the Honourary Chief for the Maskwacis Crees and also honoured by the Chiefs of the Confederacy of Treaty Six First Nations as the International Chief for Treaty No. 6 Confederacy.

Elected by the Chiefs of Treaties 6, 7, 8 (Alberta) as the Regional Chief for the three Treaty territories in October of 2006 to serve a three-year term. He is married to Helen Peacock, and is the father of three children: Teddi, Neil and Megan.

4:40 – 6:10 pm *Keynote Lecture*

Room 210 (Killarney): Amy Lonetree

Presentation Title: *Decolonizing Museums and Addressing the Hard Truths of Colonization*

Abstract: Over the last three decades we have witnessed significant changes in the relationship between Indigenous communities and mainstream museums as a result of Indigenous activism and new museum theory and practice. These changes include the sharing of curatorial authority, collaborative partnerships, and efforts to decolonize museums. My research examines the current state of contemporary exhibition practices at both national and tribal museums. Central to my analysis is exploring how museums can serve as sites of decolonization through honoring Indigenous knowledge and worldview, and by discussing the hard truths of colonization in exhibitions in an effort to promote healing and understanding. Presenting this history is an important part of a decolonizing museum practice and I will explore two sites, the Smithsonian's National Museum of the American Indian and the Zibiwing Center for Anishinabe Culture and Lifeways in Michigan, and their treatment of the history of colonialism and genocide in their exhibitions.

6:15 and 7:15 pm Buses depart from University of Manitoba for downtown

Friday July 18, 2014

7:30 and 8:30 am Buses depart from the Fort Garry Hotel for the University of Manitoba campus

8:00 am Registration opens

9:00 to 10:30 am *concurrent sessions*

***Room UC 214 (Neepawa) – Workshop: Speech, Violence Prevention: Genocide and the Politics of Denial**

Workshop leaders:

1. Gregory S. Gordon, UND Center for Human Rights and Genocide Studies
2. Gregory H. Stanton, Genocide Watch; George Mason University
3. David J. Simon, Yale University

In the abstract, speech may have much intrinsic value with its power to facilitate democracy, self-actualization, and good will. But, in certain contexts, it can also be quite deleterious, spawning division, ignorance, and hatred. Within the crucible of genocide or other mass atrocity, speech may be similarly Janus-faced. Its power to prevent mass violence is indubitable. But its capacity for enabling mass violence is similarly unquestionable. So the issue arises: when and how may speech work for good or ill in relation to genocide or other mass atrocity? This panel grapples with that question. It will show that, in potentially pre-genocidal contexts, speech can go a long way toward preventing genocidal prejudice and/or discrimination. But at a certain point, when virulent prejudice and discrimination have passed the tipping point and speech is clearly in the service of ongoing mass violence or directed toward inciting it, the goal becomes preventing inimical speech through civil legal action or criminal punishment. Such measures may have a significant deterrent effect and help combat the culture of impunity. At the same time, after the physical execution of genocide, speech continues to play an important role through the medium of denial. The panel will consider Rwanda as a case study. Perpetrators of the Rwandan genocide have employed the same denial techniques as Armenian genocide deniers and Holocaust deniers, among others. Their "denial" campaigns, an integral part of the last phases of genocide, have created their own political issues and movements, which will be explored.

***Room UC 220 (Russell) – Spaces of Dispossession and Displacement I**

Moderator: Tricia Logan, University of London

Suren Manukyan, Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute, "Newcomers and Indigenous: Homogenization of Armenian Homeland as Nation and State Building Project in the Late Ottoman Empire"

Attempts to reduce the demographic weight of Armenians had a long history throughout the existence of the Empire. Periodical massacres, settlement of muhajirs in Armenian dwellings and forcible Turkification were directed to the same goal. The Genocide was culmination of the process of cleaning up Anatolia from its Indigenous people.

This territory was abandoned before it became perceived as “Lebensraum” at the beginning of 20th century. In Turkish minds, Western Armenia would be the very Land where new Turkish State would emerge. This feeling strengthened within Ottoman elite after territorial losses as a result of defeated Balkan and Tripolitania wars.

Simultaneously the process of construction of New Turkish Nation was going on. It was enhanced by the fact that some of the leaders of the CUP, as well as many of the organizers of the Armenian Genocide, were not ethnically Turks. Moreover, many of CUP leaders emigrated from the Balkans were in searching of new homeland. They chose Anatolia for that role, and the project of purification of the Western Armenian met their expectations. Bitterness over experiences with Christians in the Balkans or Caucasus may color the attitudes of Muslim refugees toward the Armenians. They eagerly participated in the killing process.

So, Armenian Genocide was not just enormous killing of one and half million Armenians, but realization of project of space purification from the indigenous population and its “colonization” by newcomers.

Carroll P. Kakel, Johns Hopkins University Center for Liberal Arts, “Hitler’s ‘Indian Wars’ in the ‘Wild East’: The Holocaust as Colonial Genocide”

In the last decade, the scholarly debate about the intimate relations between genocide, colonialism, and the Holocaust has inspired a large (and still growing) literature. My paper explores what I interpret as the 'decidedly colonial' origins, context, and content of Nazi genocide in occupied Europe during the Second World War -- focusing on the pervasive influence of American western expansion on Nazi thinking (as evidenced by Hitler's spatial and racial fantasies). It revisits familiar events through the (corrective) lenses of 'continental imperialism', 'settler colonialism', and 'colonial genocide'. By employing a new 'optics' -- informed by the emerging fields of imperial studies, colonial studies, and genocide studies -- this paper suggests an alternative way to read, interpret, and understand Nazi genocide, as well as the events we have come to call 'the Holocaust'. This paper also identifies important ideological and causal links between the Nazi imperial-colonial project in Eastern Europe and Nazi genocidal violence. It argues, moreover, that one did, indeed, lead to the other.

Sharon Venne, Cree Lawyer and Scholar, and Irene Watson, University of South Australia, “Comparative Stories of Genocide: About the Settler Colonial States of Canada and Australia”

This presentation will recall the past when both the Canadian and the Australian state forcibly removed First Nations children from their nations for the purpose of assimilating children into the white colonial settler society. Evidence from both Canada and Australia of the intent to assimilate is overwhelming, state responses to the evidence will be considered in this presentation. This paper will also consider how the colonial histories of child removal resonate in the contemporary moment and by examining the following questions. What has been the effect of those acts of genocide? How have colonial settler legal systems responded to those effects? What does international law say on the matter of genocide in these instances? What might an Indigenous Knowledges approach bring to the discussion of First Nations Genocide?

Chris Mato Nunpa, Southwest Minnesota State University, “Sica Tanka Kin, ‘The great Evil’: Genocide and the Dakota People of Minnesota”

The purpose of this presentation will be to illustrate the Genocide of the Dakota People of Minnesota. The paper proposes to use the five criteria of the 1948 UN Genocide Convention and to provide examples of genocidal actions for each criterion. The Genocidaires, i.e., the perpetrators of Genocide

against the Dakota People, are the State of Minnesota, the U.S. government, and the Euro-Minnesotan citizenry.

The perspective of the paper is Indigenous, generally, and Dakota, specifically. For example, the writer comes from a people who were the victims of Genocide and, thus, his views will be diametrically opposite to that of the Euro-Minnesotan and the U.S. Euro-American citizenries who perpetrated the genocide. Bounties were placed on the scalps of Dakota People. The final sum was \$200, an annual salary at the time, on Dakota scalps. This action by the state of Minnesota and the governor of Minnesota, Alexander Ramsey, whose savage cry was “Extermination Or Removal” of the Dakota People, fits very nicely into Criterion “a,” that is, “Killing Members of the Group.” Bounties are an example of state-sponsored Genocide!

In addition to Bounties, Forced Marches, Mass Executions, Concentration Camps, Forcible Removals, Religious Suppression, etc., were perpetrated against the Dakota People, and all are genocidal acts which fulfill one or more of the five criteria of the Genocide Convention. The paper will, also, show that the Dakota People who fled to Canada fled because of the genocidal environment in Minnesota, and who now live on reserves in three provinces of Canada.

***Room 224a (St. Anne) – Indian Residential School Records: Creation, Acquisition and Use**

Moderator: Kristin Burnett, Lakehead University

Brenda Elias, University of Manitoba, “The challenge of counting the missing when the missing were not counted”

The Canadian Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada on Indian Residential Schools (TRC) determined that more than 4,000 children in the schools may have died. This figure however is based on incomplete federal archival documents. This paper will explore this mortality reporting challenge in relation to how vital statistics were or were not recorded for Canada's indigenous children.

Ry Moran, University of Manitoba, “Indian Residential School Records: What has been collected?”

The TRC has been charged with creating as complete an archive as it can on Indian Residential Schools and, as the TRC's work winds down, the archive will be transferred to the National Research Centre for Truth and Reconciliation (NRCTR). How did the TRC go about creating this archive and in particular how did it manage taking survivor statements? What are the main considerations in transferring this archive to the NRCTR.

Karen Busby, University of Manitoba, “The Paper Chase: Using Litigation to Get Indian Residential Schools”

The TRC was created out of a settlement agreement between Survivors, the federal government and church entities involved in the Indian Residential School class actions. The settlement agreements provide that the government and the churches will provide copies of all relevant records to the TRC and that these records will, ultimately, flow through to the NRCTR. This paper will explore how the government and churches have resisted providing these records and how the Survivors, the TRC and the NRCTR have fought back.

Camille Callison, University of Manitoba, “Honouring Indian Residential School Archives”

One of the first challenges facing the NRCTR will be the formulation of privacy, access and copyright issues regimes governing records in the archive that are respectful of both western and Indigenous laws and approaches to research. This paper will explore how the NRCTR is creating these regimes.

***Room 224b (Souris) – Gendering Genocide Across Time and Space**

Moderator: Kimberley Dicey, University of Winnipeg

Azra Rashid, Independent Scholar/Filmmaker, “Gender, Nationalism and Genocide”

Nationalism, rooted in the word nation, binds individuals to an imaginary homeland by the virtue of shared characteristics, ethnicity and landscape. Feminist scholarship has shown the idea of nationalism to be gendered, crafted to serve masculine privilege. Genocide happens when nationalism, itself a product of imagination, creates subjects, who fight over imaginary homelands, and the site of violence becomes women's bodies. However, the feminist scholarship – universalist and transnationalist – remains divided on the relative importance of gender and ethnicity in the context of violence endured by women in genocide. With genocide defined along the lines of ethnic divide and reproduction, it becomes impossible to focus more or less on ethnicity or gender, as both are markers of asymmetrical social relations and power hierarchy. Despite the similarities in the nature of violence endured by women in ethnic conflicts, women's experiences vary across the globe because patriarchy and nationalism have taken different forms in their evolution, necessitating different struggles on women in different geographical locations. 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 genocide. The feminist task is to not only resist and challenge the patriarchal account of genocide but also to make visible the difference in experiences and the existence of repressive mechanisms that create them in the first place. In this paper, I explore the representation of violence endured by women in the Holocaust, and the genocides in Rwanda and Bangladesh.

Emily Sample, Holocaust Museum Houston, “Lysistrata Rising: Women Peace-builders in Post-conflict Uganda”

Uganda has been continuously engaged in conflict for over four decades. Since Uganda's independence from the British colonial empire in 1962, Northern Uganda has been especially victimized by a series of military coups and rebel armies, the most recent of which is Joseph Kony's Lord's Resistance Army, whose existence continues to terrorize the region, despite a tenuous ceasefire in place since 2006. This paper focuses on the past, present, and future of women and peace in Northern Uganda, and how women are on the front lines in their communities preventing human rights abuses. The paper centers on interviews with Lina Zedriga, a Lugbara activist, who is currently Director of Women Peace and Security and the sole registered and accredited female mediator in Uganda, and Diana Oromo, Director of Women Peace Initiatives Uganda, who grew up in Lira during the war and now fights against sexual and gender based violence in the region, in addition to women who are engaging locally with the on-going peace effort. This paper uses their experiences to frame a theoretical analysis of peace building practices and of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325, which has long-term implications for how women interact with the peace process. By exploring the history and future of Northern Uganda, I aim to investigate women's contribution to conflict resolution and prevention. To what extent do women play a unique role when it comes to peace building and preventing future atrocities in post-conflict Northern Uganda?

Carmelo Domenico Leotta, Università Europea di Roma, "Rape as a Genocidal Act: A Study of ICTR's Leading Cases"

The sources of International Criminal Law do not explicitly qualify rape as a genocidal act. Nonetheless, ICTR and ICTY admitted that sexual violence and firstly rape could become a mean to commit genocide.

In fact, through sexual offences perpetrated with the intent to destroy a protected group, the actor can cause serious harms to his victims; he can inflict on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction or he can impose measures of life intended to prevent births within the group. All these conducts are punished by ICTY, ICTR and ICC Statutes as genocide.

First of all, the paper will analyze ICTR's leading cases about genocidal rape. Second, it will deal with the relationship between the rule of strict interpretation in International Criminal Law, nowadays provided in ICC Statute (art. 22), and the possibility of non-literal interpretation of the norms listing genocidal conducts. To qualify rape and sexual violence as genocidal acts, in fact, ICTR and ICTY overcame the literal formulation of their Statutes that do not include sexual violence among acts of genocide. This was admissible because ICTR and ICTY's Statutes do not provide the rule of strict interpretation. ICC Statute, actually, expressly imposes the interpretation of Criminal Law in a strict sense (art. 22).

Moving from this clarification, the paper is going to answer this question: under Articles 6 and 22 ICC Statute, is it still possible to adopt the non-literal interpretation of the *ad hoc* Tribunals about genocidal rape?

Myriam J.A. Chancy, PMLA; Fetzer Institute "On the Edge of Silence: (*l'in*)-*imaginable* and (gendered) representations of the Rwandan Genocide in photography and Raoul Peck's *Sometimes in April*."

Taking for point of departure Michel-Rolph Trouillot's reconceptualization of Pierre Bourdieu's notion of the "unthinkable," and key terms of Teshome Gabriel's definition of "Third Cinema," this essay evaluates the uneasy terrain of post-traumatic representations of the Rwandan genocide. In particular, this essay seeks to explore the limits of representing gendered trauma experienced simultaneously at national and individual levels. I demonstrate that the narrative/framing choices of photographers such Pieter Hugo and Sebastio Salgado, who have offered us the most iconic visualizations of the Rwandan genocide and the representation of the genocide as endured by survivors in Raoul Peck's 2004 film, *Sometimes in April*, all navigate around a silence surrounding the particularly horrific violations of women during the cataclysm. I argue that each auteur transgresses the codes of their particular genre in order to expose this silence with more or less degree of success. In particular, I show that Salgado, unlike Hugo, is determined to represent survivors in "Third Cinema" terms of defiance, resilience and resistance, while Peck, borrowing from elements of documentary photography and the graphic arts, establishes a space for this silence and its seemingly unthinkable dimensions, an "unthinkability" endemic to trauma itself. It explores how Peck's film exercises Trouillot's "unthinkable" as a means of activating what I term "*(l'in)imaginable*," or the (un)imaginable, for viewers, so that the past can be understood if not prevented in a future time and, moreover, so that we may better grasp why violence against women remains under-represented and silenced.

***Room UC 217 (GSA Lounge) – ARTS**

Artist: Sonya de Laat, "Memories Witness: Photographs of unrepresentable suffering after genocide"

10:30 – 11:00 am *coffee break*

11:00 am – 12:30 pm *concurrent sessions*

***Room UC 214 (Neepawa) – Workshop: An Optional Protocol to the Genocide Convention: A Proposal**

Moderator: Gregory Gordon, UND Center for Human Rights and Genocide Studies

Workshop Leaders:

1. Gregory Stanton, Genocide Watch; George Mason University
2. Jean-François Bussière-Wallot, Genocide Watch; University of Québec

All persons attending the Round Table will receive the text of an Optional Protocol to the Genocide Convention drafted by Jean-Francois Bussière-Wallot and Dr. Gregory Stanton of Genocide Watch.

Dr. Stanton will present why the Optional Protocol is necessary, what it would accomplish, and how it could be adopted by States-Parties to the Genocide Convention. Since 1951, the UN Security Council has been paralyzed by threats of Perm-5 vetoes, or has not had the political will to authorize armed force to stop or prevent most genocides. The Genocide Convention does not clarify the ambiguity in the UN Charter about what bodies – UN Security Council, UN General Assembly, Regional Organizations, or nation-states – have the obligation to prevent genocide. The Protocol reasserts the duty of the UN General Assembly and Regional Organizations to take action to prevent genocide when the UN Security Council fails to take action. The Protocol creates a legal obligation for States-Parties to prevent genocide and protect civilians from it. It includes “preparatory steps towards genocide” so action can be taken to prevent genocide rather than waiting to decide a full genocide is underway. It encourages cooperation on early warning and risk assessment by potential preventers, including a central role for the Office of the Special Advisor to the UN Secretary General on the Prevention of Genocide; States-Parties to the Protocol are obligated to report any acts that “could lead to genocide or constitute genocide” anywhere in the world, both to the UN and to relevant Regional Organizations. The language used does not require the same burden of proof as a decision on whether such acts are already legally provable genocide. The aim is to avoid legal debates, and stress the preventive principle – the duty of active prevention.

Jean-Francois Bussière-Wallot will explain the legal provisions of the Optional Protocol and its relationship to the UN Charter. The Optional Protocol creates no obligations that contradict those under the UN Charter. The Security Council retains its primacy. However, when the UN Security Council fails to take preventive action, the UN General Assembly acting under UN General Assembly Resolution 377 A (V) , or Regional Organizations acting under UN Charter Chapter VIII and their own rules, may recommend preventive action binding upon States-Parties to the Protocol. All measures taken must respect international law and the UN Charter. States-Parties to the Protocol become legally obligated to act on recommendations by the UN General Assembly or relevant Regional Organizations to prevent genocide if the UN Security Council fails to take preventive action. The Protocol requires States-Parties to support financial contributions of the UN to preventive action by Regional Organizations. They must not accept prohibitions on the use of force to protect civilians in any UN or regional peacekeeping operation. Decisions on intervention with force remain political decisions by the UN Security Council, UN General Assembly, or Regional Organizations.

Prof. Gregory Gordon will lead those attending the Round Table in discussing the pros and cons of the Protocol, probable objections to it, and possible political obstacles to its adoption.

***Room UC 220 (Russell) – Genocide Memory: Time, Space and Movement I**

Moderator: Adam Muller, University of Manitoba

Amy Fagin, Independent Scholar, “Cultures Under Glass: The Evolution of ‘The Modern Museum’ and the Representation of Indigenous Peoples of the Northeast US. Four Case Studies”

It is widely understood among genocide scholars that indigenous populations, world- wide, have been subjected to systematic dispossession of land, culture, individual and group rights to self-determination since the earliest voyages of colonial settler Europeans to “new worlds”. Furthermore these same peoples, during this era of settler colonial nation building, were victimized by overwhelming and repeated forces of violent conquest and diseases which ultimately annihilated the vast majority of their pre-colonial populations.

In New England the history and transformation of the indigenous populations in the aftermath of colonial settlement and modernism reflects a unique trajectory that can be critically surmised through the exploration and comparative evaluation of museums dedicated to the narrative of indigenous origins in what is now known as New England.

This presentation will review the developing role of “the museum” as an institution with the tripartite goals of education, entertainment and research and the evolving role of exhibitions of New England native history, identity, cultural heritage and modern society. Four museums located in the New England area will be explored, assessed and analyzed, critically, with regards to their original conceptions, acquisitions and collections, mission statements, exhibitions, outreach and public education.

The four museums where research will be conducted are: The Pequot Museum in Mashantucket, CT; The Mt Kearsarge Indian Museum in Warner, NH; The Seneca-Iroquois National Museum in Salamanca, NY and the American Museum of Natural History (Human Origins and Cultural Halls).

A picture of the complex history and modern society of native New England tribes and their relationship to the greater non-Native culture and economy which has evolved over time since the fifteenth century will emerge through this critical, comparative case study of these “cultures under glass”.

Karen Frostig, Lesley University; Brandeis University, “The Vienna Project: History, Memory and Participatory Processes”

Designed as a collaborative venture, *The Vienna Project*, a new social action memorial project concerning National Socialism in Vienna starting in 1938, is committed to integrating rigorous scientific data collection with public input, and with adventurous interpretations of the past. The project provides the public with multiple entry points regarding Austria’s history of genocide. Various components of the project are weighted differently in regard to history, memory, and participation. At the seventy-fifth anniversary year of the Holocaust with few survivors and eyewitnesses left to provide first-person testimony, the vitality of this kind of layered approach is especially promising. It should be noted, however, that memory serves a different purpose to history, and that participatory practice further complicates the tenuous equation between memory and history.

Memory, as a generative force is transient, irregular, and intrinsically variable. Using a model of co-production, *The Vienna Project* is staged in different locations around the city, resisting ideas about centralization, dissemination of a particular point of view, and notions of permanence contradicting the ephemeral structures of memory. Developed under the genre of durational performance, *The Vienna Project* reads as a series of memory modules, performed in the public sphere.

“The Vienna Project: History, Memory and Participatory Processes” will discuss three installations representing different formats for public engagement with memory: 1) Parcour des Erinnerns uses interactive technologies to produce new encounters with memory; 2) Memory Map and the Smartphone app uses technology to reach across borders; and 3) The 38 Sidewalk Installation project deals with ideas about territory, authority, and exclusions. Ideas about time and space and the transitory nature of memory permeate all three modules.

Alexander Hinton, Rutgers University, “Darkness into Light: Art, Politics, and Memory at the Tuol Sleng Museum of Genocide in Cambodia”

In early January 1979, just days after the Khmer Rouge had been toppled from power in Cambodia, the invading forces made a gruesome discovery at a compound from which a strong stench was emanating. Inside they found the decomposing corpses of a number of recently executed men who had been incarcerated in what appeared to be a large prison complex. Over the next several days, investigators discovered that, in their haste to flee, the Khmer Rouge had left behind a variety of documentation, ranging from cadre notebooks and revolutionary magazines to prisoner mug shots and confessions, suggesting that this former high school, Tuol Sleng, was a central interrogation facility where many prisoners had been tortured into confession.

The new government quickly set out to transform this compound into a museum devoted to documenting the crimes of the Khmer Rouge, who enacted policies leading to the death of 1.7-2.2 million of Cambodia’s 8 million inhabitants due to starvation, overwork, and execution. A recently concluded international trial of Duch, the former head of the prison, confirmed that over 12,000 of these deaths, and probably many more, took place at Tuol Sleng (S-21), where almost all of the prisoners were executed, many after being interrogated and tortured.

The Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum became the foremost symbol of the Khmer Rouge atrocities, though one that has been mobilized for political purposes over the years. If it was first used to legitimate the new government that had deposed the Khmer Rouge regime, it now closely bound up with the Khmer Rouge tribunal.

This presentation will involve a visual tour of this museum, exploring the interrelationship of art, politics, and memory after genocide. In doing so, I focus on how grey zones are elided in the representation of the past and current use of the museum for outreach for this transitional justice mechanism. Specifically, I will explore the greyness and erasures in representations of victims, perpetrators, and topographies of space, time, and the juridical.

Dylan Coleman, University of Adelaide, “Narratives from Genocide to Self-Government – Empowerment through a Narrative Storyboard Toolkit”

If Aboriginal narrative processes and their capacity to recreate stories of trauma and loss into ones of survival and liberation can help heal a history of genocide, can these processes also create hopeful futures through political activity?

Australian First Nation peoples have experienced genocide in all its forms across the short history of British colonisation of Australia; through massacre, disease, and socially engineered government policy, intent on annihilation through assimilation by breeding out Indigeneity. An approach that has continued today, through exclusionary government policy and process that keeps Aboriginal people outside of political decision-making and resources of the State, and disempowers them. However, in South Australia the 1836 Letters Patent, the founding document of the state and sealed with the Imperial stamp of King William IV, entrenched Aboriginal native title rights and empowerment for the

First Nations Descendants in South Australia. Today, in South Australia, through the revitalising of the 1836 Letters Patent, a group of First Nations people, social justice activists and supporters are drawing on cultural knowledges through a narrative storyboard to work towards this empowered future in the setting up of a First Nation representative assembly on the path to self-government.

Room 224a (St. Anne) – The Construction of Rwandan Identity through Time and Space

Moderator: Timothy Gallimore

Rangira Béa Gallimore, University of Missouri, “Beyond Ethnicity: Cultural and National Identity in Post-genocide Rwanda through Space and Time”

Justice, psychological healing and reconciliation are multi-generational challenges facing post-genocide Rwanda. Transitional justice initiatives, like the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) and the Gacaca community courts, serve as institutions for discursive and symbolic processes aimed at ending the historical culture of impunity and dismantling the mimetic structures of violence. The narrative produced by these processes creates a psychic space for reconciliation and for reconstructing identity in order to rebuild the Rwandan nation-state after genocide.

This paper analyzes the social and psychological components of justice in response to the 1994 genocide in Rwanda. It presents the contributions of the legal/judicial process in creating a narrative to serve as a universal ritual for trauma healing, reconciliation, and nation-building.

The analysis draws on the judicial/legal narrative in the ICTR case decisions, the Gacaca trials, and the prosecution of genocide denial in the Rwandan national courts. Political and mass media communication about genocide justice are also assessed for their contribution to the national meta narrative that creates temporal and spatial room for reconciliation to take place and for constructing a national identity that is critical for the rebuilding and survival of the state.

Joseph Karorero, National Commission for the Fight Against Genocide, “Identity of Border Populations and Regional Stability in East Africa”

This presentation will expose the problems faced by populations of Rwandan origin that live in the countries bordering Rwanda. These groups have been subjected to discrimination, expulsion, and mass violence, and other human rights violations by the other national groups who consider them as foreigners and intruders despite their historical residence in the country. The focus on indigenous identity has placed these vulnerable border populations at risk throughout history and their status and treatment continue to be a source for the cycle of conflict that continues in the East Africa region.

Anastase Shyaka, Rwanda Governance Board, “The Politics of Identity”

This presentation will highlight the identity politics of political elites during colonial, pre-genocide, and post-genocide Rwanda. It will trace the historical efforts of political leaders to manipulate identity as a tactic to obtain and retain power. It will also report the impact that this history of manipulation is having on current government programs to address the identity question for nation-building in post-genocide Rwanda.

***Room 224b (Souris) – Genocide in and through the Media**

Moderator: Stefan Wolejszo, Government of Canada

Maria Paula Kugler, University of Buenos Aires, “News media in the *Reorganizing genocides*”

This paper presents an international comparative analysis about news media intervention in the Rwandan and Argentinean genocides. The main purpose is to compare the role played by *Radio Television Libre Des Mille Collines* (RTLNC) and by *La Nueva Provincia* (LNP) newspapers during the Rwandan (1994) and Argentinean (1976-1983) genocides, respectively. The active participation of the news media in the *Reorganizing genocides*, the purpose of which was to break the existing social relationships and to refound a new society through the material and symbolic “genocidal social practices” against members of society identified as “enemies,” is thoroughly examined. This paper focuses on some of the different actions carried out by the media during genocide periods, such as the construction of negative otherness, the discursive legitimization of social genocide practices and the necessary annihilation of the “other”, encouraging citizens to betray one another and to order murders. To conclude, the paper explores legal documents produced by *The International Criminal Tribunal of Rwanda* and the *Oral Trial Tribunal of Bahía Blanca City*, which recognized the participation of RTLNC and LNP in genocide practices.

Joel Hughes, Concordia University, “‘Not a single Indian’: Tracing Assimilationist Ideology in Contemporary Canadian News Media

In 1920, Duncan Campbell Scott, Deputy Superintendent of the Department of Indian Affairs, famously stated that “the objective of Indian education and advancement since the earliest times... [has been] to continue until there is not a single Indian in Canada that has not been absorbed into the body politic (*The Historical Development of the Indian Act*, 2nd ed). As David McDonald and Graham Hudson convincingly claim (*The Genocide Question and Indian Residential Schools in Canada*, 2012), the Indian Residential School System can be understood as participating in cultural genocide, the conditions of which strive to eliminate an oppressed population’s customs and traditions in order to effectively erase cultural difference. This strategy figures prominently in the government’s consistent reframing of the IRS System’s mandate in terms that ideologically underscore the ethical implications of the assimilative process. Rhetorically “absorbing” First Nations peoples into the “body politic” enabled the Canadian government to encourage its citizens to ignore what were in essence the schools’ genocidal practices. My presentation identifies how contemporary discourse has inherited the concept of assimilation as the dominant mode of interpreting First Nations cultures in Canada, and takes seriously its close relation to genocidal intent. I look closely at instances in contemporary Canadian news media which work to promote a framing of First Nations Peoples in the very terms that Scott articulated nearly one hundred years ago.

Jane Griffith, York University, “Time and Space in the Newspapers of Indian Residential School”

In both Indian Residential Schools and American Indian Boarding Schools, students and teachers produced newspapers from the inception of the schools in the nineteenth century until as late as the 1960s. These newspapers had many audiences and purposes, which differ by region and time period. Generally, they served as a means of communicating a school’s purpose and progress to parents, missionaries, students, and the continent (as well as England).

Though my larger project studies how these newspapers document the linguicide of these schools—the complicated denigration of Indigenous languages and enforcement of English—this paper will share findings from these newspapers in terms of time and space. Some articles in these newspapers explicitly spell out the problem with “Indian time” and Indigenous conceptions of space, praising government policy that would correct such signifiers of “savagery.” In other instances, time and space are more tacit: articles about religious holidays; the day-to-day of classes; the whistle of the

schoolyard; the expansion of the railroad; and the very schedule for issuing each newspaper. Students also write amidst a larger newspaper attempting to write them, their time, and their space out of existence.

This presentation argues that these newspapers—across almost a century and the colonial border—offer much in terms of understanding the genocide these schools stood for. Though they are catalogues of linguicide, death, and sickness, they also stand as documentary evidence to the less overt tactics of colonialism in their redefinitions of Indigenous space and time.

Jeff Benvenuto, Rutgers University, “The Rhetoric of Genocide: A Discourse Analysis of the IRS System in Major Canadian Newspapers”

What does “genocide” mean in North American public discourses? Broadly considering this open-ended question, I offer a discourse analysis of “genocide” and related keywords from four major Canadian newspapers: *The Global and Mail*, *National Post*, *Toronto Star*, and *Winnipeg Free Press*. In particular, I look at the ongoing debate over using the term “genocide” to describe Indigenous experiences with the Canadian state and society, questioning the degree to which this terminology is emancipatory and/or partisan. This specific source material is then used to reflect on the politics inherent to genocide studies as an intellectual endeavor. I thus suggest that genocide has been conventionally framed, formulated, and understood through a generally Eurocentric lens, and that its constitutive components (such as the idea of groups, intent, destruction, etc.) are typically interpreted in ways that preclude and tacitly disavow enduring injustices against Indigenous peoples. As such, I wonder what role (if any) a purportedly non-partisan organization like the International Association of Genocide Scholars (which has previously used its authoritative status to challenge the denial of the Ottoman genocides, for example) has in informing the public discourse in Canada on colonial genocide. In conclusion, the emerging critical genocide studies approach is suggested in order to shed new light on this field’s perennial tension between advocacy and scholarship, and how this possibly irresolvable tension implicates the ongoing challenge to decolonize Canadian-Indigenous relationships.

***Room 224c (Steinbach) – The Space for Truth, the Time for Reconciliation**

Moderator: David Macdonald, University of Guelph

Janis Judson, Hood College, “A Truth and Reconciliation Commission for American Indian Genocide”

I am currently writing a book on the need to establish a truth and reconciliation commission for the American Indian atrocities of genocide and ethnocide, particularly the cultural decimation perpetrated on children in Native American boarding schools. I attended Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission hearings in Saskatoon in June 2012 where I interviewed First Nation survivors and recorded testimony from tribal elders. It was a profound and moving experience and I wondered if this model for restorative justice could be utilized in the US. As part of my research I traveled to Pine Ridge Reservation, Rosebud Sioux Reservation and Wounded Knee in South Dakota and to several Alaskan Native reservations to chronicle indigenous people's thoughts on a truth and reconciliation commission. I have shared my research with Justice Murray Sinclair and Commissioner Wilton Littlechild of the Canadian TRC, with academic scholars at a Yale University conference on indigenous slavery and violence and at the International Center for Transitional Justice's global seminar on truth commissions in Barcelona in September where I was a participating member. I am also working closely with a Cherokee elder who is sharing narrative stories on genocide and colonization with me. All agree there is much to be done here in the US with respect to American Indian genocide and cultural destruction. My paper will address the reasons, processes and exigencies of a US truth commission for indigenous human rights. It will also examine this critical justice initiative in the presence of political and historical denial and in the context of American exceptionalism on Indian affairs.

Bennett Collins, University of St. Andrews, Scotland; University of Oxford, UK and Alison Watson, University of St. Andrews, Scotland, “‘The silence is not working for us’: Deconstructing the Maine Wabanaki-State TRC and the Canadian TRC within the Context of the Wabanaki Confederacy”

In 1978, U.S. Congress passed the Indian Child Welfare Act (ICWA), thus formally recognizing the suffering that Native American families had endured under policies, such as the Indian Adoption Project, that had removed hundreds of Native children from their families to be raised in white foster homes. Many have deemed these child welfare practices as a violation of Article II, Clause E of the Genocide Convention, which clarifies a crime of genocide as the “‘forcible transfer of children from one group to another.” With this in mind, the Maine Wabanaki-State Child Welfare Truth & Reconciliation Commission was created in a ground-breaking initiative of local social workers and community activists from the Native and non-Native communities. The model being used is a unique one – the first to involve indigenous people and state government – and the process that results potentially has wider implications. The paper is based on interviews and focus groups with those directly involved and aims to be part of a wider discussion that recognizes first, the importance of addressing inter-generational suffering (something Dr Maria Yellow Horse Brave Heart labels as ‘historical trauma’) in conflict resolution; second, the conditions under which such processes of restorative justice can truly be said to bear witness to the past in order that healing can continue for the future; and finally, the significance of indigenous rights and activism to post-liberal debates.

John G. Hansen, University of Saskatchewan, “Colonialism, Genocide and Indigenous Justice: Indigenous Perspectives on Healing from Colonialism”

In Canada and many other colonial countries, the criminal justice system has been used in an attempt to destroy the social and cultural way of life of Indigenous people, often through outright forced assimilation strategies. Such implementation of colonial laws, charters and policies have been an important factor in the erosion of Indigenous political, economic, social and cultural traditions. Considering that the ‘Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada is scheduled to release its final report on Canada’s history and legacy of the forced assimilation of Indigenous children through residential schools’, this paper will discuss Indigenous perspectives on the effects of the Canadian justice system and residential schools on Indigenous children, families and communities through qualitative research interviews conducted with Swampy Cree Elders of Northern Manitoba. This study is conducted in the context of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, and will speak of the need for decolonization of Indigenous models of justice as a vehicle for healing Indigenous communities.

Denis Bikeshu, Rwanda National University, “Contribution of Restorative Justice to Memory and Memorization in Post-Genocide Rwanda”

The year 2014 marks the 20th anniversary of the genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi in Rwanda. Every year, Rwandans commemorate this genocide where testimonies are shared and public talks are attended. This paper argues that memory can play an instrumental role in resolving and reconciling the various components of Rwandan society, especially by filling the gap between the harmers and the harmed. The author discusses the contribution of restorative justice to memory and memorization. *Gacaca* Courts being on the peak of restorative justice in Rwanda, within these auspices, much information has been shared to build public memory. This paper argues that tradition-based ways of settling disputes like *Gacaca* can contribute to memory much more than any other means in the aftermath of Genocide. On the other hand, public memory is a result of individual memories that also help in transitional justice mechanisms to address the challenges arising from the effects of the carnage in the society. This paper provides responses to questions like: what are sources of memory in Rwanda? How can this memory be retained and preserved? What are the challenges faced in retaining and preserving this memory? What is the role of this memory in the social processes of unity and reconciliation in Rwanda?

Room UC 217 (GSA Lounge) – Genocide’s Present and Future

Moderator: Andrew Woolford, University of Manitoba

Christopher Powell, Ryerson University, “Genocide and Global Human Society: Past Connections and an Undecided Future”

Since Christopher Columbus’s genocidal occupation of present-day Hispaniola, the practice of genocide has been a chronic feature of Western civilization’s global expansion. In addition to destroying individual lives, colonial genocides have damaged or destroyed many of the distinct cultures of colonized peoples. Different cultures make possible different ways of organizing and experiencing social life, different “ways of worldmaking”. The cumulative impact of colonial genocide has therefore been an erosion of global human ethnodiversity which entails a loss of different ways of being human. Colonization has also established the economic and political infrastructure of the modern world-system. In the past four decades, neo-liberal globalization has accelerated the erosion of the boundaries of nation-state societies and the formation of global institutions. For the first time in its history, the human species is about to be united into a single global human society. What will be the fate of cultural difference in that society? Will practical human universality include a plurality of cultures, or will the many alternative ways of being human be sacrificed for a universality that deals with difference by erasing it?

Margaret Urban Walker, Marquette University, “Radical Hope and the Aftermath of Genocide”

There is not much in the way of a discourse about hope in aftermath of genocide. One exception is Jonathan Lear’s *Radical Hope: Ethics in the Face of Cultural Devastation*. Lear’s book focuses on the history of the Crow people as an example of cultural devastation (and population decimation) and at the time of the Crow’s confinement to a reservation under the leadership of Plenty Coups. Lear uses the story to illustrate a human possibility that he calls “radical hope,” the ability of people or a people to orient themselves toward some future good that cannot be grasped due to a loss of concepts with the collapse of a way of life. Lear’s book is notable for its use in a work of Western philosophy of Native people as an exemplar of human possibility; it is somewhat puzzling in its repeated disavowal that the story he tells is more than the demonstration of a possibility and not a claim about “what actually happened.” I identify concerns with the idea of radical hope in connection with genocide generally, and in connection with Native Americans. I argue that there is a both a need to talk and a reluctance to talk about hope as a central affective resource for survivors in the aftermath of genocide, so a discussion of hope is welcome. The focus on radical hope, however, involves misunderstanding about both hope and genocide. It misses variation in the nature and particular experience of genocides and it misunderstands the importance of quite specific hopes that are central for victims of mass violence, including genocide survivors, and that are illustrated by Native American cultural and land reclamation. I argue that it is important for survivors and descendants to define the everyday hopes, hopes for understanding, and hopes for justice that sustain them. It is survivors who should be the judge of what they can and do hope for.

Maria Krause, Queen’s University, “Institutionalizing Ethnic Identity in Rwanda”

Reconciliation involves restoring and rebuilding relationships that have been broken or were built through oppressive means. It is a long-term, deeply personal, and difficult process. This leads to skepticism over the possibility for reconciliation to be institutionalized in a top-down fashion by national bodies and governments. Éloge Butera, an Honorary Witness of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in Canada and survivor of the 1994 Rwandan genocide spoke of these difficulties, saying that reconciliation in the wake of genocide is “a brutal and serious business.” In response to Butera’s words, one Aboriginal survivor of the residential school system said the real violence of her experience was that it robbed her of her belief in the value of her cultural identity. In present day Rwanda,

President Kagame and his government are attempting to reconcile Rwanda by eliminating ethnic diversity and uniting the country under a single identity of “Rwandanness.” This policy of unity and reconciliation involves “reeducating” Rwandans to identify with the government-sanctioned identity of “Rwandanness,” and teaching them that the ethnicities they identify with caused the genocide. In this paper, I grapple with the questions this government policy raises, asking if, like in the case of Canada, the silencing and demonizing of ethnicity is a new form of violence. Ultimately, I conclude that by removing ethnicity as a form of identification, the government denies Rwandans their identities and denies them the open discussion necessary for understanding the violence of the genocide and for forming a new, reconciled relationship.

Stephanie Wolfe, Weber State University, “Rwanda’s ‘Coming to Terms with the Past’”

At the 20th anniversary of the Rwandan genocide, can we argue that Rwanda has indeed come to terms with its past? This paper will examine the status of reparations and memorialization work in Rwanda in an exploration of whether the actions taken by the Rwandan government and civil society are adequately fulfilling the needs of survivors and the expectations of the broader community.

This paper will build upon the basic frameworks created and published in my 2013 work *The Politics of Reparations and Apologies* (examining Germany, Japan, and the United States) which established that redress and reparation movements are both highly political and sensitive in nature and that the increasing trend of reparation politics since World War II has brought an expectation within international and domestic societies that states will redress the wrongs inflicted upon the victimized groups. This expectation of justice can fall into five broad categories, which I have defined as criminal, reparatory, legislative, historical, and symbolic justice.

Building upon this framework, and incorporating research conducted in Rwanda in 2011 and my upcoming research trip in 2014; I will examine how Rwanda is attempting to come to terms with its past, and discuss my initial field findings regarding the effectiveness of current symbolic memorialization policies and planned expansion(s) such as material reparations.

12:30 – 2:00 pm *Lunch*

Marshall McLuhan Hall: Complimentary Lunch and IAGS Business Meeting

2:00 – 3:00 pm *Special Panel Presentation*

***Room 210 (Killarney):** A Presentation from the Canadian Museum for Human Rights

Clint Curle, Head of Stakeholder Relations

The Canadian Museum for Human Rights (CMHR) is the first museum solely dedicated to the evolution, celebration and future of human rights. Our aim is to build not only a national hub for human rights learning and discovery, but a new era of global human rights leadership.

Creating inspiring encounters with human rights, we will engage Canadians and our international visitors in an immersive, interactive experience that offers both the inspiration and tools to make a difference in the lives of others. We will welcome our visitors as partners on a journey to erase barriers and create meaningful, lasting change.

The Canadian Museum for Human Rights is the first national museum to be built in nearly half a century, and the first outside the National Capital Region.

As we prepare to open our doors in September 2014, we are founding a new conversation focused on building a strong future for Canada, and a better world.

3:05 – 4:35 pm *concurrent sessions*

***Room UC214 (Neepawa) – Genocide: Prevention, Rescue, and Silence**

Moderator: Gregory Stanton, Genocide Watch; George Mason University

Rhiannon Sian Iris Neilsen, University of Queensland, “‘Toxification’ as a more Indicative Early Warning Sign for genocide”

In tandem with the focus of this year’s conference, this paper seeks to shed light on the way in which the genocidal process comes to fruition over time and stages. Most notably, it provides a more indicative and accurate early warning sign of genocide – that is, a process I’ve termed ‘toxification’. Toxification is separate to, but may build upon, the early warning sign of dehumanisation: it is the process whereby the target group is conceived to be not merely inhuman, but as a malignant and carcinogenic pest that must be purged for the survival of society. Toxification goes beyond stripping or denying the target’s humanity: if convinced of a target group’s incurable toxicity, an instinctual survival-mechanism is triggered among the perpetrators, and ‘kill before being killed’ zero-sum logic is employed which sees the onset of systematic, intentional bloodletting. I argue that toxification is a crucial expediting facet of genocide, because it acts as the irrefutable and ‘reasonable’ validation for perpetrators to exterminate that, which is ‘contaminating’ and inherently ‘poisoning’ society. As such, it sits in contrast to other early warning signs, and is more specific to the phenomenon of genocide. In remembrance of 20 years anniversary, I focus toxification’s applicability to the Rwandan genocide of 1994.

Barbara Harff, U.S. Naval Academy, “Genocide Risks in 2014 and Beyond: A New Global Risk Assessment”

The annual risk assessments of future genocide and politicide, first published in my 2003 American Political Science Review article “No Lessons Learned from the Holocaust?” with updates posted on the GPANet.org website, have been entirely redone. All data on predisposing variables have been updated to 2012 and a new statistical method, hazard analysis, is used to estimate risks of onset during every year of state failure from 1955 to 2012. This enables us to specify the risks, for every country at present in state failure (civil war, regime breakdown, or both), the annual likelihood that a future outbreak of genocide or politicide will begin. The highest risk countries in 2013 included Ethiopia, Syria, and Sudan. The analysis also identifies the often-surprising “what if” risks for now-stable countries if they went into failure. The specific risk factors and current conditions in the highest-risk countries are identified. The implications for early warning and preventive responses are briefly discussed.

Morton Winston, The College of New Jersey, “Implementing the Right to Rescue”

The failure of nation states to suppress the genocide that took place in Rwanda twenty years ago should have taught us that peoples who are targets of genocide and other forms of institutionalized intergroup violence have a right to be rescued by the international community. In the intervening two decades opinion has moved past the old debate about whether state sovereignty permits such rescues to take place, and on to the development of the doctrine of the responsibility to protect

(R2P). Although R2P is a significant advance, it has thus far been hampered by various factors, including abuse and politicization, lack of resources, limited scope of applicability, and familiar collective action problems. Under the current world order the right to rescue is inoperative because there are no assigned addressees who are both a) capable of meaningful intervention, and b) who are recognized as the primary duty-bearers for this right. After reviewing the problems with R2P I suggest that one possible, though controversial solution lies in the creation of a private security force supported by the humanitarian community as a whole, which is designed for and specifically tasked with protecting humanitarian aid workers and those civilians who are in their care.

Janja Bec-Neumann, Faculty of European Legal and Political Studies, Novi Sad University, “Zones of Silence”

How to escape zones of silencing? How to escape zones of silence of victims? How to escape zones of silence of perpetrators? How to escape zones of silence of bystanders? How to escape zones of silence of rescuers? Silence after traumatic events is very sophisticated, it is not banal, and has a very high level of complexity. Traumatic events create zones of silencing, in micro and macro levels. Silencing after genocide has the most sophisticated forms and the highest levels of complexity. We have minimum four zones of silence: zone of silence of perpetrators, zone of silence of victims, zone of silence of bystanders and zone of silence of rescuers. These four zones are different and complementary: silencing the acts and responsibility of perpetrators, silencing the shame and the suffering of victims, silencing the role of bystanders and silencing sometimes even the role of rescuers who rescued the victims from hands of perpetrators. All these four zones of silencing are not monolithic. Silencing of perpetrators who killed someone is different from silencing of distant-perpetrators who planned, organized, and coordinated killing/s. Silencing of bystanders who as helpless could not help and become rescuers in situation of violence is different from silencing of bystanders who had intent of profiteering in violent situations. Silencing of victims who are suffering alone is different from silencing of victims who are ashamed because they did not managed to help those who are more fragile and need protection, mostly parents, children, women, elderly, close friends and wounded. Silencing of rescuers who rescued victims from hand of perpetrators for money is different from the silencing of rescuers who were risking lives to rescue victims from hands of perpetrators.

Room UC 220 (Russell) – Spaces of Dispossession and Displacement II

Moderator: Rochelle Johnston, University of Toronto

Jeremy Patzer, Carleton University “Dispossession and Disempowerment: Walking the Road to Residential School”

Critics suggest that the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement and its subsequent Truth and Reconciliation Commission are oriented toward promoting pre-emptive reconciliation while eliding underlying issues such as colonial dispossession and the struggle for decolonization and self-determination. Is there a connection between these issues and the pervasive, multigenerational harm caused by residential schools, or should land and self-determination form the crux of another argument at another time? My argument is that there is a connection. One relation to be drawn between dispossession, the dismantling of traditional Aboriginal governance structures, and residential schooling is through their role as government solutions to historical facets of the evolving “Indian problem.” Thus while the notion of reconciliation takes an entire relationship as its object, such a history suggests that it is worthwhile interrogating a contemporary process of reconciliation that deploys an individualizing therapeutic ethos focused disproportionately on victims (and not on perpetrators) and that ignores multiple sources of rupture in the historical relationship. Lastly, there is the issue of causability. The depredations of colonization—the despoilment of land and the means of survival on it, as well as the assumption of a plenary political-bureaucratic control over First Nations—created the very conditions of possibility for Indian

residential schooling, such that any reckoning with the latter cannot be dissociated from the former. In effect, the restoration of self-determination likely represents one of the most assured forms of inoculation against the possible repetition of paternalistic, genocidal institutional arrangements such as the residential schooling experience.

Stephen L. Egbert, University of Kansas; Haskell Indian Nations University, "A Tyranny Sincerely Exercised for the Good of its Victims': Indian Allotment in the U.S. and the Assimilationist Geographical Imagination"

Beginning in the mid-1850s and culminating in the Dawes Act of 1887, progressivist reformers in the U.S. pushed for tribal lands to be subdivided ("allotted") to individual Natives as part of a larger movement to assimilate them into white culture. Underlying assimilation and the push for allotment was a particular geographical imagination that envisioned Native peoples as occupying a proper but substantially diminished role in the landscape: they would still be present as sedentary farmers but would no longer be "out of place." Assimilation may be viewed as a geopolitical project that sought to break up tribal governments and communities, in part through the process of allotment where individuals were given land parcels to settle and farm, while "surplus" lands, reservation lands beyond those needed for allotment, were sold to settlers and other interests. Unfortunately, the naïve geographical imaginations of the assimilationists dovetailed perfectly with the imaginations of land speculators, settlers, railroad promoters, and a host of others, creating an unholy alliance between those who advocated assimilation and those who sought to aggrandize themselves by means of Native lands and who had an altogether different geographical imagination. The disastrous results were not only diminished tribal authority and in some cases new and foreign surnames, but abject poverty, loss of both "surplus" and allotted lands, and severe fractionation (divided ownership of individual parcels by numerous descendants) – a realized geography that in no way matched the imagined geography of the reformers and that suited neither them nor those they intended to help.

Andrew R. Basso, University of Calgary, "Towards a Displacement Atrocities Theory: The Cherokee, Herero, and Pontic Greeks"

This paper examines three cases of how time and space were used to kill three different populations, in three different times, on three different continents, by three different types of regimes. I develop a theory of how and why perpetrators utilize displacement as a tool of atrocity crimes and also differentiate this unique experience of movement from other methods of crime perpetration. What is most fascinating about these cases is the similar methods of perpetration in entirely different contexts. I conceptualize atrocity crimes to include genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes as defined in the 1998 Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court.

The Cherokee Trail of Tears in the Southern United States (1838-1839), German destruction of the Herero in German South-West Africa (1904-1908), and the Ottoman extermination of the Pontic Greeks (1916-1918 and 1919-1923) are all insightful cases of how displacement is used as the main tool of atrocity crimes. In each case, men were segregated, diminished in power, or killed which weakened group resistance opportunities. Pre-displacement raids on the targets were used to destabilize the populations. A general displacement then took place. Finally, the group perished in whole or in large part due to exposure to natural elements, malnutrition, disease, or in small part, direct killings of group members.

Displacement can be understood in terms of linear distance or deserted space. What matters most is that the targets are moving and are systematically denied vital daily needs (food, water, shelter, and clothing) by perpetrators for exterminationist ends. I posit that perpetrators utilize displacement as a tool of atrocity crimes because it is cost effective killing, does not mentally strain perpetrators, shields the public from crimes which take place far away, and allows for a denial of responsibility afterwards.

***Room 224 (St. Anne) – The Fraught Spaces of Genocide Law**

Moderator: Karen Busby, University of Manitoba

Stefan Wolejszo, Government of Canada, “Finding the Core of Illegality: The Canadian Prosecution of Désiré Munyaneza”

In 1997 Désiré Munyaneza, who was a mid-level perpetrator in the 1994 genocide in Rwanda, obtained a falsified passport and immigrated to Canada disguised as a Cameroonian citizen. After a six-year investigation that included travel to Rwanda in order to interview witnesses, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police arrested Munyaneza in October of 2005 to face charges of genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes under the *Crimes Against Humanity and War Crimes Act*. Munyaneza was charged with crimes committed in another sovereign state, and neither the perpetrator nor the victims were Canadian citizens at the time of the offenses. Based on provisions outlined in the Crimes Against Humanity and War Crimes Act, the court utilized custodial universal jurisdiction for the Munyaneza proceedings. When this type of jurisdiction is invoked, it is understood that if the individual in question did not enter into Canada, Canadian authorities would have no interest in extraditing the person from another state. Drawing upon a legal brief created in 1985 by Gowen Guest for the Deschênes Commission, which attempts to clarify the core of illegality for war criminals residing within Canada, this presentation examines the ontological confusion caused by the use of custodial universal jurisdiction in the Munyaneza proceedings.

Mofidul Hoque, Liberation War Museum, “International Crimes Tribunal of Bangladesh: Contested Space of a Domestic Trial”

The international community ended their '*Fifty Years of Silence*' and began to address the genocidal crimes since the early 1990's. Although ICC highlighted the importance of national efforts to deliver justice for international crimes, there were few moves to establish such tribunal. Most of the tribunals are international in its formation, or hybrid in few cases. One major domestic tribunal of recent-era is the International Crimes Tribunal of Bangladesh established in 2010, the reference point of which was the landmark act adopted by the nation's parliament in 1973.

The paper will highlight salient features of the International Crimes (Tribunal) Act of 1973 as amended in 2010 and how it ended impunity and initiated the justice process. The Tribunal has indicted the major local collaborators of the Pakistan Army and most important cases are now nearing completion. This signifies the end of impunity for past crimes which was imposed on the nation by the military dictatorial regime in alliance with the religious fundamentalist forces. The nation established their right to justice through a protracted struggle of four decades. As such the Tribunal generates lot of heat both for and against. Although majority of the people stood behind the trial, the Tribunal has been severely criticized in the world press as well as by few international NGO's. The accused who represent a religious fundamentalist group, also mounted strong campaign to tarnish the image of the Tribunal. The Tribunal, the Govt. and Civil Society Organizations could not adequately address the misinformation and misunderstanding which prevailed. The justice process thereby opened up the issue of the politics of genocide and raised pertinent questions regarding the rights of the victim and justice as a contested notion.

The paper will try to ascertain the role the international community played or failed to play in promoting justice. The shortcomings and success of the Bangladesh Tribunal will be judged against this complex historical and political background.

Arua Oko Omaka, McMaster University, “When Perpetrators become Prosecutors: The Nigerian Government and the International Observer Team in the Alleged Genocide in Biafra”

There appears to be a conspiracy of silence among scholars on the question of genocide in the Nigeria-Biafra War. The Biafran government accused the Nigerian Military Government of perpetrating genocide in Biafra. The allegation attracted global attention and was debated in the media and in many parliaments in Europe and North America. Concerns expressed by different world governments and humanitarian organizations led to the invitation of an observer team that later became known as “International Observers Team.” The “international observers” in their verdict, concluded that there was no evidence of genocide in Biafra. Since the war ended in 1970, little or no effort has been made to re-examine the reports of the observer team. This paper reassesses the investigation and reports of the observer team. It argues that the observers *ab initio* were incapacitated by the terms of reference given to them by the Nigerian government and so could not have produced an objective report. Based on the inherent obstacles found in the terms of reference, the paper concludes that the invitation of the team, though unique in the history of wars, merely served as public relations exercise aimed at saving the image of the Nigerian government that was greatly damaged in the international community. This paper, therefore, is an attempt to reopen the genocide discourse as an unfinished business, especially, for scholars of Nigerian history.

Prosper Baseka wa Baseka, Reinwardt Academy, “Rwanda Memorial Museums: The Impact of Displaying Human Remains”

According to the current national policy, human remains must be shown in public to emphasise the scale and horror of the genocide so that people never forget the killings. In contrast, Rwandans, and survivors in particular, question the ethics of displaying human remains in public space, since such practices go against Rwandan culture. In Rwandan culture, when a person dies their relatives must bury him as soon as possible. Rwandans of all ages and backgrounds need to know what happened if a new genocide is to be prevented; however, if they are not comfortable with the content, will they visit such kinds of “sensitive collections”? As stated by ICMEMO, “information conveyed in exhibitions, publications and educational projects about historical events should evoke empathy with the victims as individual humans and groups which were specifically targeted for persecution.” In addition, the survivors are frequently traumatised when seeing the remains presented as those of their relatives in these learning centres. To prevent trauma, they refuse to visit them. This presentation will address these challenges by asking what kind of collections should be exhibited in order to create inclusive memorial museums. Human remains should be not shown publicly but can be well conserved for other activities like remembrance events. Information is more important for public education than human remains themselves.

***Room 224b (Souris) – Genocode and the Time of Childhood**

Moderator: Leslie Thielen-Wilson, Nipissing University

Ruth Amir, Yezreel Valley College, “Killing Them Softly: The (Non-Death) Genocides of Children in the Twentieth Century”

This paper deals with non-death genocides of children on national, ethnic, or political grounds through forcible transfer [Article 2(e) of the UNCPCPG]. First, I explore the intrinsic non-death genocidal practices of displacement, forced migration or institutionalization of children of particular groups. Second, I examine the *Zeitgeist* and collective *mens rae* that brought about these practices. The cases concern Indigenous children in settler societies in Canada, US, and Australia, children of

Yemeni immigrants in Israel, children of political opponents in Franco's Spain and to the exiled children of operation Peter Pan in Cuba.

I argue that these 20th century genocides of children were premised on the scientific modernist discourses of culture, childhood, and rights that provided the scientific basis for the objectification of the non-civilized subject. States aspired to eliminate or at least reduce all loyalties and divisions except for those sanctioned by the dominant group. Thus, Indigenous people, immigrants, and political dissidents were, in particular, subjects to "government" in the Foucauldian sense. Subjects were classified into useful, worthless and damaging.

I further argue that these non-death genocides took two primary forms. First, the aggressive assimilation of children into dominant culture, if their purportedly inherent faults were thought of as benign and redeemable as in the case of Indigenous peoples and immigrants. Second, permanent external or internal displacement through adoptions or deportations of groups deemed non-assimilable or malign. In both forms, however, the intent to destroy or irrevocably harm a group in part or whole was clearly evident.

Anas Karzai and Marianne Vardalos, Laurentian University, "Kill the Child Save the Consumer: The Genocidal Practices of Corporate Capitalism:

In this presentation we argue that the quest of corporate capitalism to gain brand-loyalty by targeting children at younger ages is a practice involving the same strategies used in the documented genocides of indigenous peoples: divide and conquer. Although economic growth is legitimated by the ruling-class as beneficial and life-enhancing, all statistics reveal it to be a tyranny which jeopardizes public health by putting profit before humankind. As scholar Raphael Lemkin explained, genocide does not mean the immediate destruction of a people or nation. The process "is intended rather to signify a coordinated plan of different actions aiming at the destruction of essential foundations of the life of national groups, with the aim of annihilating the groups themselves." (1943).

Corporations deliberately divide children from the families which have historically provided youth with attachments crucial to stability, identity and well-being. Once the intricate web of marketing pushes critical sources of security to the margins, children become not just vulnerable to, but dependent on the endless enticements of worlds offered to them through consumption. Drawing on the insights of health experts, educators, media critics, and industry insiders, we will show that the youth marketing industry's stealth tactics have a sinister purpose. By destroying the natural ways in which children develop, learn and grow, corporations create distress and then offer to sublimate the very anxiety they have caused with imperatives to buy products and services. In order to capture life-long customers, industries of the corporate economy are destroying the essential foundations of life itself: childhood.

Diem Lafortune, Singer/songwriter; activist, "Behind the 60's Scoop – Reproductive Privacy and the Privatization of Genocide"

The Tomlinson Report and the Hoskins Report of 1920 guided England's creation of adoption legislation, which, until then, had been unregulated by the state. In 1921, Ontario (and most commonwealth jurisdictions) adopted this legislation *fait accompli* from England. In 1927, Ontario's legislation explicitly sealed adoption records. From 1921 until 1978, there is literally a vacuum in Ontario *Hansard* on adoption – no committees, no social science reports, nothing. This is the case in

nearly all jurisdictions – there is no history of the origins of the “secrecy” provisions. Further, the stated purpose for “confidentiality” has shifted in the debates and in court decisions from 1921 until the present. This shift is comparable to the allegories of colonization. Lafortune argues that the “myth of secrecy” is a convenient lie – an obliterating master narrative and tool of genocide whereby the child’s narrative is “cleaned out” and replaced by the narrative of the adoptive parents. The legislative regime allows this - adoptive parents are exempt [by failure to enforce], from the federal criminal code prohibiting the creation of fraudulent birth records. Colonial minded social workers encourage it. As the land is empty so is the child’s head – *tabula rasa*. Lafortune argues that adoption is psychic colonization and that the shifting excuses for depriving adopted people of their records are analogous to the allegories of colonization. Moreover, patriarchy and capitalism have driven and continue to drive the adoption industry and the “rescue” allegory continues to fuel the apologists.

Tamara Starblanket, Native Education College – Vancouver, “The Genocide Convention and the Canadian Criminal Code’ in *Genocide: Indigenous Nations and the State of Canada*”

My conference proposal is based on my dissertation that examines the Canadian government’s forcible transferring of Indigenous children into residential schools and now into foster homes. The proposal is based on a chapter from my thesis: *The Genocide Convention and the Canadian Criminal Code*. What is the legal meaning of the Criminal Code when Canada has continued to remove Indigenous children from their families, communities and nations which the Genocide Convention constitutes genocide? The government of Canada cannot absolve itself of acts that are deemed to be in violation of customary international laws. The Canadian government’s Criminal Code legislation obstructs the application of the Genocide Convention to possible government conduct with respect to articles 2 (b) (d) and (e). The dominating and dehumanizing framework of international law has allowed the state to violate international laws with respect to the forcible transferring of Indigenous children. It will be shown that the Criminal Code and the limited definition of genocide are indicative of the dominating and dehumanizing relationship created by colonialism.

***Room UC 2177 (GSA Lounge) – ARTS**

Sarah Jewett, West Chester University, “Exploring Discrimination in Humanity through Art”

There exists a human inclination throughout history for individuals and groups to impose superiority over others for one reason or another. For instance, the common phrase is that the eyes are the window of the soul, but history suggests that a more accurate statement would be that the face is perceived as such. Of course this is not true, but it is a strong enough misconception to assist in the discrimination and genocide of millions throughout time. The study of genetics proves that we are fundamentally equal despite our physical differences, and that what dictates any variations are typically cultural conditioning, geographic influences, and epigenetics.

These concepts are explored in a group of paintings and sculptures, but the primary focus is put on a most recent painting, *Migration*. In the main group of work, the face is explored as the expression of self, as well as the usage of gold and other metal leaf as a means of honoring the victim. Also addressed is the social responsibility of artists and the impact these messages may have on the viewer. In *Migration*, through the usage of imagery from the Holocaust, the Victorian era, and indigenous cave art from different regions of the world, the cyclical nature of humanity’s darkest history is explored through symbolism and portraiture.

4:40 - 5:30 pm **Room 210 (Killarney):** Genocide Commemoration: Rwanda: 20 Years

5:30-7:00 pm *Keynote Address*

Room 210 (Killarney): Tony Barta, La Trobe University

Presentation Title: "Liberating Genocide"

Abstract: Almost all our problems with genocide go back to the founding definitions from half a century ago. The most well-known texts Lemkin left us have had an influence on international law he would have been proud of and some effects on historical understanding he would have deplored. Is it feasible to liberate the concept of genocide to create more realistic understandings of the past without lessening its power in prosecutions? Recent work shows that it is. Lemkin himself, as both lawyer and historian, gave us some very useful leads. The range of research we have brought here shows how far we have come in exploring cases and contexts on continents other than Europe and how far we still have to go. For Indigenous peoples caught up in the colonizing mania of Europeans, genocide could be violent and immediately devastating. But the destruction of peoples was also furthered by contradictory and sometimes benevolent intentions; it was resisted by survival strategies often opaque to the colonizers. The very different understandings of time and place, movement and belonging, knowledge and ownership would make terms like 'settler' and 'property' instruments of genocide few Europeans, then or later, could comprehend from an Indigenous perspective. We need more ethnographic history if we are to make the historical experience real and the historical processes intelligible. That endeavour, with its openness to the widest spectrum of disciplines—and arts—can liberate genocide studies into new ambitions.

7:00 pm *Dinner*

Marshall McLuhan Hall: Complimentary Dinner

8:30 and 9:30 pm Buses depart from University of Manitoba for downtown

Saturday July 19, 2014

7:30 and 8:30 am Buses depart from the Fort Garry Hotel for the University of Manitoba campus

8:30 am Registration opens

9:00 to 10:30 am *concurrent sessions*

***Room UC 214 (Neepawa) – The Temporality of Settler Colonial Genocide in Canada**

Moderator: Andrew Woolford, University of Manitoba

David B. MacDonald, University of Guelph, “Canada’s Indian Residential Schools: Genocide, Collective Memory, and Reconciliation”

When Raphael Lemkin coined the term “genocide” in 1944, Indian Residential Schools in Canada had been operating for more than half a century. Generations of Aboriginal children were forced to attend the Schools, which became the loci of widespread verbal, physical, and sexual abuse. Communities deprived of their children often became sites of intergenerational trauma. With the Truth and Reconciliation Commission nearing the end of its mandate, genocide is being widely used as a descriptor for the many crimes of the system. This paper explores the legal and academic meanings of genocide, and whether the IRS system can be seen as genocidal. I argue here that 2e is a reasonable ground floor to begin to make such a claim. This does not mean that other elements of the UNGC could not also be invoked. Rather this is a pragmatic recognition that only the case for 2e can be strongly articulated at this stage. I also offer a brief discussion of what are we to do now if we recognize that the IRS system was genocidal. What sort of restitution and reconciliation needs to occur between Aboriginal and settler peoples, and how much will this change Canada as it is now politically constituted? And to what extent is an affirmation or refutation of genocide a matter of intuition or emotion rooted in collective memory?

Leslie Thielen-Wilson, Nipissing University, “Genocide Ongoing: Indian Residential School Case Law, Intergenerational Impact, and the Settler Collective Across Time”

The Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement (IRSSA) brought to a close the national class action: *Baxter v Canada*. *Baxter* claimed that the Government of Canada was directly responsible for the Indian Residential School (IRS) system, and that the IRS system resulted in cultural loss for IRS survivors and their families. *Baxter* cited U.N. Conventions concerning genocide, war crimes, and the rights of the child. In this paper I argue that settler Canadians can learn a great deal about our-selves and about how colonial power operates within the present, from IRS survivors’ accounts of the intergenerational impact of IRS. Drawing from IRS litigation, including the *Baxter* claim, I show how accounts of the intergenerational impact of IRS:

- a) reveal Canada as a nation built through the ‘dishonourable behaviour’ of genocide, and expose the illegitimacy of Canada’s claim to sovereignty over Indigenous people and land, and;
- b) bring into view the settler collective across time, and reveal the ongoing and everyday nature of genocide (and settler illegitimacy) within present day Canada.

While the IRSSA effectively silenced what the *Baxter* claim threatened to reveal, the forthcoming TRC report and museum have an opportunity to breathe new life into this threat. Settlers may once again have the opportunity to learn about our collective illegitimacy and about what this means for our collective responsibility to address ongoing colonial injustice. I conclude with a brief suggestion as to how settlers may act on this knowledge in a way that supports Indigenous sovereignty and resurgence.

Tricia E. Logan, University of London, “Métis peoples and Canada: Illegitimate breeding and perceptions of the ‘half-caste’”

Canadian historiographies, nation-building myths and settler colonial genocide histories should inevitably merge at various points. Granted, these histories are often quite complex and often misunderstood so often misrepresent settler colonial genocide in Canada. In order to contextualize and adequately represent the narratives of Indigenous eliminationism in Canada, they must be understood from discrete contexts, including those of First Nations, Métis and Inuit peoples.

This paper will examine relationships between Métis people settler colonialism in Canada. It is important to distinguish how their histories contribute to a broader narrative of settler colonial genocide in Canada. The Métis in Canada were cast as “Halfbreeds” and considered rebels by the newly-forming nation-state, Canada. Biological markers like, “Halfbreed”, the discouragement of Métis peoples’ “illegitimate breeding” and the classification of the “half-caste” were projected to the Métis peoples in Canada.

Biological, cultural and physical ‘techniques’ developed by Raphael Lemkin, when describing colonial genocides, manifested in Canada and have only recently started to be included in Canadian histories. Experiences of the residential school system, forced sterilizations and biological classification of “Halfbreeds” created colonially-constructed classifications of Indigenous peoples in Canada. Moreover, social, cultural and political treatment of Métis in Canada was often outside legal and moral boundaries of state ‘control’ of pre-existing communities at periods throughout Canada’s colonial legacy. This paper will integrate these often fragmented or unexamined segments of Canadian history in context of nation-building and settler-colonial genocide.

Julia Peristerakis, University of Manitoba, “‘We must separate them from their families’: Canadian policies of child apprehension and relocation from Indigenous communities”

Debate has been reignited about whether genocide occurred in Canada. The residential school system has garnered attention as a system of attempted genocide, involving the forcible removal of Indigenous children from their families and communities with the goal of assimilating those children into Anglo-European culture. The residential school system began to wind down in the 1960s, but the introduction of provincial child welfare services on reserves and the migration of many Indigenous families to urban centres led to an increased apprehension of children from their families by the state. Most of these children were placed with non-Indigenous foster and adoptive families, often out-of-province and sometimes out-of-country. This period of apprehension and relocation of Indigenous children came to be known as the Sixties Scoop. In this paper, I will examine the continuities between the residential school system and the Sixties Scoop era of the child welfare system using a relational genocide framework to analyze attempted group destruction. I will focus on the forcible removal of children from one group to another and will assess the degree to which these policies threatened the survival of Indigenous communities the ability of groups to reproduce themselves according to their own cultural codes.

***Room UC 220 (Russell) – Genocide Memory: Time, Space and Movement II**

Moderator: Mark Meuwese, University of Winnipeg

Margo Tamez, University of British Columbia, “In the Shadow of the Wall: Indigenous Memory and Truth Confronting Killing Societies in the Texas-Mexico Region”

In this presentation, I will address these questions: *“How do destructive processes such as genocide form and take shape over time and across space? How are spaces and places mobilized in the destruction of Indigenous groups? and, How might we envision new spaces for cohabitation and reconciliation in the aftermath of, or amidst ongoing, genocidal processes?”* I will situate these in the context of Indigenous research conducted in partnership with Ndé (Lipan Apache) elders, chiefs, and families in the Texas-Mexico region. In the aftermath of 9/11 and the 2006-2009 U.S. border wall construction, Indigenous peoples’ active recovery of intergenerational narratives and key documents whilst undergoing forced dispossession has confronted and unsettled the celebratory, conquering history inscribed by Europeans and Euro-American groups. Ndé, and related Indigenous survivor memory of violent colonizations, between 1820 and 2012, are chipping away at the veneer of white, settler, Texan myths, and are revealing a disturbing truth lying beneath the surface. Providing key examples from the Ndé Indigenous rights project unfolding in the shadow of the wall, I will unpack an Indigenous perspective of settler genocide underpinning on-going forms of genocide. Drawing from recent human rights procedures undertaken by colleagues at the University of Texas School of Law, Human Rights Clinic, and myself with the Ndé, I will share recommendations for enacting respectful partnerships for redressing Ndé and related Indigenous peoples’ rights under Indigenous and international law systems.

Jeremy Garsha, University of Cambridge, “‘Reclamation Road’: Contention and Reconciliation in Indigenous Genocide Memorials”

This paper takes a comparative approach in examining the changing memorial representations of colonial genocides in California, Namibia, and Tasmania. While temporally and geographically removed from one another, the production (and silencing) of historical memory unites these genocides under emerging and shifting national narratives. This paper contextualizes contemporary sites of historical memory—in public memorials and monuments—by tracing their current presentation back through historical transformations. The paper focuses on the commission and changes to plaques marking the site of the Pomo Indian massacre at Bloody Island in Clear Lake, California, the transformation of the Shark Island concentration camp, off the coast of Luderitz, Namibia, into a municipal campground for tourists, as well as the cemetery of Swakopmund, Namibia, which until 2005, allowed all-terrain vehicles to drive over thousands of unmarked indigenous graves. Risdon Cove, near Hobart, Tasmania, is explored as both the site of the first colonial settlement and a massacre epicenter. The paper further explores the Namibian preservation of inherited monuments honoring the fallen German colonial perpetrators, the co-option of the Pomo massacre site by the “Native Sons of the Golden West,” an Anglo-American organization, and the desecration of the Bowen Monument at Risdon Cove, which was covered in a blood spattered sheet during the 2004 bicentennial. Overall this paper unpacks the strategies of preservation, transformation, and commemoration of these genocides in relation to the construction and shifts in emerging historical narratives, underscoring the interplay of physical locations in the construction of remembering and forgetting atrocious history.

Rochelle N. Johnston, University of Toronto, "Reflections and perspectives on an Indigenist approach to research on genocide"

Though Indigenous activists are increasingly using the discourse of genocide to draw attention to the historical and contemporary threats their peoples face, there is still very little research in the field of genocide studies by Indigenous academics (Johnston, 2013). Perhaps as a result, the Genocide Convention, and by extension the field of genocide studies, "fails to capture Canadian Aboriginal notions of being" (Woolford & Thomas, 2009, p. 82) or reflect the worldviews of Indigenous peoples more generally. Ironically, representatives of the groups structurally complicit in colonial genocides – non-Indigenous academics – are shaping emerging theories of colonial genocide. In this paper I reflect on my own role in these processes as a non-Indigenous Canadian conducting research with Indigenous academics and activists on the bystanding behavior of other non-Indigenous peoples in Canada and Sudan. I share the reactions of my Indigenous collaborators and me to academic theories of colonial genocide and bystanding and the questions we plan to ask influential non-Indigenous people who are bystanding in the context of genocide. I also reflect on my own attempts at taking an Indigenist approach, one informed by Indigenous worldviews, to research on colonial genocide; the tensions I have encountered in trying to take this approach within the academy; and how my approach and research design has changed through my research relationships with Indigenous academics and activists. In addition to presenting on these topics from my own perspective I will be inviting the Indigenous academics and activists I am collaborating with to contribute their perspectives.

Seema Ahluwalia, Kwantlen Polytechnic University, "Practicing Silence, while Resisting Silencing and Complicity: A Settler-witness account of Lakota support for Teaching and Learning about Genocide"

In this paper, I reflect on Lakota uses of the term genocide. As a Canadian "settler-witness", I recognize my contradictory and overlapping positions as a Canadian settler/ teacher married into a Lakota family and community and learning about Lakota culture. From this vantage point, I reflect on the ways that Lakota people practice traditional knowledge and ceremony as an expression of "sovereignty" and resistance to genocide.

The term genocide is broadly construed by Lakota people as the context in which to understand the perilous position they are in as an Indigenous nation resisting ongoing occupation by a settler state. Indigenous Elders, scholars, jurists, parents and activists have offered critical insight into the limited and myopic UN convention definition of genocide, noting the colonial context in which it was derived, attempts to domesticate genocide claims, and the focus on individual intention and culpability.

Using the term genocide in Canadian universities to describe ongoing atrocities against Indigenous peoples is controversial and often met with rejection, anger and attempts to silence, shun, or discredit. Meanwhile, Lakota teachers and other members of Indigenous communities find the term genocide is precisely the context in which to understand the poisoning of their waters, destruction of their lands and sacred sites, "linguicide" and removing children from their families and communities. Lakota cultural practices like silence, respect, bravery and generosity have been shared with me as important tools for resisting silencing and complicity in teaching and learning about genocide.

***Room 224a (St. Anne) -- Genocide Education**

Moderator: Kimberley Ducey, University of Winnipeg

Noreen Barlas, University College of the North, “Cross-cultural perceptions, actions and results in a post-genocide Rwanda institution”

A comparative consideration of Nef’s Human Security Index outlines parallels and differences between Rwanda and Northern Manitoba. Although the narratives are quite different, genocide is a perception in both settings. The goals and outcomes of a project conducted at the Human Resource (HR) department of the National University of Rwanda (NUR) are compared to capacity development associated with cross-cultural advancement of Manitoba’s University College of the North (UCN). In Rwanda, the human resource capacity development at NUR was initially received with hesitancy, but with frequent socializing and building of trust, people eventually shared their stories and perspectives which were critical in defining positive steps forward. The development of trust-based relations during investigation was pivotal in forming connections required for co-authorship work and community development. At UCN, emphasis is being placed upon the development and linkages associated with a network of regional Indigenous communities, as well as focus on areas such as language preservation. Human resource development includes the establishment of local regional centre coordinators to facilitate community empowerment and help insure that there is balanced approach to community development. One UCN challenge is how best to move forward with local HR capacity development. Consideration is given to the importance and process of appropriate definition of past atrocities as being defined as genocide and subsequently the failure in recognition essentially hinders the reconciliation and healing efforts required for a healthy state or institution.

Susan Henderson, University of the West – Scotland, “‘But we saw birds at Birkenau’ – some salient findings from a socio-material study of learning at Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum.”

Recent events within Scotland – such as ‘shock statistics’ which indicate Scotland’s record levels of hate (Campsie, 2012) – have convinced that elements of British society resist multiculturalism (Jackson, 1989). The place of the Holocaust has thus never been more vindicated, both in terms of its historicity and the lessons we can learn from these genocides, regarding citizenship and moral education (Cowan and Maitles, 2011). Yet, despite a burgeoning body of literature which purports to evaluate the ‘best methods’ for Holocaust teaching, little is understood about educational ‘affects’; in particular, the intrinsic value as well as the cost-effectiveness of educational excursions to Holocaust sites abroad (Lindquist, 2011). This paper outlines salient findings of a PhD study investigating spaces of pedagogy at Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, Poland. Here, learning processes are explored through one of three studied contexts (a Scottish Government-funded student excursion). Deploying a novel sociomaterial methodology, data collated from observant-participation, film and group interviews show how Holocaust knowledges are performed by architecture, artefacts and other pedagogical devices of the museum space (Keil, 2005). Indeed whilst the narrative of the museum guides is successful in ‘sacred places’ of the site, this study found that students also experience ‘moments of realisation’ about the Holocaust through *disruptions* to the formal tour, in transient spaces such as the museum exit area, where encounters with animals unexpectedly occurred (cf. Ellsworth, 2005). In this way, it is argued that *pedagogy makes place* but often, *place makes (effective) pedagogy* which has implications for how future Holocaust tours might be conducted.

Jessica Herdman, University of California, Berkley, “‘I speak to those who understand’: Teaching Music and Conflict”

From the psalms of the Protestants inciting Catholics to violence in civil-war ravaged Renaissance France, to the ingando songs used in Rwandan post-genocide reconciliation camps, music serves both to inflame and instigate, and to pacify within zones of intense social conflict. These tumultuous

circumstances breed intense emotional states where music can function within a nexus of othering, of unifying, of ecstasy, and of destruction. Despite this potency, musicological scholarship has only begun to focus on music and conflict as a circumscribed subject during the past decade.

Out of a concern for considering the sociological, psychological, and aesthetic aspects of music that may propel or deter direct conflict, this paper will offer an exploratory framework for teaching music and conflict – one which crosses chronological, geographical and cultural boundaries. While comparative cultural analysis has been commonplace in musicological work on conflict, historical viewpoints prior to the 20th century have rarely come to the fore. Such pedagogical approaches to music and conflict that integrate historical analyses may offer novel views on pressing questions in genocide studies – positing affective processes that still remain salient in modernity (cf. Cushman 2003). This paper explores how to delve into what music does in different, potentially genocidal contexts – how it works for identification, for acting out identities, towards incitement, towards conciliation – and how this work is possible. Following from Andrew Woolford's (2006) interrogation of what makes genocide thinkable (or how to make it unthinkable), this paper posits the unique position of music in bridging pedagogical approaches to the cultural violence that propels genocidal thought.

Lisa K. Taylor, Bishop's University, "Disrupting colonial futurist logics and intimate publics: Dilemmas in reparative and restitutive pedagogies with preservice teachers"

This paper reports on research conducted as part of my response to the TRC's invitation to educators to engage our broader society in the task of publicly witnessing and commemorating the testimonies of First Nations, Inuit, and Metis residential school survivors as part of a historic process of revising the terms of our national imaginary, historiography and citizenship.

I approach this project of what Roger I. Simon calls remembrance pedagogy wary of the challenges in initiating such conversations with non-indigenous Canadians who bring uneven affective investments in a settler colonial multicultural neoliberal democracy and attachments to the normative promises of education. Encounters with representations of the history and legacy of residential schools can open productive questions regarding teachers' positioning within an institution complicit in ongoing genocidal policies but also concerning the affective and discursive horizons structuring their response to these encounters.

In this case study—a B. Ed. undergraduate course on "difficult literature"—I examine excerpts from student journal responses to photographic, filmic and literary testimonial texts addressing this particular history of trauma and survival. My analysis focuses on the futurist logics structuring powerful social formations in settler colonial nations, particularly institutional cultures of education and redress. I examine how the figural logics of civilizational fantasies of racial redemption and assimilation structuring aspiring teachers' optimistic attachments are both disrupted and reinvigorated when my pedagogy asks students to engage with residential school survivor testimony and testimonial literature.

***Room 224b (Souris) – Genocide's Spaces of Memory and Justice**

Moderator: Karen Busby, University of Manitoba

William Pruitt, Elmira College, "Aggravating and Mitigating Sentencing Factors at the ICTR—An Exploratory Analysis"

The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda has been operating for nearly two decades now and has sentenced over sixty defendants. While the sentencing guidelines form the official Tribunal statute and rules of procedure are vague and indefinite, the court has established a sentencing

jurisprudence of its own, especially when it comes to aggravating and mitigating factors. The use of these factors in sentencing have been questioned, so an exploratory analysis of what factors the court has considered and how they have done so was constructed. The results show a wide ranging list of both aggravating and mitigating factors without providing a strict sentencing structure. These sentencing factors may set a standard for future international courts sentencing defendants for the most heinous of crimes.

Hollie Nyseth Brehm, University of Minnesota; Christopher Uggen, University of Minnesota; and Jean-Damascène Gasanabo, University of Geneva, “Genocide, Justice, and Rwanda’s Gacaca Courts”

More than one million people participated in the 1994 genocide against the Rwandan Tutsi. How did Rwanda, whose criminal justice infrastructure was decimated by the genocide, attempt to bring the perpetrators to justice? In this article, we provide the first systematic analysis of the outcomes of the *Gacaca* courts, a traditional community-based justice system that was greatly modified to address crimes of genocide. After briefly reviewing the creation of the National Service of *Gacaca* Jurisdictions, we present an overview of the outcomes of the courts with a focus on the specific sanctions given to those found guilty. This article provides the first complete analysis of these sanctions, contributing both an empirical overview and new insights into how Rwanda attempted to bring justice to the many citizens who took part in the genocidal violence. We conclude by highlighting some successes and failures of the *Gacaca* system and its broader lessons for justice in other contexts.

Michelle Renae Dragoo, California State University, “‘We Are All Rwandans!’ Identity, Genocide and Transitional Justice Systems”

This year marks the twentieth anniversary of the Rwandan genocide. Scholars from a variety of disciplines have reflected over the past twenty years and have offered both criticism and praise for Rwanda’s post-conflict, national reconstruction. In the wake of the 100 day genocide, the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), the sole ruling party in Rwanda, enforced and cultivated a “Government of National Unity” as one transitional justice mechanism to recover social stability immediately after the genocide and to prevent future conflicts. Paul Kagame, Rwanda’s president, has presented this Government of National Unity as a road that leads Rwanda away from ethnic identification in order to eradicate the country of those forces that helped generate the ethnic conflict and towards the non-ethnic, “harmonious society” that existed before colonialization.

Completely modifying ethnic identities through a “top-down” method provokes questions and concerns about the consequences of ridding people of deeply entrenched ethnic identification. In this paper, I aim to analyze Paul Kagame’s National Unity Regime, including criminalizing laws that penalize any discourse of ethnic identity and constitutional revisions that commit the government to the “eradication of ethnic, regional and other divisions.” I will argue that eliminating ethnic identities, especially in public discourse, is detrimental to sustained peace and stability in Rwanda. Rather, the notion of identity and culture could be used as a lens to analyze genocide prevention, intervention, and post-conflict reconstruction.

Mohammed Ayub Khan, McMaster University, “Hyderabad 1948: Reviving the Memory of a Forgotten Genocide”

The 1947 partition of India on religious lines was a traumatic and bloody episode in the region’s history. The physical partition of India, however, wasn’t the end of the story. India had the tremendous task of incorporating hundreds of semi-autonomous princely states. The largest of these was the landlocked state of Hyderabad. It was ruled by a Muslim dynasty whereas the population was predominantly Hindu. On the eve of partition the ruler refused to accede to either India or

Pakistan and proclaimed independence. After the failure of talks, the Indian state ordered its military to invade Hyderabad in September 1948. Officially dubbed as 'Police Action', it was a full-fledged military invasion. Accompanying the army were gangs of various affiliations and interests who indulged in killings, looting, rape and forcible conversions. A newly discovered Government of India report (*The Sunderlal Committee Report on the Massacre of Muslims*) reveals the killing of at least 27,000-40,000 people. In this paper, I will present an analysis of this forgotten episode by analysing the political context of the time and assess whether it can be categorized as genocide.

Room 224c (Steinback) – From Counterfactual and Real Time to Contemporary Manifestations of Genocide

Moderator: Adam Muller, University of Manitoba

Noah Osher, University of Western Ontario; Tamar Pileggi, Open University and Elihu D. Richer, Hebrew University, "Using Epidemiologic Timelines and What-if Counterfactuals to Test Choices in Intervention Against Genocide"

"Everything is determined, but choice is given" (Talmud)

Genocide results from human choice and bystander indifference. Time lines and what-if tipping points can be used to track and assess cause-effect relationships and consequences. Counterfactuals—what if thought experiments—can be used to test the role of choice and missed opportunities by actors and bystanders.

Even before mass killing starts, epidemiologic time lines for actions by perpetrators, bystanders, enablers and responders can be related to the outcomes: timelines for death or violence... Such timelines introduce the rigor of chronology. They give insights concerning early warning signs, tipping points, circumstantial and causal associations and opportunities lost.

Timelines of death tolls provide evidence-based data to test when or whether R2P interventions - warnings, threats, international law, sanctions, use of force are effective in dealing with past threats. They inform proactive, precautionary and preventive policy towards current threats to human life (mass murder) and human rights violations, (i.e. persecution, executions, and export of terror. Examples from the Armenian Genocide, the mass murders of Stalin and Hitler, Darfur Iran, the second intifada and Syria show missed opportunities from neglecting precautionary interventions and the costs of delay, but there are examples of successes. We suggest: Lessons from yesterday's timelines. Tipping points and what-if counterfactuals can be applied to predicting and preventing today. They enable us to examine the role and limitations of choice and moral agency in prevention of genocidal threats

Elihu D. Richer, Hebrew University, "Defeating Boycott-Divest-Sanctions at APHA: A Case Study"

Starting from 2001, a campaign to brand Israel as an apartheid state was launched at the Durban Conference on Racism, based on the precedent of Boycott-Sanctions-Divestment directed at South Africa. In late 2013, The Society of Indigenous Peoples, the American Studies association and the Modern Language Association passed resolutions endorsing BDS, citing harshness of occupation, "The Wall," persecution of indigenous peoples, barriers to access to medical care,

Operation Case Lead in Gaza refugees, and the mental stress of occupation.

But in November 2013, the Executive Council of the American Public Health Association – rejected by a 3 to 1 margin – passed a resolution recommending selective disinvestment despite a campaign by BDS activists and endorsements by 4 past presidents and Noam Chomsky. In 2012, there had been a tie vote.

This paper reviews the case made by the APHA Opponents of BDS: the proposed resolution was based on major errors of fact; it was biased, selective and discriminatory; it ignored the mass atrocities in Syria and the persecution of refugees in Sinai, the massive improvements in public health indicators in the West bank and Gaza, 200,000 Palestinian patients receiving medical care in Israel; and Israel's role in training of medical professionals. Opponents to BDS called attention to the world's silence during 8 years of thousands of rocket attacks and terror directed at Israeli civilians (genocidal terror) as well as cradle to grave Palestinian incitement to terror.

APHA delegates cited all the above in their warnings that endorsed BDS would undermine the credibility of APHA. APHA is a role model for IAGS.

Tamar Pileggi, Open University, Yoram Finklestein, Elihu D. Richter, Hebrew University, Shaaray Zedek, Jerusalem Centre for Genocide Prevention, "A Century of Gassing Children: From Turkish to Nazi Physicians to Bashir Assad"

"Who after all speaks today of the annihilation of the Armenians?" – Hitler, August 22, 1930

Bashir Assad's use of Sarin, a nerve gas agent, to kill civilians, including hundreds of children, in 2013, recalls the central role of Turkish physicians in the Armenian Genocide, and Nazi doctors in the Holocaust.

We examine the consequences of the actions of the Turkish doctors as architects of the Armenian Genocide as well as bystander inaction. We use timelines to review the story of the role of Turkish doctors during the Armenian Genocide. We then use "what-if" thought experiments and timelines – to ask what failed to deter Turkish and German doctors from providing intellectual and organizational leadership as perpetrators of the mass murder of Armenians and Jews respectively.

In late 1914, and onward, European trained Turkish doctors drew up the 'ten commandments' – the policy behind the mass murder of more than one million Armenians. Doctors were active as field commanders of the killer units and supervised the murder of infants and children with morphine injections.

We ask: Would there have been an Armenian Genocide without medical leadership? And without the precedent of the Turkish doctors, would Nazi doctors have provided leadership for compulsory euthanasia and mass murder? The questions state the case for codes of medical ethics proscribing doctors participating in mass murder – as in Syria – or even as complicit bystanders.

***Room UC 217 (GSA Lounge) – ARTS**

Amy Fagin, Independent scholar, "Beyond Genocide: Power Point Presentation"

"Beyond Genocide" is the title for the emerging series of contemporary illuminated manuscripts which explores the history and legacy of genocide and mass murder from pivotal atrocities executed around the globe. The series is designed for temporary exhibition in academic and cultural institutions worldwide. *"Beyond Genocide"* is a visual fine art experience which utilizes the traditional art-form of the illuminated manuscript in a contemporary context; wrestling with the intractable and consuming destruction of genocide on the planet. The formal exhibition is a professional and museum grade display available for loan to institutions with 1000 sq. ft. of presentation space. Limited Edition giclee reproductions of *"Beyond Genocide"* are also available for purchase for permanent collections.

The artist would present at the IAGS conference the series "*Beyond Genocide*" as a Power Point overview and present various past installations to demonstrate how host institutions may utilize this visual art series for appreciation, education and prevention in their locale. The presentation will run kiosk style in a central location during the conference for viewing at intervals where public display of an independent presentation can be organized. With proper set up the presentation can run independently of audio visual support at scheduled times. An example of set of slides is included with this proposal.

10:30 – 11:30 am *Indian Residential School Survivor Testimony*

Room 210 (Killarney) – Ted Fontaine, Discussion and Reading from *Broken Circle: The Dark Legacy of Indian Residential Schools*

Theodore (Ted) Fontaine is a member of the Sagkeeng Anishinaabe First Nation in Canada, and author of national bestseller, *Broken Circle: The Dark Legacy of Indian Residential Schools, A Memoir*. He is a regular speaker and media commentator on Indian residential schools. He's been called a Survivor, but sees himself as a victor.

From *Broken Circle*: Theodore (Ted) Fontaine lost his family and freedom just after his seventh birthday, when his parents were forced to leave him at an Indian residential school by order of the Roman Catholic Church and the Government of Canada. Twelve years later, he left school frozen at the emotional age of seven. He was confused, angry and conflicted, on a path of self-destruction. At age 29, he emerged from this blackness. By age 32, he had graduated from the Civil Engineering Program at the Northern Alberta Institute of Technology and begun a journey of self-exploration and healing.

In this powerful and poignant memoir, Ted examines the impact of his psychological, emotional and sexual abuse, the loss of his language and culture, and, most important, the loss of his family and community. He goes beyond details of the abuses of Native children to relate a unique understanding of why most residential school survivors have post-traumatic stress disorders and why succeeding generations of First Nations children suffer from this dark chapter in history.

Told as remembrances described with insights that have evolved through his healing, his story resonates with his resolve to help himself and other residential school survivors and to share his enduring belief that one can pick up the shattered pieces and use them for good.

- See more at: http://www.heritagehouse.ca/book_details.php?isbn_upc=9781926613666#sthash.91YpfjN.dpuf

11:30 am – 12:00 pm *coffee break*

12:00 – 1:30 pm *concurrent sessions*

***Room UC 214 (Neepawa) – Cultural Genocide**

Moderator: Mark Meuwese, University of Winnipeg

Miriam Borenstein, Wayne State University, “The Flag My Dad Died For’: Cultural genocide in Northern Ireland”

This study examines use of the term genocide to describe the history of British conquest and subsequent ruling of Ireland, and uses the case of Northern Ireland to clarify the murky terminology surrounding the terms *cultural genocide* and *ethnocide*. The paper considers the expansion of the British Empire into Ireland, the Potato Famine, the violent outbreaks known as the Irish Troubles, and the continued occupation and cultural suppression of Ireland and its people by England. Framing this historiography, the paper observes the work of genocide scholars, Irish historians, politicians, legislators, and protest leaders.

Though genocide scholars have debated the applicability of the term *genocide* to the Potato Famine, they have seldom considered applying it to the cultural suppression of the Irish beginning with the Easter Rising of 1916 and continuing through the twentieth century. Some claim that the continued occupation and suppression of Irish culture qualify the entirety of the troubles as genocidal action, while others categorize it with similarly colonized territories. Of specific importance is the attempted destruction of the Irish language and the localized discouragement of Gaelic Irish nationalist ethnic identity as a means of non-murderous genocide.

Jeff Bachman, American University, “Indigenous Populations, the Omission of Cultural Genocide, and the Inclusion of the Opt-in Clause in the Genocide Convention”

Following the Armenian Genocide and the Holocaust, the international community began negotiations to create a convention that recognized genocide as a violation of international law and required its prevention and punishment. Rather than commit themselves to the creation of a treaty that took into account the forms genocide was most likely to take in the future, the permanent members of the Security Council placed their own national interests, specifically their desire not to be implicated in the commission of genocide by the very treaty they were creating, ahead of the creation of a comprehensive treaty aimed at eradicating genocide. I argue that, for the United Kingdom, France, and the United States, this meant ensuring the removal of the prohibition of cultural genocide, the crime of genocide most likely to be committed against Indigenous populations, from the adopted text of the Genocide Convention, as well as the inclusion of the “opt-in” clause, which gave Contracting Parties the exclusive right to decide whether the Genocide Convention would extend to territories under their control.

Elcin Haskollar, Defiance College, "Understanding Ontological Destruction: The Case of Kurds in Iraq and Turkey"

This paper explores the relationship between culture and genocide. It examines the contemporary mechanisms and the social and political forces that underline the process vis-à-vis the state assimilation practices against the Kurdish populations in Iraq and Turkey. With the crisis in Syria emboldening the country's Kurdish population, the world's largest stateless nation has become an increasingly important aspect of Middle Eastern politics: their growing independence in the region is seen as an indication of intensifying conflict and greater regional instability, and the protection of their cultural rights has become an imperative precondition to ensure the democratization process moves forward in Iraq and Turkey. The greater problem, and the puzzle this research is primarily interested in solving, is that the tension between rights and principles is used to provide a normative framework through which Kurdish rights are discussed in Middle Eastern politics. The primary data is collected from semi-structured interviews, conducted with 20 key individuals (academics, intellectuals, politicians, and members of civil society organizations) in Diyarbakir, Turkey and Erbil, Iraq. These individuals are considered to be experts in the field of Kurdish issues and actively undertake roles to resolve Kurdish issues in their respective countries. I analyze the interview results to assess the extent to which they emphasize three outcomes: human rights, nationalism and cultural genocide.

Room UC 220 (Russell) – Genocide in Canada: Special Issue of the *Journal of Genocide Research

Moderators: Jeff Benvenuto, Rutgers University, and Andrew Woolford, University of Manitoba

Jennifer Huseman, University of London, "Resource Colonialism: A New Frontier in the Ongoing Genocide of Native North Americans"

As Patrick Wolfe argued, settler colonial genocide 'is a structure not an event,' possessing an 'elimination logic' that, rather than being an isolated 'one-off (and superseded) occurrence', operates as an 'organizing principle' in settler colonial society. Moreover, its primary motive is 'access to territory' – territory which an ever expanding settler society unremittingly demands. Through a discussion of the residential school system and tar sands oil development in Canada, I shall illustrate how this elimination logic has been sustained, legislated, and morally justified over space and time by successive Euro North American governments, institutions, and indeed every level of that society, evolving its strategies in tandem with the wants and attitudes of Euro North American settlers.

I will show how the organizing principle that informed frontier massacres, and the formulation of the post-frontier assimilationist agenda in the mid to late nineteenth century, has (over the last hundred years or so), transmuted into what may be history's subtlest form of physical, biological and cultural extermination yet: *lethal contamination of Native land bases by transient industry*.

It shall be argued that such industrial projects are testimony to how Euro North America continues to thrive via the ongoing disempowerment and dispossession inculcated in Native peoples via the residential schools, and that the genocide Native people face today (as throughout history) is taking place not only on their land, but in the bureaucracies of government, and the boardrooms of transnational corporations. It is a struggle they continue to rise to. Indeed, indigenous resistance to the 'new colonialism of global trade may prove to be the central driving force in thwarting the corporatization of the planet'.

Kristin Burnett, Lakehead University and Travis Hay, York University, "Government Policy, Food, and Indigenous People in Northern Canada in the Post WWII Period"

This paper looks at the policies of the federal government regarding food and Indigenous people in northern Canada. We argue that food has served as a vital technology of state power in the country's attempts to control, assimilate, and eliminate its 'Indian problem.' When the history of food in Indigenous communities during the twentieth century has been examined, food has not been the focus of analysis; rather it is an aside in a broader discussion of colonialism, Indian policy, and ill health in First Nations communities. Refocusing the lens on colonial food policies in the post-WWII era serves to highlight how the state used food to destroy and then replace the ways in which Indigenous people related to the land, their families, and their sense of bodily well-being. Such an inquiry permits a reappraisal of the food subsidy initiatives like the Foodmail Program (now called Nutrition North) as implicated in a wider settler-colonial history of genocide. Moreover, in light of the recent report by the United Nations Special Rapporteur on the Right to Food, Olivier De Schutter, which indicted the federal government and its failure to address the food insecurity of First Nations in Canada, this is a timely paper. We seek to make visible the historical and ongoing genocide perpetrated against Indigenous peoples by the Canadian state. Indeed, food serves as an absent referent for all of the violence and failed promises of the federal government to Indigenous peoples.

Nicholle Dragone, Black Hills State University, "Exploring the Gendered Dimensions of Canada's Genocidal Indian Status Act through the Personal Narrative of Yvonne Dion-Buffalo"

Shortly before she became ill in 2004, the late Yvonne Dion-Buffalo (Samson Cree) began working to ensure that her then-unborn grandson would have the right to claim his identity as a Samson Cree Indian and to engage in the cultural life of the Samson Cree people. Sadly, Dion-Buffalo passed away 5 ½ years before her two grandchildren regained their identity and rights as Indians, as Samson Cree, under Bill C-3 (2011). However, her story continues to teach us how a nation-state, like Canada, known for its championing of human rights, rationalizes genocidal laws. Dion-Buffalo, a full-blood Samson Cree woman, married a non-Indian man at a time when the Gradual Enfranchisement Act (1869) and the Indian Act (1876) legally controlled the identity and rights of Indians by separating them into two groups: Status and non-Status. Under these laws, if an Indian woman, like Dion-Buffalo, married a non-Indian man, she and her children lost their identity and rights as "Status" Indians and their legal and cultural rights to participate in the cultural and religious lives of their Indigenous nations. This law forcibly transferred these Indian women and their children, from one group (Status Indians) to another (non-Status). As such, the Indian Act, and to some extent B-C31 are state-sanctioned acts of genocide. This paper seeks to develop Yvonne Dion-Buffalo's personal narrative as a means exploring the gendered dimensions of genocidal nature of Canadian legal interventions, specifically the Indian Status Act, in the lives of its Indigenous peoples.

Tamara Starblanket, Native Education College – Vancouver, "The Colonial Framework and the Indian Problem' in Genocide: Indigenous Nations and the State of Canada"

My conference proposal is based on my dissertation that examines the Canadian government's forcible transferring of Indigenous children. My proposal is based on a chapter of my thesis entitled, The Colonial Framework and the Indian Problem. My presentation will unpack the dominating and dehumanizing experience of colonial invasion by examining the framework upon which the forcible transferring of Indigenous children takes place. It will be shown that the concepts of colonialism and genocide are inextricably linked. The paper develops an explanation of colonial invasion and the indoctrination of colonial systems, institutions, doctrines, values, beliefs or more specifically the so called "civilization process" imposed on an Indigenous child. The forcible transferring of Indigenous

children is justified by Canadian laws and policy that are premised on theories of racial superiority. A model is explained that unpacks Indigenous Peoples/Nations' experience of colonial invasion and then applied to the forcible transferring of Indigenous children. Indigenous Peoples' experience of colonial invasion is characterized as demonization, isolation and destruction.

***Room 224a (St. Anne) – Explaining and Understanding Genocide**

Moderator: Adam Muller, University of Manitoba

Kjell Anderson, Independent Scholar, "Instrumental and Prejudicial Motives in Mass Hate Crimes: An Assessment of Indonesian Oppression in West Papua"

Genocide is directed at the destruction of an ethnic, racial, national, or religious group. As such, genocide can be classified as a sort of *mass hate crime*, alongside other international crimes such as the crime against humanity of persecution and the crime of apartheid. Like domestic hate crimes these mass hate crimes require persecutory intent - they are motivated by hate.

Yet, I would argue that such crimes are always the product of both instrumental and prejudicial motives. The subjugation of the targeted group can never be purely instrumental, as sustained campaigns against peoples based on their (stigmatised) identities are only possible with an enabling ideology of prejudice. In a sense then mass hate crimes may use instrumental means to realise prejudicial motives. Some crimes may be more instrumental than others but the situation is always interpreted through the lens of prejudicial ideology, which itself is rooted in xenophobia. This paper will utilise the case of Indonesia's persecution of indigenous West Papuans to examine the nexus between prejudicial and instrumental motives for mass hate crimes. It will draw from an analysis of Indonesian policy, as well as statements made by government officials, in order to argue that prejudicial motives appear to exist alongside multiple forms of instrumentality.

Timothy Williams, University of Marburg and Free University Berlin, "The simple complexity of perpetrator motivations – an innovative and multifaceted model of why people participate in genocide"

While much has been written on general conditions and facilitative factors of genocide occurrence, the research on the micro-dynamics of who participates in genocide and why is not as broad in genocide studies literature. There have been several excellent studies on individual cases, but thus far little work has been done on developing a more abstract and overarching model of why and how people come to participate in genocide *across different contexts*. The model developed in this paper will synthesize the concepts garnered from different case studies from across different fields, with ideas from social-psychological and sociological literature. Among other factors, obedience to authority, peer pressure, role expectations, coercion, opportunism, fear, ideology and sadism are found to play a key role in motivating people to participate in genocide.

In this paper I would like to demonstrate a tentative first version of the model and suggest several factors that are key motivations for participation in genocide across different cases, differentiating between necessary, sufficient and merely facilitative conditions and demonstrating how different motivations can interact with each other. The paper will reflect critically on the literature on the micro and meso-dynamics of participation in genocide and will pull together the insights from previous research, attempting to draw out commonalities from across the very different contexts previously analysed. The paper hopes to provide stimuli for a broader discussion of the dynamics behind individual participation in genocide, by bringing together the previous literature and systematically synthesising it into a more abstract model.

Ramu Manivannan, University of Madras, “Doctrine of Double Effect and the Genocide of Ethnic Tamils in Sri Lanka”

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

Mohammed H. Tofiq, Independent Scholar, “Anfal as Kurdish Genocide”

Anfal, as Kurdish genocide was perpetrated by the former Iraqi regime of Saddam Hussein against the civil Kurds in the countryside of the Kurdish inhabited region in the Northern of Iraq “Kurdistan Region”, and its military culmination was from February to September 1988. The Iraqi army and security forces conducted a wide scale military campaign in eight stages for six designated geographical areas, including the use of chemical gases in each stage, to arrest many thousands of those people and transferred them to the concentration camps, exactly similar to the Jews in the Holocaust. Later they have been processed very calmly in the camps, which the people of ages 15 – 50 years were segregated and sent secretly to the deserts of the southern part of Iraq and they have been killed there or buried alive.

This act was captured the description of Genocide as the systematic killing of all or part of a national, ethnical, racial or religious group and the legal definition of the United Nations' Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide in 1948, (Article 2, of this convention). Also it captures Raul Hilberg's paradigm of genocide in his famous book “*The Destruction of the European Jews*”, that in any case of genocide three basic elements must be existed: Definition, arrest and annihilation of the group. Just for reminding the Supreme Iraqi Criminal Tribunal (Court), during the trial Saddam Hussein and other criminals of Anfal and Halabja chemical attack considered the both as the act of GENOCIDE, in 2007, and the Iraqi parliament also took the same decision. Nowadays, the parliaments of many Europe countries, such as UK, Sweden were admitted Anfal as the act of genocide.

Room 224b (Souris) – Genocide's Mutations Across Time and Space

Moderator: Regine King, University of Manitoba

Alexandra Olshefsky, McGill University, “Containing Aboriginal Bodies: A Critique of the Safe Streets and Communities Act”

I'm currently in my final year of Law at McGill. The essay draws from work I did during my internship with the Truth and Reconciliation Commission this past summer, drawing on archived government policy documents dating from 1960 onwards.

Recent reforms by Canada's Conservative government have included a reduction in welfare-state measures in favour of an individualism and freedom of choice expressed through the extension of market relationships. This socio-economic policy is rooted more strongly in ideological conceptualizations of personal responsibility than it is in empirical evidence. In the case of criminal law, statistics indicate that Conservative constituents favour policy which is "tough-on-crime." The current government was responsive, focusing on criminal legislation that would ultimately make-up the omnibus crime bill C-41, now known as the Safe Streets and Communities Act. Central to the Act is an increase in mandatory minimum sentences.

Canada has seen a sharp increase in the prison population – primarily amongst socio-economically disadvantaged - despite crime rate sitting at its lowest since 1973. Nowhere has over-representation been so striking as among indigenous populations. The practice of incarceration is one in a long line of colonial practices which worked towards the containment and control of indigenous bodies. The over-representation of indigenous peoples in custody and jail constitutes an assault on indigenous children, families, and culture by once again removing those charged from the community and placing them within an institutional setting meant to control.

The omnibus crime bill threatens the applicability of progressive measures such as section 718(e) of the Criminal Code. By narrowing the scope of judicial control over sentencing, 'tough on crime' legislation such as the Safe Streets and Communities Act simultaneously narrows the solutions to indigenous over-representation within the Canada's criminal justice system.

Lucrecia Molinari, Universidad Nacional de Tres de Febrero, "National Security Doctrine, Counterinsurgency and Repression of Labour Union Movement: El Salvador 1963-1972"

The paper will present an analysis and a periodization of the doctrine, the repressive strategy and the performance of the armed forces, security forces and parastatal organisms of El Salvador. It will focus in the way these organisms dealt with the rise of the union mobilization between 1963 and 1972. That is to say, before the emergence of the guerrillas.

Numerous studies analyze the performance of the repressive organisms emphasizing the challenge that guerrillas had posed to the state since the mid-1970s. This paper takes issue with this perspective because, although guerrillas first arose in 1970 and became recognized in 1972, it is possible to detect a counterinsurgency structure in El Salvador as early as 1963 and a change in its function in 1967.

In this sense, the paper will emphasize in two main ideas. First, that the social, political and economy structure of El Salvador was seriously threatened by the union mobilization in the period under study. And secondly, that this happened even before the labor and popular organizations decided to abandon the legal fight and came closer to the recently emerged guerrillas.

Marcelo Moreno, University of Buenos Aires, "Architecture and Genocide Physical records of the Genocide perpetrated in Argentina and South America 1492/1983"

Herbert Ekwe-Ekwe, Universidade de Fortaleza, "Longest genocide – Since 29 May 1966"

The Igbo genocide by Nigeria is the foundational genocide of post (European) conquest in Africa. It is also Africa's most devastating genocide of the 20th century. A total of 3.1 million Igbo were murdered between 29 May 1966 and 12 January 1970. Most of the world stood by and watched, hardly critical or condemnatory of this wanton destruction of human lives, murdering, raping, sacking and plundering of towns, villages, communities in Biafra and elsewhere... As this paper demonstrates, this genocide, most tragically, goes on...Between 1980 and 2013 the Igbo have been subjected to 20 pogroms in the muslim north Nigeria region, with the murder of thousands. The following list eerily signposts the years of these atrocities: 1980, 1982, 1985, 1991, 1993, 1994, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013. Ninety per cent of the 54,000 people murdered in Nigeria by the state/quasi-state operatives since 1999 are Igbo. Since Christmas Day 2011, the Boko Haram islamist insurgent group spearheads these murders. The consequences of this genocide for Africa have been catastrophic. Several regimes here are "convinced" of the lessons they have drawn: "We can murder our peoples at will. There will be no sanctions from the world". As a result, the killing fields of Africa's age of pestilence have moved inexorably beyond Nigeria's frontiers with the murders of additional 12 million Africans, since January 1970, by regimes in further genocides in Rwanda, Darfur/the Sudan and Zaïre/Democratic Republic of Congo and in killings in other wars in Africa.

1:45 and 2:45 pm

Buses depart from the University of Manitoba campus for downtown

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